

The 2014 EP elections: What should we look out for?



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The forthcoming May European Parliament (EP) elections appear, from this distance, to be a strange mixture of an open race and foregone conclusion. A range of commentators have suggested that the elections will see the success of a wave of protest parties, many with Eurosceptic agendas, riding on the back of the economic crisis and a wider frustration with politics and the European integration project in general. But just how the main European parties will fare, who will do well or badly, is much more up for grabs.

What do we know about EP elections?

The EP has changed dramatically in importance and in its role within the EU over the last few decades. But the nature of EP elections has not changed as much as the institution itself. Conventional wisdom and the political science literature unusually come together on seeing these as 'second-order' elections. This means we can predict, with some certainty, that voters will view these as being of less importance than 'first

order' national parliamentary and presidential polls and use them to send some particular 'protest' messages, often aimed at incumbent governing parties, and sometimes the mainstream parties more generally.

So, knowing that they are 'second order' elections, what can we predict will happen in this EP poll? First, we know that EP elections do not set European citizens alight with excitement. Turnout will be consistently lower than in national elections. The level of turnout varies across countries but eleven of the 25 states at the last EP elections saw turnouts of less than 40%, with the lowest level being Slovakia at 20% and the average being only 43%. Second, we can predict that smaller, fringe parties will fare better in these elections than they do at their national elections. This is classically an arena where protest parties do well. As they are perceived as secondary elections, they are seen as an opportunity for voters to cast votes for parties that they would think twice about voting for in national elections. This is likely to attract much of the media commentary. Third, we also know that incumbent parties currently in national government will generally (depending on where they are in their national election cycles) fare poorly. The secondary nature of the elections allows voters, and even supporters of the governing parties, a chance to express their frustration by abstaining or casting a 'protest' vote for the opposition or a minor party.

Features // Research // Dispatches // Activities

The EP elections in Germany, Poland, UK, Greece, Romania and Sweden	SEI Doctoral Researcher appointed deputy minister of European Integration in the Albanian Government	SEI welcomes new PhD students
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A European election or twenty eight national ones?

What is frequently overlooked in EP elections is that this European-wide process to an EU institution can actually be a very un-European affair. In effect, the fact that EP elections are second-order polls means that they are largely the aggregate of twenty-eight individual national contests. The politicians being sent to commute between Brussels and Strasbourg are actually being elected on very national grounds and as the result of voters thinking more about national politics than about Europe. While many commentators will attempt to do this, it also means we should be very cautious about drawing European-wide trends – such as a pan-European ‘swing’ to the left or right - from these EP election results.

The euro zone crisis and current European-wide economic problems do offer the chance for these elections to have ‘Europe’ as a much more substantial issue in its own right this time around. But we need to be clear that the nature of the economic crisis in general, and the euro issue specifically, are highly differentiated and dependent upon the country context. The fact that voters in Greece and Germany may use the elections to pass judgement on the impact of ‘the European issue’ in their countries does not mean that they will be passing the same judgement or even judging the same policies. ‘Europe’ remains a very diverse and multi-dimensional issue and these EP elections will reflect that diversity. We should be very careful about drawing general conclusions about public attitudes towards the trajectory of the European integration project when there will be significant differences in the way that the issue is framed and interpreted in different local contexts.

Common trends and diversity

Nonetheless, the articles in this edition of Euroscope by Kai Oppermann, Aleks Szczerbiak, Maria Emilsson, Rebecca Partos, Roxana Mihaila and Nikoleta Kiapidou on the EP elections in Germany, Poland Sweden, the UK, Romania and Greece do point to some of the themes that will no doubt dominate commentary on the elections. But they also highlight the real diversity that is going to emerge in electoral trends.

The likely success of parties with a ‘Eurosceptic’ agenda (broadly defined) can be seen in the form of the United Kingdom Independence Party, the Sweden Democrats, SYRIZA and Golden Dawn in Greece, the People’s Party in Romania and even in Germany with the Alternative for Germany. This is one such apparently common trend that commentators are likely to zoom in on. But beyond being protest parties these groupings are, of course very different. Even a shared concern about Europe has taken some very different forms from the rejectionist policies of UKIP, through the specifics of the anti-memorandum positions of the Greek parties, to scepticism that is confined solely to concerns about the euro rather than the European project per se as in the Alternative for Germany. There are real dangers about looking too hard for common themes when there can be some very different agendas.

Incumbent governments are likely to face a difficult challenge in every country. In all the cases covered in this issue of Euroscope there are governments led by centre-right parties - or centrist ones aligned to the centre-right European People’s Party - in power. But there are significant differences between these parties of the centre-right. We need to look not much further than differences between Cameron and Merkel not least in their attitudes towards European integration but also on their views on how the EU should tackle the economic crisis. But we should also recognise the different dynamics of the range of coalitions that exist: from the grand coalition with the Social Democrats in Germany, through the Conservative and Liberal Democrat government in the UKs, to the Romanian and Swedish coalition of centre-left and centre-right parties respectively.

Looking at Europe often means looking at similarities but looking at EP elections, as they are second order elections, is really an exercise in seeing the sheer range of European experiences and being sensitive to the wide diversity of politics in Europe. It also means that, strange though it may seem, the key to understanding these elections to - the only ones to a directly elected European-wide institution - may lie in looking below the European level to see the impact of domestic politics in twenty-eight states.

Who we are...

Euroscope is the newsletter of the Sussex European Institute (SEI). It reports to members and beyond about activities and research going on at the SEI and presents feature articles and reports by SEI staff, researchers, students and associates.



The deadline for submissions for the summer term issue is: 21 March 2014.

Co-Editors: Maria Emilsson, Rebecca Partos & Roxana Mihaila

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The SEI was founded in 1992 and is a Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence and a Marie Curie Research Training Site. It is the leading research and postgraduate training centre on contemporary European issues. SEI has a distinctive philosophy built on interdisciplinarity and a broad and inclusive approach to Europe. Its research is policy-relevant and at the academic cutting edge, and focuses on integrating the European and domestic levels of analysis. As well as delivering internationally renowned Masters, doctoral programmes and providing tailored programmes for practitioners, it acts as the hub of a large range of networks of academics, researchers and practitioners who teach, supervise and collaborate with us on research projects.

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EU Parliament Elections

This issue of Euroscope is a special edition presenting articles on the European Parliament Elections. You can find our special Features pieces on pages 11-21 and other topic related articles in the Research section.

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MESSAGE FROM THE CO-DIRECTOR...



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The May European Parliament (EP) elections will soon be upon us. Directly elected since 1979, the EP offers a rare opportunity for the citizens of the European Union, via their elected representatives, to participate in the decision-making and law-making processes of the EU. It is curious, therefore, why such disaffection and disinterest on the part of the electorate is so often displayed across Europe at election time. Turnouts are typically low and the electorate rather ill informed. Yet the climate in 2014 is different from before. Having weathered several years of economic and financial crisis, cuts to public spending and welfare and monetary instability, will the citizens of Europe now take this opportunity to pronounce upon the future direction of the EU?

With this question in mind, the spring 2014 issue of *Euroscope* is devoted to the forthcoming EP elections. The aim of the issue is to investigate the process surrounding the elections and the prospects for success of the various political parties in different European member states. Who are the likely winners and losers? Where will coalition bonds be forged? Will the protest vote triumph? Is the electorate actually interested in the European dimension of politics at all?

In their lead article, Paul Taggart and Aleks Szczerbiak suggest that there are many predictable elements to the EP election process. These are generally seen as 'second order' elections, somewhat removed from the 'first order' national legislative polls; they present a key opportunity for voters to comment upon, or protest about, their incumbent national governments; and they generally allow an

opportunity for fringe parties to come to the fore in a way that seldom occurs in national elections. Equally, despite the fact that these are billed as generic 'European' elections across all member states, what 'Europe' actually means to the diverse mass of EU citizens at the present time is another thing altogether. There is a huge range of experiences and diversity of politics across the EU in its current form and these will undoubtedly influence results at the national level in a less than homogeneous way.

In the feature about Germany, for example, it is suggested by Kai Oppermann that the EP elections may spark interest amongst the electorate in so far as they will provide an important test for the credibility of the newly formed 'grand' coalition of Christian Democrats and Social Democrats. At the same time, they will be an opportunity to measure the power of the new Alternative for Germany (AfD) party and to assess the German electorate's appetite for a more Eurosceptic approach to politics which, if forthcoming, will endorse the AfD as a very credible threat to the more mainstream parties on the right in Germany.

In Poland, there is no such novelty to spark a renewed interest in the EP elections. The Polish electorate are awaiting their own national parliamentary election in autumn 2015 and so, it is suggested by Aleks Szczerbiak, they may well play safe and turn to national concerns, taking the opportunity to protest against the incumbent Civic Platform party and presenting an opportunity to the opposition Law and Justice party to come to the fore.

Maria Emilsson, in her article about Sweden, suggests that a more critical approach to European politics is emerging there with opinion becoming increasingly polarized in what was previously

viewed as a 'neutral' state. Making the case for increased transparency in the Union and increased knowledge for voters, Emilsson suggests that the Swedish vote in the EP will represent an important litmus test for EU legitimacy and that each vote that is not used will give increased legitimacy to the more nationalistic and populist parties.

In the UK, one of the clear factors that will influence the outcome of the EP elections, argues Rebecca Partos, is immigration. Immigration, she suggests is often used as a proxy for more generic arguments about the reckless discarding of national sovereignty and the transfer of power to a hapless Brussels bureaucracy. As the media fuels anxieties that the UK will be flooded by a new wave of Bulgarian and Romanian migrants set upon the ruination of the British social security system, the incumbent government has made it clear (in what appears to be a clear lack of understanding, or flagrant breach, of EU free movement law and the principle of non-discrimination on grounds of nationality) that it wishes to tighten access to tax and social advantages for certain migrants. That said, Partos predicts that in the present UK political climate parties on the right of the political spectrum, and the UK Independence Party (UKIP) in particular, will be the significant victors. Given the system of proportional representation for the EP elections, this could translate into a significant number of seats for UKIP.

In Greece, of course, the financial crisis has hit hard and the EU is blamed for much economic and social misery. Nikoleta Kiapidou, in her feature about the prospects for the EP elections in Greece, highlights the fragility of national politics in recent years and charts the rise of the newly formed right-wing Independent Greeks party, along with Golden Dawn an ultra right-wing, nationalist party which gained seats for the first time in the national elections in 2012. Should Golden Dawn be successful in the EP elections, Kiapidou suggests, it will be one of the most right-wing and extreme parties in the EP.

As an example to the rest of Europe, Roxana Mihaila describes in her feature how a public campaign is in operation in Romania to familiarise

voters with the role and responsibilities of the EP. In what is only their second fully-fledged EU election since joining the EU in 2007, Romanians are being educated on key topics such as the economy and employment in order, to enable them to make informed choices. With the debate around free movement a key factor across Europe, clearly political parties are being forced to take a stand on this and Romanian citizens will cast their votes accordingly.

Elsewhere in Euroscope, we celebrate the nomination of SEI doctoral researcher Gentian Elezi to the position of deputy minister of European integration in Albania with a special feature devoted to the next steps in that country's European integration process. We also highlight the research of SEI newcomers such as Dr Annika Hennl (Visiting Fellow from Goethe University Frankfurt), Prof Fortunato Musella (Visiting Lecturer from the University of Naples Federico II) and Dr Andreas Kornelakis (a new lecturer in the department of Business and Management with research interests in the European Business environment).

To discuss the ideas and features in Euroscope we invite all those interested to attend our SEI termly roundtable event on 'The 2014 European Parliament Elections' on 2 April 2014 with speakers Dr Sue Collard, Dr Kai Oppermann, Dr Ben Stanley, Prof Paul Taggart and Prof Paul Webb (2-4 pm, Friston Building, Room 108).



Image credit: European Parliament <http://www.elections2014.eu>

SEI Diary

The SEI Diary provides snippets on the many exciting and memorable activities connected to teaching, researching and presenting contemporary Europe that members of the SEI have been involved in during Autumn/Winter 2013.

September 2013

SEI-based Senior Lecturer in Politics Dr Sue Collard and SEI-linked Lecturer in Geography Dr Michael Collyer organised a joint SEI-Sussex Centre for Migration Research (SCMR) inter-disciplinary workshop on “Migrant Voting in Europe”. Sponsored by the European Commission the meeting was part of a series of events organised by the SEI during 2012-13. The purpose of this workshop was to bring together researchers who are actively engaged in projects relating to voting practices of migrants as both emigrants and immigrants, in order to review recent and current research activity and to chart potential directions for future collaborative projects.

SEI’s Dr Sue Collard, Prof Aleks Szczerbiak, Dr Kai Oppermann and Prof Paul Taggart opened the Institute’s Autumn term research in progress seminar series with a roundtable debate titled ‘The domestic politics of the Eurocrisis’ ◊ 25 September

The SEI hosted a workshop entitled 'Critical Reflections on Contemporary Problems in European Law and Policy'. The event, which was sponsored by the European Commission representation in the UK, provided an opportunity to discuss contemporary European affairs in the context of the present economic and social crisis in Europe. Contributions were made by a range of Sussex European Institute members: Prof. Erika Szyszczak, 'The impact of EU fiscal policy on social services: the example of health care in the UK and the Netherlands'; Dr. Emanuela Orlando 'The EU as an actor on the global level in the environmental field'; David Davies, 'Combatting Gender Stereotypes in Advertising and the Media in Europe'; and

Dr. Lara Walker 'The Recovery of Maintenance and Child Support in the EU' ◊ 27 September

October 2013

Dr Jonathan Hopkin from the London School of Economics presented at the Politics research in progress seminar on the topic of ‘Cartel Parties and the Crisis: Political Change and Ideological Stasis in Advanced Democracies’ ◊ 2 October

SEI-linked Professor Mariana Mazzucato (SPRU) discussed her book *The Entrepreneurial State on Global Business* BBC World Service ◊ 6 October

SEI Politics Professor Dan Hough wrote an article entitled ‘China’s princelings aren’t charming the new middle class’ for *The Conversation*, a pilot journalism project sourced from the academic and research community. The article identified the princelings - the sons and daughters of China’s rich and powerful - as one group of clear winners from the country’s social and political transition over the last 40 years. Capitalising on the Chinese culture of networking, this group is thriving – but their behaviour is becoming increasingly problematic for the Communist Party, whose officials want to look much more humble in an attempt to prove they are ‘of the people and for the people’ ◊ 7 October

SEI Co-Director Professor Aleks Szczerbiak and SEI-based Professor of Politics Paul Webb attended the ‘Parties, Society and Democracy’ Conference of the *Political Party Data Base Project*, held at Dusseldorf University. The event

gathered 20 participants from 17 countries for an intensive discussion of the first results of the project and future dissemination plans
◇ 11-12 October

SEI-based Politics Professor Dan Hough addressed the G20's Anti-Corruption Working Group (ACW) meeting in at the OECD in Paris. The assembly was primarily focused on the outcomes of the Russian G20 Presidency, as well as key directions of the ACWG work in 2014 ◇ 11 October

Dr John Kelly from Birkbeck Collage presented at the Politics research in progress seminar on the 'The Electoral Consequences of General Strikes in Western Europe' (co-authored with Kerstin Hamann and Alison Johnston) ◇ 16 October

SEI Politics Professor Dan Hough spoke on the topic of The German Federal Election 2013 at the third in the series of the McDougall Trust's workshops on topical issues of political representation for 2013, held in London. The influence of electoral systems on election results was made more clear than ever when Germans went to the polls in September. The workshop offered the opportunity to analyse what this means for Germany going forward as well as for Europe more generally. Prof. Hough is co-author of 'The Politics of the New Germany' (with Simon Green and Alister Miskimmon) and he has written books on the Party of Democratic Socialism (published in 2001) and the Left Party (published in 2007) ◇ 25 October

SEI-linked Law Professor Erika Szyszczak gave a paper with Dr Albert Sanchez-Graells on "Modernising Social Services in the Single Market: Putting the Market into the Social" at a conference at CEU San Pablo University in Madrid entitled "Fostering Growth: Reinforcing the Internal Market". The paper is part of Professor Szyszczak's ongoing research examining how public and social services in the EU are being liberalised and subject to market principle, a process of "marketisations". This paper takes the UK reform and modernisation of health care as a case study to examine how far Member States must pay attention to EU economic law in the reform of public services (SGEI) to modernise such services in the interest of

cutting back on public expenditure and introducing efficiency and competition in their supply ◇ 28-29 October

SEI-based Politics lecturer Emily Robinson presented at the SEI's Research in Progress seminar on the topic of 'Pastness and Presentism in British Politics' ◇ 30 October

November 2013

Jackie O'Reilly, SEI Visiting Fellow based at Brighton University, has been chosen to lead a new Europe-wide research project aimed at identifying the causes of youth unemployment and looking for solutions. The €5m EU-funded 'STYLE' project involves 25 partners from 19 countries and will study welfare state provisions, levels and patterns of female employment, the structure of families, conceptions of youth and how policy makers conceive the problem of youth joblessness ◇ 4 November

SEI Visiting Fellow Dr Annika Hennl, from Goethe-Universität Frankfurt, presented at the Politics Research in Progress Seminar on the topic of 'Intra-Party Policy Formulation in Flux: A Comparative Analysis of Four Democracies' ◇ 6 November

Gentian Elezi, a doctoral student at the Sussex European Institute (SEI), was appointed to a ministerial post in the new Albanian government. Mr Elezi, who completed an MA in European Politics at the SEI in 2006-07 and is currently undertaking doctoral research at the Institute, has been appointed deputy minister responsible for European integration.

SEI-based Senior Lecturer in Politics Dr Sue Collard attended an inter-disciplinary European Year of Citizens themed conference organised jointly by the faculties of History, Political Science and Law at the University of Nantes, France. The participants engaged with the spread of a dominant discourse of Euroscepticism which has even started to take a hold in France. ◇ 14-16 November

SEI-linked Politics lecturer Olli Hellmann presented at the Politics research in progress seminar on the topic of 'Corruption in New Democracies: What the Dictator Left Behind?' ◇ 20 November

SEI alumnus Dr Ulrich Sedelmeier from the London School of Economics presented at the SEI Research in Progress seminar on the topic of 'Anchoring Democracy after Accession? The EU and the democratic backsliding in Hungary and Romania' ◇ 27 November

SEI-linked Professor Mariana Mazzucato (SPRU) argued in *Newsnight* that the help-to buy programme, which appears to have revived the UK economy, is not sustainable ◇ 28 November

December 2013

SEI Politics Professor Dan Hough gave a paper at the University of Portsmouth's Fraud and Counter-Fraud Centre on 'The Challenges of Corruption and Anti-Corruption in the 21st Century' ◇ 3 December

Dr Ben Seyd from the University of Kent presented a paper titled 'Explaining Political Disappointment' at the politics research in progress Seminar ◇ 4 December

SEI Politics Professor and Director of the Sussex Centre for the Study of Corruption Professor Dan Hough published an article on "Corruption in the eye of the beholder" for *The Conversation* in which he discussed the results of the newly published *Transparency International* annual Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI) ◇ 5 December

SEI Politics Professor Dan Hough gave a paper at the UK Department for International Development (DfID) on 'The Challenges of Corruption and Anti-Corruption in the 21st Century' ◇ 9 December

SEI Co-Director Professor Aleks Szczerbiak's paper 'Poland (Mainly) Chooses Stability and Continuity: The October 2011 Polish Parliamentary Election' was published in the December

2013 issue of the *Perspectives on European Politics and Society* journal.

"Let's rethink the idea of the state: it must be a catalyst for big, bold ideas" *The Observer* picked up an extract from **SEI-linked Professor Mariana Mazzucato's (SPRU)** book, *The Entrepreneurial State* ◇ 15 December

SEI Professor Paul Taggart (Politics) commented on how populism is reshaping mainstream political discourse in an opinion piece on the rise of anti-Europe movements published by *The Observer*. "The 'danger' of populism is that ... it works within existing politics while having the effect of changing the behaviour of other actors ... it further feeds distrust in the complexity of politics" he argued. Read in full here: <http://bit.ly/L0cDaK> ◇ 29 December



RESEARCH IN PROGRESS SEMINARS
SPRING TERM 2014
WEDNESDAYS 14.00-15.50
Venue Friston 108

<i>DATE</i>	<i>SPEAKER</i>	<i>TITLE</i>
22.01.14	Erica Consterdine University of Sussex	<i>Interests, Ideas, and Institutions: explaining Immigration policy change in the UK, 1997–2010</i>
05.02.14	Prof Anneli Albi University of Kent	<i>Constitutional Rights and the European Court of Justice: Arrest Warrants, Data Retention and the ESM Treaty</i>
05.03.14	Michael Shackleton University of Maastricht	<i>European Parliament elections: will it be different this time?</i>
12.03.14	Dr Andreas Kornelakis University of Sussex	<i>EU Liberalization and the governance of the labour market: the cases of Italian and Greek telecoms</i>
02.04.14	Dr Sue Collard Dr Kai Oppermann Dr Ben Stanley Prof Paul Taggart Prof Paul Webb University of Sussex	<i>SEI roundtable on 'The 2014 European Parliament elections'</i>

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POLITICS RESEARCH IN PROGRESS SEMINARS
SPRING TERM 2014
WEDNESDAYS 14.00-15.50
Venue Friston 108

DATE	SPEAKER	TITLE
29.01.14	Dr Benjamin Stanley University of Sussex	<i>The 'New Political Cleavage' in European Party Politics</i>
12.02.14	Dr Rekha Divakar University of Sussex	<i>The Dynamics of Coalition Politics in India</i>
19.03.14	Dr Fortunato Musella University of Naples Federico II	<i>The Two Presidents: Cohabitation Italian Style</i>
26.03.14	Prof. Michael Kenny Queen Mary University of London	<i>The Politics of English Nationhood</i>

SUSSEX CENTRE FOR THE STUDY OF CORRUPTION
SEMINARS SPRING 2014

DATE	SPEAKER	TITLE
18.02.14 Fulton B 5 pm	Mark Twigg Executive Director of Cicero Group	<i>Free Market, Good Governance and Corruption: Making Sense out of Rhetoric.</i>
25.02.14 Fulton 104 5pm	D.C. Joanne Law Overseas Anti-Corruption Unit (OACU)	<i>City of London Police: The OACU and the Fight against Corruption.</i>
04.03.14 Fulton 104 5pm	Jeffrey Davidson Head of Forensic Accounting, Crowe, Clark and Whitehall	<i>The Practical Challenges of Tackling Bribery and Corruption</i>

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Features

Germany: Euroscepticism, the Grand Coalition and the Eurozone Crisis



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It is fair to say that the two last elections to the European Parliament (EP) in 2004 and 2009 failed to capture the German public's imagination. Turnout at these elections was around 43%, an all-time low for Germany even if still around the European average. Fewer voters turn up at European elections in Germany than at regional elections or indeed at most local elections. Tellingly, only 44% of German respondents to the Spring 2013 Eurobarometer survey were even aware that members to the European Parliament are directly elected. This figure is well below the European average (52%) and puts Germany near the bottom of the list of EU member states. In other words, German voters do not tend to see European elections as particularly important events on the political calendar.

There are reasons to expect, however, that the 2014 elections will receive a little more attention. More than anything, these reasons are linked to internal German party politics: the election will be an important bellwether for the prospects of a recently formed Eurosceptic party, the Alternative for Germany (the AfD), as well as for the future of the Liberal Party (the FDP), which in 2013 dropped out of the German parliament for the first time in the history of the Federal Republic. If the coalition

agreement that has just been negotiated between the leaderships of the Christian and Social Democrats gets the approval of the respective parties (and at the time of writing that is indeed something of an 'if' in particular with regard to the Social Democrats), then the EP election will be the first electoral test for the newly formed grand coalition. Moreover, public interest in the election will likely be spurred by the Eurozone crisis, which is still an uppermost concern of German voters.

Most notably perhaps, the European election will speak to the electoral potential of the Alternative for Germany and of party-based euroscepticism more generally. The AfD was founded in February 2013 and is the new 'rising star' of the German party system, with more than 17,000 members already. The party's main demand is to dissolve the eurozone and it argues both for a repatriation of powers and a referendum lock for any further transfers of competences to Europe. After the AfD narrowly failed to win representation in the German parliament in the 2013 federal election, the party has now focused its strategy on the European elections. As a case in point, Bernd Lucke, one of the party's spokespersons and easily its most prominent face, will run for a seat in the EP, probably as the party's top candidate. The prospects of the AfD making it in to the EP are promising, not least because the threshold for parties to do so has been lowered to three per cent after the original five per cent barrier was ruled unconstitutional for European elections. A strong showing by

the AfD will have a profound impact on German party politics as it would establish the party as a credible eurosceptic threat to mainstream parties on the right of the German party system. Within the European Parliament, the AfD would add to the power of the (increasingly prominent) eurosceptic voices already there. The party has none the less decided to seek membership of the group of European Conservatives and Reformists rather than to join forces with Marine Le Pen's Front National and Geert Wilder's Freedom Party. This decision is part of the AfD's overall strategy, which is not undisputed within the party, to distance itself from the extremist and xenophobic right.

In a way that is not dissimilar to the AfD, the political prospects of the Germany's liberal party, the FDP, will also hinge on the European election. After its all-out defeat in the 2013 German election, the party is still in the middle of reinventing itself both in programmatic terms and with regard to its leadership. Key to the success of this repositioning is the party's ability to hold on to its representation in as many parliaments as possible. Specifically, the party has identified the European election as a critical juncture, and the election result will be seen as an important test for its designated new leader, Christian Lindner. Significantly for the German party system, the election will also serve as an early indicator of whether the FDP will try to reinvent itself as a eurosceptic party, building on factions within it which are openly critical of German support for Eurozone rescue packages. It may, on the other hand, opt to go back to its older pro-European tradition, personalised by the former foreign minister and leader, Hans-Dietrich Genscher.

The two parties which should brace themselves for a disappointing result, in turn, are the Christian and the Social Democrats. If the two parties do indeed form a grand coalition as expected, the European election will be the first occasion for voters to register their dissatisfaction with the new government. The party most vulnerable to such a protest vote is the CDU, not least because it is more likely than the SPD to lose voters to the AfD. The CDU also has a stronger result to defend from the 2009 election (37.9%) than the Social Democrats which received its lowest ever

vote share (20.8%) in a European election. Moreover, the SPD may offset potential losses by the high-profile role of its MEP and current President of the EP, Martin Schulz. Schulz will run as the 'top candidate' of the European Socialists and will be a strong contender to become the next President of the European Commission if the Socialists win the most votes. In any case, the biggest task for both coalition parties is to mobilise their supporters, since a high turnout will be their best safeguard against losing out to eurosceptic challengers on the right or left.

Finally, the one issue which is set to leave the strongest imprint on the election is the eurozone crisis. The crisis is still the most salient issue in German political discourse and at the heart of the most pressing worries of the general public: every second German is concerned that the crisis will devalue his/her savings and Germany is the only European country in which respondents to Eurobarometer polls identify government debt as the most important political problem. The crisis is also the issue on which the election campaign will bring out the clearest policy differences between different parties, including the two prospective coalition partners. In particular, the SPD is in favour of Eurobonds and a European debt repayment fund, both of which are opposed by the CDU. It will be interesting to see how much room the politics of coalition will leave the two parties to campaign on these and other European policy differences.

To sum up, the 2014 European election will be highly significant for the future of German party politics and it will likely see some contestation between different parties. This may well foster above-average public interest in the election, which would not come from any new-found public enthusiasm with European integration, however, but rather from the increased politicisation of European issues and public anxieties about the eurozone crisis. To what extent that will feed into a higher turnout than in 2004 and 2009 remains to be seen.

The European election in Poland: Will Europe play a role?



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The May 2014 European Parliament (EP) election in Poland will be primarily a contest between the two parties that have dominated the political scene since 2005. Civic Platform (PO), led by prime minister Donald Tusk, has been the main governing party since 2007. Although it is a member of the centre-right European People's Party (and often considers itself close to the German Christian Democrats) it is, in fact, an ideologically eclectic centrist party which its critics often dub a 'post-political party of power'. Law and Justice (PiS) is led by Jarosław Kaczyński, Mr Tusk's predecessor as prime minister, and was in office in 2005-7. Jarosław's twin brother Lech was President of Poland from 2005 until he died tragically in an air crash at Smolensk in Western Russia in April 2010. Law and Justice is a right-wing socially conservative party which is a member of the European Conservatives and Reformists (ECR) group in the EP. Although its programme is economically leftist, in office it pursued fairly orthodox liberal policies. It was also heavily criticised by the left-liberal Western (and Polish) political and media establishment, not least because it formed a coalition government with two smaller radical parties in order to obtain a parliamentary majority. Although Civic Platform was the first party in post-communist Poland to secure re-election for a second term of office in 2011, since then support for the government and prime minister have slumped and since last May Law and Justice has been 5-10% ahead in the polls.

Tough rhetoric masks agreement on objectives

When first elected to office in 2005, Law and Justice promised to significantly re-orientate Polish

foreign and European policy by 're-claiming' it from a post-1989 establishment that, it argued, had been over-conciliatory and insufficiently robust in defending the country's interests within the EU. The Law and Justice-led government adopted a tough rhetoric of defending Polish sovereignty and 'national interests' and was frequently at odds with Poland's EU allies, especially Germany. On the other hand, when it came to power the Civic Platform-led government made a concerted effort to change the country's image as a 'trouble-maker' on European issues by making Poland's approach towards the EU more predictable and adopting a more conciliatory tone with Brussels and Poland's EU partners.

Given their rhetoric on European issues and the role that this has played in developing these two parties' international images, one might expect Europe to play a prominent role in the 2014 Polish EP election campaign. However, Civic Platform and Law and Justice have actually agreed on both the broad objectives of Polish EU policy and even, in practice, their approaches to how the European integration project should proceed. In fact, much of the debate between these two parties over 'Europe' centred on what were the best strategy and tactics to achieve Poland's EU objectives. The two parties thus treated Europe as a so-called 'valence issue': one where they argued about who was most competent to pursue a shared objective - in this case, effectively representing and advancing Polish 'national interests' within the EU. They also used the European issue to highlight their respective different political styles and self-images, and the images that they attempted to portray of their political opponents.

Has the Eurozone crisis 'Europeanised' the Polish European debate?

There was some evidence, as the Eurozone crisis unfolded, that the Polish political debate on European integration was actually becoming more

'Europeanised', that is: actually about the substance of the future of the European integration project rather than simply an extension of domestic politics by other means. The Civic Platform-led government's main objective of European policy has been to prevent the EU from breaking up into the Euro zone and 'other' second tier members. It used this argument to justify support for closer German-led integration within the EU as the way for Poland to remain at the centre of the Union's decision making core and part of the 'European mainstream'. The Tusk administration thus defended its decision to participate in salvaging the single currency - by, for example, signing up to the European fiscal compact treaty - as an opportunity for Poland to gain influence upon the decision making processes within the euro zone and the EU more generally. Moreover, in spite of the turbulence in the single currency zone, the Civic Platform government remained committed to Poland finding a safe way of adopting the Euro as a long-term strategic goal.

Civic Platform's European policy was strongly criticised by Law and Justice. This was partly on familiar 'domestic politics' lines that the government lacked the will to stand up to the major EU states and that it would have a better chance of achieving its demands by adopting a tougher negotiating line. However, Law and Justice did not just question the effectiveness of Civic Platform's strategy for achieving shared goals, it also started to develop a more fundamental, principled critique of Mr Tusk's party's support for deeper European integration. For example, it argued that, by handing over control over national budgets and finances to Brussels, the fiscal compact treaty was a threat to the country's sovereignty and independence. The party also appeared to harden its anti-euro stance, arguing that it could not see any point in the foreseeable future when it would be advantageous for Poland to adopt the single currency.

Still a valence issue?

In fact, even before the Eurozone crisis, Law and Justice always had a broad rhetorical commitment to an anti-federalist (sometimes verging on Eurosceptic) approach to European integration. In practice, this has often given way to a more

integrationist approach, especially when the party was in government in 2005-7 (and, for example, signed Poland up to the Lisbon treaty). Moreover, unlike the British Conservative party, Law and Justice has never opposed Polish adoption of the euro *in principle*. Its formal position has always been, and remains, that euro zone accession should be delayed until it can be achieved without damaging the Polish economy and must be preceded by a referendum.

At the same time, the Civic Platform government has become more cautious about rapid Polish adoption of the euro and abandoned plans floated at the start of last year to make European integration a dimension of party competition. Mr Tusk is fully aware that, while the vast majority of Poles continue to support EU membership, the euro zone crisis has led to a slump in public support for adoption of the single currency, with recent polls showing that around two thirds of the public are opposed and only a quarter in favour.

Experience suggests that Polish elections are always dominated by domestic rather than European or other international issues; except when the latter are framed as valence issues. The EP Poland is, therefore, likely to be another second-order national election fought over domestic issues and if the European issue features at all then it will once again be a valence issue. Given that EP polls are often 'second order' elections, in which voters punish governing party by supporting the opposition, they are likely to prove a tough challenge for the ruling Civic Platform and Law and Justice - following a streak of six consecutive defeats in local, European, parliamentary and presidential elections - is likely to emerge ahead next May. The EP election will be seen as merely a prelude to the national elections that will follow it, above all the parliamentary election that is scheduled for autumn 2015.

EP elections in the UK: Immigration, Immigration, Immigration



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On 22 May 2014, voters across the UK will head for the polling stations to make their mark in the European Parliament elections. True, there are not expected to be many of them – around 35% is the likely turnout, judging by previous European elections. Regardless, these voters will have the opportunity to elect candidates to the 73 seats reserved for the UK. Local elections in England will be held on the same day, but this is unlikely to drive up turnout. Conservative Prime Minister David Cameron and UK Independence Party (UKIP) leader Nigel Farage will be watching the results closely.

The real issue in the run-up to the elections is likely to be immigration, which is often used at least in part as a proxy for old arguments about UK sovereignty being undermined by blundering Brussels bureaucracy. Immigration has been a controversial issue for many years now, but recent events (not least the 2010 election of a Conservative-led coalition government with a preoccupation for ‘bringing down the numbers’) have made it more so. From 1 January of this year, Romanians and Bulgarians (whose countries became EU member states back in 2007) are no longer constrained by transitional controls. They can now work – and claim benefits – without restrictions across the EU.

The move saw last-minute manoeuvres from David Cameron’s Conservative-led coalition government to make life more difficult for Bulgarians and Romanians – and hopefully put some of them off coming to Britain – by bringing in restrictions for all EU migrants to the UK. Now, for example, mi-

grants can only claim ‘out-of-work’ benefits after three months in the country and will only be able to receive support after six months if they have a ‘genuine chance’ of getting a job. But experts claim the measures were misplaced. The governments of Romania and Bulgaria argued that there would be no exodus of their people to the UK; many of those who had wanted to leave their homeland had already done so. Nightmare-ish headlines from the tabloid press of bus-loads of Romanians and Bulgarians entering the UK to sleep rough, claim ‘free’ housing, steal jobs and go begging (sometimes all at once) were proved to be without evidence. Claims that flights to the UK from these countries from 1 January were fully booked and had gone for premium rates were revealed to be wrong – seats on budget flights from Bucharest and Sofia to the UK were still available in early January. Perhaps then, the hordes hell-bent on entering the UK did not really exist?

Regardless of the reality, Nigel Farage’s UKIP is likely to be the winner. Anti-establishment parties across the EU have been polling strongly in the last year or so, and UKIP is no exception. With its heavy anti-immigrant, anti-EU, anti-‘nonsense’ stance, it is likely to do very well in the elections. The party came second last time round, and its share of the vote is likely to be increased from 16.1% to something in the lower twenties. That may not sound like very much, but under the European Parliament’s proportional representation system, such percentages can translate into a significant number of seats. If the numbers entering the UK do prove to be significant – and we should have an idea by May of the numbers for the first quarter of the year – there will be immense political pressure on Cameron’s Conservatives to do something about it. UKIP will, of course, be able to say ‘We told you so’, and will likely increase its support still further. The possible introduction of

measures to make freedom of movement for EU citizens in the UK more difficult would probably lead to a 'war of words' between European commissioners and the UK government.

There is already tension between the UK and the EU on the issue of immigration. In October 2013, the European Commission made it public that it had repeatedly asked the UK to provide evidence for its claims about EU citizens entering the UK for the purpose of 'benefit tourism'. This had been going on for more than three years. In an interview, an EU spokesman maintained that the vast majority of migrants go to the UK to work, and they actually contribute more to the welfare system than they take out, purely because they tend to be younger than the average population, and of working age... The more EU migrants you have, the better off your welfare system is.

The EU stated that, if the UK government could provide evidence of 'systematic, widespread abuse of benefits by EU migrants', the Commission would be compelled to review the rules. Freedom of movement is a key part of the EU's single market, so this would not be an insignificant matter. One might think this would have been a real prize for Cameron and his Conservatives, and a means of holding off UKIP's challenge. But the evidence was not forthcoming.

In a further example of how immigration and the EU have been politicised for electoral gains,

the UK government recently delayed the release of a report from the EU on the grounds that its conclusion was 'too positive'. The report looked at the impact of EU migration on Britain. Home Secretary Theresa May was alleged to have argued that the report underestimated the impact of those coming to the UK to claim benefits rather than to work. Interestingly, the report was put together by civil servants in the UK, and commissioned with the intention of providing evidence for Cameron's plan to negotiate a new settlement with Brussels before holding an 'in/out' referendum if his party gains office again in 2015.

Rather than fitting policy around the evidence, the Conservatives seem to be fitting select pieces of evidence around the policy; to borrow a term used in other disciplines, it is an exercise in policy-based evidence (PBE). Immigration will undoubtedly be a truly explosive issue in the elections.



EP 2014: The Greek Case



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In 2009, the last time that national and European elections were held in the same year in Greece, no one could have imagined the fierceness of the impending economic crisis and the

consequent developments in the political sphere. New Democracy (ND) and the Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK), the two parties that had been monopolising power since the fall of the dictatorship (or Junta, as it is better known to the Greeks) in 1974, went to the polls confident in their belief that they still enjoyed the support of the electorate. And so it came to pass.

Party	2009 European Election	2009 National Election	2012a National Election	2012b National Election
<i>ND</i>	32.30%	33.47%	18.85%	29.66%
<i>PASOK</i>	36.65%	43.92%	13.18%	12.28%
<i>SYRIZA</i>	4.70%	4.60%	16.78%	26.89%
<i>KKE</i>	8.35%	7.54%	8.48%	4.50%
<i>LAOS</i>	7.14%	5.63%	-	-
<i>Ecologist Greens</i>	3.49%	-	-	-
<i>Golden Dawn</i>	-	-	6.97%	6.92%
<i>Democratic Left</i>	-	-	6.11%	6.25%
<i>Independent Greeks</i>	-	-	10.61%	7.51%

extreme recession, high unemployment rates and harsh austerity measures. Not surprisingly, in the light of poor economic performance, the political arena has not remained unaffected. Major political changes have occurred at the national level, where the two historically largest parliamentary parties have experienced the highest levels of popular wrath while hitherto small parties have increased significantly their popular support, thereby presenting the well-established Greek party system with a fresh challenge.

Table I. Election results in the four most recent (European and national) elections in Greece (parties in Parliament). (Source: Greek Ministry of Internal Affairs, ekloges.ypes.gr)

The national elections in May and then again in June 2012 were the point of reference for these

Between them, ND and PASOK won 69.25% and 77.4% of the vote in the European and general elections respectively, with PASOK managing to form a single-party government. Smaller parties, such as the Greek Communist Party (KKE) and the Coalition of Radical Left (SYRIZA) were unable yet again to challenge the power duopoly. KKE's performance was predictably if unimpressively run-of-the-mill, securing seats in Parliament, while SYRIZA was a small left-wing party, which could hardly return a few MPs. At the same time, the Popular Orthodox Alarm (LAOS) was a small yet promising populist right-wing party, while the Ecologist Greens remained a minor party, which only managed to secure one seat in the European Parliament.

changes. The election results were significantly different to the results of any other Greek general elections until then. Along with the fact that the two mainstream parties were forced to share power in government for the first time after 1989, another significant novelty in Greek politics emerged; the duopoly of ND and PASOK was broken by SYRIZA, which achieved 26.9% of the vote. SYRIZA, which had barely managed 4.6% in the elections of 2009, became the second biggest party in the elections for the first time since its emergence. Further, a newly formed right-wing party by the name of Independent Greeks entered the Parliament along with Golden Dawn, an ultra right-wing party with extreme nationalist ideology, which gained parliamentary seats for the first time since its formation in 1983. As for Democratic Left, it is a centre-left party which was set up in 2010 by former members of SYRIZA and went on to compete at the general elections of that year for the first time. Nevertheless, it managed to win 6.1% and eventually become part of the coalition government.

The financial crisis which has been laying siege to the European Union ever since 2009 hanged all that. It set in train a series of economic and political events in Greece just as it did in Europe. Indeed, the country has constituted one of the most important instances of the eurozone crisis. Since the crisis began, the country has experienced

SYRIZA is now threatening the two dominant parties by being the second biggest party in Greece, while Golden Dawn's popularity has also increased, more so perceptions of the severity just as much as the reality of economic uncertainty vacillate.

The two parties have stretched the Left-Right continuum further to the extremes, in a party system which until recently had been characterized by its predictability. Moreover, there is an increase in fragmentation of the distribution of parliamentary power as new political parties which emerged during the crisis managed to win seats. While the Greek Parliament had consisted of no more than five parties, as the crisis has been unfolding there have been eight parties with competing policies in it. Consequently, the nature of partisan competition has also changed, as centrifugal forces on the Left and the Right have come into the scene. Also, coalition patterns and government formation have altered significantly. Whereas Greece had only experienced one coalition government since the fall of Junta, that in 1989, as it stands, the two formerly avowed opponents, ND and PASOK, have agreed on a coalition government 'of national uni-

ty' in an attempt to 'save the country'. For now and despite the challenges it faces, their partnership appears to be rather stable.

Under such political conditions and with the Greek economy still being far from recovery, the European elections of 2014 should be an interesting case. Will the results will be similar to the national elections of 2012? It will be then interesting to see whether SYRIZA will maintain its share of the vote and along with ND will be the largest Greek parties in the European Parliament, and whether PASOK will remain significantly small. Golden Dawn's performance is another important issue. If the party manages to win seats in Europe for the first time, it will be one of the most extreme right-wing parties in the European Parliament ever. Voter turnout is also a feature worth considering. As in the previous European elections only 52.54% of the Greek people voted, it will be interesting to see the voter turnout this time round. In any case, the voters' trends will be a good guide for the next national elections in 2016, which will reveal the actual status in Greek politics.

(Re)gaining credibility in the EU: Romania and the 2014 EP Elections



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The 2014 European Parliament elections will be Romania's second fully-fledged EU elections experience in seven years of membership. The country elected its MEPs in mid-parliamentary term in 2007, and participated in a EU-wide campaign in 2009. Next year the country will face two major challenges. Firstly, it will have to work toward restoring its democratic credentials and reputation within the EU, which implies sending capable representatives to Brussels. Romania lost one of its EP seats due to the Lisbon reshuffle and now has 32 MEPs. At the same time it will have to assert itself as an

engaged member state by participating in what EU officials hope will be a European-level campaign.

In these first post-Lisbon Treaty elections, the onus seems to be on the EP to prove it can meet the expectations regarding its role within the EU, especially the selection of the Commission President and genuine European elections. To this end, the EP designed an EU-level four-step campaign strategy, and asked all national parties to make known as timely as possible their affiliations with the European parties and the Commission candidate they support (EP Report, 12 June 2013 'Improving the practical arrangements for the holding off the European elections in 2014').

The first phase, termed *Act.React.Impact*, kicked off in Bucharest in September 2013 and aims to famili-

arise voters with the role and responsibilities of the EP ahead of the campaign start in February 2014. The date of the EP elections in Romania is set for 25 May 2014, after an attempt to couple it with the Presidential election now planned for November 2014. After a turnout of 29.4% in 2007 and 27.6% (EU average - 43.2%) in 2009 respectively, the bar is set quite low for 2014. The latest *Eurobarometer* shows that 49% of Romanians trust the EP (EU average 41%) and 67% are aware MEPs are directly elected (52% EU average). However, national polls show that 18.7% of the electorate has not decided whom to vote for, with 13.6% set on not voting at all.

The majority of parties are expected to disclose their candidates list in early spring. The Democrat Liberal Party (PDL), currently holding 10 seats in the EP (30% of votes in 2009), published a list of 35 candidates including four current MEPs, with the final selection entrusted to the Central Political Bureau. This year the party introduced specific professional abilities criteria, among which a minimum of two years political activity and proof of ability to cope with the EP's workload (including language requirements and knowledge of the EU system). Previous MEPs are also asked to present a rigorous activity report of their European mandate. These EP elections will be the first test for the Democratic Liberal Party after its considerable defeat in both local and parliamentary elections in 2012, and the subsequent internal conflicts that have marred the party since. The internal party divisions over party identity and policies make it highly likely that the party will fail to meet the 20% votes share it aims for and could lose a significant number of its MEPs.

Speculation persists, at the time of writing, about a potential electoral coalition and a common list of candidates of centre-right parties. The Alliance for Justice and Truth (between the Civic Force Party and the Christian Democratic National Peasants' Party, both part of the former Right Romania Alliance with the Democratic Liberal Party in the 2012 parliamentary elections), floated the idea of a National Unity Block as the only strategy to get more seats than the Social Democrats. They saw the May elections as a trial run for the presidential ones in November, in which these parties could

continue in an alliance. The Democratic Liberal party however unequivocally announced it will run independently.

The current governing coalition, the Social Liberal Union (USL) has clarified that its component parties - the Social Democratic Party, the National Liberal Party and the Conservative Party - will run as separate entities. The Social Democratic Party's leader, Victor Ponta, argued that the party has higher stakes in these elections than securing its number of MEPs (11 in 2009, with 31% of votes). Nationally, the elections are an opportunity for the party to show it has regained its stronghold. At the European level, the European Socialists Party (PES) with which they are affiliated aims to secure more seats than the European People's Party (EPP) and propose a candidate for European Commission president. The Social Democrats intend to campaign on a 'social Europe' mandate, whilst advocating for further integration and counter-acting increased populism and anti-EU sentiments. The party seems eager to recover its democratic credentials and pro-European orientation (especially after criticising the European Commission in the summer of 2012 for interfering in domestic politics) and increase its EU-level presence.

In spite of the political turmoil in 2012 (the unconstitutional attempts to impeach president Basescu) and the party's weak economic performance, national polls show an average of 40% the electorate still favours the Social Democrats for the EP elections. Its main partner in the current governing coalition, the National Liberal Party (PNL), would attract approximately 20% of voters, not far from the main opposition Democratic Liberal Party at 15%. The same polls put the People's Party-Dan Diaconescu (PP-DD), the Civic Force and the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania (UDMR) in the vicinity of a 5% share. The former's performance may be problematic if it manages to build on its unexpected success in the 2012 parliamentary election (14%). The People's Party is an overtly xenophobic, populist party which would add to the group of Eurosceptic MEPs. Similarly, the New Republic Party - founded in June 2012 as an alternative to the existing centre-right parties - announced it would join the European Conservatives and Reformists group in the EP. The party has already

the population strongly support EU membership of the country.

After a first period with good results, with the Stabilization and Association Agreement entering into force, Albania experienced another difficult period with the political crisis following the 2009 elections. For three years the EU integration process was overall stuck and the membership application submitted in 2009 did not achieve a positive recommendation from the EU Commission in the first two years. The country experienced first hand how domestic political instability can obstruct and slow down the process of EU integration, despite its national consensus on the matter. EU official efforts and meetings for calming down the political tension were not very efficient in the beginning, but very useful in 2011. Following a more constructive year in 2012, the Commission, after reviewing the country's performance and reporting to the Council, recommended candidate status for Albania under the condition of the fulfilment of 12 priorities (falling under the political criteria). Apart from these reforms needed, part of the conditionality set was also the guaranty for organizing and holding free and fair elections in June 2013. The Council decided not to grant candidate status and wait for results during 2013.

Albania showed important progress in fulfilling the 12 priorities and managed to hold free and fair elections. This is why, in October 2013, the EU Commission recommended again the candidate status for Albania, but this time with no conditions. In addition, the Commission has set up the path for the next stage (opening of negotiations) by pointing out five key areas where Albania needs to show progress in order to open membership negotiations, which are: establishing a professional public administration, reforming the judiciary system, continuing the fight against corruption, the fight against organised crime and enforcement of human rights, with particular focus in property rights and Roma community rights.

The new government that was established in September has been fully engaged in the process for ensuring that

the decision of the Council in November is positive and that Albania receives the deserved candidate status. In this context, Albanian authorities have increased their efforts especially in the fight against corruption and organised crime, by achieving impressive results in this short period of time, which were also recognized by the Commission and other monitoring bodies. For a better structure of these efforts, the Ministry of European Integration in Albania coordinated with relevant authorities the preparation of an Action plan with short term measures. The results have been remarkable so far.

Despite these records, there are a few member states which are still sceptical about granting Albania the candidate status in December. Their legitimate concerns have been based on particular areas where Albania has not performed well in the past, and thus they require more tangible measures and results, despite the fact that the Commission has recommended the candidate status with no conditions. For this purpose Albanian authorities have intensified their work domestically but also through a concentrated schedule of diplomatic meeting and visits in different member states in order to present Albanian government's strong commitment and the achieved results.

In addition, in order to prepare the path for the next stage as well, the EU and Albania have launched a framework for 'High Level Dialogue'.



On-Going Research

This section presents updates on the array of research on contemporary Europe that is currently being carried out at the SEI by faculty and doctoral students.

SEI hosts migrant voting workshop

In September 2013, an interdisciplinary workshop on 'Migrant Voting in Europe' was co-organised by Dr Sue Collard (Politics/ Sussex European Institute (SEI)) and Dr Michael Collyer (Geography/ Sussex Centre for Migration Research (SCMR)), highlighting their joint research interests in the question of migrant voting. The event, held in the beautifully elegant rooms of Stanmer House Conference Centre, was funded by the European Commission as part of a series of events organised by the SEI during 2012-13. The purpose of this workshop was to bring together researchers who are actively engaged in projects relating to voting practices of migrants as both emigrants and immigrants, in order to review recent and current research activity and to chart potential directions for future collaborative projects.

The broader context of the workshop was an increasing international interest in the political significance of external voting, both in the academic community and within governments worldwide. Indeed, international migrants may now vote in a number of different elections, both 'at home and abroad', depending on a combination of factors derived from legislation defined by both their nationality of origin (and/or acquisition), and by their country of residence.

Within Europe, this can produce anomalous outcomes for individual migrants, particularly within the EU, where the local voting rights associated with European Citizenship do not compensate for the national disenfranchisement, to varying de-

grees, of certain EU citizens (especially the Irish), who are 'penalised' by their home states for exercising their right to freedom of movement. The Commission has only very recently (Report on EU Citizenship, 2013) taken official note of this situation, promising to examine the lack of harmonisation of national voting rights which currently inhibits the integration process.

The participants at the workshop, who came from a range of universities in Spain, Italy, Belgium, France, Sweden and the UK, currently approach the central question of migrant voting from quite different perspectives: some are primarily concerned with a 'top down' approach, examining reasons why states do or don't enfranchise their expatriate citizens, what different voting systems they use, and with what outcomes.

Others have preferred a more 'bottom up' evaluation of the voting practices of migrants as specific nationality groups (French, Tunisians, Lebanese, Ecuadorians, Colombians, Romanians and British), sometimes in relation to a particular place of residence (Italy, London, Spain, France). However, what became clear during the course of the workshop is that there are many common themes and research questions underlying a complex and apparently somewhat disparate set of approaches and interests.

The event concluded with a discussion as to how to take forward a collective research agenda, as a result of which a proposal is currently being final-

developed ties with the Conservative Party in the UK (invited to the Party's Conference in Manchester earlier this year), raising concerns over the spread of national party based anti-EU sentiments.

In terms of the content of the campaign and the national debate on European issues, the effects of the Euro-crisis could fuel a more EU-centred contestation. The second phase of the EP's campaign - a series of events throughout European cities - will also raise awareness on key topics such as the economy, jobs, quality of life, and money, which could bring 'Europe' closer to the national campaign (44% of Romanians think the economy is the main problem facing the country). The opening of the

borders for Romania and Bulgaria in January 2014, and the resistance of some member states to it may fuel anti-EU debates at the national level, as 52% of Romanians identified free movement as the symbol of the EU. This may force political parties to take a clear stance on these issues. That being said, the aggressive domestic party competition and the proximity of the national presidential elections may infiltrate this debate, resulting in a cacophony of political messages. Some parties see EP elections as a springboard for the presidential ones, and the European message may become more of a valence issue, as it has been the case in the past.

Sweden: neutral no more?



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The Social Democratic Workers Party led Sweden for a long period of time, in alliance with the Left Party and the Greens. Their power was only interjected twice, once during the early 1980s and 1990s. However, their power was interrupted again in 2006 when the Alliance (The Moderates, The Liberal People's Party, The Centre and the Christian Democrats) won the Swedish Parliamentary election. They gained power again in 2010, the first time a right-wing government wins two consecutive elections in almost half a century.

Sweden has for a long time been seen as a neutral actor on the political arena. However, national politicians are now becoming more critical regarding Sweden's membership and the transparency of the EU. An argument has been presented that Sweden needs a referendum concerning their EU membership and the other side state that we as European citizens need to work together to remember what the European collaboration is all about. It is something to be proud of. Sweden is no longer a neutral, quiet actor but instead could

take on an important role and start a debate regarding the supranationality of the EU and the issue of transparency. It is argued that the European Election in 2014 is a litmus test for European legitimacy.

For the European election in May the Social Democrats want to put the labour market first, both on the national and international arena. They argue that it is a massive failure that Europe has large youth unemployment - no one should be unemployed for more than 90 days. Furthermore, the right-wing alliance join the election with separate party manifestos. The only thing they have in common is that all parties want a new vote regarding Sweden joining the Euro. The main question for the Moderates on EU level is the European financial crisis, climate change and cross-border crime. These are questions that European countries should work together on. However, compared to the Social Democrats, the Moderates want to keep labour market policies on a national level.

The main question for the Liberal People's Party is risen by Birgitta Ohlsson, EU-minister for Sweden and member of the Liberal Folkpartiet Liberalerna (FP). She argues that EU cannot continue to integrate and grow without being well established in the national spirit of their member states. In time

of financial difficulties, the belief in the EU decreases and nationalistic parties win political ground. We need to remind ourselves what the European cooperation is all about and what we have contributed together. There is free movement, and the European people have built up a joint economy and we are the largest group of democracies on one continent which we could be proud of.

Nonetheless, there is an issue within the Union. There is a glitch between the decision makers and citizens and many believe the union to be too far away and difficult to understand. It is impossible for the EU to develop without being well established and democratically trustworthy. Furthermore, the Centre emphasise the need for lifelong learning, while the Christian Democrats stresses the fight against malaria, HIV/AIDS and climate change. It is the role of the politician to teach their national population about the EU, to teach them about the EU collaboration and what it is all about. In relation to, the Swedish Democrats (SD), the nationalist populist party in Sweden has become inspired by the Conservatives and David Cameron's decision to hold a referendum regarding EU membership. The SD argue that it is a great opportunity to 'jump on the train' since there are many European parties with critical feelings regarding the EU. The most important aspect for the SD is to leave anything connected to supranational identity left outside the European market, and a number of

trade decisions that we need to be part of. The SD still want to travel freely within Europe and discuss politics on the European arena. The main emphasis for the SD is a collaboration agreement with the EU, allowing Sweden to make their own decisions regarding which questions to be a part of. The Swedish population need to have their say in the decision making, and a referendum is the perfect way to go.

It does not matter where you stand on the political spectrum or whether you agree with any of the politicians mentioned in this piece, a debate needs to be created and change needs to occur. To make more people vote in the European election we need to re-establish peoples belief in the EU and show how it affect our everyday life. The argument is that the European election is a litmus test for EU legitimacy. Are people willing to give the European collaboration a second chance, even though there are clear issues regarding transparency, legitimacy and inability to connect with the member state population. Each vote that is not used will give extra legitimacy for nationalistic populist parties. EU cooperation is our best tool to solve joint issues. It is about economy, competition, environmental threats and cross-board-crime, but to cover issues like this the EU need to stand for clear values. Furthermore there needs to be a bigger opportunity for transparency. The European population need to know what is happening, and more opportunities to take part.

The Next Step Forward: Albania's EU integration process



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After more than four decades under one of the most totalitarian and repressive communist regimes, Albania established diplomatic relations with Western Europe and the United

States in the early 1990s. Its first years of democratic transition were challenging, with plenty of exciting reforms and some backlash (such as the civil unrests of 1997). However, from 2000, Albania's relations with the EU were strengthened, especially due to the membership perspective, which was made clear in the Thessaloniki summit of 2003. This was very important, in particular for Albania where, according to a recent poll, 87% of

ised for a Leverhulme International Network which would enable participants to continue the discussions over the coming three years. A bid has also been entered by Dr Collyer as PI to the University of Sussex Research Development Fund to

finance a project on 'Sustaining the Emigrant Voting Database', which would harness expertise from the Department of Informatics to update and maintain the database that he developed in 2007.

A Business View of Europe



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I would like to start by saying that the Sussex European Institute 'feels like home' for more than one reason. I pursued my PhD in European Political Economy, at the European Institute of the London School of Economics, under the supervision of Prof Kevin Featherstone and Dr Christa van Wijnbergen. Before embarking on my PhD, I completed an MSc in International Employment Relations and Human Resource Management. My thesis combined my interests and expertise, looking at the effects of EU liberalization on national labour market institutions and workplace practices. Whilst at the LSE, I was fortunate to attend advanced doctoral workshops convened by the founder of SEI, Prof Dame Helen Wallace.

I joined the University of Sussex in October 2011, taking up the post of Lecturer in Human Resource Management at the newly formed Department of Business & Management. Among other things, I developed and teach a postgraduate module on 'The Business Context in Europe'. This module essentially examines how the European Union is shaping the business environment, acknowledging the diversity of European business systems.

More broadly, my research interests involve different facets of globalization, and their impact on the world of work and the employment relationship. Since my regional focus is largely on Europe, I am

very much interested in the implications of the EU market integration for institutions and practices in the labour realm. I adopt an approach that pays attention to labour and business strategies within their institutional and societal contexts. My most recent publications appeared in journals such as: *Work, Employment & Society*; *European Journal of Industrial Relations*; and *Transfer: European Review of Labour*.

I have attended a wide range of academic conferences including: the European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR), the Society for the Advancement of Socio-Economics (SASE), the Industrial Relations in Europe Conference (IREC), and the European Group for Organization Studies (EGOS). This reflects my commitment to theory-driven research that crosses conventional disciplinary boundaries. Like others, I do believe that inter-disciplinarity is what gives Sussex a distinctive identity. Thus, for more than one reason, I am delighted to be part of SEI.



SEI welcomes Dr Hennl and Prof Musella



Dr Annika Hennl
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I joined the Department of Politics in October as a Visiting Fellow who is funded by a Research Fellowship of the German Research Foundation. Back in Germany, I am a Lecturer in Comparative Politics at the Goethe University Frankfurt. Beforehand, in 2011, I gained my PhD from the University of Cologne.

As a Comparativist, my broad aim is to understand how the institutional underpinning of established democracies impacts patterns of representation as well as political performance. Also, I am interested in institutional change and I seek to understand why political parties reform the representative and participatory linkages they provide. So far, my research focuses on three specific questions.

First, does the territorial state organisation matter for effective policy making, and if so, in what way? In a joined project with André Kaiser (University of Cologne) and Jan Biela (University of Lausanne) we have studied the effects of federalism and decentralisation on policy making and policy outputs in a mixed-methods design. We have been able to show that decentralised policy making has positive effects whereas federalism has a slightly negative impact on policy performance. The related findings have been published both as peer-reviewed articles (*Comparative Political Studies*, *Politische Vierteljahresschrift*), and, most recently, as a monograph with ECPR Press (*Policy Making in Multilevel Systems: Federalism, Decentralisation, and Performance in the OECD Countries*). Currently, I follow up on my in-

terest in Comparative Federalism by writing a chapter on American Federalism for a handbook on American Politics.

Second, how do mixed member electoral systems impact political representation? While mixed-member systems are often portrayed as a panacea for the flaws of both single-member district and pure PR systems, little systematic evidence exists as to how they impact patterns of political representation. Based on game-theoretic modelling as well as quantitative studies, my research shows that the effects of mixed-member systems on women's representation and legislative behavior highly depend upon the specific context of party competition. The respective findings have been published in the *Journal of Theoretical Politics* and *Electoral Studies*.

Currently, I am also engaged in a collaborative effort with Thomas Zittel (Goethe University Frankfurt) to understand the link between (mixed) electoral systems, personalized campaigning, and legislative behaviour.

While I am in Sussex, I will thoroughly delve into a third research area: When do parties bring members (back) into policy making? With the help of the substantive expertise on party politics that the Department of Politics provides, I aim to understand why parties open up or further restrict processes of policy formulation. More specifically, my comparative case studies on British, German, Austrian and Norwegian parties analyse the effects of organisational crises on party members' effective rights to impact policies. In doing so, the project seeks to shed light on a central aspect of intra-party democracy that has so far been largely neglected in studies on party organisational change.



Prof Fortunato Musella
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Fortunato Musella – Professor at the University of Naples Federico II, where he teaches *Political Science* and *Political Systems* – will be in Sussex in the next semester for some lessons on Italian Politics, on the invitation of Prof Paul Webb. In particular he will focus on the theme of the rise and fall of the so-called Italian Second Republic, from the change of party system in the early nineties to the spread of Movimento5Stelle in the last months. Moreover he will contribute in a Politics Research-In-Progress seminar – that will be entitled ‘The two presidents. Cohabitation Italian Style’ – on the advent of a sort of semipresidentialism in Italy (19 March).

PhD in Political Science of the University of Florence, Fortunato Musella has been visiting scholar at the Cornell University (New York, USA) and at the Freie Universität (Berlin, Germany). He is currently member of the Executive Committee of the *Rivista Italiana di Scienza Politica*, and on the board of PhD course in Social Sciences and Statistics, University of Naples Federico II. His main research interests include the study of government, presidential politics, political parties, and concept analysis.

His current scientific activities are mainly dedicated to the study of the presidentialization process that is changing many parliamentary democracies, and Italy in particular. Indeed during the so called Second Republic the Italian Premier have become the centre of governmental action, also thanks to popular legitimacy derived by a sort of direct election and new relevant powers to realize his political programme. Nevertheless the *Presidente del Consiglio* has not often able to conduct his own coalition, or even his party, in parliamentary activities. In addition to this, such context seems to reinforce the figure of the President of the Republic, who develops a direct relationship with public opinion, intervenes in the legislative process

more and more often than in the past, and, above all, is a determinant actor in forming governments (as Monti and Letta executives have shown). Such processes raise the question whether it can be indicated the development of a “cohabitation Italian style”, showing the evolution of a new form of government.

Another relevant field of research refers to political concepts. Indeed Fortunato Musella participates to an international project conducted by Mauro Calise e Theodore Lowi (*Hyperpolitics*, www.hyperpolitics.org), which aims at fostering an innovative approach to concept formation by defining the keywords of the discipline through a matrix of logically consistent relationships. He is also editing a dictionary with a good number of entries following this method (with Mauro Calise, *Concetti Chiave*, Maggioli, forthcoming).

Finally, a more recent research interest regards the transformation of political parties, especially after the impact of new technologies. While some authors have considering the political parties as in an inexorable process of decline, as they are failing to respond to a series of relevant social challenges, others have underlined that significant opportunities to create direct contact between politicians and citizens are coming from the Net, through the establishment of some form of direct democracy. However, it remains to be seen how the Internet could allow citizens to participate, as well as the consequences of the intensive use of new technologies to the organization and functions of the political parties, the true architrave of representative democracy during the last century.

Among his recent publications the volumes *Governi monocratici. La svolta presidenziale nelle regioni italiane* (Bologna, Il Mulino, 2009) and *Il premier diviso. Italia tra presidenzialismo e parlamentarismo* (Milano, Bocconi, 2012), and forty book chapters and articles published in *Rivista Italiana di Scienza Politica*, *Rivista Italiana di Politiche Pubbliche*, *Quaderni di Scienza Politica*, and *European Political Science Review*.

Everyday Life in Communist Albania



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What was life really like in communist Albania? This simple and broad question is at the centre of a research project that I and Prof. Russell King have been working on for the last three years. The setting of Albania is unique given that during its phase of 'actually existing socialism' (cf. Verdery 1996) it followed a very orthodox Stalinist path of development, which swung to the other extreme of free-for-all capitalism after the regime's demise in the early 1990s.

As someone who grew up in communist Albania I have very vivid memories of life under, and very mixed feelings about, Hoxha's regime. Whilst this provides valuable insights from an insider's perspective, the overall research seeks to construct an 'historical ethnography' of everyday life by taking a systematic and academically rigorous approach to narratives of a broad range of people who lived through that time.

Some 120 'ordinary' Albanians aged 40+ were interviewed for the project, their backgrounds ranging from the milkmaid and shepherd to the teacher, party secretary, member of the People's Assembly and the former political prisoner. These oral history narratives are complemented with 20 key interviews conducted mainly in the capital Tirana, as well as other documentary research comprising archival, statistical, photographic and film

material. Through a carefully selected set of research sites to represent rural and urban areas; cooperatives, state farms and industries; the north and the south; major cities and border villages, the research extends the geographical spread over the entire country, thus making it a unique study of its kind so far, at least in the Albanian context.

We started out with four themes of interest in mind: work, leisure, family and gender, but expanded our scope to respond to other issues that were prominent in the reflections of our research participants, enabled by our methodological approach of unstructured interviews following standard oral history practice (Thompson 2000).

The process of 'building socialism' in Albania relied heavily on the unpaid labour of many individuals and groups, such as political prisoners, army recruits, and young men and women in labour campaigns (*aksione*). Women were a central pillar as full-time workers, as mothers/carers and as homemakers. Despite their large-scale emancipation, especially through education, patriarchy continued to frame relations in the domestic sphere. The country's severe isolation from the outside world was effectuated through a combination of terror, propaganda (from cradle to grave), militarisation and panopticon surveillance.

Yet ordinary people were able to use and manipulate as necessary the 'system' through a myriad of everyday life 'tactics', giving rise to creative resistance against the repressive aspects of the regime (de Certeau 1984[1980]). These are only a few of the key findings selected for the Euroscope readers; if it whets your appetite, keep an eye out for the monograph scheduled for publication in 2014-15 as the key output of the project. Shorter pieces of writing such as journal articles, book chapters and working papers which are published, in press or in the pipeline can help quench curiosity in the meantime. Of course you could also get in touch with the researchers if you would like to know more.

Political parties & Brussels fieldwork report



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My latest trip to Brussels in October 2013, made possible by the Francois Duchene Travel Bursary (Sussex European Movement), facilitated a series of interviews which helped me fill in the blanks in understanding the EU treaty-making process on the one hand, and the nature of party political engagement with it on the other. My research looks at the relationship between national political parties and EU decision-making, with a particular focus on the Lisbon and the Fiscal Compact Treaties. It seeks to understand the factors that prompt and further condition this involvement, and to inquire deeper into the relationship between domestic politics and supranational decision-making.

The data for this analysis originated with an overview of national parliamentary debates and national party documents, as well as primary EU documents, which provided the starting point for the Brussels inquiries. The restricted access to EU documents, due to the contemporaneity of these events and the confidentiality constraints around them, made interviews critical in constructing a coherent picture of the treaty-making process. The interviews started from a purposefully chosen list of interviewees which later inevitably snowballed into a larger network of experts, national party members, civil servants and EU officials in the Parliament, Commission and Council.

Recent EU developments have underlined a series of combustible policy areas for the EU – immigration, economic and fiscal integration, enlargement and treaty reform among others. All this has perpetuated a sense of the EU in crisis, in light of which one would expect an increased reaction from the national levels than in ‘regular’ decision-

making times. However, headline-grabbing reactions from national political parties to EU developments only seldom translate into direct intervention into EU decision-making.

My interviews revealed that both EU officials and members of national parliaments have their own, sometimes competing, understanding of the role of political parties in the EU architecture. In spite of a rhetoric of increased involvement of national parliaments in EU decision-making, the engagement of political parties beyond the avenue of the European Parliament or trans-national parties seems to remain limited and subtle. By and large the EU attracts, still, little interest from the national level.

Similar concerns about inter-level co-operation were echoed during a symposium on intra- and inter-institutional co-operation in the EU I attended while in Brussels, which resulted from a multi-disciplinary project co-ordinated by Maastricht University. This gave me the opportunity to interact with scholars and practitioners, and representatives from EU institutions, who juxtaposed the ‘insider’ experience with research findings and ‘outsider’ perceptions. Comments revolved around the idea that the EU itself is adapting to the post-Lisbon institutional setup – including more informal mechanisms of co-operation as well - and therefore the dynamics both between and within institutions may be in a process of reconfiguration.

Organisational change and post-Islamism in Turkey



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As a part of my research on the rise and electoral success of the Justice and Development Party, I conducted a couple of initial interviews in Turkey during the summer. Interviews with high ranked Islamist National View movement members, in other words Felicity Party leaders, were followed by interviews with some of the former chairs of the Justice and Development Party in various cities in Turkey.

Although these initial interviews did not reveal a particularly new or surprising content with regard to the existing literature, they were quite useful in terms of grasping the difference between Justice and Development Party and its predecessor Islamist National View parties. It indeed seems that the supporters of the parties of National View Tradition has had a much higher level of ideological commitment compared to the Justice and Development Party cadres. The rapid re-emergences of the Islamist National View parties after every closure by the Constitutional Court also demonstrate this point.

The interviews also revealed two distinct strategies in terms of the engagement of these two different political entities with the state. While the Islamist National View tradition has always followed a strategy of constructing parallel state-like institutions and relationships vis-a-vis the establishment, the Justice and Development Party has embraced the strategy of encapsulating the already existing institutions and relationships.

These interviews also illustrated that the Justice and Development Party has only inherited certain strategies from the Islamist National View tradition in organizational terms: the importance attached

to the women and youth branches of the party. Nevertheless interviewees also implied that the women's branches of the Justice and Development Party has been working better than its youth branches. The other important point underlined by almost every interviewee was the undisputable predominance of the party leader and prime minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan over organizational affairs.

It also seems that the problems of heterogeneity in the party is also overcome by this predominance. Thus it seems that there has been a decisive shift from an ideologically very robust and coherent, organisationally very cohesive party to a more heterogeneous political entity kept together by the predominance of the leader and his internal and external charisma. This shift also corresponds to a strategic shift from the construction of state-like institutions to the encapsulation of already existing institutions and established relationships.

In this sense, the parties of the Islamist National View tradition can be considered as an anachronistic yet a very successful revival of a mass party-like organisation in Turkey particularly throughout the 1990s. On the contrary with this, Justice and Development Party might be considered as a personalistic, predominant catch-all party with a loose ideology and with less strong bonds with the masses except its leader. The rise of post-Islamism in Turkey can also be interpreted from the perspective of this organisational evolution of Islamism in Turkey alongside the ideological change.

The Transformation of the Caribbean Left



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I commenced my PhD in Politics in January 2013 after completing my masters' degree at Birkbeck, University of London in Global Politics. At Sussex I am conducting my research under Professors Paul Webb and Dan Hough.

My PhD research focus is on the Caribbean region with an emphasis on Left politics in the region. My intended approach is to test the arguments raised by some theorists that the Anglophone Caribbean Left tends to shift rightwards, specifically, I intend to test these arguments against the People's Progressive Party (PPP) of Guyana, a traditional party of the Caribbean Left that has controlled governmental power from 1992 to the present.

At this stage in my research I am drawing on the work of Perry Mars who in his book *Ideology and Change: The Transformation of the Caribbean Left* argued that the Caribbean Left tends to shift rightwards. The rightward shift entails an emphasis on neoliberal policies such as; (1) giving priority to privatization and market oriented policies, for instance the sale of public enterprises; (2) emphasis on private rights and property; (3) accent on a limited civil and human rights instead of rights that encapsulate broader and more progressive social and economic demands such as the right to work, pensions, minimum wages, a shorter working week, universal healthcare; (4) and support for domestic and foreign private investment

This rightward shift could be attributed to the nature of Caribbean economies, military pressures exerted by hegemonic states within the international state system and the internal weaknesses of the Caribbean Left. Caribbean economies exhibit certain features. Exports represent a high propor-

tion of national output and imports represent a high proportion of national expenditure; and export industries are largely foreign owned. Therefore some of the economic consequences are that the level of income and employment and the rate of economic growth are dependent on: demand and prices in foreign markets; the decisions of foreign corporations on investment and the sourcing of raw materials; and the decisions of foreign governments regarding trade preferences.

The political consequence of this economic arrangement is that the Caribbean political class including the Left elite is vulnerable to pressures emanating from external sources specifically the dominant states and international lending institutions such as the IMF and World Bank. These pressures take the form of demands to accommodate to stringent conditionalities imposed under the Washington and Post-Washington consensus. In terms of military pressures the Caribbean since 1953 has experienced as many as 10 military interventions directed primarily at Left-wing regimes and carried out mainly by the United States.

The rightward shift also has its origins in the internal weakness of the Caribbean Left. These are splits and factions at the helm of Left political parties; vanguardist organizational strategies; and ethno-political mobilization strategies. These factors have the effect of alienating the Left leadership from its support base or potential supporters, thus making the external pressures mentioned above effective and ultimately pushing the Left movement to the right.

Anti-Corruption in Post-Communist States



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I am pleased to be re-joining the Sussex research community as of September 2013, under the watchful eyes of my supervisors, Profs Aleks Szczerbiak and Dan Hough. As part of my PhD I will be focusing on anti-corruption measures in a selection of Central and Eastern European countries following their accession to the EU.

My academic journey began at University of Sussex back in 2006, when I started an undergraduate degree in Politics which I graduated from in 2009. During this period I took electives on Political Corruption (with Dan Hough) and Eastern Europe in Transition (with Aleks Szczerbiak) which stirred my initial interests in Central and Eastern European politics and in the study of petty and grand corruption.

After my undergraduate degree, I took a few years away from academia, in which I worked for a local council housing organisation and worked with the Leeds Equality and Diversity committee. I also worked with the Leeds Chamber of Commerce, as a policy assistant, which included the opportunity to work with local businesses and the Ministry of Justice during the consultation phase for the creation of the UK Bribery Act 2010.

In September 2011 I returned to the world of academia and began an International Masters in Russian, Central and Eastern European Studies. This two year Masters course involved spending a year studying at the University of Glasgow and a year studying at the Corvinus University of Budapest in Hungary. Although I maintained my interest in the study of corruption during this time, my Masters dissertation focussed on the topic of lustration and decommunisation policy in Hungary and (East) Germany.

The main focus of my current research is anti-corruption policy in the EU's post-communist member states. Due to the increasingly close political, legal and economic links which are being forged within the union, creating proper controls for corruption and encouraging effective anti-corruption policy in EU member states is an important concern for all those involved. However, early academic research and research by NGOs such as Transparency International and Freedom House suggest that anti-corruption policies have not been implemented at all or that the policies which have been introduced are not working properly in some of the EU post-communist member states. However, some of the other new member states have been commended on the effectiveness of their policies.

Funding Regimes and Corruption



Sam Power
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In September 2013 I began my ESRC funded PhD study at

Sussex and am delighted to have joined the research community under the supervision of Professor Dan Hough and Professor Paul Webb. I am on the 1+3 pathway, therefore this year I am studying for an MSc in Social Research Methods whilst continuing to work on my doctorate. I completed a

BA in Contemporary History and Politics here in 2010 and after a few years away from academia – during which I worked as a manager on the ‘Yes To Fairer Votes’ AV referendum campaign and as a consultant for the Electoral Reform Society – I returned to Sussex in 2012 as part of the first cohort of students to enrol on the fledgling MA in Corruption and Governance. My dissertation ‘Party Funding Regimes and Corruption: The UK in Comparative Context’ was given the inaugural Award for Outstanding Corruption Analysis by the Sussex Centre for the Study of Corruption (SCSC).

This dissertation was based (in part) on my doctoral research, currently titled ‘Party Funding Regimes and Corruption: Relationships, Linkages and Trends’ which will investigate whether a certain type of party funding regime leads to a prevalence of a certain type of corruption. The research will be a comparative study of six advanced industrial democracies in Western Europe categorised as follows: Austria and Denmark – countries in which public funds account for more than 75 per cent of parties’ income; France and Netherlands – those countries in which public and private funds account for 25-75 per cent of parties’ income and the United Kingdom and Switzerland – those countries in which private funds account for more than 75 per cent of parties’ income.

Institutional change of the party funding regime is often driven by the notion that the funding regime

in place fosters unfair, unequal access to political actors and therefore unfair influence on the political process. The change that occurs often happens in the direction of a move away from a prevalence of private funding towards a system of further state subsidy. However, there has been little research – academic or otherwise – that has explicitly attempted to find linkages between the type of party funding regime and the type of corruption that may occur. Put differently, there is an (understudied) assumption that a system of state subsidy will be a less corrupt system. An aim of my research is to challenge this assumption. In fact, I theorise that certain types of party funding regime are not necessarily less corrupt than other types, but that perhaps different types of corruption occur in different types of party funding regime.

It is important to understand more about the relationship between how democracy is funded and how that may lead to specific types of corrupt practice. By gaining deeper insights in to the relationship between the funding of Western democracy and the phenomenon of corruption we can make recommendations that are not just specific to the countries involved, but also to those interested in creating and developing effective democratic institutions and processes elsewhere. These linkages are immensely important in helping us understand not just why specific types of corruption appear in particular jurisdictions, but also in developing recommendations as to how to then counteract corrupt practices.

The EU’s Enlargement Conditionality in the Fight Against Corruption



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I started my PhD research in the Department of Politics in September 2013, after having been awarded a Chancellor’s International Research Scholarship for doctoral research by the University of Sussex.

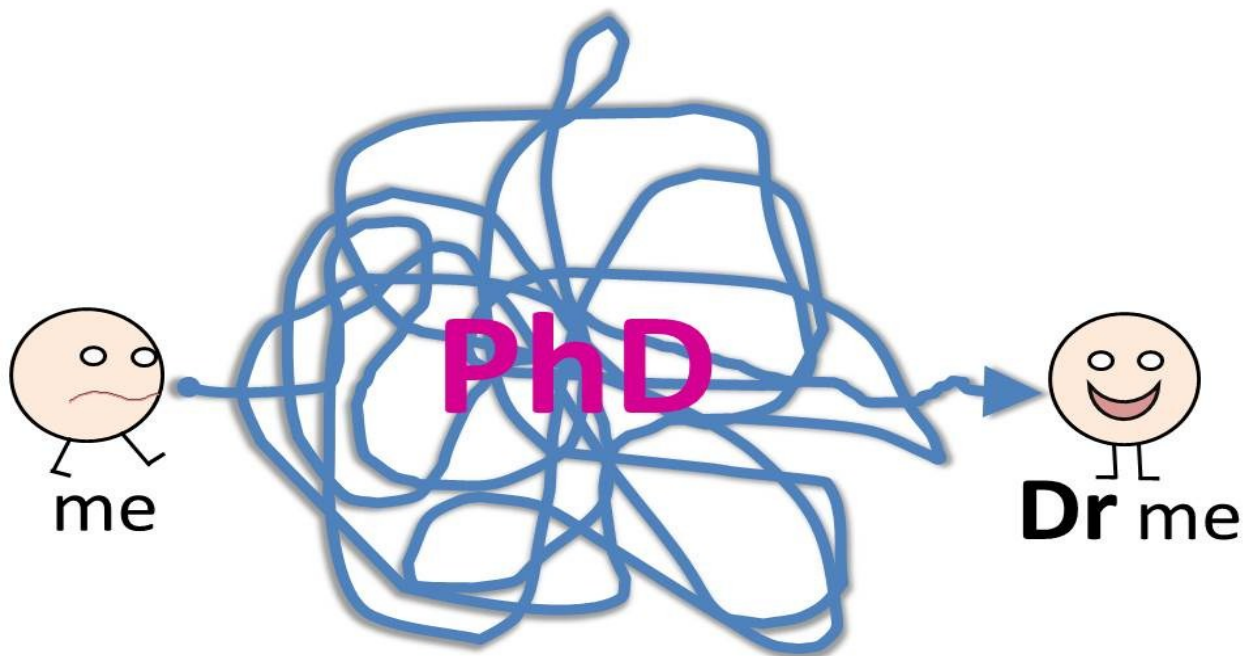
My academic interests and research background are in the area of fight against corruption and European Union enlargement. I am conducting my research under the supervision of Prof Aleks Szczerbiak and Prof Dan Hough, and I am particularly interested in exploring the impact that the European Union has, by the use of conditionality, on the fight against corruption in the accession process of candidate countries.

By employing comparative qualitative approach in analysing the implementation of specific anticorruption rules and policies in selected cases, my research aims to study the effects of the European Union's enlargement conditionality on the fight against corruption. The research will also try to answer if the European Union is willing to compromise the legitimacy of its enlargement conditionality on anti-corruption by granting membership even if anticorruption progress is lacking in practice, and if so, in which anticorruption areas a demonstrated progress is required, and in which areas harmonization of the legislation will suffice? In addition, the study will explore the limits and the evolving character of the enlargement conditionality, and will make suggestions for possible improvements in order to contribute for a more effective fight against corruption.

Prior to joining the University of Sussex, I completed an MA by Research in Law at Queen Mary University of London. Throughout the course of these studies, I predominantly focused on analysing the influence that the European Union's enlargement

conditionality has on the fight against judicial corruption in candidates for accession. I also hold an MA in Contemporary European Studies: Politics, Policy and Society from the University of Bath and the University of Siena. During these studies, I specifically looked at the influence that the European Union has on the candidate countries in the process of harmonization of the *acquis communautaire*. In addition, I hold a Bachelor of Laws degree from the "Ss. Cyril and Methodius" University, Macedonia with a specialization in Criminal Law.

I have worked in the public, private and not-for-profit sectors. I worked as a project researcher and coordinator for Transparency International Macedonia on a regional project for measuring anti-corruption progress in candidate countries as part of the EU accession process. I have also worked on the process of harmonization and implementation of national laws and policies with European legislation, as a selected fellow for an internship programme of the European Commission.



Activities

SEI staff and doctoral students and Sussex Politics Department undergraduates report back on their experiences of the exciting activities they have recently organised and attended.

2013 European Year of Citizens Conference



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As the European Year of Citizens drew to a close with no major conference to mark it in the UK, it was refreshing to attend a three day event in France on 14-16 November which set out to challenge the dominant discourse of Euroscepticism which has even started to take a hold in France, to the extent that the National Front is widely predicted to win the most seats in the EP elections next May. This was an interdisciplinary conference organised jointly by the faculties of History, Political Science and Law at the University of Nantes and the thirty speakers were an interesting mix of established and early career researchers, alongside a healthy number of doctoral and post-doctoral students. The sessions were all plenaries, attracting a big enough audience to fill a large lecture theatre, many of them students on the Euromasters programme which, unlike similar programmes in the UK, continues to attract significant numbers. It was heartening to feel that here at least there was still a lively interest in things European, and what struck me most during the conference was a strong ongoing commitment from most participants to the ideals of the European Project that have never been widely understood in the UK.

But there was also recognition that the EU had lost its way in many key areas, European Citi-

zenship being one of them: the hopes of those who saw Maastricht as a new beginning in this respect were widely acknowledged to have been over optimistic, and my paper on participation in local elections by non-national EU citizens in Britain and France endorsed this view. It was clear from discussion however that most participants wanted to find ways of fighting back against the growing numbers of Eurosceptics that threaten France's long standing commitment to the EU, and in this respect the agenda was not simply academic.

Indeed, the wider political context of this pro/anti EU debate was provided by various road blocks and street protests organised by the 'red caps' movement that has been building up in Brittany over recent months, bringing together a rather eclectic set of protestors whose various 'doléances' are symptomatic of the growing ambivalence with regard to the EU: having reaped the benefits of heavy investment subsidies in industrialised pig and poultry farming under the CAP for many decades, Brittany's farmers are now facing stiff competition from cheaper production in former communist countries and many are facing bankruptcy, with knock on effects across the whole regional economy. Since the current Prime Minister used to be the mayor of Nantes, the government is finding it hard to ignore their demands.

The whole proceedings were recorded by the local radio station EuradioNantes, which must be unique in its aim 'to contribute to build a civic Eu-

European awareness made of cultures, initiatives and various sensitivities from across Europe', which it does by putting every news item it features into a European context and seeking comparisons with other European countries. Hard to imagine such a venture in the UK, and yet it is surely what is badly needed if we are ever to break out of our 'little islander' mindset.

Yet there are also still some committed Europeans here in the UK, as demonstrated by the newly

founded organisation 'New Europeans' which plans to promote the value of EU citizenship in the UK and to campaign for Britain to remain in the EU during the in / out referendum. I was invited to speak at their launch event 'Europeans on the Move', at Europe House in November, which was a small event, especially compared to the big conference in Nantes, but there are plans for rapid growth and the SEI will be contributing to this in a series of events 'Connecting Citizens' to be held throughout 2014. <http://neweuropeans.net/>

SEI research student appointed to Albanian government



Gentian Elezi, a doctoral student in the Sussex European Institute (SEI) and a graduate of the an MA in European Politics at the SEI in 2006-07, has been appointed deputy minister responsible for European integration in the new Albanian government.

This follows a decision by Albanian prime minister Edi Rama, who took office in September, to invite representatives from civil society - particularly academics with expertise in European integration - to become more directly involved in the process of government. Membership of the European Union (EU) is the country's main strategic objective. In October, the European Commission recommended that the EU should give Albania candidate status and EU governments will decide on whether to formalise this at a summit in December.

Commenting on his new appointment, Gentian said: "As I have been working on EU issues most of my time in the last few years (in academia and think tanks) and have been active in the domestic public debate on European integration as a scholar, I was given this incredible opportunity and responsibility to engage directly with the process from an institutional position.

"These are very exciting times to be involved directly in the Albanian European integration process and the next stages - hopefully, the opening of formal accession negotiations - promise to be even more interesting.

"I strongly believe that, apart from my work and activism in my home country, my academic background has had a considerable impact on the government's decision to offer me this post. "From this perspective, my MA in European Politics and current PhD project on the implementation challenges of Albania's EU membership preparation have been huge assets. "It is no coincidence that my main responsibilities as deputy minister will relate to the institutional co-ordination of the EU integration process between Brussels and the Albanian ministries, which is the main focus of my postgraduate studies at Sussex."

SEI Co-Director Professor Aleks Szczerbiak, commented: "I am delighted to hear about Gentian's ministerial appointment and that he feels that his Sussex experience has played such an important role in opening up this great new opportunity for him. "He has been a real asset to our postgraduate and research community over the years and this is great news for him, for Sussex and - indeed - for Albania."

"The SEI believes strongly in making its research policy relevant and accessible to a wide range of non-academic audiences, including: policy-makers,

think tanks, NGOs, the media and business community. “Gentian’s appointment exemplifies the way that SEI-based researchers engage with - and deliver research and postgraduate training that is relevant to – practitioners audiences as a core element of our rationale and ethos.”

MA in Contemporary European Studies Student Report

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Far more than Pink Floyd’s *The Wall*, another song, a rock ballad, by the German group The Scorpions symbolizes for East Europeans the spirit of liberation and democracy: *The Wind of Change*. 23 years later, when the Scorpions toured again this part of the world, ‘the children of tomorrow’ do not seem to be happier than their parents with their living status. During the past year, since February 2013 a series of protests in Bulgaria express the bitter political disillusionment and the sensation of hopelessness: the protests of the citizens ranged from more radical against austerity measures to carnivalesque repudiation of the idea that the former Communist Party can lead the reforms. In October 2013 the students of the major Bulgarian university occupied their Alma Mater and appealed to their colleagues throughout the country to follow their example.

In previous periods all such political actions had been very effective, yet, although the government resigned in February and new elections were held in June, next to nothing changed this time and the romantic desire for change now was replaced by the pessimistic realization no fair deal is possible. The present protests seem to be united around a single moral purpose: the issue of honesty, of trust, of absence of fair deal.

But then, 1200 miles west of Sofia, since the beginning of their autumn term the students of Sussex University also went on strike. They do not seem to be facing such very complicated political, social or economic issues and concerns; they were born in a prosperous Western democracy where for

long time now politicians have learned to be servants of the people they represent. And yet – in their strike the bottom line had been a broken promise, and lack of response on behalf of the authorities, the unwillingness to debate or discuss. Was there need of a gale of change? Or could it all be accounted as a universal political chariness to strike a fair deal. I had come to Sussex exactly at that same time, after 4 years at my home university, with enough experience from my studies at Loughborough and Northwestern, Illinois, I had earned through my *magna cum laude* and my TOEFL results a most prestigious and cherished scholarship, The Lady Monica Cockfield Memorial Award, and have been supporting with my humble savings the local economy – but here I could recognize a deficiency of moral issues so familiar, that I wondered if that was the reason why The Scorpions had titled their album *Crazy World*?

And round the calendar again, yet another issue was emerging: some British politicians had started reconsidering one of the proud ‘4 freedoms of the EC’, the free movement of people, outlining apocalyptic visions of Romanians and Bulgarians plundering Britain. A vision that cannot happen because it is simply impossible. In addition to the limited number of Bulgarian students barely visible or recognizable in UK, throughout the decades just a few dozens of thousands of Bulgarians had legally established themselves in UK, earning their daily and paying their dues like elsewhere in Europe. It does not make sense why their numbers will catastrophically increase as if by magic.

There is however a problem ‘which has no name’, the real fear is of the arrival of Roma social benefits seekers. Roma who are nationals of all European member and non-member states. Whilst an estimated maximum number of 15 000 Roma of

those residing in Bulgaria (out of 12 mln. round the world) could be viewed as potential migrants, there is a good reason to remember the Romany are multi-ethnic, multilingual, multi-religious and multinational and that the number of the illiterate, uneducated, unskilled of them who are only seeking to ravage the social benefit system of Britain is disparagingly small. Otherwise Roma have long

become well integrated both in their home culture and in foreign cultures. The real problems of the itinerant Romany is not a concern of single national government, be it British or Bulgarian, but of the EU inclusion and migration policies. Because: do they too deserve a fair deal, as they have no Gypsy land? And we can keep listening to the *Crazy World* album.

MA in Corruption: First Impressions

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It's very difficult to explain my first impressions of Sussex Uni. It was a cold September night, there was a Fresher's event going on, and the streams of partied up students flowed left and right. I had a similar impression when I got off the train for the first time at 3 in the morning a few days earlier: legions of enthusiastic youth holding up their battle standard of alcohol for the world to see. If first impressions stick, it is only to disprove them, to lift up the curtains on them, and to debunk them.

I came to Sussex after studying in both the University of Toronto, in Canada, and Torcuato Di Tella University, in Argentina, for my undergraduate degree. I had already experienced two very different university systems, and yet I had no idea what to expect from the University of Sussex. After a few months studying here, I can confidently say I am where I want to be. Not only does the university offer one of the few MA programmes in Governance and Corruption in the world, it goes above and beyond to help students learn.

The tutors that teach this MA try their hardest to engage with the students. They offer students honest answers about the material presented and encourage discussions and debates about that material. They share relevant news stories, e-mail students about their interests and constantly give feedback on all aspects of the class. This is very detached from my previous experience of having tutors lecture and then virtually disappear from

existence unless you approached them. The tutors choose guests that actually contribute to and compliment the material reviewed, and that relate life experiences about the places most students hope to be in a few years.

Academic life does not have separate spheres as in other institutions. On a daily basis, you see undergraduates, post-grads and tutors talking, cooperating on projects or even hanging out discussing the news. There are Research in Progress seminars that lift the curtain for students on subjects that they are interested in or could potentially be interested in, giving them the opportunity to have their questions and suggestions heard by staff. It gives anyone involved in this academic community the sense that they are just like their peers, and it emphasizes the fact that there is still a lot to be learnt from one another about the world.

I related alcohol steeped first impressions because I believe that many people will see the University just so, a place to do the bare minimum, get a degree, and party the rest of the time. I believe, however, that the University of Sussex offers so many opportunities, that it is easy to go beyond your own expectations and expand your knowledge and experience more than ever before. I think that the best quote I heard about this came from one of the guides on the library tours: "You CAN get more out of Sussex than Sussex gets out of you."

Sussex EU Society

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Since its creation in 2011, the University of Sussex European Union Society has developed and matured into a student society that has attempted to spark the interest of students across departments on a wide range of European issues. Freshers' Fair 2013 was a great success, with an upsurge in student membership and expanding participation in events held last semester. The Society is achieving its goal of ever-greater student participation.

This past year has seen the UK's relationship with the EU under increasing strain, with Prime Minister David Cameron declaring his intention to hold an in-out referendum on EU membership after the 2015 general election, and the coalition government intensifying its attack upon EU immigration and further political integration. With the 2014 European Parliamentary elections being held in May, the University of Sussex European Union Society intends to hold lectures, discussions and debates concerning Britain's place in the EU and wider European issues that affect the Union as a whole.

Some of the topics that we plan to discuss are:

- Immigration within the EU
- EU relations with China
- UK membership of the EU
- The EU on the world stage
- The single currency and the survival of the Eurozone
- 2014 Euro-election and the future

The Society has also planned a trip to Prague in February 2014 which will focus on Eastern European integration. The trip will be a great opportunity for members to immerse themselves in Czech culture, history and politics, and it will allow Sussex students to experience the effect of EU membership on a former communist state.

For those of you that have already joined us, we look forward to seeing you at our events this semester. For those who are interested, you can join us through the USSU website or just by attending one of our meetings and signing up. You can find us online via our Facebook page at www.facebook.com/eusociety or you can email us at useus.eusociety.sussex@gmail.com.

Sussex Politics Society

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The Politics Society kicked off the new academic year with a bigger committee than ever before. With some fresh faces, we saw our committee expand to ten people. Our first event was the University's annual Freshers' Fair, with the important task of signing up new members and promoting our upcoming talks. We had a great reception, with numerous students showing their enthusiasm for our commitment to debates in contemporary politics with a neutral stance. For this reason we have decided to cover a wide range of issues in the

talks we hold, in order to attract students from all disciplines.

The Politics Society has a long tradition of celebrating Black History Month, and this year we were particularly interested in the debate surrounding gender and cultural misunderstanding in the UK. For this reason, we invited the Labour parliamentary candidate for Brighton Pavilion, Purna Sen whose dynamic background includes work for Justice for Gay Africans, Amnesty International, head of Public Affairs at LSE and research focused on racial equality in the UK. Purna held an intimate Q&A session drawing on her personal experiences of working for Southall Black Sisters. This organisation focused on helping vulnerable women, main-

ly those who had been failed by their local councils. Through this she recalled a case whereby a young illiterate woman was exploited sexually and financially; this drove the woman to murder the man who controlled her. When this case came to the courts the judge stated that 'her relationships with men said that she was not behaving as Asian women should'. This, she argued highlighted the lack of cultural understanding we are currently experiencing in Britain. This led us to a discussion about the highly controversial topic of honour killings, with Purna observing that the even the term 'honour' now holds such negative connotations, with the automatic assumption that it means killings. Purna's talk was truly compelling and led to a varied discussion.

It has been impossible to ignore the media attention and debate around intervention in Syria and Libya. We wanted to gain a perspective from an international organisation and we chose the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC). Mona Sadek spoke to our members about the action of the ICRC, the extremely complicated political contexts in Libya and Syria, as well as to actively engage with the thorny debate on humanitarian intervention. Our next talk focused on controversial international issues; we invited Polly Rossdale from Reprieve. This is the legal charity which assists prisoners facing the death penalty as well as

prisoners held beyond the rule of law in the 'war on terror' in Guantanamo Bay. Polly talked about Reprieve's aspirations of Guantanamo Bay being closed, due to President Obama's commitment. She argued that Obama has exacerbated the situation, as many now believe that the prison which she described as a "legal loophole" has been shut down so campaigning on this issues has become stagnant. As Alexis (our co-president) had interned with Reprieve over summer, Polly encouraged students in the audience to become involved. This event was extremely popular, attracting over 100 people.

We are keen to maintain our diverse range of speakers; our next event is with Benjamin Hoff, a Research Fellow at Sussex. He will be drawing on his own personal experiences of growing up in the GDR and living under an authoritative government. Following on, we are proud to be welcoming back Professor Tim Bale, who will be discussing his current research project on Conservative Party Membership and the apparent threat of loss of support due to UKIP.

The Politics Society is keen to maintain this momentum. We are in the process of planning a 'Question Time' panel event for the candidates for Brighton Pavilion.



Dispatches

As usual, this Dispatches section brings views, experiences and research updates from SEI members and practitioner fellows from across Europe and beyond, but most with a connection to the EP elections to fit with this special issue.

2014 EP elections: Will it be different this time?



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The eighth European Parliament elections will take place from 22 to 25 May 2014. In Britain the main interest that they have provoked so far is whether UKIP will gain the largest percentage of the vote and the impact that this might have nationally on the May 2015 general election. Some have also noted the growth of far right parties and their efforts to come together to form a group in the European Parliament after the elections. A few are curious to see if the constant downward trend in voting (43% across the EU last time) can be reversed.

And yet perhaps the most significant feature of these elections is still only rarely commented upon. It is the change in the way in which the President of the Commission will be chosen, a change brought about by the 2009 Lisbon Treaty. The Treaty contains a new provision stating that the European Council will propose for approval by the Parliament a candidate for President of the European Commission, 'taking into account the elec-

tions to the European Parliament'. This phrase was and remains open to diverse interpretation but the oft-forgotten European political parties have decided to use it to justify selecting potential Presidential candidates *in advance* of the EP elections.

So far we have a candidate designate from the Party of European Socialists, four competing candidates from the European Greens, two main contenders from the European Liberals, a commitment from the European People's Party to find a candidate by next March and the likelihood that the far Left will put up the leader of the Greek opposition party, Syriza. In other words, it looks like nine words in a Treaty have radically changed the way the political struggle is being conducted at European level. It is even encouraging new initiatives like that developed by Votewatch, inviting voters to indicate their preferences online and to discover how the different parties are faring (have a look at www.debatingeurope.eu/vote2014).

There are plenty of sceptics around. Angela Merkel has pointed out that there is no automaticity in the process: the party with the most seats in the Parliament would not necessarily see its candidate appointed President of the Commission. The Centre for European Reform in the UK has argued that such a process risks undermining the impartiality of the Commission. And others argue that the candidates will be unable to make themselves

heard in the midst of a political debate dominated by domestic concerns.

I would suggest that these objections fail to take account of the strength of the ideas that lie behind this new development. We are witnessing the overt recognition that the Commission cannot be treated as an apolitical body. The decisions that it is asked to take are simply too important and necessarily raise the question: by what right does it decide to act, if not by a mandate that can be rooted in an electoral decision? We are seeing the end of the idea that elections at EU level can take place without their having an impact on the shape of the executive. People will not vote for the Parliament simply because it has more powers but because they can see the difference it can make. We are

being confronted with the prospect of elections based on choices between different European futures that are debated in advance of votes being cast.

Will it work? It may not increase voter turnout, it may not change the elections from second-order phenomena, it may well lead to a messy institutional struggle between the European Parliament and the European Council. And yet I would predict that the nomination of candidates for Commission President will become a fixture of future European elections, making them start to look much more like national elections. So yes, it will be different this time.

The rise of a 'Czech Berlusconi'



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The weak performance of established parties and the breakthrough of two new populist groupings in early elections in the Czech Republic 25-26 October represent a decisive breach in the country's previously stable pattern of party politics.

Parties of the Czech centre-right which were in office from 2007 until June this year suffered heavy losses. However, the result was also deeply disappointing for the main opposition, the Social Democrats (ČSSD). ČSSD's 20.45 per cent represented a 2 per cent decline in its support and was its lowest share in the history of the independent Czech Republic.

The biggest winners were the two new anti-establishment parties that broke into parliament: Dawn of Direct Democracy (UPD), which polled 6.88 per cent and the Action of Dissatisfied Citizens (ANO) movement of the agro-food billionaire Andrej Babiš. ANO's 18.65 per cent share of the

vote was the highest vote for any new party in the 20 year history of the Czech Republic.

Both parties are essentially populist creations which make what the Slovak political scientist Peter Účen terms a 'centrist populist' appeal. They lambast established elites as corrupt but adopt stances on economic and cultural issues devoid of the ideological radicalism of far-right or far-left populism.

The success of Babiš's movement places established parties in a political quandary. The Social Democrats' plans for a government of the left backed by the Communists fell by the wayside. Together the two parties command a mere 83 seats in the 200 member Chamber. However, Andrej Babiš was adamant that his movement would not work with traditional right-wing parties he sees as symbolising two decades of corruption. The only politically feasible combination was therefore a three-way agreement between ANO, the Social Democrats and the small Christian Democratic Union. Coalition talks between the three are currently ongoing with tax, pension reform and possible revision of the restitution settlement with the Catholic Church the main issues of contention.

The rapid arrival of Babiš's movement to – or close to – the heart of the government poses questions about the future of party government in the Czech Republic. The rise of a super-rich businessman turned anti-politician at the head of a top-down movement which bears all the organisational hallmarks of what Hopkin and Paolucci term the 'business-firm' party has prompted inevitable comparison with Silvio Berlusconi. And like Berlusconi, 59 year-old, Slovak-born Babiš is certainly an unlikely outsider. The son of a Communist foreign trade official and himself a Communist Party member before 1989, he built up his Agrofert conglomerate after the fall of communism, in part, by striking deals with governments dominated by the parties he now condemns.

Like the founders of other new 'flash' parties Babiš may struggle to hold together a movement with no clear unifying ideology and a large inexperienced parliamentary group. Such parties lose their appeal

as novel outsiders, particularly if they play a role in government, which may make them targets of the same mix of anti-establishment protest voting and social frustration that propelled them to office. Such fragility risks opening up a cycle of weak minority administration or awkward compromise governments of established of left and right (Grand Coalitions, teams of technocratic caretakers), which in turn feeds voter demand for new anti-establishment protest parties.

Seán Hanley's research focuses on the emergence of new anti-establishment parties in Central and Eastern Europe. He writes a personal academic blog at <http://drseansdiary.wordpress.com>



MA in Corruption and Governance

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Sussex Centre for the Study of Corruption



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MA in Contemporary European Studies

Term 1: The Making of Contemporary Europe (core course)

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(core course)

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For all enquires: Dr Sue Collard
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- **Corruption, Anti-corruption and Governance** – particularly the comparative study of anti-corruption initiatives
- **British Politics** – particularly party politics, public policy, modern British political and cultural history, and immigration

The University of Sussex has been made a Doctoral Training Centre (DTC) by the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC).

Applications are invited for ESRC doctoral studentships for UK applicants (fees and maintenance grants) or applicants from other EU member states (fees only).

Applications are also invited for Sussex School of Law, Politics and Sociology (LPS) partial fee-waiver studentships for applicants from both the UK/EU and non-EU states.

Potential applicants should send a CV and research proposal to
Dr James Hampshire (j.a.hampshire@sussex.ac.uk).

