

Childhood, Youth and Europe



Features // Research // Dispatches // Activities

Challenges in Educating a Culturally Diverse Student Population

Parental Child Abduction within the EU

Europe and the 2013 Czech Parliamentary Election

Radical Left Parties and Immigration

How Party Organisations Shape Democracy

Field Research on Political Parties in Times of Crisis

Student Trip to Berlin

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 autumn term issue is: 22 August 2014.

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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 post-graduate 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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Where to find Euroscope!

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- The official mailing list, contact: seieuroscope@gmail.com
- Hard copies are available from the Law, Politics and Sociology office
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Please free to contact us to comment on articles and research and we may publish your letters and thoughts.

Childhood, Youth and Europe

This issue of Euroscope is a special edition presenting articles on Childhood, Youth and Europe. You can find our special Features pieces on pages 8-13 and other topic related articles in the Research section.

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MESSAGE FROM THE CO-DIRECTOR...



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As the dust settles after the European Parliament elections in May, and as many of the predictions forecast in our spring issue of Euro-scope (on the European Parliament Elections, Spring 2014) come to be realised, we turn our attention now to the electorate of the future and welcome readers to our summer issue, the theme of which is 'Childhood, Youth and Europe'.

For many decades children and children's rights have been relatively absent from the agenda of the European Union. However, since the introduction of European Union citizenship in 1992 and the proclamation of the EU's Charter of Fundamental Rights in 2000, issues affecting children and young people have gradually risen up the EU's list of priorities. The features in this special issue address a number of important aspects of the development of children's rights in Europe and chart the progress made since the 1990s. Some of the features draw on research that was presented at a workshop on 'Childhood, Youth and European Citizenship' held at the University of Sussex on 30 April 2014. This workshop was funded by the European Commission Representation in the UK as part of a series of events on the theme of 'Connecting with Citizens' that are being organised by the Sussex European Institute in conjunction with the campaign organisation New Europeans (<http://neweuropeans.net/>). The workshop on Childhood, Youth and European Citizenship was also organised in collaboration with the University of Sussex's Centre for Innovation and Research in Childhood and Youth (CIRCY) with many thanks being owed by SEI to

Dr Sevasti-Melissa Nolas for her contribution to the programming of this event.

In our lead feature article 'Challenges in Educating a Culturally Diverse Student Population', Professor Thalia Dragonas and Emerita Professor Anna Frangoudaki (University of Athens) reflect upon their experiences over the past 15 years in constructing a project to reform the education of Muslim minority children in Western Thrace in Greece. Given that Muslim minority children had suffered for many decades within the Greek education system, coming out of primary school illiterate in Greek and functionally illiterate also in Turkish, their mother tongue, the Greek Ministry of Athens (with assistance from the European Social Fund) sought the help of academics and teachers in the fields of social psychology and sociology of education to put in place a myriad of research activities and practical measures with the aim of assisting these children. Activities included surveys and qualitative studies investigating the profiles of students, teachers and parents; language assessments; investigation into drop-out rates and parental perceptions of education; and the practical development of textbooks and electronic materials for primary and secondary education. The pinnacle of achievement has been the creation of ten Community Centres staffed by both minority and non-minority teachers, open seven days a week and providing creative and educational activities for all children, together with Greek classes for minority parents and Turkish classes for Greek speaking teachers. The result: a decrease by more than half in the drop-out rate of minority children from secondary school and an increase of 163% in the enrolment of minority pupils in lower secondary education.

In the next feature article on 'Parental Child Abduction within the EU', University of Sussex Lecturer in Law, Dr Lara Walker, discusses developments in the law on child abduction within the Eu-

ropean Union and how these differ from the established law and practice under the international Hague Convention. Using the concept of ‘mutual trust’ between member states, it is now possible to allow the court in the state of origin of the abducted child to review the decision of the court in the state of refuge with an expectation that the child should almost always be returned. Dr Walker highlights the difficulties of this presumption of mutual trust given that the authorities in the state of refuge have to automatically enforce the decision and return the child regardless of whether the court in the state of origin has complied with all the necessary legal requirements.

The movement of children around Europe is also discussed in the feature article by Professor Helen Stalford (University of Liverpool) which assesses the contribution made by the concept of European Union Citizenship to the development of children’s rights in Europe. Highlighting some of the key cases from the Court of Justice of the EU around EU citizenship rights, Professor Stalford demonstrates the initial rather indirect extension of citizenship provisions to children through their parents and then more recently the attribution of citizenship rights to children themselves, particularly where they are EU citizens (ie have the nationality of one of the EU member states) and yet their parents remain third country nationals. In such cases children may become the catalyst for the extension of residency rights and welfare provision to the parents. Professor Stalford, furthermore highlights the way in which the citizenship rights of children have been developed by the Court of Justice independently from the broader EU children’s rights agenda. She calls for greater joined-up thinking within the EU and better coordination by the different actors within the different European level institutions.

Elsewhere in this issue of Euroscope we are pleased to highlight the current research of academic staff and doctoral students as they embark upon a summer of research-related activities. Mr Francis McGowan (and Dr Dan Keith, University of Exeter) explore the contribution of radical left parties to the debate on immigration in Europe; Prof Aleks Szczerbiak sets out his new research project looking at truth revelation procedures in post-

communist Poland; Professor Paul Webb (in collaboration with Professor Susan Scarrow, University of Huston) directs an international team in a new project to examine the impact of party organizational structures and resources on democratic systems ; Dr Andreas Kornelakis examines the evolution of national social dialogue in Europe under the Single Market; and Professor Sally-Jane Norman embarks upon space exploration in her discussion of the development of digital technologies and the arts.

The summer vacation will also see SEI moving to its new home in the refurbished Freeman Building at the entrance of the University of Sussex campus. We welcome this opportunity to consolidate the location of colleagues and students from law, politics and sociology working on Europe under one roof. We welcome too any suggestions for future themes or special issues of Euroscope, together with suggestions for seminar speakers and workshops. So please do get in touch with ideas as we plan for the next academic year.

In the meantime, we wish all Euroscope readers a productive and sunny summer wherever their research and travels may take them!



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 Winter/Spring 2013-14.

SEI Professor of Law **Erika Szyszczak** presented a paper in Madrid with Dr **Albert Sanches-Graells** on the topic of UK healthcare law. It was published as an SSRN paper, “Modernising Social Services in the Single market: Putting the Market into the Social” ◇ October 2013

SEI Politics Senior Lecturer **Kai Oppermann** and **Dr Klaus Brummer** from the Institute für Politische Wissenschaft at Friedrich-Alexander-Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg, published their book *Außenpolitikanalyse (Foreign Policy Analysis)*. It is a comprehensive German language overview of key theoretical approaches to foreign policy decision making. ◇ December 2013

A paper by SEI Professor of Law **Erika Szyszczak** presented with Professor **Johan van de Gronden** at the University of Sheffield in June 2013 has been published in a Special Issue of the *Medical Law Review* in 2014 entitled “Introducing Competition Principles into Health Care through EU law and Policy: A Case Study of the Netherlands” ◇ January 2014

SEI Politics Senior Lecturer **Kai Oppermann** had his article “Delineating the scope conditions of the poliheuristic theory of foreign policy decision making: the non-compensatory principle and the domestic salience of foreign policy” published in *Foreign Policy Analysis* ◇ January 2014

Susan Millns, SEI Professor of Law, presented a paper on “Gender Equality and Legal Mobilization in the UK: Using Rights for Lobbying, Litigation, Defence and Attack” (co-authored with Dr Charlotte Skeet) at a workshop on “The Europeanization of Gender Equality Policies and Anti-Discrimination Law” at the *École des hautes études*

en sciences sociales in Paris on 17 January 2014. The paper has been published in a special issue of the *Canadian Journal of Law and Society* on ‘Gender Equality, Legal Mobilization and Feminism in a Multi-level European System’ (eds. Dia Anagnostou and Susan Millns), vol. 28/2, 2013. ◇ January 2014

SEI Senior Lecturer in Politics **Francis McGowan** and SEI linked Dr **Dan Keith** published an SEI working paper on the topic of radical left parties and immigration issues ◇ February 2014

SEI Professor of Law **Erika Szyszczak** gave a paper at an international conference in Luxembourg on the “Notion of State Aid in EU Law and Policy”. This was part of on-going research into the changing role of EU policy towards state aids in the recession where the audience was composed of members of the European Commission, judges from the CJEU, practitioners and academics ◇ March 2014

SEI Senior Lecturer in Politics **Kai Oppermann**, together with Dr **Juliet Kaarbo** from the University of Edinburgh, organised a research workshop on “Coalition Politics and Foreign Policy” at the Annual Convention of the International Studies Association in Toronto. The workshop was funded by an ISA catalytic research workshop grant ◇ 24 March 2014

SEI Professor of Politics **Aleks Szczerbiak** chaired a roundtable on “Connecting Citizens: What New Europeans really want from the European Elections in 2014?” at Europe House in London organised by the New Europeans network as part of a series of European Commission-sponsored events organised jointly with the SEI ◇ 25 March 2014

SEI Professor of Politics **Aleks Szczerbiak** published a working paper “Explaining patterns of lustration and communist security service file access in post-1989 Poland” as part of the SEI working paper series ◊ March 2014

SEI Senior Lecturer in Politics **Francis McGowan** attended the Council of European Studies conference in Washington DC in March. He presented two papers - “The Politics of Fracking: Comparing Party Responses to the Potential Development of Shale Gas in Europe” and (with **Dan Keith**, University of Exeter) “The Radical Left and the Party Politics of Migration: Immune to Radical Right Contagion?” - and acted as a discussant on the panel Elections Culture and Style: Extending the Influence of the Far Right ◊ March 2014

SEI Professor of Politics **Dan Hough** organised the annual undergraduate trip to Berlin ◊ 17-22 March 2014

Prof **Susan Millns**, together with Dr Sevasti-Melissa Nolas (Centre for Innovation and Research in Childhood and Youth, University of Sussex) and New Europeans, held a workshop at the University of Sussex on ‘Childhood, Youth and European Citizenship’. This event was sponsored by the European Commission Representation in the UK. ◊ 30 April 2014

SEI lecturer in HR Management **Andreas Kornelakis** published an SEI working paper under the title of “The Evolution of National Social Dialogue in Europe under the Single Market, 1992-1996” ◊ April 2014

SEI Professors of Politics **Aleks Szczerbiak** and **Paul Taggart** co-authored a scoping paper reviewing the literature and identifying the research challenges on ‘Euro-scepticism’ for an ESRC project on “The UK in a Changing Europe” which they presented at a ‘Town Hall meeting’ at Church House in London ◊ 8 April 2014

SEI Professor of Politics and Director of the Sussex Centre for the Study of Corruption **Dan Hough** gave a lecture on corruption and citizenship for Transparency International in London. Details here

<http://www.trust.org/item/20140411140344-375oa/> ◊ 7 April 2014

SEI Professor of Law, **Susan Millns**, taught at the *Université Paris Descartes* from 7-12 April 2014 as part of an Erasmus teaching exchange. Prof. Millns held a series of seminars on the Masters programme in the Common Law and Comparative Law around the theme of ‘European Law from a Common Law Perspective’. ◊ April 2014

SEI doctoral student **Bugem Galip**, successfully defended her PhD thesis on ‘The Cyprus Question: Land Claims and Human Rights Arguments before the European Court of Human Rights’ with only minor corrections. The external examiner was Prof. Wade Mansell from the University of Kent and the internal examiner was Dr. Elizabeth Craig. ◊ 8 April 2014.

SEI Professor of Politics **Aleks Szczerbiak** was an external advisor to the panel appointing a new Professor of Polish Studies and Social and Political Science at the School of Slavonic and East European Studies/University of London ◊ 14 April 2014

MA Corruption students took part in a trip to Berlin to visit Transparency International’s HQ ◊ 22-25 April 2014

SEI Lecturer in European Studies **Adrian Treacher** authored a chapter on “France and National Security” in *Providing for National Security: a Comparative Perspective*, edited by Andrew M Dorman & Joyce P Kaufman, Stanford University Press, 2014 ◊ May 2014

The SEI-based European Parties and Referendums Network (EPERN), co-convened by SEI Professors **Aleks Szczerbiak** and **Paul Taggart**, has launched a research blog: <http://epern.wordpress.com/>. The blog will be a place where members of the network can contribute short (1-2,000 words) and timely contributions on themes likely to be of interest to EPERN members, including the impact of Europe on elections, referendums and party politics. The blog includes a first posting from the co-convenors previewing the May 2014 EP elections ◊ 6 May

SEI Professor of Politics **Aleks Szczerbiak** was external examiner of a doctoral thesis on ‘Europeanization as a cause of Euroscepticism—comparing the outlooks of parties in Eastern and Western Europe’ at the University of Bath ◊ 7 May 2014

Prof. **Susan Millns**, SEI Co-Director, gave a paper entitled “Making the Case for European Comparative Legal Studies in Public Law” at a workshop at the University of Ghent on 15-16 May 2014. The workshop, on ‘The Method and Culture of Comparative Law’ was held in honour of the retirement of Prof. Mark Van Hoecke. The papers from the workshop have been published as a collection by Hart Publishing, *The Method and Culture of Comparative Law* (eds. Maurice Adams and Dirk Heirbaut). ◊ 15-16 May 2014

SEI Professor of Politics **Aleks Szczerbiak** and SEI Doctoral Researcher **Roxana Mihaila** took part in a roundtable debate on the topic of “What will the Euro-elections mean for Central and Eastern Europe?” at the UCL-SSEES in London. ◊ 19 May 2014

Read SEI Professor of Politics **Dan Hough’s** take on the European Parliament elections, ‘Germany—vote Merkel and carry on’, published online in *the Conversation*:
<http://theconversation.com/eu-election-germany-vote-merkel-and-carry-on-25841> ◊ 20 May

SEI Senior Lecturer in Politics **James Hampshire**, was a speaker at a panel discussion on ‘Immigration: Asset or Liability’ organised by the Democracy Forum at the House of Commons. The panel, held on the 20 May, was chaired by Sir Peter Luff MP and the panellists were Yasmin Alibhai-Brown (The Independent), Alex Betts (Oxford), Michael Keith (Oxford), Alp Mehmet (Migrant Watch), and Dr James Hampshire (University of Sussex). Dr Hampshire gave a talk on European migration and Britain’s relations with the EU and was also interviewed by NDTV, an Indian news channel, about Indian student migration. ◊ 21 May

SEI Senior Lecturer in Politics **Kai Oppermann**, together with Dr Alexander Spencer (Munich), has organised a research workshop on “Foreign Policy

Fiascos: Mistakes and their Construction in International Politics” for the 2nd European Workshops in International Studies (EWIS) ◊ 21-24 May 2014

SEI members from the Sussex Law School, Dr **Elizabeth Craig**, Dr **Charlotte Skeet** and Prof **Susan Millns** participated in a workshop on “Citizens Coping with Crisis: Rights, Participation, Action”, at the International Institute for the Sociology of Law in Oñati, Spain. ◊ 29-30 May 2014.

Ciara McCroary, a final year undergraduate student on the Law with German degree, was announced as the winner of the 2014 Peggotty Freeman prize which is awarded every year to a University of Sussex student who has shown exceptional achievement during a period of study or work abroad in Europe. Ciara spent the third year of her four year degree course studying German Law in Berlin and also worked with a firm of German solicitors. She will receive prize money of £100 and a certificate (to be awarded at her graduation ceremony). ◊ June 2014



Features

Challenges in educating a culturally diverse student population

Thalia Dragonas & Anna Frangoudaki
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In 1997, the Greek Ministry of Education presented us with an amazing challenge: the reform of the education of the Muslim minority children in Western Thrace. The aim was to increase the social inclusion of minority children, by reversing trends in massive underachievement and high drop-out levels from the 9-year compulsory education system. Muslim minority children have suffered poor education for many decades and have been coming out of primary school illiterate in Greek and functionally illiterate in Turkish—the mother tongue of most.

The reasons for this massive failure are not limited to the educational sphere. They are rather of a social and political nature, i.e. the extended submission of the minority to marginalization and violation of rights, as well as the very low social, economic and educational status of this population group.

The Muslim minority is a territorial minority. Its members belong to the Muslim population that was exempted, together with the Rums (Greek Orthodox), from the exchange of Greek and Turkish populations, following the war of 1922. The fate of both minorities was sealed by Greco-Turkish conflict and nationalist ideals, epitomizing the nation-building processes following the dismantling of the Ottoman Empire. The 90's witnessed the liberaliza-

tion of the Greek state's policy towards this minority, hence the present educational intervention.



Funded by the European Social Fund this intervention has three very important characteristics: (a) its long duration, (b) the broad spectrum it covers, ranging from classroom materials to work with the community, and (c) its inter-disciplinary nature.

Activities span across a wide range: surveys and qualitative studies investigating the profiles of students, teachers and parents; language use and language assessment; drop-out rates; parental perceptions of education; social representations and discursive practices concerning ethnic identity; development of textbooks and various electronic materials for primary and secondary education. All follow a teaching method for Greek as a second language. They promote children's conversational competencies before introducing the official school language; they view both language and literacy as context-embedded, emerging from children's particular experiences. They respect children's mother tongue and enhance their sense of identity.

Teacher training focused on the use of new materials, on pedagogical skills, classroom dynamics, self-reflective practices and negotiation of differences. For the first time in the history of minority education in Thrace, teachers from the majority and the minority were trained side by side. Comprehensive teacher training materials were developed, and compensatory teaching to students after regular school and during the weekend was introduced.

Ten Community Centers were established in large towns and villages. Staffed equally by minority and majority personnel, they contribute actively to the discourse of identity politics. It is the first time that members of the minority and the majority find themselves striving together for a common cause. The Centres are open seven days a week, eleven and a half months a year. They provide creative activities for pre-school children, afternoon classes and summer courses to primary and secondary school students, Greek classes for parents, Turkish classes to Greek-speaking teachers, vocational guidance for youths, plus counseling for parents and teachers. They offer the use of computers and a lending library. Five mobile units, equipped with computers, books and educational games travel daily to isolated communities, hold classes and engage children in creative learning activities.

Creative children's workshops take place within the Centres. Children, adolescents and youths run their own creative projects with the help of youth workers, members of both the minority and the majority. More competently than the adults, the youths creatively discover, through collaborative practices, a meaningful present and a promising future. In order to keep the dialogue open, meetings with leaders of the minority, local politicians, educational authorities and majority and minority teacher unions are held regularly. The intervention is informed by the concept of empowerment entailing dissociating from zero-sum dynamics, where a win-lose mentality prevails. Empowerment takes the form of the willingness of each member to contribute collectively towards a common goal, develop relationships to promote mutual trust, to enhance communication and collaborative practices to achieve common objectives, and to invest in shared decision-making and responsibility for individual and collective outcomes.



Outcomes

There are impressive changes regarding educational statistics. The drop-out rate of minority children from compulsory education in the year 2000 was 65%. It has decreased by more than half and is currently less than 30%. Enrolment in lower secondary education has increased by 163% and in the upper secondary by 400%. Figures have changed dramatically for girls as well who, as a rule, were withdrawn from school by the end of primary school. Enrolment is quite close to the national mean.

Further to the change in statistics, the intervention brought to the fore important identity issues; promoted the acquisition of knowledge embedded with



in communal relationships; signaled a move from authoritative monologic to dialogic practices of meaning making in the educational setting; and aimed to raise the understanding of the historical, social and political conditions within which education of the minority takes place.

For interested readers: www.museduc.gr.

Parental Child Abduction within the EU



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The Hague Convention on the Civil Aspects of Child Abduction has been operating for nearly thirty years. The Convention seeks to prevent the unilateral removal of children, across borders, and operates on the assumption that it is generally in the best interests of children to be returned to their country of habitual residence in order for a full assessment of their interests to be carried out by the courts in that state. This is because it is considered that these courts are in the best position to do this, and any further decisions on the child's residence or custody should be made by that court. However it was recognised that there should be some exceptions to this rule and these are laid out in the Convention. This allows the court in the state of refuge to order a non-return when those exceptions apply.

The law on child abduction within the EU differs from the established law and practice under the Hague Convention. This is because the current European law contains an additional procedure that applies when a non-return is ordered by the court. The additional procedure is designed to allow the court in the state of origin to review the decision of the court in the state of refuge, emphasising that the child should almost always be returned. However this procedure is based on the doctrine of mutual trust and therefore the exequatur process has been abolished in relation to these decisions. This is problematic as the authorities in the state of refuge have to automatically enforce the decision and return the child, regardless of whether the court in the state of origin has complied with the requirements in the Regulation and the guidance in the Practice Guide.

This is particularly problematic in these types of cases for two specific reasons. Firstly it is imperative that all parties are heard, in order to comply with the right to a fair hearing, and this is a requirement in the Regulation (providing the child is not too young). This is of particular importance where the non-return was based on the views of the child. Where this is the case it would seem odd that the court in the state of origin could then require the return of the child, without actually hearing the child for itself. However because of the nature of these cases it may not be easy to hear all the parties. This is because the child and the abducting parent are unlikely to return the state of origin for the proceedings, in case they have their passports removed or the abducting parent is facing imprisonment.

The parties should be heard through alternative mechanisms, such as video link, but this has not necessarily been the case. The second problem is that the Regulation is not clear on whether any subsequent order made by the court of origin is a simple return order so that a full custody/ welfare decision can be taken in the future, when all parties are present, or if the order is a final custody-welfare order. Courts appear to be taking differing approaches in this context, however where they take the latter approach this is clearly problematic if the parties have not been heard properly. This approach appears to have been taken in *Sneersone* where the Italian authorities in the state of origin put forward what they believed to be arrangements for the protection of the child when he returned to Italy. However these arrangements indicated that the child should live with the father and made provision for a visit between the child and the mother (the abducting parent) a year later. This highlights two particular concerns with the abduction regime in Europe that has been in force since 2005.

The Nuffield Foundation has kindly offered to fund a project on this particular aspect of the Regulation which will be carried out in collaboration with Pro-

fessor Beaumont at the University of Aberdeen. The project began on 1 April 2014 and will run to 30 November 2015. The project involves quantitative and qualitative research, and is currently in its first stage which requires the collection of quantitative data through a questionnaire sent to each of the Central Authorities operating under the Regulation. The main aims of the project are to discover:

- How many non-return orders have been made under the Regulation
- The number of times these orders have been challenged in the state of origin

- The procedures used by the court of origin in order to hear the parties
- The approach taken by the court of origin in relation to whether it makes a provisional or final order, and
- Whether or not the order made is actually enforced.

After the core data is collected, qualitative data will be gathered through interviews with judges in five selected Member States. These states will be selected on the basis of the core data provided, along with geographic considerations.

The Relevance of EU Citizenship to Children

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When citizenship of the Union was formally introduced in 1992, children barely featured on the EU law and policy-making agenda; you could count on one hand the number of legislative and policy initiatives of direct relevance to children. More recent years have seen some fairly dramatic changes to the EU's constitutional, legal and institutional landscape that have generated new opportunities and, indeed, a necessity to engage with a range of broader social and rights-related issues affecting children. But notwithstanding the scope of the EU's emergent 'Children's Rights Agenda', it remains the case that EU citizenship provides the context for some of the most definitive innovations relating to children.

By virtue of Arts 20-21 TFEU, EU Citizenship is a status bestowed automatically on those who are nationals of any of the 28 EU Member States and supplements national citizenship. It implies a discrete set of legal and political entitlements, associated primarily with the exercise of free movement within the territory of the EU. Rights in this context have been traditionally extended to children

under the secondary legislative provisions governing the family members of primary 'EU migrants' – largely with a view to facilitating the latter's mobility. So, any biological children of either the EU migrant or his or her spouse or partner, provided they are under the age of 21 or are 'dependent', qualify for free movement (citizenship) rights – including entry, residence and access to education, health and employment in the host state on the same basis as national children.

In that sense, children's status as citizens has traditionally been defined as 'highly parasitic'; given that children do not, for the most part, migrate independently, they only benefit from the rights associated with free movement as a consequence of their parents' decision to live and work in another Member State and enjoy little or no independent entitlement. More recent case law, however, has seen the Court of Justice progressively heightening the currency of children's status as EU citizens in their own right. Three judicial milestones are identified in this regard.

The first milestone was at the end of the 1990s/turn of the millennium when the Court of Justice upheld children's EU citizenship status regardless of their parents' entitlement under EU citizenship law.

Noteworthy cases are *Baumbast* (Case C-413/99) and *Chen* (Case C-200/02), both of which concerned British national children born of migrant parents. The question in both cases largely focused around the residence status of the children's third country national parents. In regular circumstances, the parents would have been compelled to return to their country of origin. However, the Court of Justice recognised that, by virtue of the children's status as British nationals and, by implication, as EU citizens, the children could 'anchor' their parents to the host state as the children's primary carers. In other words, the parents' residence in the UK was recognised as an essential means of enabling the children to fully enjoy their status as EU citizens.

This was a big breakthrough. It was the first time that children were recognised as EU citizens in their own right and, as a consequence, it was the parents who were deriving entitlement from their children, not the other way around as had previously been the case under the 'parasitic' free movement framework. It was thought, initially, however, that the *Baumbast* and *Chen* concessions would operate extremely narrowly, i.e. only if the family was otherwise financially self-sufficient and unlikely to lay claim to the valuable economic and social resources of the host Member State. In both *Baumbast* and *Chen*, for example, the families demonstrated that they had the financial means to guarantee economic self-sufficiency for the duration of their residence in the host Member State. In *Chen*, in particular, the parents had already invested considerably in the EU economy through their business activities.

The second milestone came 5-6 years later in the decisions of *Ibrahim* (Case C-310/08) and *Teixeira* (Case C-480/08). These concerned EU migrants who moved with their wives to the UK and had children of EU nationality. In both cases, the marriage broke down, leaving the unemployed mother in the host state looking after the children and reliant on state benefits to support them. The Court of Justice upheld the mothers' claim for residence on the basis that it was necessary to give effect to the children's citizenship rights – and specifically to support the children's independent right to education. Furthermore, the Court confirmed that these

residence rights were not to be subjected to a self-sufficiency test since imposing that might impact adversely on the family's capacity to integrate and, indeed, to remain in the host state. So, the Court of Justice established in this line of cases that residence entitlement for family members under the free movement provisions crystallises around the child's educational rights and welfare rather than around any evidence of economic self-sufficiency.

But this raised a question about whether younger (pre-school) children and their parents might benefit from such a generous interpretation of EU citizenship. The 2009 decision in *Zambrano* (Case C-34/09) provided an opportunity to respond to this question. In a decidedly pragmatic and humane interpretation of EU citizenship, the Court recognised that refusing a residence permit to the parents inevitably implied that 'those children, citizens of the Union, would have to leave the territory of the Union in order to accompany their parents'. This was despite the fact that neither parent was an EU national and neither parent had actually exercised free movement between two Member States.

The Court's judgment in *Zambrano* therefore represents another celebrated boost to the currency of children's status as EU citizens, detaching their rights not only from the economic/self sufficiency imperative that had long characterised EU citizenship but seemingly from the pre-condition of free movement too. But while the decision is a minor triumph for children's rights under EU law, it should be viewed in the context of the very specific circumstances of the case; inasmuch as the father had previously been issued with a *non-refoulement* clause stipulating that he was not to be repatriated to Columbia, the children would have potentially been rendered stateless. Indeed, subsequent case law has highlighted that the *Zambrano* reasoning is confined to those cases where the child would be prevented, for all practical purposes, from remaining in the Member State if it were not for the support of the parent who is subject to the deportation order (*Dereci*, Case C-256/11).

So, what does all of this tell us about the relevance of EU citizenship to children today? Well, there is no doubt that EU citizenship has offered a legislative and judicial platform for some of the most ex-

PLICIT and meaningful advancements of children's legal and social entitlements in the context of free movement. Beyond that, however, there is limited evidence as yet that EU citizenship holds much of relevance to children in the way of facilitating their democratic participation or, indeed, enhancing their engagement with the European Union project.

It is also worth noting that developments in relation to children's EU citizenship have evolved largely in isolation from the 'rights' framework associated with the EU's broader children's rights agenda, raising questions as to whether some of the deci-

sions highlighted in this article might have been decided, or at least rationalised, quite differently had the best interests of the children (rather than the interests of the parents) been uppermost in the Court's mind. This highlights the need for better correspondence between the different child-related agendas that are being co-ordinated by different actors within different institutions at EU level. Moreover, it points to the need to ensure that any attempt to embed children's rights considerations into EU law and policy-making needs to extend to the Court of Justice as the key site in which these rights are being interpreted and enforced.



EPERN

European Parties Elections
and Referendums Network

EPERN

The SEI-based European Parties & Referendums Network (EPERN) produces an ongoing series of briefings on the impact of European integration on referendum and election campaigns. There is one addition to the series. Key points from this are outlined below. EPERN papers are available free at: <http://www.sussex.ac.uk/sei/research/europeanpartieselectionsreferendumsnetwork/epernelectionbriefings>.

ELECTION BRIEFING No 74 EUROPE AND THE 2013 CZECH PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION 25-26 OCTOBER 2013

Vít Hloušek, Petr Kaniok
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Key Points:

- This was the second early election in modern Czech history.
- Traditional parties faced serious internal quarrels that resulted in an electoral disaster for the Civic Democrats and a victory by a small margin for the Social Democrats, and to severe post-electoral internal feuding inside the Social Democratic Party.
- The political scene looked set for massive turmoil and fragmentation of the party landscape, as two new populist parties entered the House of Deputies.
- The election campaign, as well as the changing ownership of some media, called the independence of media into question, potentially moving Czech political culture towards a more “Italian” style.
- Electoral returns and the resulting fragmentation of the House of Deputies made composing a government a very complicated process and strengthened the role of President Zeman.



SEI Working Papers

This section presents SEI working papers. The aim of these papers is to make research results, accounts of work-in-progress and background information available to those concerned with contemporary European issues. All papers can be accessed on the following website: <http://www.sussex.ac.uk/sei/publications/seiworkingpapers>

Radical left parties and immigration issues



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Discussions of the politics of immigration in Europe have focused on the apparent success of Radical Right Parties (RRP) in exploiting migration

-related issues. The potential impact of RRP upon mainstream political parties as the latter toughen their policies in response has been a major topic of debate. However, radical left parties (RLPs) have received relatively little attention. As significant niche players in many countries, such parties face a dilemma in positioning themselves on migration related issues. On the one hand they promote an inclusive politics on solidarity, universalism and diversity against the trend towards more restrictive policies. On the other they may share at least some sources of support with RRP (notably the traditional working class) and a concern about the effects of immigration on their support. This paper analyses the way in which they have responded to this dilemma, particularly in those countries where RRP have been successful.



Explaining patterns of lustration and communist security service file access in post-1989 Poland

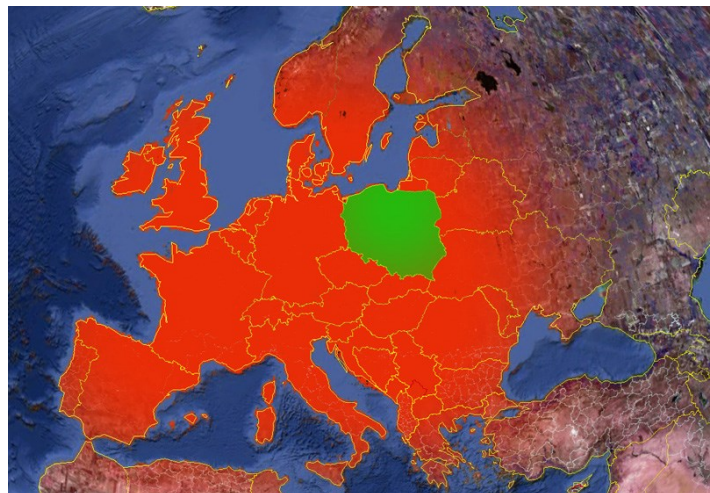


Prof Aleks Szczerbiak
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As an archetypal case of late and recurring lustration and communist security service file access, Poland provides us with an excellent basis for developing frameworks to explain this phenomenon. This paper examines whether and how the explanations available in the comparative and theoretical literature that has developed in recent years on lustration and transitional justice in the newly emerging democracies of post-communist Central and Eastern Europe help us to understand the extent and

recurrence of lustration and file access in countries like post-communist Poland.

It shows how these issues became entwined with other discourses and developments in post-communist politics and identifies two such fields of debate which could form the basis for more detailed, grounded research both on the Polish case specifically and other cases of ‘late lustration’ more generally. The first debate is around the re-emergence of the lustration and file access issue as an element of broader concerns about the need to improve the quality of post-communist democracy more generally. The second is the way that the issue became embroiled in what might be termed the ‘politics of history’ as a means of using historical narratives to buttress and question the legitimacy of political actors. Considering how states such as Poland deal with the communist past is, therefore, not just interesting in its own right but also has the capacity to provide us with insights in patterns of post-communist politics in these countries more generally.



The Evolution of National Social Dialogue in Europe under the Single Market, 1992-2006



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This paper examines the evaluation of national social dialogue (bipartite wage bargaining) across European countries. Several commentators in the 1990s expected the dismantling of national social dialogue institutions. Following the liberalisation of markets, intensification of competition, and declining union power, bargaining structures were supposed to converge to the Anglo-Saxon model of decentralised bargaining. The paper seeks to gauge the plausibility of the ‘decentralisation thesis’ using novel indicators of collective bargaining centralisation across the EU15. It is shown that despite the changes in product markets, flexible working, and declining union density, a generalised decentralisation of bargaining did not occur. Instead, in many European cases there is a counter-trend of centralisation, which casts doubt on the decentralisation thesis.



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.

Space for the Arts



Prof Sally-Jane Norman
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Our perspectives as European citizens are largely determined by cultural environments and networks. The arts moreover constitute a unique communications vector and means to promote dialogue, making them key to European consolidation: shared poetic, visual, sonic, and corporeal art forms weld our sense of community, and pique our appetite for diversity.

Artistic explorations of analogue media are today extended by interactive, participatory, and online digital creations. Alongside tangible traces of our richly entangled pasts, digital technologies are spawning forms and collaborations whose impact can be highly location-specific, as well as remarkably global. Open source systems that allow the shaping of communications channels, thence content, are stimulating alternatives to tools whose obsolescence is tightly planned by proprietary markets. Synergies brokered across disciplines - e.g. to

devise ways to optimise cognitive capacities by dispatching processing tasks across multiple sensory channels – are catalysing research that links computing, social sciences, and life sciences, generating contexts to which creative visions bring uniquely transdisciplinary insights. More broadly, experientially compelling artistic responses to complex societal questions prompt moments of binding ‘intersubjective illumination’, in keeping with anthropologist Victor Turner’s definition of *communitas*. Art helps us to creatively rethink concepts like subjectivity and agency, the polis and the commons, and humanistic frameworks for articulating our concerns with sustainability and intergenerational equity.

It is thus with good reason that European policy regularly emphasises the need to engage with arts and culture. The European Research Council’s Social Sciences and Humanities large grant remit was recently extended to the arts. Since the 1983 launch of the European Strategic Programme for Research in Information Technologies (*Esprit*), efforts to connect cultural identities and technological innovation have underpinned rafts of investments. As a result, industrial imaging and sonification, database, and indexation tools have been productively trialled and honed in museum and heritage settings. *Electronic Visualisation and the Arts* conferences, launched in 1990 by James Hemsley et al at Imperial College and ongoing at King’s, continue to nurture dialogue across information technologies and the arts. Such efforts have also prompted one-off events like the Louvre *New Images and Museology* conference (1992), where the potential of tools built for advanced industrial colorimetric and 3D

scanning analyses was spectacularly visible in cutting edge art-science research.

European Framework programmes have encouraged interdisciplinary advances: the recruitment of ethnomethodologists to generate new approaches to Computer Supported Collaborative Work (CSCW) in FP4 Information Technology (IT) projects led to a round of FP5 Information Society Technology (IST) projects centred on interactive digital art works. In contrast to the usual staid industrial benchmarking demonstrators, the maverick affordances of these works opened up new 'digital humanities' ground.

Parallel to these developments, smaller European arts players whose creative energies are sadly excluded from administratively top-heavy research programmes have become effective policy lobbyists. Early examples are the Netherlands-born P2P (Peer-to-Peer) collective, and the Austrian-based 'European Cultural

Backbone', which have adeptly employed social networks to coordinate public platforms at events ranging from European presidency conferences to electronic media festivals. This mix of variably-scaled activities, often involving agents who migrate across institutions and their fringes, has produced a resilient mesh of art works bound to media technologies and, in particular, to open source platforms that translate a gnawing, growing sense of social responsibility.

Yet for all this vibrant history, radical manifestations of contemporary culture are constantly under threat - the more so in the current economic climate. As long as state budget-holders lack metrics to monitor the health of the public imagination (and hopefully this will remain the case!), they tend to avoid the riskier path of artistic experimentation, instead paying lip service to tediously safe cultural forms and over-endowed 'official artists'. Survival under such circumstances requires cunning to carve out 'ek-stitutional' spaces (Florian Schneider). Horizon scanning may also reveal unexpected potential allies in more official guise. A case in point, the European Space Agency, is striving to enhance tax-

payer understanding of its role, and to better articulate its mission within a deep, and deeply European humanist tradition.

The need to engage with arts and culture in non-tokenistic ways prompted the theme of the European Interparliamentary Space Conference at the Cité de l'Espace in Toulouse (April 2014), where representatives debated the *Communication of Cultural Avenues for Space*. EISC members visited Thales Alenia and the Centre National d'Etudes Spatiales, where they observed



European Interparliamentary Space Conference visit, Arago Hall satellite construction facilities, Centre National d'Etudes Spatiales, Toulouse

satellite construction in Arago Hall, and Curiosity's Martian rock collecting forays (the NASA robot employs largely French analytical equipment). Having been involved in past ESA and European Space Policy Institute events, I was an invited speaker on a panel moderated by Kai Uwe Schrögl from ESA's Head Office and introduced by Geneviève Fioraso, French Secretary of State for Higher Education and Research, with co-panelists Director

General of the Cité de l'Espace Jean-Baptiste Desbois, CEO of Lisbon Science Centre Ana Noronha, and Peter Habison from the European Southern Observatory.

Discussions emphasised STEM subjects and the need to promote women in the sciences (eloquently argued by Fioraso and Belgian Senator Dominique Tilmans). Ways to develop a wider, more sophisticated culture of science and technology were broached - the Lisbon Science Centre, Cité de l'Espace, and the outreach programme run by Sussex's School of Mathematics and Physics provide a spectrum of exemplary practices. The fact that the latter is embedded in a significantly ESA-oriented environment, evidenced by the work of Peter Coles (Euclid dark energy mission) and Seb Oliver (Herschel Multi-Tiered Extragalactic Survey) was appreciated by Toulouse colleagues. Reference to internationally awarded art works of Brighton-based duo Semiconductor, achieved through collaboration with European and US space science organisations, met with considerable enthusiasm.

Universities committed to cross-cutting research collaborations like those on which Sussex was founded are well placed to forge insights traversing the arts and humanities, sciences and social sciences.

Digital technologies are excitingly expanding creative terrain and competencies for such work: the unprecedented recent award of a François Duchêne bursary to a Music PhD student, composer and sound engineer Joe Watson, whose electroacoustic research will benefit from a sojourn with the pioneering *Groupe de Recherches Musicales* in Paris, sends out a welcome signal to our interdisciplinary research community. It also serves as a timely reminder of Duchêne's belief in culture's overriding influence on history, and its importance as the means with which we can invent creative approaches to international relations. Like our extraterrestrial exploration, where finely calibrated systems explore unknown spatial and temporal territories, our investment of European cultural space is above all a matter of tuning.



European Interparliamentary Space Conference panel. From left: Geneviève Fioraso, Jean-Baptiste Desbois, Ana Noronha, Kai Uwe Schrögl, Sally Jane Norman, Peter Habison

Truth revelation procedures in post-communist Poland



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During the spring I was fortunate enough to have a term's research leave. I used this period to kick-start a major new research project that I have been trying to get moving for some time on so-called 'truth revelation procedures' in post-communist states, focussing specifically on the Polish case. Truth revelation procedures, involving 'lustration' (vetting individuals for their links with the communist-era security services) and opening up communist secret service files for public inspection, have been the most important and controversial means of transitional justice in the former communist states of Central and Eastern Europe.

I worked on this topic at the beginning of the 2000s, both on the Polish case and collaboratively with two colleagues specialising in the Czech Republic and Hungary: Kieran Williams (my former doctoral supervisor at the School of Slavonic and East European Studies and now lecturing at Drake University in the USA) and SEI visiting fellow Brigid Fowler (who now works at the Economist Intelligence Unit). In Poland, at that time lustration was conducted by a special prosecutor called the 'Public Interest Spokesman' who checked the veracity of affidavits submitted by around 20,000 public officials declaring whether or not they had collaborated with the communist security services.

The first Public Interest Spokesman's term of office ended in December 2004 and my plan was to finish off this project by writing an evaluation of the Polish lustration system to coincide with this. However, in the meantime the issue grew exponentially and the cuttings file that I was keeping on this turned into a 'cuttings filing cabinet'!

My current research project focuses on the issue of 'late' (and recurring) lustration and communist security service file access that has emerged in a number of post-communist states. As an archetypal case of this phenomenon, Poland provides us with an excellent basis for developing explanatory frameworks. In order to examine the Polish case within a broader comparative context, I started by trawling the vast comparative and theoretical literature that has developed in recent years on lustration and transitional justice in the newly emerging democracies of post-communist Central and Eastern Europe and other democratising states. I have looked to see to what extent the existing theoretical frameworks can help us to understand the extent and recurrence of lustration and file access in countries like post-communist Poland or if new approaches are needed.

Poland is a particularly interesting case of a country where truth revelation, and transitional justice more generally, were recurring issues in post-communist politics. The Polish case is also a fascinating example of a country that has seen a radical change of trajectory in terms of its approach to dealing with the communist past. This initially involved adopting a 'communist-forgiving' approach in the early 1990s, to passing a mild lustration law and limited opening up of the communist security service files at the end of the decade, through to adopting significantly more radical lustration and file access laws in controversial circumstances during the mid-2000s.

My preliminary empirical investigations have found that in the Polish case at least part of the reason why these issues recurred was because they

became entwined with other discourses and developments in post-communist politics. I have identified two such fields of debate which will form the basis for more detailed, grounded research both on the Polish case specifically but which I will use as the basis of trying to understand other cases of ‘late lustration’ more generally.

Firstly, the re-emergence of the lustration and file access issue as an element of broader concerns about the need to improve the quality of post-communist democracy more generally focusing on issues such as corruption and openness in public life. Secondly, the way that the issue became embroiled in what might be termed the ‘politics of history’ as a means of using historical narratives to buttress and question the legitimacy of political actors. A prime example of this is the debate over whether legendary Solidarity trade union leader and the first democratically-elected President in post-1989 Poland Lech Wałęsa collaborated with the communist secret services in the early 1970s. Considering how states such as Poland deal with the communist past is, therefore, not just interesting in its own right but also has the capacity to provide us with insights into patterns of post-communist politics in these countries more generally.

My current project thus has three specific objectives. Firstly, to produce the definitive grounded empirical examination of the politics of transitional justice and truth revelation in post-1989 Poland, the

largest of the post-communist states that comprised the former Soviet bloc and were subsequently in the vanguard of democratic consolidation exemplified by its accession to the EU in 2004.

Secondly, to help us to understand one of the key issues that has formed the basis for political divisions in former communist states and thus provide an important lens for examining and understanding the broader processes of post-communist democratisation. Thirdly, to expand our theoretical knowledge and understanding of transitional justice in newly emerging democracies, particularly in the former communist states of Central and Eastern Europe. It will do so by tackling the key questions of why and how the truth revelation issue recurs and remains controversial, even in those countries that, like post-communist Poland, initially avoided embarking upon radical transitional justice programmes?

I am delighted to have secured a book contract with Routledge to write a monograph on this topic. I have set out the framework for this research project in an SEI working paper published in April, a shorter version of which will appear as a chapter in an important forthcoming Cambridge University Press collection on *Post-Communist Transitional Justice: Lessons from 25 Years of Experience* edited by Lavinia Stan and Nadya Nedelsky. Now there is just the little matter of actually doing the research for and writing the book!



How Party Organisations Shape Democracy



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Assessing Party Organizational Change: Participation, Representation and Power

Some of the most enduring debates about political parties centre on diagnosing the implication of perceived trends in parties' organizational development. In studies of established democracies, many of these debates have been framed in terms of movement from or towards ideal type structures, whether *catch-all*, *electoral-professional*, or *cartel*. In studies of newer democracies, many debates focus on the correct conceptualization and measurement of *party institutionalization*, and on attempting to establish the implications and/or pre-conditions for such institutionalization.

Along with our colleague Thomas Poguntke (Heinrich Heine University, Duesseldorf) we are currently directing an international team project that adopts a new approach to examining the impact of party organizational structures and resources on democratic systems. The main novelty of this approach is an analytical framework that divides organizational capacity into three overarching dimensions, each of which further sub-divides into several more nuanced categories. Rather than establishing ideal types or additive measures of institutionalization, both of which assume symmetrical development in different areas of party life, our separate dimensions recognize that parties may

develop differently in different areas, and allow for the possibility of trade-offs between dimensions.

Inspired by past research on party organization as a dependent and independent variable, we employ these dimensions to formulate specific hypotheses about the institutional circumstances that are associated with different forms of party organization, and about how party structures can affect patterns of political participation and representation. In doing so, we make a case for a study of party organizations that is more concerned with systematic testing of causal links in mid-level theories rather than with creating new labels or non-falsifiable ideal type maps. In addition, through carefully structured most similar systems comparisons, we wish to address the question of the relative importance of structure and agency in the development of party organizations.

This project – the Political Party Database Project (PPDB) - is currently gathering the party organizational data that is essential for testing such hypotheses (see <http://www.politicalpartydb.com/>). When this is done, we will be able to produce an edited volume plus articles, conference papers, research notes, and to make the data freely available to other researchers (and indeed to non-academic users such as party officials and journalists).

The project has received financial support from a number of sources so far, including the Economic and Social Research Council (UK), the National Science Foundation (USA), Die Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (the German Research Foundation), the Thyssen Foundation (Germany) and the European Consortium of Political Research, and we have been able to stage various group meetings in Florence, Leiden and Duesseldorf to date. The next major project meeting, at which drafts of chapters for a comparative political science volume that we are writing, will take place in Sussex in the autumn.

In this brief article for *Euroscope*, we introduce the theoretical and practical parameters which are guid-

ing this data collection effort, and outline several research questions which we intend to examine with the help of the newly available data.

Introducing the Political Parties Database Project

The last two decades have been a time of rapid and radical change for the institutions of partisan politics. In this period the practice of multi-party electoral democracy spread widely, reaching areas of Eastern Europe, Latin America, Africa, Asia and even the Middle East that had until recently been governed by dominant-party or personalistic dictatorships. Even countries that did not shed their dictatorships were not immune from these changes, as regimes faced popular pressure to permit free (partisan) elections. Yet this embrace of electoral democracy coincided with a growing ambivalence towards partisan institutions in both established and newer democracies. While publics remained committed to “democracy” as a concept, they were wary of the political parties that seem central to the operation of electoral democracies.



This is illustrated by data taken from the most recent wave of World Values Surveys (www.worldvaluessurvey.org). For a sample of 25 democratic countries from Europe, the Americas, Asia and Oceania, 91.5% of respondents agreed that democracy was a good or very good way of governing their countries, but only 19.6% expressed 'quite a lot' or 'a great deal' of confidence in political parties. As much as political scientists are fond of quoting the assertion by the American scholar E. E. Schattschneider, that “democracy is unthinkable save in terms of parties”, the truth is that many citizens nevertheless remain ambivalent about parties, if not about democracy per se. In this unfriendly climate, parties in established democracies have seen their enrolled memberships de-

cline and the numbers of partisan identifiers in the electorate dwindle. In addition, political theorists and political activists have envisaged and promoted radical forms of participatory and deliberative democracy that are not party-centred at all.

Even so, the institutional realities of democratic life still point unmistakably to the fact that representative government remains very much a partisan affair. Political parties control ballot access and coordinate legislative behaviour, and in many countries organized parties benefit from generous public subsidies. Furthermore, no matter what they say about parties, citizens are still structuring their voting behavior along stable partisan lines, which creates incentives for politicians to structure their own careers within these lines.

Parties' grassroots organizations inhabit this critical gap between popular disillusionment with parties and parties' *de facto* political dominance. This is one reason that the study of party organization remains important even in a period when some of these organizations are weak-looking compared to non-party movements, while others seem to be frozen in amber thanks to generous public subsidies. As long as parties remain dominant in legislatures, their popular party organizations still hold a possible key to strengthening (or undermining) links between citizens and those who govern. Most parties give their extra-legislative associations privileged roles in transmitting ideas into party discussions, in recruiting political personnel, in communicating party visions and mobilizing supporters, and in providing legitimacy for party decisions.

How they carry out these tasks varies widely. Many of the main questions in the study of party organizations concern the extent to which these organizational differences affect organizational effectiveness. For instance, are some parties better at mobilizing supporters at election time, or at recruiting winning leaders? Do certain types of organizational structures lead parties to favour policies that are more or less in touch with their potential electorate? Answering these kinds of questions may help us understand why parties in some democracies have been more or less able to compete with the mobilization of new political actors. They may also provide some inspiration for parties

which are looking for new ideas about how to strengthen their own legitimacy and outreach.

The Political Parties Database (PPDB) project aims to support such efforts by collecting the systematic data that is essential whether scholars want to use party rules and structures as independent variables in cross-national and cross-temporal studies of legislative and electoral behavior, or if they are interested in party organizations as dependent variables. Up to now, such cross-national party data has been difficult or impossible to obtain. For instance, whereas it is fairly easy to find out what candidate-selection rules a given party is using for the current election, discovering details of the party's rules for a previous election often requires archival work. Doing this for many elections and many countries requires time and linguistic skills that few scholars possess. Similarly, although an increasing number of parties are using intra-party ballots to decide important questions, there are no central or even national repositories which archive contest rules and results for these contests within private organizations. Obtaining such information in retrospect may be quite difficult, because parties themselves do not necessarily keep good records. As a result, finding reliable cross-national data on party institutions and practices can be much more difficult than obtaining cross-national electoral or survey data, or data on legislative behavior, cabinet appointments, or economic outcomes.

That is exactly the motivation for the foundation of the PPDB research group. For the moment we are looking exclusively at parliamentary democracies, including long established West European cases, two second-wave European democracies (Portugal and Spain), three third-wave Central European democracies (Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland), and various non-European cases (Australia, Canada, Israel, South Korea and Taiwan). We are also planning to add some presidential democracies from Latin American in due course (Argentina, Brazil and Mexico). The countries currently included in the project are listed in the Appendix, along with the names of the relevant scholars. Country teams carried out the first round of data collection in 2012-2013, with 2011 as the initial year for which data has been gathered. The first research publications based on this data should begin appearing in 2014. What issues will these publications

address? To give some insight into this, we now turn to a closer examination of the premises which guided the data collection, and to the research questions our team hopes to investigate with the help of this newly available information.



Analytical Framework: Organizational Dimensions and Organizational Change

In this project we describe party organizations in terms of three general types of features: structures, resources, and linkages. Each of these areas can be further broken down into three or four dimensions to map the distribution of influence within them, the nature and distribution of resources, and their openness to individual and group demands.

Structures

A recurring question for scholars is the extent to which parties should be viewed as unitary actors. We plan to use data on rules about leadership selection, the distribution of staff and monetary resources, the leader's role in candidate selection and policy-making, and about a party's formal recognition of organized factions in order to tell us something about the following structural features of party organization: degree of leadership autonomy, extent of centralization, recognition of formal factions, and the extent of party organizations throughout national territories.

Resources

Another main area of differentiation among party organizations involves the availability and distribution of resources. Data on party finances, memberships and staffing will allow us to gauge the development, strength and diversification of party organizations.

Linkages

The third broad area of party organizational differences concerns the ways that organizations link citi-

zens and social interests to the parties that seek to represent them. By looking at party rules (and sometimes national laws), we will be able to judge how parties provide individual linkages to individual citizens, group linkages to trade unions, women, youth, or ethnic or linguistic minorities, and state linkages via funding and patronage.

Research Questions

Because political parties play an intermediary role in shaping and structuring political life, they can usefully be studied as both dependent and independent variables. We do not have the space to discuss the relevant hypotheses in which we are interested in detail, but we can briefly set out some of the major research questions that the database will enable us to address. These include:

How - and how well - do Contemporary Parties Represent Citizens' Interests?

Eg: To what extent do parties' resources affect the strength of their links with the citizens they are supposed to represent? What is the association between levels of state funding for political parties and electoral volatility? How does intra-party democracy affect electoral competition and the autonomy of party leaders? What is the relation between the inclusiveness of candidate selection procedures and the election of female and ethnic minority legislators? Are new forms of individual linkage helping parties to offset the effects of declining party memberships?

How Does Party Organizational Strength Affect Political Stability?

Eg, Do stronger extra-parliamentary party organizations increase the cohesiveness of legislative parties? Do stronger extra-parliamentary party organizations strengthen party attachments?

Summary

This short article has explained the rationale for a new collaborative project on political party organizations in democratic polities. We have set out the analytical framework, and the theoretical perspective, the thematic dimensions and a number of the major research questions that we will confront. An underlying concern is that the seminal overarching models of party organization that are so well-known may be overly deterministic and ultimately serve to obscure as much of the empirical reality as they illuminate. These traditional models also have limited utility for studying partisan organizing in non-parliamentary democracies, and even in some of the newer parliamentary democracies, where extra-parliamentary partisan organizations remain weak. We therefore hope that our emphasis on organizational dimensions rather than ideal types, on our focus on investigating 'middle-range' theoretical questions, will encourage researchers to engage in fruitful consideration about the interplay of structure and agency. The project entails a major data-gathering enterprise, with the long-term ambition being to generate a database that will eventually be periodically updated and freely available to secondary researchers. We believe that such an enterprise can have big pay-offs in advancing a truly cross-national understanding of how political parties help to structure political activity.

Appendix: List of Countries, Participants, and Academic Affiliations		
Country	Participants	Academic Affiliation
Australia	Anika Gauja	University of Sydney
Austria	Wolfgang Mueller	University of Vienna
Belgium	Kris Deschouwer	Free University Brussels
	Emelie van Haute	Universite Libre de Bruxelles
Canada	William Cross	Carleton University, Ottawa
Czech Republic	Petr Kopecký	Leiden University
Denmark	Karina Pedersen	University of Copenhagen
France	Elodie Fabre	Queen's University Belfast
Germany	Thomas Poguntke	Heinrich Heine University, Duesseldorf
Hungary	Zsolt Eneydi	Central European University, Budapest
	Daniel Rona	Central European University, Budapest
Ireland	David Farrell	University College Dublin
	Conor Little	Keele University
Israel	Gideon Rahat	Hebrew University
Italy	Luciano Bardi	University of Pisa
	Eugenio Pizzimenti	University of Pisa
Netherlands	Ruud Koole	Leiden University
Norway	Elin Allern	University of Oslo
Poland	Aleks Szczerbiak	University of Sussex
Portugal	Marina Costa-Lobo	Lisbon University
Spain	Tania Verge Maestre	University Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona
Sweden	Nicholas Aylott	Södertörn University, Stockholm
South Korea	Hannes Mosler	Free University Berlin
Taiwan	Hannes Mosler	Free University Berlin
United Kingdom	Paul Webb	University of Sussex
	Dan Keith	University of Exeter
	Annika Hennl	Goethe University Frankfurt/Sussex
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Miki Caul Kittilson		Arizona State University (USA)

UACES Student Forum Conference: New Horizons in European Studies



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UACES's 2014 Student Forum Conference was the fifteenth in a series of annual events that aim to bring together PhD students working in the field of European Studies. This two-day conference is a great opportunity for PhD students to gain experience of presenting their work, to get valuable feedback and, also, to meet other people working on similar issues.

This year's conference commenced with a keynote by Dr Nathaniel Copsey on his latest research project entitled "Rethinking the European Union". The conference went on with the panel sessions which covered a wide range of topics on EU research. The papers that were presented at the conference were developed by researchers working on different areas including, *inter alia*, European Integration, Migration, EU Governance Processes, EU Peacebuilding and Peacekeeping Measures, EU Foreign Policy and Education in Europe.

I presented a paper in this year's UACES Student Forum Conference as part of the panel concerned with "Europe's Future as Foreign- and Security-Political Actor". Based on my PhD research which aims to provide a test of the theory of 'Normative Power Europe' in the field of conflict transformation, my paper was developed with a particular focus on the case of Cyprus. In my research, I use a three-part analytical framework drawn from the literature which assesses normativity by associating goals, actions and impact of the EU. In this respect, my paper was concerned with the main findings of my empirical research on each of the three dimensions of a normative actor. The empirical research I conducted so far and on which my paper drew, involves a number of interviews conducted in Nicosia, the capital of Cyprus, as well as analysis of official EU documents and speeches of important politicians.

My paper was well-received by the panel participants and attendants. The chair of the panel, Dr Virginie Grzelczyk, gave me some very useful feedback on my work. Generally, I got a number of thought-provoking comments which will be taken on board.

Overall, this conference was a valuable experience. I have much appreciated the UACES for its financial support that made it easier for me to attend the conference and present my paper.



UACES

Field Research on political parties at difficult times



Toygar Sinan Baykan
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After one and a half years in my PhD studies, I have returned to Turkey to carry out fieldwork on the organisation of the Justice and Development Party (JDP).

However, before I left Brighton, the struggle between the Gulen Community and JDP had become an irreversible public issue after the initiation of corruption probes against the JDP ministers by allegedly Gulenist prosecutors in the middle of December, 2013. Another issue that occurred was the local elections that were scheduled to take place on March 30th.

All these circumstances were components of a remarkable political crisis even for such a strong political organization as the JDP in terms of its electoral performance and leadership. This caused a significant difficulty in getting in touch with even junior and local party members let alone senior party members from the headquarters.

Nevertheless, the crisis provided some important insights into the organisational character of the JDP. It confirmed that during times of political crisis, political organisations either tend to dissolve or increase their internal communication and discipline.

In this sense, the JDP, revealed a higher degree of internal cohesion and discipline in the present time of crisis. Despite the departure of a couple of depu-

ties, the JDP's organisation and local branches, to a great extent, have remained intact. The difficulties I had in getting in touch with the active members of the organisation can be considered as an indicator of the abovementioned organisational vigilance of the party.

As the inheritor of the Islamic National View tradition, which had long dealt with the systemic pressure of the extra-political actors such as the army and senior judiciary, JDP revealed a remarkable resistance to extra-political interventions relying on its leadership and its disciplined organisation. The party leadership re-interpreted the corruption investigations as a conspiracy planned by Western powers and staged by the Gulenist "parallel state" embedded in the bureaucracy.



The results of the local elections on 30th March proved the success of this strategy, with JDP receiving 45% of the popular vote.

These circumstances led me to talk mostly with former members of the party until after the elections. After the victory of the JDP it has become much easier to find party members as interviewees, even the high ranked members of the party headquarters. Nevertheless, my initial interviews with former party members and their more critical voices provided me with a "control narrative" against which I can test diplomatic narratives of the active party members. This is also to say that, by talking to the active members of the party after the elections, I obtained another "control narrative" with which to test the critical yet sentimental interpretations of the former and failed members of the party.

Successful RDF application: 'Sustaining the Emigrant Voting Database'



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I will be working with Dr Mike Collyer (PA, Geography) and Dr Jeremy Reffin (Informatics) on this project with funding recently awarded by the uni-

versity's new Research Development Fund, which seeks to support interdisciplinary research programmes. This is a pilot project that will establish a bespoke search protocol to maintain a global database on systems of emigrant voting. It draws on informatics research tools pioneered at Sussex and will support further applied and theoretical work on the changing spatiality of political authority.

As a follow up to the workshop on Migrant Voting in Europe, co-organised with Mike Collyer last September, we are also now working on a draft application for a Leverhulme International Network Grant to support a research project to investigate the voting of migrants as both immigrants and emigrants, in a selection of countries where elections will take place between 2015 -18.

Voter Turnout in "New Democracies"



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I am a first year doctoral researcher in Politics at Sussex. Before embarking on PhD studies, I received a BSc in Political Science from the University of Buea, Cameroon, an MA in History with

specialization in Africa studies at Dalarna University in Sweden and an MSc in Political Science from Södertörn University in Stockholm Sweden.

Under the supervision of Prof Aleks Szczerbiak and Prof Paul Webb, the central aim of my PhD project is to explain the considerable variations in levels of voter turnout across countries in transitional democracies. This question is essential for the following reasons:

Over the past century, several waves of democracies have swept over the globe, bringing about representative democracy to places where it seemed inconceivable fifty years ago. This new tide was initiated in the mid-1970s. Ever since we have experienced a process of globalization of democracy. It began in Southern Europe in the 1970s, extended to Latin America in the 1980s and culminated in the 1990s with the first democratic elections for nation-

al representative institutions taking place in 44 countries: Africa (22), Eastern Europe (19) and Asia (3). As a result, the number of regimes in the world that now purport to be liberal democracies has increased since the turn of the 1990s.

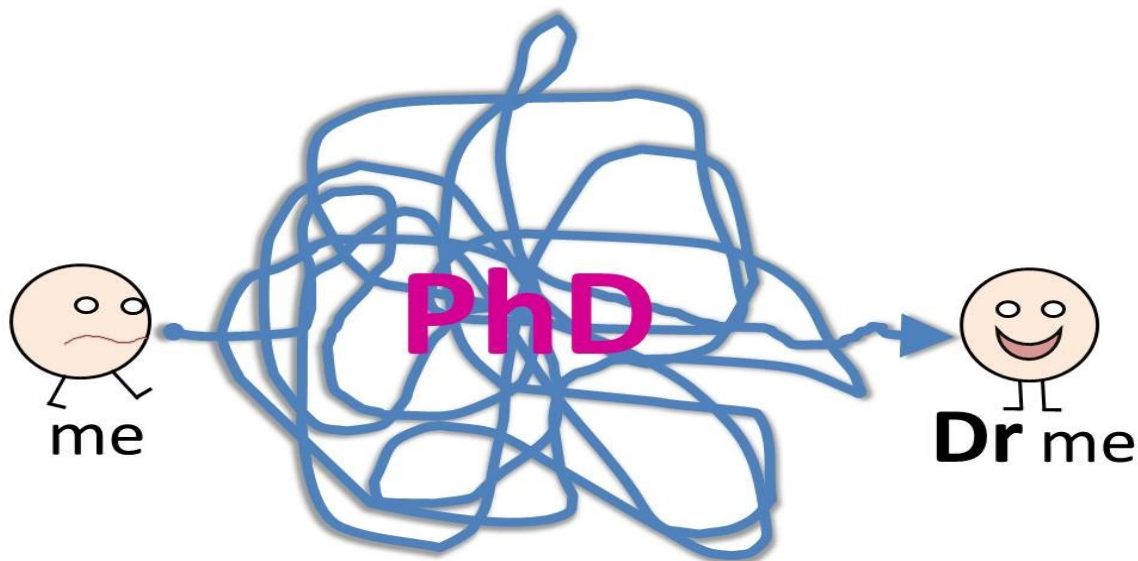
The future of democracy in both established and emerging systems depends to a larger extent on events related to the electoral process, because elections are the one political institution that both leads and reflects many of the social, political and economic trends in today's world. This explains why voter turnout has been a widely studied phenomenon in comparative politics literature. Yet, most of the literature has been centred on declining and cross-national variations of turnout in established democracies. It is true that there is certainly much that should be applauded in these studies and many interesting, not to say remarkable, results have been produced.

A problem however is that we know of no studies that provide a systematic comparative study of variations in levels of voter turnout across countries in emerging democracies since the third wave of democratization. Thus the key question remains unanswered: *How can we account for variations in levels of turnout across countries in "new-*

democracies"? That is, why do some transitional democracies suffer drop-off in turnout after the first few democratic elections, while others do not?

My unit of analysis being *new democracies* in Africa and Central/Eastern European countries, I begin by plotting an empirical mapping of voter turnout trends in these two regions based on the following typology: countries that have high voter turnout and turnout remains high, countries that have high turnout and later declines, countries that have low voter turnout and turnout remains low, countries that have low voter turnout and turnout increases and countries that have a stable turnout.

Turning from description to explanation, this thesis will provide a series of hypotheses to account for variations in levels of turnout among these countries which are derived from three main perspectives: psychological, rational choice and mobilization models. Based on cross-national survey data such as afrobarometer and Eurobarometer, I intend to rigorously test these hypotheses through a series of statistical analyses. As daunting as this task may seem, I look forward to kick-starting my research by presenting my research outline to staff and other research students in the department.



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.

Student trip to Berlin

Sam Jackson
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An 18-strong horde of second year politics students descended on Berlin for 6 days from 17-22 March, accompanied by the politics department's Dan Hough and Kai Oppermann, plus Kim Brayson from the Law School.

The trip, officially week 10 of Dan Hough's Political Governance module on German politics, allowed students to meet a range of German politicians from a variety of parties, alongside the Consul General for the UK in Germany, with visits to a former Stasi prison, the Bundestag, and a museum on the history of the GDR also part of the plans.

The first meeting, with Dr Katarina Barley of the SPD on the Tuesday morning, set the stall for the week. German politicians are very frank, and their English (well, certainly of the ones we met) is unbelievable. Take note, Westminster! Barley made extensive arguments for her views on national identity and environmental concerns. We were impressed.

Georgie Stott set another trend in motion in the meeting with Barley, enquiring about the merits or otherwise of nuclear energy. She then went on to ask *Die Linke*'s Jan Van Aken in the afternoon session, and everyone else who we met on the whole trip the very same question. The second *Die Linke* politician that the group met, Stefan Liebich, was, like Van Aken, very impressive, with students generally seeming to go away from both meetings with a new found respect for party socialism, some-

thing at least a few in the group were sceptical of beforehand.

The most controversial speaker of the week was undoubtedly the Euro-sceptic AfD's Frank Hansel, dividing opinion between those who thought he was great, and those who thought he was questionable to say the least. No matter what students thought, most, I think, would agree that it was one of the best meetings – and not just because of the generous assortment of biscuits provided! The fiery debate and questioning was a trip highlight, allowing a great level of engagement between students and speaker.

Thursday's day trip to Leipzig was another triumph, with a visit to a museum on the GDR widely enjoyed, before a free afternoon spent nostalgically traversing Woolworth (which we were disappointed to later discover was no relation of the former British high street staple), playing football and having a good old relax in Leipzig city centre.

The trip also provided opportunities for reflection, with the visit to a Stasi prison and the Holocaust Memorial poignant. The Stasi prison in Hohenschonhausen, in particular, gave students an insight into the sinister side of the GDR. The prison trip really brought home the authoritarian disposition of the GDR's regime, with students shocked and made uneasy at just how recent and close to home the psychological torture techniques implemented by the Stasi seemed.

On a lighter note, it would probably be unreasonable to expect a university trip to remain solely work-based, with the Berlin nightlife naturally seized

upon by students. Adam Ahmet's sledgehammering of Jay-Z's 99 Problems was perhaps the pick of the trip to a karaoke club on the last night, although an honourable mention must also be awarded to Jake Ramsamugh for a charismatic rendition of A-Ha's Take on Me; always an ambitious karaoke selection!

All in all, the trip was absolutely fantastic, and I'd like to say a huge thanks to Dan in particular for organising what was a great week! The group (minus Kim, on photography duties, and Kai, who had travelled back to Britain by this point) is assembled below, by a chunk of the Berlin Wall.



Competition Law Presentation in London



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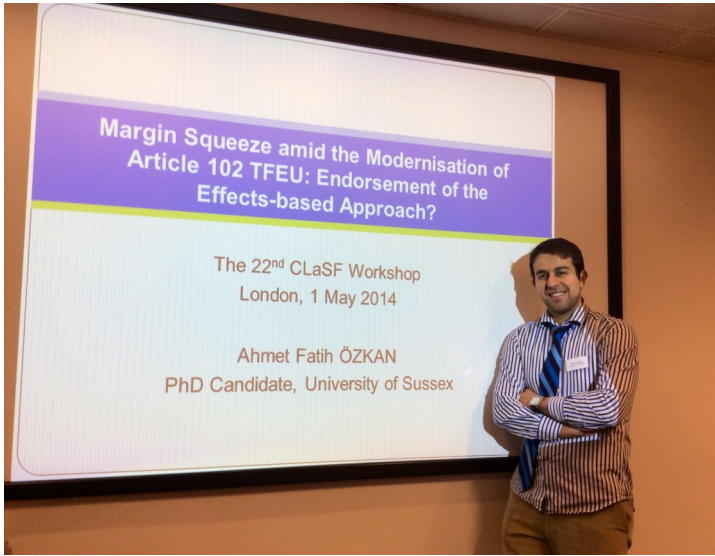
The idea of presenting papers in front of a group of leading scholars in my area of expertise has always attracted me as a PhD candidate, but it has never been stronger since I became aware of the Competition Law Scholars Forum (CLaSF).

Organised by Prof. Barry Rodger (University of Strathclyde) and Angus MacCulloch (Lancaster Law School), CLaSF is a network of competition

academics, lawyers and economists. It is a primary forum for academic exchange around competition law and an ideal opportunity for scholars to come together and share theoretical, economic and legal perspectives on a range of important competition law themes.

CLaSF holds two workshops every year, both within and outside the United Kingdom. Last year, I attended the workshop in April at the City Law School in London. Having seen the thought-provoking atmosphere in this workshop, I felt enthusiastic about submitting a paper for the next year's meeting. Fortunately the subject of this year's workshop fell within my research interests. I saw the proposal for papers on CLaSF's website in January, submitted my paper in February and finally had it accepted in early March.

The 22nd CLaSF Workshop took place in May at the offices of the law firm Bird & Bird in London. CLaSF was successful in achieving a critical mass of participants so as to maintain a vibrant discussion atmosphere. Each participant received a comprehensive delegate pack containing all the presentations and slides of the workshop. There were 10 speakers of which I was the 7th. My presentation a total number of 32 slides and took about 25 minutes. It was followed by a question and answer session where I had the chance to receive valuable input from the participants. It was also nice of my supervisor, Prof Erika Szyszczak, to attend the workshop with me.



judicial endorsement of the new effects-based approach to Article 102 TFEU within EU competition law.

While the European Commission, as the enforcer of this Article, engaged in a series of reforms on the last decade to steer the enforcement of the Article towards a more economics- and effects-based approach, the Courts have historically taken a negative stance against the use of such an approach in their jurisprudence. I argued that these recent judgments were not conclusive enough to put forward the idea that the old form-based approach to Article 102 TFEU has been replaced with the new effects-based approach.

In my presentation, I examined whether the recent judgments of the General Court and the Court of Justice on margin squeeze (which indicates an unlawful practice under Article 102 TFEU when carried out by companies with market power with a view to driving their competitors from the market by squeezing their profit margins), represented a

Having been encouraged by the positive comments I received during the workshop, my next task is to have the paper published.

Visit: www.clasf.org



Boosting voter mobilization in European Elections



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I was invited to attend the Open Society workshop in Barcelona between the 27-28 March 2014 as an ‘expert’ on voter participation of non-national EU citizens. The workshop brought together 22 participants from a range of ‘low turnout countries’ which included the UK along with a selection of post-communist member states: Poland, Czech Republic, Lithuania, Slovakia, Bulgaria, Slovenia and Romania. The other participants were representatives of civil society organizations that are all ‘grantees’ of this specific project funded by the Open Society’s Initiative for Europe. The aim of the meeting was to bring together the various grantees so as to give them the opportunity to learn from each other and discuss different ways of mobilizing their citizens to vote in the EP elections in May, as well as to build links between campaigners in different countries with a view to the longer term beyond 2014.

Since my own research has focused so far on participation of non-national EU citizens in local rather than EP elections, I shared my findings at this meeting with some reservations, particularly as the motivations for voting in local and EP elections are significantly different. However, some of my results on what factors encourage or discourage voting were of relevance and my research results from

the UK were particularly useful to the ‘New Europeans’, a UK based group that aims to mobilize non-national voters in the UK, especially in the context of a possibility of an in / out referendum on EU membership (<http://neweuropeans.net/>).

The emphasis during this workshop was however much less on academic considerations than practical issues relating to mobilization: research findings presented by a consultancy firm commissioned by Open Society suggested that arguments about the merits or otherwise of the EU should be avoided. Rather, having tested four possible messages (jobs, community, prejudice and social) with focus groups, they decided that the strongest message was to emphasize the ‘right to work’ as the most effective campaign mobiliser, with national ‘branding’ to target particular communities. Their central message was that campaigning should not use scare tactics (‘you could lose your job’) but use aspirational language (‘protect your right to work’). The complex question of how voting might actually translate into a defence of the right to work across the EU was not in their view a concern to be dealt with during the campaign where sound bites are seen as the key to success.



Another presentation by Demos showed how social media can be used to increase voter turnout, including Facebook advertising: here again the focus was on form rather than content (its cool to

vote!), and as one who does not engage with social media, I found this all very far removed from my own concerns. This workshop was a good opportunity for me to see European civil society in action, and to engage with other Europeans who share my interest in getting non-national EU citizens to participate, but from an academic perspective it’s a shame that there will be no way of actually measuring the output of all these efforts to mobilize.

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- The Politics of Eastern Europe in Transition
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For all enquiries: Prof Dan Hough
d.t.hough@sussex.ac.uk

Sussex Centre for the Study of Corruption



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- Political Parties and Party Systems in Europe
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- EU Single Market Law

For all enquiries: Dr Sue Collard (s.p.collard@sussex.ac.uk)

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- **European Law** — particularly EU constitutional law, competition law, the law of the single market, anti-discrimination law and human rights
- **The Politics of Migration and Citizenship** – particularly migration policy, the politics of immigration in Europe, and the politics of race and ethnicity
- **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
Politics: Dr James Hampshire (j.a.hampshire@sussex.ac.uk)
Law: Dr Mark Walters (mark.walters@sussex.ac.uk)
Sociology: Dr Laura Morosanu (L.Morosanu@sussex.ac.uk)