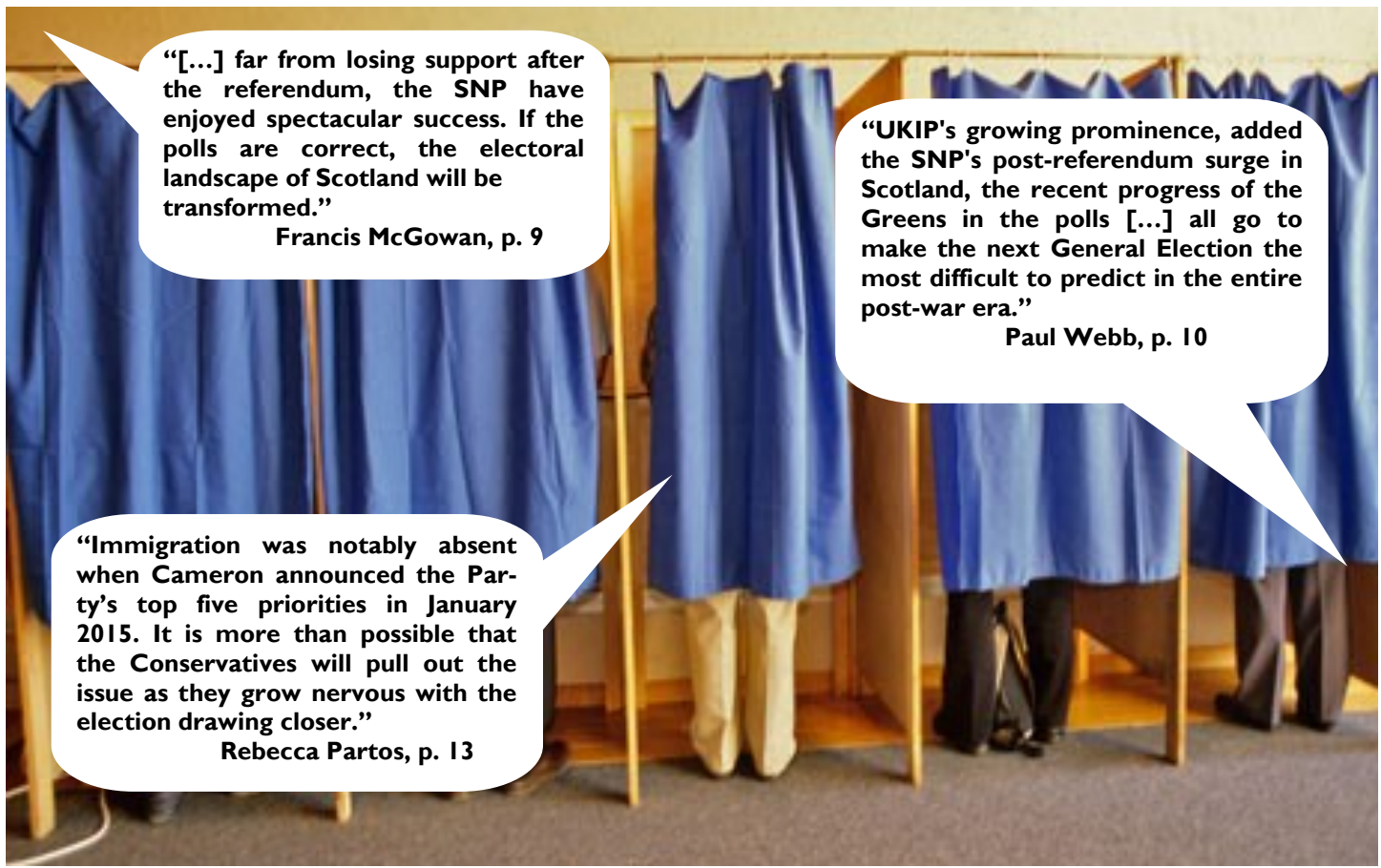


## UK May 2015 General Election



“[...] far from losing support after the referendum, the SNP have enjoyed spectacular success. If the polls are correct, the electoral landscape of Scotland will be transformed.”

Francis McGowan, p. 9

“UKIP’s growing prominence, added the SNP’s post-referendum surge in Scotland, the recent progress of the Greens in the polls [...] all go to make the next General Election the most difficult to predict in the entire post-war era.”

Paul Webb, p. 10

“Immigration was notably absent when Cameron announced the Party’s top five priorities in January 2015. It is more than possible that the Conservatives will pull out the issue as they grow nervous with the election drawing closer.”

Rebecca Partos, p. 13

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### Features

- ◆ Scotland, the UK & Europe: Multilevel Dissonance?
- ◆ Who will UKIP damage most in 2015 - Labour or the Tories?
- ◆ Caution Advised: the Conservatives and Immigration Policy

### Research

- ◆ Foreign Policy Fiascos
- ◆ Corruption & Governance MA Research Reaches House of Commons
- ◆ Labour Party Archive Visit
- ◆ New SEI research

### Activities

- ◆ Prof Aleks Szczerbiak on Poland and the EU (Professorial Lecture)
- ◆ 3rd Annual Conference Sussex Centre for the Study of Corruption
- ◆ 1st PhD Corruption Conference

# MESSAGE FROM THE CO-DIRECTOR...



**Prof Paul Taggart**  
**SEI Co-director**  
**P.A.Taggart@sussex.ac.uk**

The beginning of 2015 has been a difficult period for Europe. The attack on Charlie Hebdo and other targets in France was profoundly shocking. The ensuing displays of solidarity with the victims and the principle of free speech that arose across France and Europe, show both the resilience of and the profound challenges to key European values in these times. The Greek election in January, an unexpected event in many ways, heralded the rise of left populist party, Syriza, as a challenge to the existing austerity settlement designed to sustain both the Euro and the Greek economy. How the new Greek government approaches their agenda of renegotiating their economic relationship with the Euro and how the EU and European governments deal with Greece will have repercussions beyond the Greek economic situation.

Another election that takes our attention here is the UK General Election in May and this is the subject of this issue of Euroscope. In the pages following, Francis McGowan looks towards the politics of Scotland arguing that the recent referendum has far from settled the Scottish issue. As he notes, we have seen the continued growth of the SNP and future hold the possibility of a scenario of a UK referendum on UK membership with a Scottish majority in support of EU membership combined with a UK wide majority in favour of 'Brexit' which might reopen the issue of independence for Scotland.

Paul Webb provides in-depth and data rich analysis

of UKIP's challenge to both Conservatives and to Labour. He suggests that, with an uncertain outcome combined with a strong possibility of a hung parliament, even a small UKIP presence in Westminster may have a significant role to play.

Rebecca Partos analyses why the immigration issue is difficult terrain for the Conservative Party and how it may be a default issue but one fraught with difficulty. The only two certainties about the election seem to be that we are uncertain of what the outcome will be and that will not stop many of us speculating on it.

In the rest of the issue, SEI welcomes Liz David-Barrett, an expert on corruption but someone with long-standing engagement with Europe and particularly Croatia and the Western Balkans. Her profile in this issue highlights how her research on corruption emerged from her experience in Croatia and is now taking her towards looking at issue of voluntary regulation of corruption and self-regulation within parliaments.

Kai Oppermann outlines his current research on foreign policy fiascos. He lays out how such fiascos are socially constructed through political discourse. Having looked at Germany this project now seeks to examine UK cases.

Gerard Delanty outlines his exciting new research examining the changing European cultural ecosystem which has intensified the link between culture, identity and heritage.

Jake Watts reports on his use of the Labour Party's archive in service of his research on the causes of organisational, change in the Labour Party. His findings point to the importance of history, identity and ideology in mediating how elites reacted to grassroots pressure.

In an era where impact is a key part of the academic agenda it is wonderful to see how the research of MA students Kim Castle and Hazel Stevens has been used in helping the UK's Proceeds of Corruption Unit lobby for change in the House of Commons on issues of beneficial ownership and money laundering.

The Autumn saw the Professorial lecture of Aleks Szczerbiak and we are delighted to have him present here a summary of his provocative lecture arguing that Poland's importance lies its role as a model of European integration and as a case of successful transition to democracy. However Aleks is careful to highlight the difficulties and particularities of the transition process as well as suggesting that this role model for Europe may be becoming a somewhat awkward role model as support drops and aspirations rise from Polish citizens towards the EU.

From the busy workshop and conference diary, this issue reports on three events. Sam Power reports on the lessons of publishing, statistics and art from a UCL conference of the Political Studies Association's Postgraduate Network Professional Development Conference, a network which we here at Sussex now believe to be under particularly good leadership (see SEI Diary p.7)

There is also a report on the Sussex Centre for Study of Corruption' third, and highly successful, annual conference held in London's Canary Wharf in September, which brought together cutting Edge research with practitioners, with representatives from the MA students from the Sussex Corruption and Governance course on show at a dedicated round table. The masters experience of the MA in Contemporary European Studies is also reflected in the piece by Turkish student Gulnihan Olmez Kiyici.

The Autumn of 2015 may seem a long way away but it represents a key moment for the MA courses associated with SEI. The Contemporary European Studies MA has been restructured and retitled to reflect a greater emphasis on public policy and issues of governance and will be relaunched as the MA in European Governance and Policy while the new International Politics MA builds on the European regional focus with an MA that considers Europe in combination with other regions of the world. These join the world-leading MA in Corruption and Governance to offer what we hope will be a very attractive and varied set of courses that all aim to link established areas academic excellence at SEI with the practical and policy world.

To finish I would like to say that after over twenty years of involvement in the SEI, I am delighted to finally write my first message as a Co-Director.



## 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: **6 April 2015**.

### Co-Editors:

**Roxana Mihaila, Rebecca Partos, Stella Georgiadou**

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

### Co-Directors: Prof Sue Millns & Prof Paul Taggart

University of Sussex, Falmer, Brighton, BN1 9RG

Tel: (01273) 678578, Fax: (01273) 673563

Email: [seieuroscope@gmail.com](mailto:seieuroscope@gmail.com)

Twitter: [@EuroscopeSEI](https://twitter.com/EuroscopeSEI)

## Where to find Euroscope!

Euroscope is easily accessible:

- The SEI website: <http://www.sussex.ac.uk/sei/euroscope>
- The official mailing list, contact: [euroscope@sussex.ac.uk](mailto:euroscope@sussex.ac.uk)
- Hard copies are available from the Law, Politics and Sociology office
- Join us on Facebook and Twitter for the latest Euroscope news

**Please free to contact us to comment on articles and research and we may publish your letters and thoughts.**

### Features section: the UK 2015 General Election

This issue of *euroscope* brings together perspectives on the May 2015 UK General Election - specifically looking at the Scottish referendum, the role of UKIP and immigration in this campaign - you can find these pieces on pages 9-15. More topic related articles and updates in the Research section.

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# SEI Diary

The SEI Diary provides snippets on the many exciting and memorable activities connected to teaching, researching and presenting contemporary Europe that members of the SEI have been involved in during Autumn/Winter 2014.

## September 2014:

### **Sussex Centre for the Study of Corruption (SCSC) annual conference**

The SCSC, headed by SEI Professor Dan Hough, hosted its third annual conference. The event took place at Clifford Chance's offices in central London and focused on the range of issues with which corruption researchers and anti-corruption practitioners are confronted. Details on p.26 ◊ 9 September

**Doctoral Researcher Rebecca Partos** published an article in *Political Insight*, entitled 'No immigrants, no evidence? The making of Conservative Party immigration policy'.

**SEI Professor of Politics Dan Hough (Director of the Sussex Centre for the Study of Corruption) and Dr Liz David-Barrett (Department of Politics)** discussed the topic of corruption in the UK at an event hosted by Transparency International entitled 'Corruption Research with Impact' ◊ 18 September



**SEI Doctoral Researcher Sam Power** published an article in the PSA's Political Insight Blog entitled 'The financing of politics – corrupt, whichever way you look at it?' ◊ 19 September

**The SEI hosted a roundtable** entitled 'Has Multiculturalism Failed?'. Papers were presented by Dr Sue Collard (Politics, University of Sussex), Dr Stephanie Berry (Law, University of Sussex) and Professor Paul Statham (Director, Sussex Centre for Migration Studies) ◊ 24 September

**SEI Professor Aleks Szczerbiak** acted as the external examiner of a doctoral thesis on 'The

construction of national identity in post-1918 Poland' at Plymouth University ◊ 25 September

## October 2014:

**Dr Emanuela Orlando**, lecturer in Environmental Law, presented a paper at the SEI entitled 'Defining Effective Responses to Environmental Harm in a Multilevel Context -Towards a Mutually Supportive Relationship between EU and International Levels' ◊ 1 October

**SEI Professor of Politics Dan Hough** published an article entitled 'Life after Merkel: There will be, and it could begin in the little-known state of Thüringen' in the American Institute for Contemporary German Studies (AICGS) Advisor newsletter ◊ 2 October

**SEI Doctoral Researcher Sam Power** published an article in *The Conversation* entitled 'Could state funding help fix Britain's flailing political parties?' ◊ 7 October

**Findings of research conducted by MA Corruption and Governance students were presented to House of Commons committee:** Kim Castle and Hazel Stevens, worked with Detective Chief Inspector Jon Benton, head of the UK's Proceeds of Corruption Unit, on issues of beneficial ownership and money laundering. In a speech to the House of Commons 'Small Business, Enterprise and Employment Bill Committee', DCI Benton presented part of the students' findings ◊ 14 October

**SEI Professor Aleks Szczerbiak** gave his University of Sussex professorial lecture on 'A model for democratic transition and European integration? Why Poland matters'. For a synopsis of the



## SEI Diary

lecture see p. 23 in this issue. ◇ 15 October

**Dr Sabina Avdagic**, senior lecturer at the Department of Politics, presented at the Politics research in progress seminar on 'Ministerial Discretion and Distributive Policy in Parliamentary Democracies' ◇ 15 October

**SEI Professor of Politics Dan Hough** spoke on anti-corruption campaigns at a conference on 'Building state capacity in China and beyond' that took place at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor ◇ 16-17 October

**SEI Professor Aleks Szczerbiak** participated in a Jagiellonian University Polish Research Centre (PON) roundtable on 'Democratic Transitions in Eastern Europe' at City University, London ◇ 22 October

**SEI Professor Aleks Szczerbiak** acted as the external examiner for the MA programmes at the University of Glasgow Centre for Russian, Central and East European Studies ◇ 23 October

### November 2014:

**SEI Professor of Politics Dan Hough** published an article in *The Conversation* entitled 'Cameron can't afford to call Merkel's bluff on EU migration' ◇ 4 November

**Dr Kai Oppermann** presented at the Politics research in progress seminar on 'Foreign Policy Making in Coalition Governments' ◇ 5 November

**Dr Emily Robinson (Lecturer in Politics)** presented a paper entitled 'The Beautiful and the Sublime: Conservatism and the Idea of Time' at the two-day workshop on conservatism hosted by the University of Zurich's Ethics Centre ◇ 6-7 November

**SEI Professor of Politics Dan Hough** published an article in *The Conversation* entitled 'Berlin Wall: 25 years after its fall, Germany is a curious mix of success and struggle' ◇ 8 November

**Four day development course run by the Sussex Centre for the Study of Corruption (SCSC)** Six members of the South Korean Anti-


Corruption and Civil Rights Commission visited the University of Sussex to participate in a 4-day course run by Professor Dan Hough and Dr Liz David-Barrett ◇ 10-14 November

**SEI Professor of Politics Dan Hough** published an article in *The Conversation* entitled 'Promises, promises-but FIFA just can't admit it has a problem' ◇ 14 November

**SEI Doctoral Researchers Roxana Mihaila and Stella Georgiadou** attended the UACES Student Forum Seminar on Teaching European Studies, a one-day event focusing on the main challenges of teaching European Studies ◇ 18 November

**Prof of Law Erika Szyszczak co-hosted**, with Dr Jim Davies (University of Northampton), a SEI roundtable on 'Universal Services and Citizenship' ◇ 19 November

**SEI Professor Aleks Szczerbiak** gave a paper on "Democratisation in post-communist Eastern Europe: Problems of measurement and causality" at a conference on 'Consolidation – only in terms of democracy?' at the University of Wrocław in Poland ◇ 25-26 November

 **Politics Doctoral Researcher Helen Keighley** was granted a highly esteemed scholarship by the Universities Association of Contemporary European Studies (UACES). The scholarship will help her to fund her fieldwork ◇ November

### December 2014:

**SEI Doctoral Researcher Roxana Mihaila** acted as a discussant at an LSE roundtable on the 2014 Romanian Presidential Election ◇ 1 December

**SEI Professor Aleks Szczerbiak** published a post entitled "Poland's disputed local election results have raised questions about the reliability of the Polish electoral process" on the LSE European Politics and Public Policy (EUROPP) blog ◇ 3 December

**SEI Professor of Politics Dan Hough** pub-

## SEI Diary

lished an article in *The Conversation* entitled 'UK corruption down again but are we counting it right?' ◇ 3 December

**Doctoral Researcher Rebecca Partos** was elected Chair of the Postgraduate Network (PGN) of the Political Studies Association (PSA).

**SEI Professor of Politics Dan Hough** published an article in *South China Morning Post* entitled 'Global index reflects China's efforts to bring corruption to light' ◇ 5 December

**Politics Doctoral Researchers Rebecca Partos and Sam Power** attended the PSA's Post-Graduate Network Professional Development Conference in London ◇ 15 December

**Politics Doctoral Researcher Miguel Angel Lara Otaola** was awarded a conference grant of £1000. The conference will be held in March 2015 on the topic of 'Democracy and Participation in Latin America' - details below ◇ December

**An East Sussex seat for Labour is being fought for by a University of Sussex politics student:** Solomon Curtis, a first year undergraduate student might become UK's youngest Member of Parliament after next year's general election ◇ December

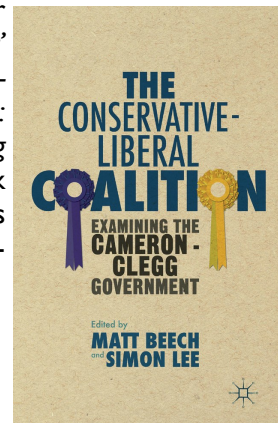
**SEI-affiliated Professor Benjamin-Immanuel Hoff**, Visiting Fellow at the Department of Politics, has been named a minister in the new regional government in Thuringen, Germany. He is now Minister for Cultural, Federal and European Affairs as well as head of the 'Kanzelei' ◇ December

### January 2015

**Politics Doctoral researcher Peter Simmons** passed his viva with only minor corrections ◇ 21 January

**SEI Professor of Politics Dan Hough** published an article in *4 News* entitled "A far-left win in Greece-'far-right here to stay'" 26 January

**SEI Doctoral Researcher Rebecca Partos and Professor Tim Bale** (Queen Mary University) co-authored a chapter on 'Immigration and Housing' in a book entitled "*The Conservative-Liberal Coalition: Examining the Cameron-Clegg Government*". The book comprises thorough essays on the main areas of government policy.



## Forthcoming Events

### Democracy and Participation in Latin America Conference 19-21 March 2015

SEI affiliate Miguel Angel Lara Otaola is on the organising committee of the inter-disciplinary conference on "Democracy and Participation in Latin America" hosted by the University of Sussex. The event is designed to encourage lateral thinking on this important topic by considering a wide range of perspectives across disciplines, and by reaching out to both scholars and practitioners working on this subject.

Topics include, but are not limited to: citizen participation in elections; transparency, corruption and participation; civil society and social movements; human rights; democracy and development (i.e. social, economic, cultural); dictatorships, political violence and its memory, and the pursuit of democracy; cultural movements.

More details: <https://sussexlatinamerica.wordpress.com/>

Spring 2015

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## Forthcoming Events



**RESEARCH IN PROGRESS SEMINARS**  
**SPRING TERM 2015**  
 Wednesdays 14.00 - 15.50  
**Venue: Freeman Building G22**

DATE	POLITICS SEMINARS	SUSSEX EUROPEAN INSTITUTE SEMINARS
Weds 21.01.15		Francis McGowan, Emily Robinson, Paul Taggart, University of Sussex <b>Roundtable on the 2015 UK General Election</b>
Weds 28.01.15	<b>Paul Taggart, University of Sussex</b> Responding to Populists in Power - Some Comparative Conclusions	
Weds 04.02.15		Sue Collard (Politics), Ahmad Ghouri (Law), Shane Brighton (International Relations), Suraj Lakhani (Sociology) University of Sussex <b>Je suis Charlie: A Debate on Freedom and Identity in France</b>
Weds 11.02.15	<b>Nicholas Allen, Royal Holloway</b> Ethics and Integrity in British Politics: How Citizens Judge their Politicians' conduct, and Why it Matters	
Weds 18.02.15	<i>Politics Departmental meeting – no seminar</i>	
Weds 04.03.15	<i>PhD students presenting research outlines – no seminar</i>	
Weds 11.03.15	<b>Lucy Barnes, Kent University</b> The Political Economy of Taxation: Progressivity in Comparative Perspective	
Weds 18.03.15		<b>Ivor Gabor, University of Sussex</b> The Impact of the Social Media on Marginal Seats in the South of England During the 2015 General Election Campaign
Weds 25.03.15	<b>Elizabeth David-Barrett, University of Sussex</b> Open Data as a Tool for Tackling Corruption	

If you would like to be included in our mailing list for seminars, please contact James Dowling, email: [polces.office@sussex.ac.uk](mailto:polces.office@sussex.ac.uk)



# Features

## UK 2015 General Election

### Scotland, the UK and Europe: Multilevel Dissonance?



**Francis McGowan**  
Senior Lecturer in Politics  
[F.McGowan@sussex.ac.uk](mailto:F.McGowan@sussex.ac.uk)

While it might have been expected (hoped/feared) that last year's independence referendum had settled the "Scottish question", it appears that this is far from the case. With a general election later this year, followed by a Scottish election next year and a possible European referendum the year after that, the fate of the Union is still far from certain.

When the independence referendum resulted in a pretty strong endorsement of the Union rather than a Scoxit (55% in favour of the status quo), one could have been forgiven for thinking that "that would be that". The scale of the victory would put to bed fears of a "neverendum", of the issue of independence being regularly revisited by its advocates in Scottish political debates. Some concessions to further autonomy, matched by some quid pro quos in terms of reducing the role of Scottish MPs in the UK Parliament on English matters, would provide a settled settlement, close to the "Devo Max" which might have been the third option on the referendum ballot had Prime Minister David Cameron not vetoed it. Moreover, the SNP - having been defeated on the issue which was its *raison d'être* - was likely to lose support and as a result would be unable to govern as a single party in the Scottish Parliament (the only way in which a further referendum could get through

the legislature). As if to confirm the new normal, the leader of the SNP government Alex Salmond announced his resignation, acknowledging that a referendum was a once in a generation phenomenon (if not a lifetime).

Four months after the referendum and about four months before the next UK election, things look rather different. The plans for Devo Max are far from settled and seem to have unlocked a new source of contention for the right of the Conservative party in the UK. The UK Labour Party - traditionally able to assume a substantial degree of support and seats from Scotland - was shaken by the resignation of the leader of the Scottish Party, Johann Lamont. Her complaints that the Scottish Labour Party was treated as a branch office of the national party reflected a growing disaffection of hitherto loyal supporters. Many of them had voted for independence and subsequently seemed to have drifted away from the party. Scottish opinion polls show a collapse in support for the Labour Party and the SNP appear to be the main beneficiary.

Indeed, far from losing support after the referendum, the SNP have enjoyed spectacular success. The party has recruited thousands of new members (becoming the third largest party in the UK) and its position in the polls is close to its highest levels. If the polls are correct, the electoral landscape of Scotland will be transformed. Even if the polls are not correct the chances are that the SNP will win more seats than it has done so before (at the expense of Labour and the Liberal Democrats). Indeed, it could even hold the balance of

## Features

power in the UK Parliament with Alex Salmond almost certain to lead the SNP cohort at Westminster.

Of course there is the small matter of what happens in the rest of the UK and particularly what happens with another party seeking independence of a different kind - UKIP. From a Scottish perspective, UKIP is a player (as reflected in their success in securing a Scottish seat in the European elections) but they are unlikely to win any national constituencies north of the border in the general election. However their impact south of the border could have consequences for the Union.

If the Conservatives are returned to power and able to govern alone (or with some form of support from UKIP) then a referendum on EU membership will take place. If that referendum delivers an overall British majority in favour of leaving the EU but a Scottish majority in favour of remaining in the EU then it is highly likely that the question of Scottish independence would be reopened. It is possible that, in this scenario, we could see an independent Scotland negotiating separation from the rest of the UK at the same time as negotiating

re-entry in the European Union. However, how likely is this scenario to play out? Leaving aside the question of whether the UK will vote to leave the EU, what are the chances that this would also lead to a Scoxit?

Central to this is the question of how big the divergence is between Scotland and the rest of the UK on the issue of EU membership. Opinion polls indicate that while generally Scottish opinion is more Europhile than the rest of the UK, the extent of that margin ebbs and flows. Moreover, a poll carried out during the referendum campaign indicated that even if the UK as a whole voted for Brexit, that might not be enough to persuade Scottish voters to back independence.

In any case, it remains to be seen whether current levels of support for independence can be maintained, let alone grow, given the current state of oil markets. Much of the SNP's post independence plans for the economy were premised on an oil price closer to \$100. With prices less than half that level, and with the oil and gas sector undergoing severe cutbacks, they may find it harder to persuade voters that those plans are credible.

## Who will UKIP damage most in 2015 - Labour or the Tories?



**Paul Webb**  
Professor of Politics  
[P.Webb@sussex.ac.uk](mailto:P.Webb@sussex.ac.uk)

With the by-election victories of Tory defectors Douglas Carswell in Clacton and Mark Reckless in Rochester & Strood, UKIP have now established a representative presence at Westminster that augments those already forged in local and European parliamentary politics.

It is clearly no longer possible to dismiss the party as a fringe organisation of anti-EU obsessives that share little in common with the electoral mainstream – 'swivel-eyed loons' in the memorable if tactless words of a senior Conservative aide in

2013<sup>(1)</sup>. In the 2010 General Election, the party achieved just 3% of the popular vote and did not come remotely close to winning a seat in the Commons.

Since then, however, it has made meteoric electoral progress. By the end of 2012 it was consistently rating at around 10% in the opinion polls and achieved by-election support as high as 22% in Rotherham in November of that year, and 28% in Eastleigh in February 2013 (in both of which its candidates were placed second). In the May 2013 local elections UKIP averaged 23% where it stood, returning 147 councillors, while it topped the European parliamentary elections of 2014 in the UK, gaining 27.5% of the nationwide vote and 24 MEPs. And now there are incursions into the Westminster redoubts of the major parties.

## Features

One of the most striking features of UKIP's growth seems to be that it is based on increasingly diverse political support. Initially regarded as a refuge for disgruntled Tories, it has become apparent that the party's support base can no longer be so simplistically characterised. Since the May 2013 local elections, Nigel Farage has taken every opportunity to argue that his party would henceforth be targeting votes from across the spectrum of major parties in the UK. His contention was that hitherto UKIP tended to run candidates mainly in Conservative territory, but as the party grew so it would be contesting more and more Labour-held seats and the breadth of UKIP's appeal would become increasingly apparent.

Academic analysis has offered some support to this line of argument; Rob Ford and Matthew Goodwin (2013) report a senior UKIP official's claim that 'the low-hanging fruit for us are not former Tories, but people who have traditionally and culturally always been Labour.'<sup>(2)</sup> The goal is to exploit the failings of a 'liberal metropolitan intelligentsia, which is uncomfortable among working-class voters, failing to defend their interests, and finds their concerns distasteful'. These concerns relate primarily to immigration and secondarily to the EU, of course.

The unfortunate tweet by Labour's Shadow Attorney General Emily Thornberry during the final stages of the Rochester by-election campaign seemed to many observers to exude this liberal metropolitan disdain, so perhaps it is not surprising that UKIP is now showing clear evidence of building support in Labour strongholds. Opinion research consistently suggests that UKIP fares relatively well among older, less well-educated, white working class voters (especially males). These are the 'left-behinds' who have failed to reap the benefits of social and economic change in contemporary Britain.<sup>(3)</sup> They are disillusioned with the major parties, embittered by immigration, and Eurosceptic. Indeed, this is a fairly typical support profile for the populist radical right across Europe.

Emily Thornberry MP  
@EmilyThornberry

Image from #Rochester



Thus, where once we might have supposed that a strong UKIP performance at a national election would come chiefly at the expense of the Conservatives, this now seems far less clearcut. So which of the major two parties is the seemingly relentless advance of UKIP most likely to damage at the general election of May 2015?

Prior to the 2013 surge, survey data shows that UKIP voters were more than twice as likely to come from Tory-held seats as from Labour-held seats (61.7% to 30.4%). And while there was some fluctuation from survey to survey in the reported level of UKIP dependence on former Conservative supporters, there was no doubting their preponderance among UKIP voters. Estimates suggested that between 45% and 60% of UKIP supporters in 2010 were ex-Tory voters, compared to less than 10% who were ex-Labour<sup>(4)</sup>.

Moreover, UKIP-ers were plainly closer to the Conservatives in other ways. On a scale of 0-10 (where 0 = 'dislike' and 10 = 'like') they gave the Conservatives an average rating of 5.57 in 2010, but Labour only 3.53; indeed, they preferred the BNP (4.80) to Labour. They were also much more likely to read newspapers sympathetic to the Conservatives (Mail, Express, Telegraph) and much less likely to read those favouring Labour (Mirror).

More importantly, perhaps, they appear to be significantly closer to the Tories in ideological terms. On another 10-point scale, where 0 = left-wing and 10 = right-wing, UKIP voters in 2010 located themselves at 8.23 on average, only slightly to the left of where they felt the Conservative Party to be (8.74) – but comfortably to the right of where they perceived Labour to reside (6.49).

Moreover, UKIP's working class supporters were distinct from Labour's core working class voters in several respects – more self-consciously right-wing, more exercised by issues of cultural identity, more immersed in the Tory press, less likely to live in Labour-held constituencies – and, indeed, far less likely to have been Labour voters at all in previous elections. While some 68% of Labour's working class supporters in 2010 also voted for the party in 2005, only 21% of UKIP's working class voters did. In brief, UKIP might well hold

## Features

some attraction for the working class as a whole, but it seemed questionable whether it was really penetrating the part of this demographic that constituted Labour's core support. It was just as likely that it was only attracting working class electors who had long been right-wing and hostile to Labour.

Consideration of UKIP's policy profile prior to 2014 might help us understand why this should have been so. Even a cursory survey of the party's policies revealed an organization that was, as Farage himself put it, 'traditional conservative and libertarian', and it is hard to imagine that some of their key issue positions would have held much appeal for Labour's traditional core supporters: these included commitments to a regressive flat-rate income tax, the abolition of national insurance and inheritance tax, a voucher scheme for health care that would in effect have amounted to a middle class subsidy to opt for private care, and some £77 billion of public expenditure cuts that could have left an estimated £120 billion 'black hole' in public finances<sup>(5)</sup>.

While its critics have often accused it of 'abandoning' the traditional base of manual workers and welfare dependents, the truth is that the contemporary Labour Party remains a world away from the political economy of UKIP; New Labour in office delivered record spending on health and education and sustained comparatively high levels of public expenditure on welfare. For all the potential that UKIP might hold as a populist tribune for working-class angst about immigration, arguably it had little to offer Labour's traditional core voters in terms of the politics of distribution or economic management.

In light of this what has been happening over the past 12 months is interesting. As UKIP support has grown, so it has expanded into Labour territory – and there are signs that it has been adapting its policy profile accordingly. In *Revolt on the Right* Ford & Goodwin presented a list of those seats likely to be most winnable for UKIP based on demographic profile and size of two-party swing required for a UKIP victory; 12 of the top 15 are currently held by Labour (starting with Great Grimsby).

It is no coincidence that there are clear signs of a significant re-think by UKIP on policy. Farage famously dismissed the 2010 manifesto as 'drivel' and announced a thoroughgoing review of party policy in 2013. Gone from the party's website now are all claims of being 'traditional conservative and libertarian', and the 'flat-rate' income tax has been replaced by a commitment to introduce a more graduated scheme (ie, with marginal rates of 35% for income between £42,285 and £55,000, and 40% over and above that). There is a clear defence of the NHS as something that should remain free at the point of delivery, while further Private Finance Initiatives will be blocked and local authorities encouraged to buy out existing ones.

New migrants will have to buy private health insurance for 5 years until they become eligible for free NHS care, and the Tories' controversial 'bedroom tax' will be rescinded. These, along with other well-known promises regarding withdrawal from the EU and stricter controls on migration might well be designed to appeal to those 'left-behinds' who are losing faith in Labour. Perhaps it is no surprise, then, that polling in Rochester suggested that 40% of those who voted Labour in the constituency in 2010 claimed an intention to vote UKIP this time – proportionately only slightly less than the 44% of Tory supporters in 2010 planning to support Reckless in the by-election<sup>(6)</sup>.

Even so, the Tories have little scope for enjoying a sense of *schadenfreude* at Labour's discomfiture. After all, they are the principal victims of UKIP's by-elections triumphs in Clacton and Rochester, and rumours persist of further defections from the ranks of Tory MPs in the near future. While defeat in the former constituency was one thing, in the latter it was quite another. The Conservatives were initially confident that Rochester and Strood was a more well-heeled constituency in which UKIP's populist appeal would resonate far less than it did in Clacton. Indeed, the two-party swing to UKIP was significantly lower in Rochester, at 28% compared to 44% - but it was still sufficient to achieve a comfortable victory for Mark Reckless. If UKIP can win in unfancied Rochester, how many more Tory seats might tumble to Farage's army in May 2015?

## Features

Of course, there are good reasons why the party cannot expect to prosper as spectacularly in a General Election as in a by-election; turnout will certainly be higher overall, and that means that many somewhat disgruntled or apathetic stay-at-homes will return to the polling stations to vote for the major parties; UKIP's still underdeveloped organizational resources will have to spread themselves over more than 600 constituency campaigns rather than focus on a single seat at a time; Labour may once again be helped by an electoral system that has been biased in its favour for the past 30 years; beyond Farage and his deputy Paul Nuttall, UKIP has few high-profile politicians that have been tried and tested in the harsh glare of national political campaigns; and the intense scrutiny of a General Election campaign is likely to highlight real challenges around policy issues.

For instance, just what is the UKIP plan for dealing with the deficit? And if the party were ever to find itself in power, how would it manage to negotiate a bilateral free trade deal with the EU that does not include a commitment to the free movement of labour? The public dispute between Reckless

and his new party leader over whether a future UKIP government would repatriate EU citizens already resident in the UK or not hints at the potential for internal contradictions and tensions as policies come to be defined in greater detail.

So, it would be naïve to assume that the UKIP bandwagon will simply continue to gather momentum in the run-up to May 2015, and steamroller vast swathes of major party candidates that get in its way – whether they sport blue, red (or indeed yellow) rosettes. Even so, UKIP's growing prominence, added to the SNP's post-referendum surge in Scotland, the recent progress of the Greens in the polls - and of course the unpredictable impact of 'events' – all go to make the next General Election the most difficult to predict in the entire post-war era.

Another hung parliament is certainly a distinct possibility, and the governmental outcome of such a scenario will depend entirely on the arithmetic and the strategic calculations of any party with governing or 'blackmail' potential. And UKIP just might be a player in that game.

- ☆
- (1) Brian Brady & Jane Merrick (2013) 'Swivel-gate: David Cameron goes to war with the press over swivel-eyed loons slur' *The Independent*, (19 May).
  - (2) Robert Ford & Matthew Goodwin (2013) 'Now Ukip is gunning for Labour, what's Ed Miliband going to do about it?' *The Guardian*, 30 May.
  - (3) Robert Ford & Matthew Goodwin (2014) *Revolt on the Right: Explaining Support for the Radical Right in Britain* (London: Routledge).
  - (4) Polling Report (2012) 'Lord Ashcroft's polling on UKIP', 18 December (accessed at <http://ukpollingreport.co.uk/blog/archives/6715> on 30 December 2013); Peter Kellner (2013) 'Ukip supporters: less rightwing than Tory voters?', *The Guardian*, 5 March; Gideon Skinner (2013) 'U-kip if you want to' in *The Ipsos-Mori Almanac 2013* (London: Ipsos-Mori).
  - (5) Jill Sherman (2013) 'A £120bn black hole behind the UKIP dream for a better Britain', *The Times*, April 29.
  - (6) (Lord) Michael Ashcroft (2014) 'UKIP lead by 12 points in Rochester and Strood – but what will happen next May?' (<http://lordashcroftpolls.com/2014/11/ukip-lead-12-points-rochester-strood/#more-6614>)

## Caution Advised: The Conservatives and Immigration Policy



**Rebecca Partos**  
PhD Researcher in Politics  
[rp215@sussex.ac.uk](mailto:rp215@sussex.ac.uk)

With the general election just months away, now is the time one would expect the Conservatives to dust off their immigration policy. Perhaps they

might publicise a new and striking initiative to detain illegal immigrants. Or maybe they will call for more funding to tighten up security at the UK's borders.

Why? Well, immigration is traditionally 'Tory territory'. Immigration is a topic which the Conservatives have 'owned', along with issues such as law and order, and Europe. It is a subject which many



## Features

Conservatives (from MPs to ordinary members) feel particularly strongly about. Immigration is also an issue on which the Conservatives have – until recently – polled highly, at least, in comparison with their competitors. Given this, it makes sense for the Party to focus on immigration policy – and particularly so when there is an election coming up (whether general, local or European).

David Cameron's predecessors have, time and time again, pulled out immigration in the run-up to most elections in the last decade and a half. Sometimes there were new policies announced; often existing policies were repackaged and given a stronger emphasis. The thinking behind such a strategy was that a heavy emphasis on immigration would work well to bring in certain concerned voters. Just months before the 2001 general election, the then Conservative leader William Hague began talking about Britain becoming a 'foreign land', positioning the Conservative Party as a great defence against the politically-correct establishment:

Talk about immigration and they call you racist; talk about your nation and they call you Little Englanders [...] This government thinks Britain would be all right if we had a different people. I think Britain would be all right, if only we had a different Government.

Hague was quickly replaced by Iain Duncan Smith, who, despite attempts early on in his leadership to broaden the Party's appeal by portraying a more tolerant and modern organisation, quickly succumbed to the lure of immigration policy as a (supposedly) quick and easy way of getting votes.

So, within weeks of IDS being appointed leader of the Conservatives, he publicly made efforts to distance himself from the right-wing Monday Club by ordering it to suspend its (decades-long) links with the Conservative Party,

until it had proved itself to be a less xenophobic organisation. IDS even took part in a five-a-side football match to highlight the difficulties facing asylum seekers. But, in the run-up to the local elections of May 2003, IDS was no longer keen on kicking a ball about for asylum seekers; instead, he proposed the detention of all asylum seekers in secure accommodation until their claims were processed.

IDS's reign was short-lived; his successor, Michael Howard did not even attempt to hold off from the immigration issue, believing, in part that not only was immigration a serious public concern but also that frequent use of the topic would bring his fractured party together and make it more manageable. Howard is remembered for the Conservatives' 2005 general election campaign, in which – whether it was the Party's intention or the media took the issue and ran with it – there was a renewed emphasis on controlling immigration. The campaign was criticised by some for being xenophobic and even provocative.

Even David Cameron, who made such strong efforts to portray himself as a modern, 'compassionate Conservative' at the start of his leadership, cannot hold back from the temptation of immigration policy. Towards the end of 2007, when speculation was high that Prime Minister Gordon Brown would call a general election, Cameron did not hesitate to quickly bring immigration back in.



There are, however, some good reasons why the Conservatives should be less than keen to rely heavily on immigration policy as a means of bringing in votes in the next few months. The Party has to be very careful with how it deals with this 'old favourite'. Indeed, some of those who are close to the Cameron leadership warn that use of the immigration issue, however tempting it may be, could even damage the Party's chances.

First, it would be difficult (legally and politically) for the Conservatives to bring in even more restrictive immigration policy; existing legislation is already thorough. Any headline-winning pledges would take a very long time to implement, if at all possible, and might well further exacerbate public disillusionment with politics.

Second, opportunistic use of the immigration issue may well make things worse for the Conservatives. With UKIP in the picture, more column inches on immigration may serve to heighten fears about immigration – and legitimise UKIP's standing as the only sensible party ready to deal with this. Senior Conservative Ken Clarke has argued that Cameron's 'imitation' of UKIP leader Nigel Farage has done the Tories no favours.

Third, the immigration issue does not seem to win votes for the Conservatives. In fact, frequent use may undermine the detoxification campaign waged by many modernising Conservative politicians. As the Tories have found in the past, voters stop listening when a political party is perceived as cruel and nasty.

The immigration issue may well be damaging for the Conservatives, but it remains a tempting fall-back. Immigration was notably absent when Cameron announced the Party's top five priorities in January 2015. It is more than possible that the Conservatives will pull out the issue as they grow nervous with the election drawing closer.

Cameron, too, has a history of bringing out policy initiatives at the last minute – even if they have not been comprehensively considered and may not even be practical. Just months before the 2010 election, he promised – during an interview and to his watching advisors' dismay – to bring immigration down to the 'tens of thousands'. Over the next few months, the Conservatives will have to tread carefully as they try to regain the political initiative.

## The Politics Department Welcomes New Corruption Specialist

**Liz David-Barrett**  
Lecturer in Politics

[E.David-Barrett@sussex.ac.uk](mailto:E.David-Barrett@sussex.ac.uk)

I joined Sussex as Lecturer in Politics in October 2014, following four years as a Research Fellow at the Said Business School, University of Oxford.

My research focuses on corruption and anti-corruption policies, hence I am very pleased to be part of Sussex's Centre for the Study of Corruption and to have the opportunity to teach on the MA in Corruption and Governance.

I first became interested in political corruption whilst living and working as a journalist in Croatia



in 1999-2001. Having arrived just before President Tudjman died, I was able to observe the way in which the country opened up to Europe and started out on the path towards EU accession.

The local media began to overflow with corruption scandals relating to the privatisation process in the previous few years, painting a colourful picture of Tudjman cronies, having become rich from war profiteering or simply borrowing money from the bankrupt state, using the privatisation process to steal the crown jewels, strip assets, and run companies into the ground – at the expense of employees and citizens.

I wanted to know more about why transition seemed to be taking this unhappy course, and whether theories about why political corruption occurs could help with the explanation. Hence I came back to the UK and started a PhD in Oxford, which compared the privatisation process there and in neighbouring Hungary.

Towards the end of my PhD, I became interested in the business side of the corruption equation. The UK was introducing a new anti-bribery law, following some major scandals, and it seemed like a good opportunity to explore corruption from the viewpoint of companies rather than politicians or public officials.

I conducted some research on how the new Bribery Act might affect financial services companies in the City of London for Transparency International UK, and then, at the Said Business School, explored how companies responded to anti-bribery laws. With my co-author, Ken Okamura, we found that anti-bribery laws can have unintended consequences of forcing relatively well-behaving companies out of risky markets, creating a space that is filled by less scrupulous firms.

More recently, I have become interested in voluntary regulation or soft law responses to corruption. Sometimes companies would rather avoid paying bribes but they do not want to be the 'first mover' for fear of losing out to competitors who are happy to behave corruptly. This problem can be overcome by collective action, and many such organisations are beginning to emerge in the business community. I am interested in how these groups of competitors build trust and cooperation.

Voluntary regulation can also work at the governmental level. The Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative is an international standard-setting body which governments can join, if they can commit to making their revenues from extractives - oil, gas, sometimes forestry - transparent. Since corruption is rife in the area of natural resources, transparency can help to shed light on where money is going astray. This initiative has been a huge success, with many major oil-producing countries

in Africa and Asia signing up to implement the standard. But that is a social science puzzle: why would corrupt governments sign up to something that makes it harder for them to steal? Another area of my current research explores this question.

I am also interested in self-regulation within parliaments. There are good historical and constitutional reasons why parliaments should regulate the conduct of their own members: granting such powers to an external body might make parliament vulnerable to pressure from the executive. But the proliferation of parliamentary corruption scandals suggests that this model might be failing. Politicians are not regulating themselves particularly well. For this reason, I have been researching the role of codes of conduct and other tools for regulating behaviour in parliaments around Europe, particularly in the Western Balkans. This has given me a reason to return to a region that I love, as well as an opportunity to draw comparisons among regulatory regimes in quite different contexts.



# 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.

## Foreign Policy Fiascos



**Kai Oppermann**  
Senior Lecturer in Politics  
[K.Oppermann@sussex.ac.uk](mailto:K.Oppermann@sussex.ac.uk)

Foreign policy decisions usually attract more greater scholarly attention if they are seen to have gone wrong than if they are considered a success. Many of the best-studied foreign policy episodes are precisely those which have been linked to ‘disastrous’ failures or consequences. Well-known examples in British foreign policy include the appeasement of Nazi Germany in 1938, the attempted occupation of the Suez Canal Zone in 1956 as well as more recently the participation in the US-led war against Iraq in 2003. In view of these and other high-profile cases (foreign) policy-making in the UK has sometimes been said to be particularly prone to failure by international standards.

This is the background to a comparative research project which I have set up together with Alexander Spencer (Ludwig-Maximilians University, Munich) and which investigates why and how some foreign policy decisions (but not others) come to be regarded as ‘fiascos’ by domestic and international audiences and what (if anything) makes British foreign policy stand out in this regard.

The research builds on a constructivist critique of the positivist tradition that has long been dominant in policy evaluation studies. That tradition understands policy failures as objective facts which can

be independently identified and verified. Policies count as failures if they fall short of certain objective criteria or benchmarks for success. Existing studies of foreign policy ‘fiascos’ do not tend to problematize the assessment of foreign policy episodes as failures but rather take such assessments as starting points for their explanations of why ‘fiascos’ have occurred and how to avoid them. Specifically, different theories of foreign policy have identified various sources of foreign policy failures, most notably cognitive biases and misperceptions or the emotions of individual decision-makers; socio-psychological dynamics in small decision-making groups as well as bureaucratic politics or the overreliance on organizational routines.

What these objectivist approaches to studying foreign policy ‘fiascos’ have in common, however, is that they fail to acknowledge that ‘failure’ is not an inherent attribute of policy, but rather a judgment about policy. Policy outcomes do not speak for themselves, but only come to be seen as successful or unsuccessful because of the meaning imbued to them in political discourse. This is the main point of departure for a more recent interpretivist strand in policy evaluation studies, which conceives of policy fiascos as an ‘essentially contested’ concept. Since there are no fixed or commonly accepted criteria for the success or failure of a policy, such judgments are always subjective and open to dispute.

Foreign policies that are seen as successful by some may thus well be dismissed as fiascos by others. Such opposite judgments can come, for example, from differences in the timeframes or geo-

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graphical and social boundaries of assessing the impacts of a policy as well as from cultural biases or diverging evaluations of available options. Most notably, however, the designation of (foreign) policy as success or failure is inescapably intertwined with politics. Foreign policy evaluations will be influenced by the values, identity and interests of the evaluator and may reflect underlying power relations in the political arena or in society at large. In particular, labelling a policy or decision a 'fiasco' is an intensely political act. It makes for a powerful semantic tool in political discourse to discredit opponents and seek political advantage.

Following such an interpretivist approach, our research conceptualizes foreign policy fiascos not as facts to be discovered and explained, but rather as social constructs which are constituted in political discourse. While the discursive construction of fiascos will always be subject to contestation, the characterization of a foreign policy decision as a fiasco depends on the extent of intersubjective agreement in this regard, in particular among powerful political and social actors. Political discourse, in this sense, can be seen as a struggle between competing claims which either attribute the 'fiasco' label to foreign policy decisions or reject such a label.

Specifically, we argue that foreign policy fiascos are constructed through narratives and that the methodological toolbox of narrative analysis is useful to theorise fiasco constructions in foreign policy. Narratives are fundamental to human cognition and culturally embedded phenomena through which individual actors and communities make sense of themselves and of the social world around them. In that view, foreign policy actors are (co-) authors and 'subjects' of identity-constructing self-narratives as well as objects of public narratives which constitute a particular understanding and evaluation of their decisions and policies. Such narratives, moreover, consist of specific discursive elements which can be analysed empirically, such as their setting, the characterization of agents and the temporal and causal employment of events.

Along these lines, the comparative discourse analysis of fiasco narratives serves to identify common patterns of fiasco constructions in foreign policy

and to spell out the conditions under which fiasco narratives will likely resonate in public discourse and prevail over possible counter-narratives. For example, powerful fiasco narratives are expected to involve settings that foreground the availability of 'better' alternatives which decision-makers have failed to identify or implement; display highly negative characterisations of individual and collective decision-makers and decision-making processes; and suggest causal employments which clearly trace fiascos to blameworthy failures of responsible agents and facilitate the attribution of blame.

Empirically, our research has so far applied this method to a recent case in German foreign policy. Specifically, we have analysed the media discourse about the Merkel government's decision in 2011 to abstain on UN Security Council Resolution 1973, which authorised the international community to "take all necessary measures" to protect civilians from the Gaddafi regime in Libya. While there is a near-unanimous consensus among academic and non-academic observers in Germany and abroad that the abstention was a serious mistake, this judgment is somewhat puzzling considering Germany's longstanding culture of military restraint. The case study suggests that Germany's policy on Libya was constructed into a fiasco through a media narrative that displayed various discursive elements of a powerful fiasco narrative and therefore marginalised the counter-narrative promoted by the government.

The next steps in our project will be to employ the tools of narrative analysis in a comparative study of fiasco constructions in post-Cold War British and German foreign policy. This will also involve cases of attempted but ultimately 'unsuccessful' narrative constructions of foreign policy fiascos. In particular, the inclusion of 'near misses' and 'non-fiascos' promises further insights into the discursive and contextual conditions under which fiasco narratives will be most compelling. Given the far-reaching practical and political consequences of constituting foreign policy decisions as 'fiascos', more extensive efforts at understanding the narrative construction of such fiascos look worth the while.



## Research

# Cultural Heritage and European Identities

**Gerard Delanty**  
**Professor of Sociology and Social & Political Thought**

[G.Delanty@sussex.ac.uk](mailto:G.Delanty@sussex.ac.uk)



This project has obtained funding from the Horizon 2020 programme within the call Reflective Society 2012 for a two year 'social platform' project on Cultural Heritage and European Identities. The project will begin in May 2015. The research consortium of seven partners has a total budget of just over a million Euro. The partners include the Central European University, Budapest, Centre for Cultural Policy Research, University of Glasgow, Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, European University Institute, Universitat de Barcelona, Université de Paris I Panthéon-Sorbonne, and Interarts.

Through a comprehensive perspective that includes the most relevant social and political connections, the project aims to address the proposed topic from a double standpoint, namely, an analytical as well as a public policy perspective. We start from the idea that since the second half of the last century culture has experienced a profound mutation, through which its position and role in the social dynamics have been transformed. Whereas

it was previously confined to a purely superstructural position, it now constitutes an essential basis of today's society.

In the context of cultural digitization and globalization the entire cultural ecosystem has changed, which has radically altered - and at the same time, intensified - the relationship between cultural identity, cultural heritage and cultural expression. This transformation has occurred both at the level of the professional cultural sector as well as in society as a whole.

The new challenges and the new potential of culture, where these three pillars - cultural identity, cultural heritage and cultural expression - intertwine, will be considered in the work of the platform along three axes: 1. Cultural memory 2. Cultural inclusion 3. Cultural creativity. These are designed to research debates relating to heritage in the institutions and practices of cultural memory; how the focus on diversity and inclusion impacts on the practices of memory institutions, including on stakeholders and networks; what this reconfiguration contributes to new or post-national oriented narratives about identity and European values; and how heritage, cultural diversity and creativity relate in the context of huge cultural transformations such as the ones represented by digitization and cultural globalization.

## Labour Party Archive Visit Report



**Jake Watts**  
**PhD Researcher in Politics**  
[J.T.Watts@sussex.ac.uk](mailto:J.T.Watts@sussex.ac.uk)

Having completed both an undergraduate degree in Politics and an MSc in Social Research Methods at Sussex, I began doctoral research funded by the

ESRC in the Autumn term of this year.

This research focuses on the role of party elites in organisational change through analysing the way in which external and internal pressures have led to organisational changes emerging within the British Labour Party. A specific focus is made on key episodes of organisational reform that took place within the Party between 1979 and 2014. The aim is to use comparison to inductively develop theory

## Research

about processes of organisational change within Labour that can then be tested on other cases in subsequent research.

As part of this research, I recently made a week-long visit to the Labour Party Archives at the People's History Museum in Manchester. Given the size of the archive, a specific focus was made on material pertaining solely to the introduction of the Electoral College, mandatory re-selection of MPs and National Executive Committee manifesto control in the years 1979-1981. This involved looking at a large number of formal and informal documents including National Executive Committee meeting minutes and the personal papers of then Labour Leader Michael Foot.

The rich data gathered from this visit has enabled me to draw preliminary conclusions about organisational change in this particular episode. It is clear that the interpretation by party elites of both internal and external pressures, including the electoral defeat of 1979 and significant pressure from grassroots activists, provided the basis for conflicting conclusions about the need for organisational change at this level.

Furthermore, the data reveals the importance of mediating factors in the consideration and contestation of the necessity and form of organisational reform. In particular, historical memory and issues of identity, ideas and ideology and institutional considerations were all important for party elites.

These preliminary conclusions will now be supplemented by a small number of elite interviews with those intimately involved with these reforms.

The use of the archives also offered an important opportunity to consider my methodological approach after an attempted application. This experience provides a useful reminder that research design itself is an iterative and ongoing process. As a result, I am now looking to further develop my approach in light of these experiences, in order to make the most out of my chosen qualitative research tools.

Overall, making use of these archives was an enjoyable and engaging experience which put me in touch with data drawn directly from a critical period of Labour Party history, which would otherwise be difficult to access in such detail. Indeed, particular thanks should be given to the archivists for their hard work in maintaining the collection and assisting me for the time I was there.

Having spent a year pondering research methods and methodology – all of which is of course useful – it was refreshing to be engaging with the primary materials in which I am most interested. A further visit will be made to these archives in order to gather data pertaining to other periods of significance in due course.

## MA Corruption & Governance Student Research

As part of their degrees **Kim Castle and Hazel Stevens** spent time working alongside Detective Chief Inspector Jon Benton, head of the UK's Proceeds of Corruption Unit, analysing issues of beneficial ownership and money laundering.

On 14 October DCI Benton spoke to the House of Commons's 'Small Business, Enterprise and Employment Bill Committee' and a key part of his submission involved presenting some of the students' findings. The issue of beneficial ownership of

companies, or who actually profits from a company's activities, is a crucial one in helping uncover money laundering trails, and DCI Benton's unit has been at the forefront of trying to recover the illicit gains that these trails can help cover up.

The work of the Sussex students has been particularly useful in helping the PoCU lobby for change in terms of both legislation and resources in taking the fight against corruption forward.

## Research

# Sussex Law Academics in Collaborative 'European Internet Science' Programme



**Prof Chris Marsden**  
**Professor of Media Law**  
[C.Marsden@sussex.ac.uk](mailto:C.Marsden@sussex.ac.uk)

'European Internet Science' is a 3.5-year (2011-2015) 7th Framework Programme Network of Excellence focused on enabling "an open and productive dialogue between all disciplines which study Internet systems from any technological or humanistic perspective, and which in turn are being transformed by continuous advances in Internet functionality". Thirty-eight universities are full members with over 100 affiliates.

Now in its last months building up the second Internet Science conference in Brussels 27-29 May 2015 (CfP deadline 20th February, Best Student Paper prize), it has delivered several hundred reports, academic publications and dozens of workshops in its network across eight Research Areas.

Sussex Law School is a leading partner in the project, with Chris Marsden leading two of the eight research areas, on Regulation and Governance, and on Virtual Communities. He and Dr Andres Guadamuz recently completed a case study on Bitcoin, the virtual currency 'mined' using block chain analysis, which is purported to be either a major threat to sovereign currencies in this Euro-crisis period, or a clever criminal conspiracy depending on your viewpoint (available at <http://bit.ly/1BPI2QC>).

Marsden is also on the organising committee of the European Commission Co-Regulation Agora, which is feeding some of the lessons from Internet Science back into the legislative and regulatory mainstream and has its next conference in Brussels in March 2015 (<http://bit.ly/1K45yQ3>).

*For more information follow @i\_scienceEU*

## New SEI Working Papers

SEI working papers make research results, accounts of work-in-progress and background information available to those concerned with contemporary European issues. All papers can be accessed online: <http://www.sussex.ac.uk/sei/publications/seiworkingpapers>



### **SEI Working Paper No 138**

#### **A Model for Democratic Transition and European Integration? Why Poland Matters**

by **Aleks Szczerbiak**  
**University of Sussex**  
[A.A.Szczerbiak@sussex.ac.uk](mailto:A.A.Szczerbiak@sussex.ac.uk)



Poland is the sixth largest country in the EU and plays an increasingly important role in European affairs. Looking at its history and legacy, Poland has witnessed some of the most momentous events of the last century and in recent years has seen vast changes in its social, economic and political systems. Understanding developments in Poland can teach us important lessons about the past, present and future of contemporary Europe. Opposition to communism, the Polish transition to democracy, how the country has dealt with its communist past and its changing relationship with the EU all provide fascinating insights into the democratisation and European integration processes. At the same time, high levels of societal religiosity in an apparently secularising Europe and the importance of the Catholic Church have provided a distinctive backdrop ensuring that these processes have often worked themselves out in unique ways.

## Research

### New EPERN Blog Contributions

The SEI-based European Parties Elections & Referendums Network (EPERN) blog is 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.

**'Pro-European Euroscepticism'** by **John FitzGibbon** (Canterbury Christ Church University) at: <http://epern.wordpress.com/2014/09/16/pro-european-euroscepticism/>

**'One winner and seven losers: The Swedish parliamentary election of September 2014'** by **Niklas Bolin** (Mid Sweden University) and **Nicholas Aylott** (Södertörn University) at: <http://epern.wordpress.com/2014/09/29/one-winner-and-seven-losers-the-swedish-parliamentary-election-of-september-2014/>

**'The October 4th 2014 parliamentary election in Latvia'** by **Daunis Auers** (University of Latvia) at: <http://epern.wordpress.com/2014/10/28/the-october-4th-2014-parliamentary-election-in-latvia/>

**'Barroso, Cameron and the UK's Place in 'Europe''** by **Oliver Daddow** (University of Leicester) at: <http://epern.wordpress.com/2014/11/04/barroso-cameron-and-the-uks-place-in-europe/>

**'Who will UKIP damage most in 2015 – Labour or the Tories?'** by **Paul Webb** (University of Sussex) at: <https://epern.wordpress.com/2014/12/05/who-will-ukip-damage-most-in-2015-labour-or-the-tories/>

**'Bulgarian elections 2014: Institutionalization of instability?'** by **Dragomir Stoyanov** (City College International Faculty and VUZF [Bulgaria]) at: <http://epern.wordpress.com/2014/10/24/bulgarian-elections-2014-institutionalization-of-instability/>

**'"Normal" is the new "cool": the 2014 Romanian Presidential election'** by **Roxana Mihaila** (University of Sussex) <https://epern.wordpress.com/2014/12/19/normal-is-the-new-cool-the-2014-romanian-presidential-election/>

**'2015 Greek Snap Election: Touching on Europe, Pointing out Greece'** by **Nikoleta Kiapidou** (University of Sussex) at: <https://epern.wordpress.com/2015/01/22/2015-greek-snap-election-touching-on-europe-pointing-out-greece/>

**'How salient was the European issue in Polish politics?'** by **Aleks Szczerbiak** at: <https://epern.wordpress.com/2015/01/26/how-salient-was-the-europe-an-issue-in-polish-politics/>

# EPERN

European Parties Elections  
and Referendums Network

# 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.

## A model for democratic transition and European integration? Why Poland matters

**Prof Aleks Szczerbiak**  
SEI Professor of Politics and  
Contemporary European  
Studies

a.a.szczerbiak@sussex.ac.uk



On 15 October 2014 I finally (after nine years!) gave my 'inaugural' Sussex professorial lecture. I started off by noting that one of the tasks of the country specialist who attempts to locate their case study within a broader comparative framework is to ask themselves the classic 'so what?' question: what is interesting about your case to someone who is not otherwise interested in your case?

*Democratisation, European integration and religiosity*  
Consequently, in my lecture, I then went to discuss three areas where I think that we can draw broader insights from Polish contemporary political developments and that are of interest beyond the Polish case - where, in other words Poland matters - but also where the Polish experience was unique and which made it difficult to draw broader conclusions and use the country as a 'model' both analytically and normatively. Firstly, Poland's experience of democratisation: its transition to democracy and how the country extracted itself from communist rule. Here I particularly explored the relationship between Poland's democratic transition, how the country has dealt with the legacy of its communist past, and the quality of its post-communist democracy.

Secondly, Poland's experience of European integration and its relationship with the EU as a candidate state and, subsequently, as the largest of the new members from the post-communist countries. Here I explored the tensions between support for European integration as a civilizational project on the one hand, and assertion of Polish national identity and interests, and concerns to maintain national and cultural distinctiveness, on the other.

Thirdly, the very high levels of religiosity among Poles and the important role of the Catholic Church as an institution in contemporary Polish affairs. One of the jobs of the comparativist is to look for similarities and points where broader comparative or theoretical conclusions and analogies can be drawn, but it is also to look for differences and points of contrast and, by doing so, try and pinpoint what is distinctive and not replicable about the case. This third area was, I argued, one where the Polish case is distinctive, but that also inter-acts with the other two areas examined in ways that limits the extent to which one can view Poland as some kind of 'model' and draw lessons from its experience.

*Poland matters - but how?*

My conclusion was that Poland matters the question is *how* does it matter? Ostensibly, we can indeed find elements of Poland's experience of democratisation and European integration that could serve as a model, both analytically, as something from which we can draw comparative lessons, and



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in normative terms. The way that the country extracted itself from communist rule - through 'round table' negotiations that led to an elite pact between the communist elite and democratic opposition - means that Poland is often seen as a model of a peaceful democratic transition process that has ensured that democracy is embedded, with no significant actors, including representatives of the former ruling elite, wanting a return to the *status quo ante* or opposing the new liberal democratic order.

From the perspective of supporters of European integration, Poland can also be seen as a 'model' European both in terms of: its political (and cultural) elites who have located themselves within the European mainstream, and the high levels of popular support for EU membership, rooted (in part at least) in the idea of European integration as a 'civilisational choice' in which notions of European-ness and Polish-ness are seen as complementary.

However, while the 'round table' negotiations may be seen as a model of successful transition, the nature of the Polish elite bargain, which meant that transitional justice was delayed, contributed to a feeling among many Poles that nothing had really changed. This highlights the risks associated with attempting to dis-enfranchise society from the process of regime change. Indeed, the recurrence of concerns about transitional justice, particularly the issues of lustration and access to communist security service files, suggest that there are problems with 'forgiving and forgetting' as a model for new democracies in terms of dealing with old regime elites, that may be indicative of a wider unease and concerns about the quality of the post-communist democracy that is emerging in Poland.

Moreover, the idea of Poland as a 'model European' conflicts with an 'awkwardness' that there is in Poland's relationship with the EU which is driven by an ill-fit between the country's size and aspirations, on the one hand, and its economic and geo-



political clout on the other. Such 'awkwardness' has asserted itself on a number of occasions and has the capacity to do so again. This paradox is also potentially evident when one looks at public attitudes towards the EU, with Polish Europhilia being highly contingent. The main benefits from European integration are now less obvious to a younger, post-accession generation (and likely to become even less so) and some of these benefits - such as the ability to access West European labour markets and concomitant mass emigration - are perceived increasingly as signs of weakness and failure rather than success. The civilisational choice which posited the idea of Polish-ness and European-ness as complementary identities is not as obvious as it once was and, again, arguably becoming increasingly less so.

Finally, the Catholic Church and high (and apparently relatively enduring) levels of societal religiosity are something that is unique to Poland and made all of these processes work themselves out differently, playing a key role in the democratisation process and in debates on European integration; although whether this will continue to be a feature of 'Polish exceptionalism' in the future remains an open question. In other words, the role of the Catholic Church highlights the fact that there is also uniqueness in the way that these processes have worked themselves out in Poland.

*Yes but, with an emphasis on the but*

So the answer to the question 'Does Poland provide a model for democratic transition and European integration (in the analytical and normative sense)?' is, to quote a Polish Archbishop when asked whether the Catholic Church supported Polish accession to the EU: 'Yes but, with an emphasis on the but'. And it is the 'but' as much as the 'Yes' that makes the Polish case interesting and important to understand if we want to make sense of contemporary Europe. Ironically, it is precisely this uniqueness that means we can draw insights from and learn about other cases by looking at the Polish one.

# A focus on the future: the PSA's Post-Graduate Network Professional Development Conference

**Sam Power**  
PhD Researcher in Politics  
[S.D.Power@sussex.ac.uk](mailto:S.D.Power@sussex.ac.uk)



On December 15<sup>th</sup> a small, yet not insignificant, number of early career researchers gathered at UCL in an attempt to throw sharper focus onto a question that is never far from doctoral candidates' mind – *what next?* The professional development theme had two distinct strands throughout the day: firstly, a morning session on how (and where) to get published and secondly afternoon sessions on improving your teaching, for both qualitative and quantitative scholars.

Dr. Michael Barr, Senior Lecturer in International Politics at Newcastle University and Associate Editor of PSA journal *Politics*, was unfortunately unable to attend the session on how to get published. All was not lost however as this freed Prof. Graham Smith, Centre for the Study of Democracy at the University of Westminster, to deliver a more candid presentation on the challenges of getting published. Prof. Smith gave invaluable tips on what kind of publication is considered more respectable by potential employers (journal articles, journal articles and journal articles – with all else somewhere in the distance), whether it is worth publishing your PhD (and if so, with whom) and finally the pros and cons of applying to be a teaching fellow, a research assistant or doing a post-doc.

The first of the afternoon sessions, delivered by Dr. Johan Adriensen from the University of Leuven, concentrated on his attempts to get political science students to overcome their statistics anxiety in their research. He outlined various pedagogical techniques he had employed after realising that less than 5% of their students use quantitative methods in their dissertations. Ultimately he argued that having a standalone quantitative methods course was not enough to engage students in the

quantitative method, students could only overcome their statistics anxiety with repeated learning experiences.

At Leuven, he had persuaded other lecturers to integrate a learning trajectory on quantitative methods into non-methodological courses. Whilst the work of Adriensen and his colleagues is laudable and gives much food for thought, it seems to me that the work largely leads students to merely 'see the value' of quantitative research, still somewhat short of the goal of overcoming statistics anxiety in general (for those interested, the findings will be published in a special edition of the *Journal of Political Science Education* in January 2015).

The second pedagogical session revolved around the work of Dr. Cathy Elliott, a Teaching Fellow at UCL, who presented a discussion on using art galleries to teach politics. It was a thought-provoking session which, at the very least, presented us with a space to consider non-standard methods of teaching politics. However, whether teaching politics in an art gallery could be considered an integral part of a curriculum or an auxiliary reading week activity, for me, remains very much up for debate.

The day was rounded off, as all good conferences should, with a glass of red wine and a 'debrief'. I'd like to thank the

outgoing chair, communications officer and conference co-ordinator (Orlando Ward, Javier Sajuria and Jennifer Thomson, respectively) for their hard-work, not only in organising this event but others throughout the year. And finally wish a warm welcome to the new committee, chaired by our very own Rebecca Partos – with Christina Taylor (Ulster University) as events officer and Kate Mattocks (City University) as communications officer.



## Activities

# Third Annual Sussex Centre for the Study of Corruption Conference a Huge Success

The annual Sussex Centre for the Study of Corruption (SCSC) conference is becoming a key part of the anti-corruption landscape.



The third annual conference took place on Tuesday 9th September 2014 at the offices of Clifford Chance in Canary Wharf, central London with 100 participants discussing a whole range of issues and challenges facing corruption scholars and anti-corruption practitioners.

The academic highlights came from SOAS's Mush-taq Khan on the challenges of getting governance right. Khan presented swathes of data to highlight the necessity of understanding the governance challenge before attempting to create policies and frameworks for fighting corrupt practices. This was followed by Jonathan Hopkin's (LSE) equally impressive account of the role that governments in western Europe might, could and perhaps should be playing in thinking about how they might face down corruption challenges.

As always, the conference programme was not dominated by academics, with real-world practitioners making a series of valuable contributions. Clifford Chance's Roger Best, for example, analysed the impact of the UK Bribery Act, while the Executive Director of Transparency International UK, Robert Bar-

rington, talked about a range of other challenges currently facing the UK.

Contributions from Corruption Watch's Sue Hawley on the problems of enforcing anti-corruption legislation and the Head of the UK's Proceeds of Crime Unit, Jon Benton, also highlighted the difficulty of making what's down on paper work in practice.

A new innovation this year came in the form of a round table of work conducted by the University of Sussex's MA in Corruption and Governance students. Gilda Donatone, Felicitas Neuhaus and Shi Wei discussed their own research into, respectively, the relationship between corruption and civil society, a free press and corruption in the defence sector and finally how corruption and torture become ever more intertwined.

As ever, the event also proved to be an excellent opportunity for people from different but inter-linked anti-corruption communities to network and discuss options for taking their work forward.



# SEI's MA in Contemporary European Studies: A Life Changing Experience

**Gulnihan Olmez Kiyici**  
**MACES Student**  
**G.Olmez-Kiyici@sussex.ac.uk**

As a graduate of the Political Science and Public Administration Department of one of the best Turkish universities, I was thinking of embarking on an academic career related to European studies.

As a first step, I applied to the Jean Monnet Scholarship Programme and luckily I got it. When I learnt I was granted this scholarship, I was thrilled but at the same time confused because this would be my first experience as an international student and what is more. I had acceptances from many prominent universities but I was not sure which school I was going to choose.

Finally, I decided to come to the University of Sussex to study for an MA in Contemporary European Studies because I believed that this programme is distinguished from other similar programmes in the sense that it focuses on the whole of Europe rather than covering specific regions or topics. And from the very first moment, I felt my decision to be the best choice regarding my academic development.

My experience on the MACES programme represents a milestone in my academic career. It allowed me to gain an extensive knowledge about Europe. In the first semester, a core module was introduced which included various topics ranging from the historical roots of European integration to most debated issues such as the economic crisis and migration. The reading list was to the point and supported by a film list which was related to the covered issues and brought another dimension to our discussions during seminars.

The optional courses in the second semester gave the opportunity to study specialised European issues in detail. All the modules were well-designed to keep us up to date and were supported by relevant reading lists. Moreover, Research-in-Progress

seminars which were held during the year were another meritorious feature of this programme. Thanks to these seminars, many researchers presented their current research projects in the field of contemporary European studies; and therefore were able to follow the recent discussions in the academia. In short, MACES was a very enlightening experience for me.

I should also say a few words about academic staff who are veterans of their research field in the Sussex European Institute. Coming from different countries and research interests, they create an intercultural and interdisciplinary research environment and do their best to support students' academic development. The Sussex Library, which is a European Documentation Centre, is an additional actor that makes studying on the MACES programme more enjoyable. Its rich holdings and convenient learning facilities leave you one option: let yourself go in the world of books!

In addition to these advantages, living in Brighton was an unforgettable experience. Being only minutes away from London, the city is as cosmopolitan as the capital and offers various opportunities for different kind of people. With its many clubs and bars, Brighton is one of the best places in the UK for nightlife lovers. The city also appeals to those who just want to relax on its amazing immense beach or warm cafés.

All in all, my MACES experience has been very rewarding and life-changing. The programme provides a very broad and strong European perspective and promises the best opportunity for those who want to go further in European studies.



## Activities

# Sussex Hosts Inaugural Graduate Conference on Corruption and Anti-Corruption

**Liljana Cvetanoska**  
Politics Doctoral Researcher  
L.Cvetanoska@sussex.ac.uk



On 12-13 January 2015, over 35 PhD students and early career researchers from a wide range of backgrounds actively contributed to a stimulating debate on a diversity of corruption-related issues. The Conference was supported by the Sussex Centre for the Study of Corruption (SCSC) and the Political Studies Association (PSA) Specialist Group on Corruption and Political Misconduct. The event brought together a diverse group of academics and researchers and was a productive platform for sharing ideas, experiences and research results about different aspects of and approaches to corruption and anti-corruption.



During this two day event, 20 presenters from academic and professional institutions worldwide communicated their research papers on topics varying from general research on transnational aspects of corruption, corruption and anti-corruption in Europe, anti-corruption challenges in Africa, party politics and party-patronage, corruption and its connection to the law, to specific issues such as corruption in the oil industry, case

studies on Spanish and Italian cities, and the city of Sao Paulo.

Professor Mark Philp from the University of Warwick delivered a thought-provoking keynote speech on the place of motives in corruption, whereas Professor Vladimira Dvorakova from the University of Economics in Prague gave a stimulating talk on the causes and consequences of corruption in post-communist states.



Beyond the academic debate, the conference has also proven to be an excellent space for meeting fellow researchers with common interests and for forming a tight network for future collaboration. Seeing the strong interest expressed for the Inaugural Sussex Graduate Conference on Corruption and Anti-Corruption, and its success, we will strive to make this an annual event for PhD students and early career researchers interested in the scholarship on corruption.

*“Thanks to everyone @CorruptionConf for sparking many interesting ideas!” (participant feedback)*



# The Erasmus+ Programme: What Can You Do Today?

**David Brimage**  
**Executive Officer for European Programmes**  
**Sussex Abroad office**



In January 2014 the European Union launched its new flagship programme for education, training, youth and sport: Erasmus+. Built on the phenomenally successful Erasmus programme, Erasmus+ has the broad aims of increasing skills and employability across Europe, modernising education, training and youth work and improving opportunities for young people.

Within the Sussex Abroad team, we want to offer the opportunity to study abroad to as many students as possible. Happily with Sussex Choice, the majority of undergraduate students are now able to add an additional year on to their degree and so can apply for a study placement abroad for a full academic year. Some subject areas also still allow their students to study abroad for a term as part of the three year degree programme

Increased opportunities for our students to study abroad is great news for everyone but does present us with some interesting challenges. Where subject areas are sending students abroad for the first time, for example, we (with the help of departments) need to develop new links with partner institutions. By working closely with departments, we hope to ensure any resulting links with universities abroad are the best and most enriching ones possible for students.

Currently we have over 70 inter-institutional agreements with other European partners (many of them departmental). Additionally, we have exchange links with a large number of partner institutions across Asia, Australia, North America and Central and South America. We are keen to build on and strengthen existing links which we have with these partner institutions abroad and this brings us neatly on to opportunities for staff.

Through Erasmus+, staff members can apply to take part in a staff mobility within Europe (funded through Erasmus+). Possibilities exist for staff to apply to teach abroad at a partner institution (the minimum number of teaching hours is eight per week). Alternatively, teaching and support staff can also apply to take part in a funded staff training exchange at another partner university. Typically, the partner institution would put together a full week's timetable involving work shadowing and meetings with key members of staff. The key thing to remember when applying is that your staff mobility should feed into the University's wider strategic aims for internationalisation. If you are interested in taking part, do get in touch with me for more information.

Being part of the Erasmus+ programme offers us a wealth of exciting opportunities. It provides us with access to a European network which helps us strengthen and develop our partnerships and relationships. It allows us to increase collaboration between universities, bringing together diverse people from across Europe to share their knowledge and expertise. It provides us with opportunities to learn and work in a truly international environment, to encounter different perspectives, in short to be part of a European community of learning. So, what are you waiting for? Get involved with Erasmus+ today!

*N.B.: For higher education and schools, the UK National Agency for Erasmus+ is the British Council.*

# MA in Corruption and Governance

This interdisciplinary MA is unique in the UK and explicitly looks at issues of corruption and governance. It also breaks new ground in encouraging you to take up three-month internships within non-governmental organisations, regulators, government offices or businesses, with a view to putting the theory learned in seminar room in to practice.

**Assessment:** All modules are assessed by 5,000-word term papers, presentations and exams. You also write a 20,000-word dissertation in the summer term. The internship will be assessed by a 5,000-word report on what you have done and how this links into theories of corruption, anti-corruption and/or good governance.

## Core Modules

- Interdisciplinary Approaches to Analysing Corruption
- Anti-Corruption
- Research Methods in Corruption Analysis
- Corruption and Governance Dissertation

## Options

- Corruption in International Business
- Corruption and the Law
- International and Transnational Offending
- International Crimes
- Internship
- Political Parties and Party Systems in Comparative Perspective
- State Capacity, Natural Resources and Corruption
- The State of East Asia: Corruption, Theft and Collapse

**For all enquiries: Prof Dan Hough**  
[d.t.hough@sussex.ac.uk](mailto:d.t.hough@sussex.ac.uk)



## MA in International Politics

*1 year full time/2 years part time*

This MA is designed to develop your understanding of the interaction between politics at domestic levels with the wider functioning of politics at the transnational and international level. It integrates the comparative study of domestic politics, foreign policy and international politics.

The course appeals to practitioners who wish to foster an analytical understanding of the interdependencies between domestic and international politics and how they impact on one another in real-world decision-making.

### Autumn term:

- Comparative Governance
- International Politics
- Research Methods and Approaches

### Spring term (choice of two options):

- Foreign Policy Analysis
- The United Nations in the World
- Politics and Government in India
- The State in East Asia
- European Political Integration
- Domestic Politics of European Integration

**Summer term:** you research and write a 15,000-word dissertation on a topic of your choice, related to one of your options, under supervision of a member of faculty.

For details contact: **Dr. Kai Oppermann**

[k.oppermann@sussex.ac.uk](mailto:k.oppermann@sussex.ac.uk)

## MA in European Governance and Policy

*1 year full time/2 years part time*

This MA is designed to give you an understanding of the way in which policy is made within Europe, covering national and EU level processes as well as the interaction between them. It focuses in particular on the political context to policy making in Europe. In exploring these processes, the course makes use of both cutting-edge research and the insights of policy-makers and others seeking to shape policy. As such, it prepares you for both further academic study and careers in the wider policy environment.

### Autumn term:

- European Governance
- Politics and Public Policy
- Research Methods and Approaches

### Spring term options (choice of 2 modules):

- European Political Integration
- Foreign Policy Analysis
- International Relations of the EU

- The Domestic Politics of European Integration
- Energy and Environmental Security in Europe
- EU Single Market Law
- Political Parties and Party Systems
- Territorial Politics
- The Political Economy of EU Integration
- The Politics of Eastern Europe in Transition
- Corruption and Governance in International Business
- Tackling Corruption

**Summer term:** you research and write a 15,000-word dissertation on a topic of your choice, related to one of your options, under supervision of a member of faculty.

For details contact: **Dr Sue Collard**

[S.P.Collard@sussex.ac.uk](mailto:S.P.Collard@sussex.ac.uk)

# SEI Doctoral Studentship Opportunities



The SEI welcomes candidates wishing to conduct doctoral research in the following areas of our core research expertise:

- **Comparative Politics** – particularly the comparative study of political parties, and public policy. Country and regional specialisms include France, Germany, Western Europe, Poland/Eastern Europe, India, East Asia
- **European Integration** – particularly the political economy of European integration, the domestic politics of European integration, including Euroscepticism, and European security and external relations policy
- **European Law** — particularly EU constitutional law, competition law, environmental law, media law, anti-discrimination law and human rights law
- **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](mailto:j.a.hampshire@sussex.ac.uk))  
Law: Dr Ahmad Ghouri ([a.a.ghouri@sussex.sc.uk](mailto:a.a.ghouri@sussex.sc.uk))  
Sociology: Dr Laura Morosanu ([l.morosanu@sussex.ac.uk](mailto:l.morosanu@sussex.ac.uk))