



CONSENT for Europe

PHD ONLINE JOURNAL

VOL. 4

(Edited by Attila Agh, Beatrix Futak-Campbell and Judit Kis-Varga)



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This issue of the Journal bids farewell to the year 2007; and in this message we look back at more than two years of EU-CONSENT activity. This Network of Excellence – “Wider Europe, Deeper Integration” - has collected rich experiences in organising PhD Schools. The series of schools has been set in motion with the Budapest, Dublin, Cambridge and Spetses Schools; all of which has been coordinated by the thematic Work Packages. Dozens of PhD students have participated in these PhD Schools and dozens of their papers have been discussed. It has been an excellent opportunity for networking and we sincerely hope that a real ‘Network of Excellence’ has emerged among the PhD students involved in these schools as well. This excellence has been demonstrated, again, by the EU-CONSENT PhD Award for the best three papers during last year’s events. During the EU-CONSNET Plenary Conference in October 2007 Serana Ciani, Edith Drieskens and Florian Trauner received the PhD Award for their excellent contributions to EU-CONSENT research activities. Furthermore, PhD students were offered to present their main research aims and results by editing posters which were posted during the plenary conference. It is encouraging for the PhD Centre, indeed, that year after year, we receive such high quality papers written for the PhD Schools and other EU-CONSENT workshops.

So far the four PhD Schools have been very valuable for the EU-CONSENT project to fulfil its mission that has been included in its name, that is, ‘Wider Europe, Deeper Integration – Constructing Europe Network’. This success comes down to the fact that these PhD Schools have been thriving on creating an all-European network of the PhD students from many EU and EU candidate member states. Thus through these schools the PhD students have established their very own network. These relationships will survive the lifetime of the EU-CONSENT network.

This issue of the Journal, as usual, facilitates the networking of the PhD students by introducing four papers from four PhD candidates who actively participated in EU-CONSENT events in the past year. It will also include current information on the major EU news and upcoming events. We also announce the forthcoming two PhD Schools: first, in June 2008 organized by the Work Package VI: Economic and Social Policies; and second, the closing PhD School during the winter 2008/2009. The latter School will aim to take a wider overview of the experiences of all EU-CONSENT research activities.

We hope that many of you will be inspired by the signing of Treaty of Lisbon, and embark on new research projects. In addition, and especially for the Economic and Social Policies Work Package, the beginning of a new three



year cycle of the revised Lisbon Strategy in March 2008 will provide a good opportunity for both summarising the achievements of the 2005-2008 period and designing the perspectives for the next. Beyond these 'internal' EU cornerstones, the subject of the Lisbon 'external action' will also come into consideration through the international competitiveness of the EU in the globalizing world. We look forward to future papers on any of the above issues. The editors of this Journal thank all of you for your participation in last year's events and hope for more intensive collaboration this year.

II. GENERAL INFORMATION ON THE UPCOMING PHD SCHOOLS/EVENTS

The PhD Schools are integral parts of the EU-CONSENT Network of Excellence. They are designed to provide transnational training for doctoral students and to create lasting networks amongst junior researchers. Six PhD Schools were planned to be held during the lifetime of the project; five of which are related to the thematic work packages of EU-CONSENT and one final school giving a broader concluding overview on topics dealt within EU-CONSENT at the end of the project's lifetime. The next period of EU-CONSENT will aim at enhancing the existing structures and complementing them by new ones. The planned "PhD Market" (within the framework of the final PhD school) represents a new opportunity for young researchers to present their research to fellow PhD candidates and to

establish contacts with think tanks, experts and stakeholders in order to assist their future research and careers. Furthermore, PhD candidates will be encouraged to actively contribute to the promotion of the European Research Area by organising an EU-CONSENT workshop of their own.

The following PhD schools remain to be organised:

- "Economic and Social Policies" – related to Work Package VI "Economic and Social Policies", scheduled for spring 2008. There will be more information on this event on the EU-CONSENT web site very soon along with the application form.
- Final "PhD Market: Lessons of the Past for Visions of the Future" dealing with EU-CONSENT's overall research question and other specific topics dealt with within the network, in Cologne or Brussels; scheduled for winter 2008 / 2009.

Preliminary information on the Fifth PhD School

Title: The political economy of European growth: geography, demography & democracy

Possible date: Monday 2nd June 2008 - Saturday 7th June 2008

Location: University of Pau - FRANCE

Possible date for call for papers:

Deadline for submission of papers
Saturday 15th March



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Topic: The EU-CONSENT PhD School, held in Pau in June 2008, will be dedicated to the economics and political economy of long-term sustainable economic growth in the EU. It will address such themes such as: the consequences of population ageing processes, both within the EU and in relation to the rest of the world; EU policies with respect to growth both short term macroeconomic management and long term; Lisbon-strategy type of policies and the longer-term aspects of sustainability relating to energy, food and the environment. The emphasis will be put the collective and multilevel dimensions of the policy making process in each area, with special focus on the issues arising from differences in the size of member states.

Themes to be addressed:

- The demographic dynamics of the EU and its consequences on growth;
- The global consequences of European demographic dynamics;
- The Lisbon strategy and the appropriate institutional framework for sustainable growth;
- The link between macroeconomic policy and long-term growth;
- The obstacles to co-ordination in the EU;
- The role of size in national growth strategies;
- The political economy of European growth policies.

Spetses, one of the most picturesque islands of Greece hosted the 4th EU-CONSENT PhD School titled "Wider Europe Deeper Integration" between 2 and 6 July. With the participation of 9 PhD students and 8 professors from several EU and candidate countries who came from different academic backgrounds such as law, political science and economics the PhD school facilitated an ideal working environment both for academics and students alike.

The PhD School having convened after the last European Council meeting in June focused on the current EU themes. One of them was the promotion of EU citizenship which brought together the question of deeper integration. Professors' lectures on this topic varied according to their expertise: Prof. Chrssoychoou from the University of Crete presented an ideal normative account for the future of the EU and argued for the promotion of democratic citizenship irregardless of the method of integration at the member state level. Prof. Stephanou from Panteion University had a rather cultural explanation to the EU citizenship problem. He identified the lack of a genuine link between the citizen and the EU as the problem and argued for the enforcement of political citizenship and acceptance of EU citizens as actors equipped with the powers to effect EU level decisions. Prof. Rossi from the University of Bologna introduced a legal point of view and made a case for the promotion of EU citizenship through

FOURTH EU-CONSENT PHD SCHOOL, 2-6 JULY, 2007, SPETSSES, GREECE



the introduction of the Charter of Fundamental Rights into the European Constitution. Prof. Franck from Universite Catholique de Louvain reflected on the history of parliamentarism in Europe while Prof. Karasinska-Fendler from the European Institute in Lodz on the significance of the EP's role in the democratic process. The question of a collective EU/European identity was explored by Prof. Ruiz-Jiménez who also provided insight in to one way of conceptualising this problem by using statistical analysis. And finally, Prof. Wegmarshaus from Euro College Tartu made a case for democracy as a learning process and its implications for civic European education.

The morning sessions which consisted of lectures followed with a siesta break due to the island's climate. The breaks were very helpful to wash off the stress for all participants. The long swims and sunbathing on the pebble beaches offered a perfect ambience for the participants to discuss their research topics. This informal atmosphere apart from the working sessions helped the participants to engage with one another.

The afternoon sessions were mainly scheduled for the PhD presentations in which each participating student presented a part of his/her dissertation. The topics were wide ranging, complimenting the morning lectures. All participants listened with great enthusiasm to the student presentations and did not refrain from making constructive comments in order further

the research of each student. There were also critiques of some fields which lacked interdisciplinary approach, which was very much encouraged by the professors.

A warm thank you needs to be expressed for the support of Beatrix Futák-Campbell, Judit Kis-Varga and Nikolaos Lymouris who assisted this PhD school that served its aim of aiding the PhD students in their dissertations to a great extent.

Eren Özalay

Bogazici University, Istanbul, Turkey

III. ABSTRACTS OF PAPERS PRESENTED BY PHD STUDENTS AT EU- CONSENT EVENTS

The role of PhD Online Journal is to widen the awareness of the PhD Schools and other EU-CONSENT activities where postgraduates participated. This serves as one of the EU-CONSENT missions of bringing together junior and senior researchers. The four papers below are a demonstration of just that. They cover a wide range of topics from the subject of democratic legitimacy in the EU through the party developments in the new member states to the problems of conditionality in the West Balkans and to the authoritarian 'Reverse Wave' in Belarus. Nevertheless they all focus on Enlargement and the European Neighbourhood Policy.



Florian Trauner: From membership conditionality to policy conditionality: EU external governance in South-Eastern Europe

What are the major characteristics of the mode of EU external governance in the aspiring candidates in South-Eastern Europe? This paper argues that the theoretical approach as drafted in the Eastern enlargement falls short to sufficiently establish the factors why these countries comply with EU demands. Their adaptation and transformation efforts did not only take place due to membership conditionality but also due to policy-related conditionality. By elaborating on the example of justice and home affairs, the analysis shows that the EU could speed-up EU rule adoption by defining a different visa regime vis-à-vis five of the six countries as a new 'reward' to be achieved through the fulfilment of a whole range of conditionality requirements. This strategy is effective but creates tensions with broader objectives for the region. Although the EU's overall aim is to integrate these countries and to support them in their transformation towards stable and open European-minded societies, its visa regime functions as an obstacle to this aim by confining the movement of persons, in a way that they lose sight of the wider horizon.

[Click here to download the whole paper](#)

Elli Siapkidou: Legitimacy and consent in the European Union: Does one go without the other?

The Maastricht ratification debate in the early 1990s, with the French "petit oui" and the Danish "no" brought the issues of public support, democracy and legitimacy in the European Union to the forefront of the political and academic debate. In the spring 2005, the rejection of the European Constitution in France and the Netherlands caused a "pause" in the ratification procedure and postponed the institutional reforms needed for a more effective functioning of the enlarged and enlarging European Union for two years. Once again, the concepts of democratic deficit and legitimacy became recurrent themes in the academic dialogue. Within this context, this paper aims to explore the concepts of the democratic deficit and legitimacy. It will first review the debate on the EU's democratic deficit. It will then classify the different arguments according to the democratic legitimacy analytical framework provided by Beetham (1991). It will be argued that the academic debate on the EU's democratic deficit has been dominated by the concept of democratic legitimacy, hence focusing mainly on the electoral mechanisms of accountability and representation. However, the alternative concepts of international and regulatory legitimacy only seem to adjust and tailor the concept of legitimacy to the needs of the EU. It will be argued that consent of the citizens to the governing system is a necessary component of legitimacy,



irrespective of what definition ones gives to the EU.

[Click here to download the whole paper](#)

Aris Trantidis: The economic underpinnings of semi-authoritarianism. Explaining preferences and power relations in the case of Belarus

Belarus is a significant case-study for the political scientist. It puzzles observers, politicians, economists, and political scientists with its political and economic idiosyncrasy of being an enduring outlier in an increasingly liberal and democratic continent. To explain its deviance, a structure and agency approach seeks to expose the domestic and external structural *conditions* in Belarus that shaped the political arena. It argues that its halted democratisation is attributable to the country's predominantly state-administered economic structure, which has been sustained largely because of its dependency on Russia. The choice for not liberalising the economy was a choice of preserving concentrated economic and political power, avoiding the costs of reforms, and the loss of power due to economic restructuring.

This paper offers an account in which choice is contingent on structural opportunities and constraints. The structure of the Belarusian economy has generated state-dependency for the majority of the population, and a widespread public attitude of conservatism and complacency with the

ruler. It has prevented the emergence of a considerably wide pro-democratic and pro-liberal movement, and has disempowered the pro-democratic few. It has generated power dependencies that have delineated the preferences of the population. During the Lukashenka years this choice has been sustainable thanks to the special ties with the recovering Russian economy. In addition, it was a strategy easy to sell to the electorate through the ideological advocacy for statism and political and cultural affinity with Russia. The far-reaching effects of the economic model hold the key to understanding both the failure of the domestic pro-democratisation forces, and the failure of the democracy promotion policies of the EU and other international actors.

[Click here to download the whole paper](#)

Tomislav Maršić: Europeanisation of political parties in EU candidate countries - the effects on post-socialist consolidation

In preparing candidate countries for EU accession the EU in principle still relies on the instruments devised for the support of Hungary and Poland in 1994. A better understanding of the Europeanisation of national parties in post-socialist parties and its effect on representative consolidation can contribute to refining the EU accession strategy. In this paper it is argued that existing approaches to analysis need to be enhanced by incorporating three characteristics, which are decisive for parties in post-socialist candidate countries: the *short period of time* within



which accession takes place, *conditionality* and its inherent mechanisms of coercion as constituent parts of the EU accession policy and the special *post-socialist environment* and its consequences for the positioning of parties in society and state institutions. A research strategy relying on a most-similar design can be profitable in isolating EU-specific factors especially against the background of methodical difficulties posed by the Europeanisation approach.

[Click here to download the whole paper](#)

Award-winner papers in the year of 2006/2007

The PhD Award winners in the year 2006/2007 as per decision of the Steering Group are:

1. **Serena Ciani:** *Power in the Enlarged EU: Game Theoretical Insights*
2. **Edith Drieskens:** *EU representation in the UN Security Council: A Principle Agent Perspective*
3. **Florian Trauner:** *EU Justice and Home Affairs in the Western Balkans: The Politics of Exclusion and Inclusion*

[Click here to download the papers](#)

Congratulations for the winners!

IV. NEWS RELATED TO EU-CONSENT ACTIVITIES (for full information see EU-CONSENT Newsletter and www.eu-consent.net)

January

EU-CONSENT lecture

22 January 2008 (6-8 p.m)
University of Potsdam

An EU-CONSENT lecture will be hosted by the Chair of Klaus H. Goetz on

German and European Government and Politics at the University of Potsdam. The speaker will be Loukas Tsoukalis, President of the Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP). He will speak on the topic 'Global, Social and Political Europe'. For further information, please contact Katja Lass-Lennecke (lasslenn@uni-potsdam.de).

Constitutional and Institutional Change in the EU: Wider Europe, Deeper integration? Workshop organized by the cross-cutting working group "Deepening: Constitutional and Institutional Change"

17 January 2008

Brussels

Deadline: 17 December 2007

This conference aims to bring together researchers looking at the implications of the Lisbon Treaty for the further evolution of the EU in terms of its constitutional basis and institutional system. Contributions will address questions such as 'Do the provisions contained in the Reform Treaty match the expectations that had been put into it and favour a durable consensus about the state of the Union?' 'May the Reform Treaty provide an effective answer to the challenges of the enlarged EU?' 'To which extent might the Reform Treaty contribute to further integration?' 'What challenges for the future might the Treaty bring forward?' The workshop will consist of several panels looking into the context of the Reform Treaty (history, theory, method), the horizontal issues and institutional dimensions (decision-making, leadership, flexibility) and the main implications for EU policies.



If you are interested in attending the workshop or require further information please contact Sonia Piedrafita (s.piedrafita@eipa.eu).

April

4th HEIRS Conference

11-12 April 2008

Universite Libre de Bruxelles,

Contact: heirs2008@ulb.ac.be

Deadline: 14 December 2007

Beyond the political and economic history of European integration, a history of the growing social integration of European societies has become a necessity. The aim is to tackle some interrelated topics which underline patterns of convergence and resistance related to labour, migration, and social policies in a historical perspective. Undoubtedly, the confrontation of market-driven mechanisms, on the one hand, and the advent of Welfare-State systems, on the other hand, has resulted in tensions, which nurtured the process of homogenisation, interdependence and exchange among competitive social models. Potential topics for the focus theme include, but are not limited to:

- The free circulation of labour has long been hampered by Member States, for instance through the persistence of bilateral accords. Did migration accelerate or slow down the process of European integration?
- How did the European construction and the recent enlargements, together with the unresolved question of Europeans' colonial legacies, challenge the European identity as a post-national construction?
- How did these issues, among others, become an object of social policies (e.g. working conditions, standards of living, housing

- conditions, regional and urban planning;)?)
- How did the process of convergence of European societies influence the course of European integration? Or, on the contrary, to what extent has the process of European integration perpetuated or strengthened the divergent views of national social policies?

HEIRS fourth conference aims to stimulate the dialogue between historians and scholars from other disciplines in the area of social sciences. HEIRS encourages papers by PhD students and young scholars. Papers can be submitted in either French or English. They should be no longer than 8.000 words. Those who are interested should submit a 500-word abstract of their proposal by December 14, 2007. Applicants will be notified of the results by January 7, 2008. They should send their final papers to the organizers for circulation among participants and panel discussants no later than March 31, 2008. The presentations should last no more than 20 minutes, thus allowing time for discussion. For further updated information about the conference, please visit HEIRS website

at www.heirs-eu.org

Work Package X 'Teaching' workshop on the experiences and test results of the test phase of EU-CONSENT's teaching units.

Cologne, April date to be announced.



Currently EU-CONSENT partners have been asked to apply the conventional and virtual teaching units in their teaching and dissemination activities. Results of the practical application will be evaluated and discussed at the workshop in April which will form the base for the potential redesign and completion of the established teaching units.

August

ECPR Graduate Conference:
25-27 August 2008
Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona

All panels, round tables and registration will be located at the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, and campus accommodation will be available. This is an excellent opportunity for graduate students to come together from all over Europe to share their work and experience by presenting papers or by simply observing, and as with all ECPR conferences, there will be a number of social events. The keynote lecture will be delivered by Professor Fred Halliday of the London School of Economics and Political Science.

The academic convenors of the conference are Eileen Connolly (Dublin City University) and Joaquim Molins (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona), members of the ECPR's Executive Committee and Jennifer Sands (University of Leeds) and Robin Pettitt (University of Manchester), members of the ECPR's Graduate Network.

The conference format will consist of open themed panels, roundtables and lectures. Approximately 20-25 sections will be offered (depending on the number of applications received). Each section should contain a minimum of 4 and a maximum of 6 panels. For further information on the conference schedule, please see the day by day timetable.

All proposals to organise panels should be submitted via the online submission system at: www.ecprnet.org. There will be 2 deadlines for applications: the deadline for the first round is **15 January 2008** and the deadline for the second round is **1 March 2008**. Please submit your proposals as early as possible. Your chances of being accepted are greater if you apply by the first deadline.

Individual paper proposals should also be submitted via the online submission system at: www.ecprnet.org with the same deadlines.

September

Fourth Pan-European Conference on EU Politics, Organized by the ECPR Standing Group on the European Union
25-27 September 2008,
Riga, Latvia
Deadline: 29 February 2008

The ECPR Standing Group's Pan-European Conferences are the largest academic conferences on the European Union in Europe and bring together scholars from all over the world. The Conference has eight sections covering major fields of current research on the EU.



- Theories of European Integration
- EU Institutions and Politics
- Political Economy of the European Union
- EU Law and Policies
- Gender, Diversity, and European Integration
- The Politics and Economics of EU Enlargement
- Foreign Policy and External Relations

- Migration and European Integration

The program chair will accept proposals for BOTH individual papers and whole panels (including a maximum of four papers). Proposals should be made on-line using the conference website: www.jhubc.it/ecpr-riga/

