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BOOK OF SUMMARIES

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Democratization and Europeanization of the ECE Countries: Post-accession Crisis and Catching-up Process in the New Member States

No summary

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“Positive Discrimination” Policies for Inclusion of Europe’s Largest Minority: Examples of Educational Policies for Roma Minority in Europe

In its Constitutional Charter Europe as a multicultural society advocates and guarantees the protection of minorities and emphasises the establishment of the conditions for preserving cultural diversity. The protection of minorities is especially important given the large number of different nationalities which have often not only settled within the boundaries of their motherlands co-existing on common European territory. One of the most problematic concerns here is the displaced Roma community – a minority without a mother country. The rights of the Roma minority are regulated by each individual country within its legislative borders but always in compliance with the related EU guidelines. Since the problems that Roma community encounter are numerous many argue that low educational level should be the first to address. According to the theory of human capital there is a positive correlation between individuals’ education and welfare of the state. The aim of this paper is to elaborate on the existing “positive discrimination” policies on the field of education for Roma in Europe and to present a newly implemented mechanism of *Roma teacher* in Slovenia. In the paper we will also present an empirical data of evaluation of this mechanism and how successful it is in comparison to other forms of positive discrimination in Europe.

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The Ideas of the Populist and Extreme Right Movements In East-Central Europe

Despite institutional consolidation of democracy due to the europeanization of politics in ECE, social strains and political tensions in the vogue of the deep economic and social transformation made their impact on the political culture. As the new parliamentary democracy provided political freedom indiscriminately for all possible political forces, it was no wonder that very soon specters of the authoritarian past revived in most countries of the region, and emergent radical right movements and ideas challenged the new democratic order.

The prospect of the European integration put a provisional brake on right-wing radicalism, because of the consensus of all major political parties in the will to join the EU. It was a small surprise, however, that after the achieved membership in the EU radical nationalism and populism gained anew strong support, and political cleavages deepened. In opposition against the pro-European coalition government radical right movements got new momentum, in Hungary leading even to street riots in the capital city in autumn 2006.

Although the transformation has brought about significant advantage and development, social disparities and frustrations grew. Nationalism remains strong also because of the rushing impacts of global capitalism (influx of foreign capital, commodities, commercial media etc.), against which resentment and a new identity politics gained momentum.

In my lecture I characterize some common features of this new right-wing radicalism and list some major groups. The major ideas behind populism and “national radicalism” are an incoherent amalgam of ideas coming from historical and present social and political grievances. Most interesting is the populist, grassroots and movement character of the new radicalism. What are the basic beliefs of “national radicals”?

- Radical nationalism and populism is usually based on an idealized, romantic image of history.
- They are anti-globalist and anti-modernist in their attitude, against which national identity must be strengthened. The EU stands here for a global, colonizing power to be refused.
- The legitimacy of the existing constitutional order is denied, the compromises of the system change refused. Consequently, the government must be overthrown, moreover, the whole political elite, serving foreign interests, must be fired and a new, national elite established.
- Populists and radicals distance themselves often from any parties and party-politics (even if they form a party themselves), divide the people simply into good national forces on one side, and evil alien-hearted, anti-national forces on the other. They dream of a conflict-free homogenous national community under national leaders.
- They nevertheless refuse to be identified populists or extremists. They refuse in the same manner to be anti-Semite or racist (despite of sharing such prejudices and using a coded racist language). They hold a flattering opinion of their country as traditionally host country, the only problem being that some immigrants are unwilling to assimilate/amalgamate.
- In their strive for identification they usually turn to symbols of the authoritarian past (e.g. for Hungary: historical Árpád-strived flag, the Holy Crown, the totemic animal Falcon (Turul), and other symbols of national history.

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Europeanization of Public Administration in the Process of EU Negotiation: Case Study of Croatia

Administration capacity of the candidate country known as Madrid criteria for the EU membership is one the biggest challenges for Croatia's accession to the EU because it shows to which extent is the state prepared to accept and implement *acquis* in its own legislation. Regarding the fact that the two crucial elements of public policy are the state itself and the state bureaucracy, this paper will focus on the characteristics of the Croatian administration in light of the development and theories of modern administration. In the process of European

integration, administration is passing through constant challenges that include new tasks and roles, increased influence of new technologies, new forms of communication and organisation which will have direct impact to the state administration and, consequently, to everyday life of the citizens. Therefore, this article will discuss the influence of the EU integration process to the state administration, and the research questions it will try to answer are: How is the administration in Croatia organised and structured, which are the features of employment and advancement in state administration, to which extend is the decision making process in state administration (de)centralised, what are the trends in the organisation of administration and what is the role of public administration in the process of Croatia's negotiation with the EU?

This paper will also suggest the ways how to increase the efficiency of public administration. This paper, therefore, reflects to the implementation of the EU policies from the view of fulfilling institutional criteria for the EU accession, with stress to the Croatian administrative capacity in regard to the negotiations with the EU.

Following the idea of V.Wright that it is possible to "score the efficiency of the EU policies' implementation on the national level depending on the administrative capacity of the individual state" (1999:162), this paper will give critical view to the efficiency of the Croatian administration in the implementation of the EU policies, especially acceptance of the European legislation that makes crucial part of the "EU policy", as every analysis of the coordination (implementation) of the European policy on the national level must tackle the question of the public administration's efficiency.

Due to the fact that successful integration process crucially needs efficient public administration, delaying with its reform (modernisation and increase of efficiency) is jeopardizing integration. The extend to which Croatia's administration is capable of undertaking this job within the state will largely influence administration of Croatia's interests in the EU.

This paper will give arguments that the public administration, as part of the public policy, is one of the weakest links in the EU accessions process in Croatia that, at the same time, jeopardize process of Europeanization of the public activities. Some EU member states also have problems with the policy implementation on the national level, as well as European institution at the EU level. But what is different, the EXTEND of those problems, i.e. to which extend the problems create limitations to the efficiency of the tasks undertaken by the public administration.

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Horizontal Europeanisation of National Public Spheres: Normative Requirements - Empirical Evidence

The paper deals with challenges regarding communication gaps among European countries. Improving cross European communication and developing a European political public sphere are considered crucial factors for democracy in Europe. The formation of a European public sphere requires the Europeanisation of national public spheres and mutual interconnections between them. From a normative perspective European political enlargement needs to be accompanied by an extension of the European public sphere for better communicative inclusion of New Member States and Candidate Countries. Empirical analyses mostly focus

on trends and modes of *vertical Europeanisation* by analysing national media reporting on EU politics. Less scientific attention is paid to the trends and modes of *horizontal Europeanisation* which requires increasing national media attention on politics in other European countries. The proposed paper presents first illustrative results regarding communicative inclusion of the New EU Member States and Candidate Countries in the Austrian public sphere. An overview on the news geography shows, that there is no significant increase of Austrian media attention to east- and southeast European countries since 1995. Hence, for the Austrian case, we do not find empirical evidence for a trend towards horizontal Europeanisation.

Acknowledgments

Our investigation of news geography is based on 156.714 Austrian TV-news contributions which were transmitted on Austrian public service broadcastin (ORF) between 1995 and 2004. The case study on is enlargement discourse is based 1920 press news articles on EU-enlargement issues published 1997 and 2004. Empirical analyses were conducted via quantitative media content analyses. The presentation shows results of the research project “Europeanisation of the Austrian Public Sphere: Institutional Structures, Media Attention, Public Discourse & the Contribution of New Media.” The project is supported and funded under the research program “New Orientations for Democracy in Europe” (Node) of the Federal Ministry for Education, Science and Culture (bm:bwk).

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Eurozation, Monetary Union, and the Credibility of Monetary Policy

Assessment of exchange-rate arrangements have become an integral feature of recent discussions on reform of the international financial architecture. Meanwhile, numerous articles have sought to identify viable exchange-rate regimes in a world increasingly characterised by high capital mobility. The upshot of this recent interest in exchange-rate regimes is that a large part of the profession appears to have become converted to „the hypothesis of the vanishing middle regime“, for countries well-integrated into world capital markets, there is little, if any, middle ground between floating exchange rates and monetary unification. Monetary unions are expected to have welfare improving allocative effects by boosting international trade and economic growth inside the currency area because of the increased stability of the exchange rate brought about by the increased credibility of the exchange rate regime. The literature on optimal currency areas emphasizes that policy independence is crucial if countries face recurrent idiosyncratic disturbances. If member-countries of the EMU show sizeable asymmetry in the timing of business cycle phases and their exposure to exogenous shocks, these countries may be better off retaining their ability to conduct monetary and exchange rate policies. Consequently, the important empirical issue is whether Europe is a region in which country-specific shocks prevail or whether shocks affect most of these countries in a similar way. Eurozation is a relatively rare phenomenon. Yet in recent years it has attracted a lot of attention, which can be proved by an increasing number of studies dealing with this problem, as well as an increasing number of countries taking this course of action. This paper deals with the advantages and disadvantages of eurozation (dollarization), not only from the theoretical aspect but also on the basis of experience of

other dolarized countries. The unequivocal conclusion is that eurozation (dollarization) is not a monetary policy instrument that can be recommended to Croatia. Ultimately, a credible exchange-rate regime depends upon the trust evoked by governments. A governance structure that enforces the rule of law and sanctity of contracts and a political system that delivers credible, non-inflationary policies are prerequisites for the existence of a sustainable exchange-rate regime.

Key words: exchange-rate regime, eurozation, optimum currency areas, monetary union, BBC regime, FBAR regime, monetary policy

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Tied up by Europe, tied down by domestic politics? The transposition of the EU Anti-Discrimination Directives in Austria

Despite an unprecedented surge in the study of domestic transposition processes in Europe since the late 1990s, understanding why EU directives are transposed differently across the member states remains an open question. This is a crucial question because one of the pathways for the dynamics of Europeanization to unleash is precisely through the transposition of European legislation. The literature on EU transposition studies provides a detailed catalogue of arguments to answer this riddle. Still, many of these arguments constitute, at best, "sometimes true theories". A recent study cut through these issues by uncovering various "worlds of compliance", each displaying a different reaction mode to EU transposition requirements. This paper elaborates upon the variables that determine transposition outcomes in one of these country groupings, the so-called "world of domestic politics". The theoretical model proposed here expands two middle-range approaches commonly used in the literature, the misfit and veto player hypotheses, in the study of transposition outcomes in this "world". The framework is illustrated for the puzzling case of Austria in the transposition of two recent pieces of EU anti-discrimination legislation, the Race and Employment Equality Directives.

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The 'Europeanisation' of Croatia's Regional (Development) Politics: A Historical Institutional Interpretation

This labour investigates whether Croatian regional politics (i.e., regionalisation and RDP) are really undergoing a process of transformation pursuant to the country's all-type and excessive degree of 'misfit' and, if so, to what extent 'Europeanisation' is driving this process. Several approaches and theories are advanced in the literature of Comparative Politics to account for this phenomenon. Prominent among all in 'Europeanisation' studies is the New

Institutionalism. Based primarily on Historical Institutional (HI) theoretical contentions, hypotheses were defined about the effects of 'Europeanisation' on Croatia's current pattern of reform. In parallel, domestic variables such as veto-players' constellations, issue salience and administrative capacities are, among other, examined as to whether they can explain (non-) transformation trends.

The analysis shows a strong and important relation of Croatia's new Regional Development Policy (RDP) and of 'Europeanisation' with the extent of establishing a new legal and institutional framework for managing future SF and CF monies and projects, while the coefficients for the 'Europeanisation' variables and for the issue of regionalisation are insignificant. Therefore, the main conclusions of this study is that 'Europeanisation' propelled the creation of a comprehensive, joint and infused with EU values new Croatian RDP despite the outstanding reluctance-resistance of the incumbent Government and some political authorities located at the sub-central scales. However, the 'Europeanisation' effect on the country's politics of regionalisation pursuant to the NUTS Classification system is regarded as being but minimal. Still the country has not advanced a coherent and aligned with its new RDP frameworks regional map. Though constitutionally entrenched, the European principles of subsidiarity and partnership are inadequately addressed by the respective legal frameworks and in practice by and large circumscribed. Taken all into consideration, this paper illustrates the hesitant pattern of 'Europeanisation' that Croatia exhibits with reference to its regional (development) politics.

Key words: *Croatia, Europeanisation, Historical Institutionalism, RDP, regionalisation*

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Europeanizing the European Polity: Could Bicameralism be the Way for Reducing a Democratic Deficit in the European Union?

Although Europeanization generally means a domestic change caused by the European integration, one has to ask oneself whether the European Union as a whole – and more specifically, its institutional framework – is in a need of a wave of Europeanization. This paper will try to assert that, due to the recent setbacks in the European integration process (caused by the exercise of the sovereignty by the citizens of France, the Netherlands and Ireland), one has to rethink the institutional design of the European Union, if one wants to see a substantial decline of a democratic deficit issue, a problem that has plagued the process of the European integration for more than two decades. One of the more pragmatic solutions, which has been mentioned in numerous occasions, is the introduction of the bicameral institutional design at the level of the European Union. This paper will try to show the benefits of such a design, its possible outlook (in respect to the reform of the European Parliament and the Council of the European Union), and the ultimate results such a structure could bring to the process of the European integration as a whole.

Key words: democratic deficit, bicameralism, European Union, European Parliament, institutional design

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EU as a democratising force in post-communist countries

Recent studies propose that the EU has exerted decisive influence on the more reluctant democratisers among the post-communist countries (Rupnik 2002, Vachudova 2005, Schimmelfennig 2007). According to this argument, Slovakia, Bulgaria and Romania were cases with a liberal-illiberal mix in domestic political party systems, where the EU played a decisive role in breaking the hold of illiberal rulers and bringing about a pro-democratic reversal. Several mechanisms have been proposed as driving this transformation such as 'active and passive leverage' (Vachudova 2005) and the 'coalition approach' (Jacoby 2006). Judging by the currently available evidence it is however still far from clear whether external influence such as that proposed by the 'Europeanization' paradigm can work to democratise domestic politics, or whether Europeanization takes the back seat to the domestic political arena. According to the alternative hypothesis that I explore, Europeanization has an effect only after a crucial re-shuffling between pro- and anti-liberal forces happens in the domestic political party system. In the light of this debate, I analyse Croatia's 'return to Europe' in the early 2000s and compare it to the cases of Slovakia, Bulgaria and Romania.

Keywords: Europeanization, political party competition, external versus domestic factors of change

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In Search for the Thousand-Year Statehood: The Politics of History in Croatia and Slovakia in 1990s

This paper will compare the political use of historical discourse by nationalist regimes in Croatia and Slovakia in 1990s, with the primary aim to legitimate their own power. Since both countries share very similar history, the discourse analysis shows that both regimes used a very similar self-legitimizing historical discourse: the myth of the thousand-year uninterrupted statehood finally accomplished in the 1990s and the twentieth century nations' victimisation by Serb/Czech hegemony, contested by the partial rehabilitation of the Croat and Slovak World War II states. These discourses in the both countries produced very similar path of the non-democratic political culture characterised by the constructs of 'external other' – Serbs and Czechs – as well of 'internal enemies' – national minorities and the opposition. However, the research indicates differences originating mostly from the different Slovak and Croat 'minor' experience in the Yugoslav and the Czechoslovak federation, with final differences in the experience of the federations' disintegration processes. Moreover, they differ considering the *long durée* structures of the national collective memories, as well with respect to the different role of the radical right wing.

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The Controversial Identities of the EU: An Euro-realistic Approach

No summary

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Europeanization of the Hungarian News Media – An Ever-lasting Process?

European citizens look for and receive information about the European Union overwhelmingly from national media sources. European matters are discussed – when they are discussed at all – first of all in the context of domestic public debates in the member states. The coverage of all-European matters on national level differs in each country reflecting both the historical-cultural heritage and lessons learnt from the as well as internal cleavages and the logic of partisan competition.

Whether it is constituted as an emerging ‘ideal’, autonomous pan-European arena or conceptualised as the Europeanization of current spheres of public in the member states, the European public sphere exists just in an embryonic form. Beside other important organised players and participants, the European institutions make definite efforts to widen the scope and influence of all-European debates.

The European ‘adventure’ has become a special challenge for the post-communist countries in Central Europe. In Hungary, although the project of joining the EU was not openly questioned by any important political actors and hard Euro-scepticism did not find ground in the country, fears about a second-class membership spread over in public. After joining the European Union in 2004, common wisdom perceptions about the European Union still suffer from old-fashioned national stereotypes, provincialism and the lack of all-European approaches. However, a slight Europeanisation of the national news media – characterised by the dense intensity of Europe-related topics, the high appearance of EU-protagonists, and a broad coverage on other member states – can be detected.

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Transition in Belarus – A Special Case?

Belarus is perceived by the EU as an erratic block in the landscape of a democratic neighborhood. In its “Non-Paper – What the EU Could Bring to Belarus”, dated November

2006, Brussels promises a bright future to the country and its citizens, if the Belarusian leadership delivers on 12 conditions, which are mainly clustering around human rights issues. The Belarusian government has remained unfazed and has stated that it is ready for a dialogue on its terms. This attitude is supported by the fact that despite the price increase for Russian energy carriers, the Belarusian economy has been able to weather the storm to this point. The “Belarusian model” is not under immediate jeopardy. Nevertheless, the emerging nomenclature capitalism will be different from the present system and from European democracies.

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Return and Reintegration of Minority Refugees: Serbian Returnees in Croatia

This paper explores the challenges for successful reintegration into the local communities that former Serbian refugees face once they return to Croatia. It provides the comparison between the modes of cooperation, levels of trust and social networks that existed before the war in 90s with those that have developed after their return. Furthermore, it also explores the returnees’ perceptions on the work of the public institutions and their role for developing the incentives for return and integration.

This study proposes the understanding of reintegration not as a single process which results in one absolute returnee experience. Rather, it aims to analyse reintegration as a set of complex processes, decisions and perceptions which returnee associates and attributes to various settings upon his return. The focus on 'practical categories' (Brubaker 1996: 65-66; Brubaker 2006: 11-12), and how they gain or lose meaning in public and private environments will be adopted to evaluate these experiences. It will be argued that such an approach can reveal that reintegration to local communities may mean various things for returnees, depending on the setting in which they act. That the experience of return can produce feelings of both exclusion and inclusion.

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An Integrated Model of National Party Response to European Integration

Developments in the policy and polity dimensions of European integration constitute the ‘European context’ of national politics. The present paper contributes to the broader debates on Europeanization by exploring whether and to what extent this context induces political party (policy and/or organizational) change. To date, research on the Europeanization of political parties has not yet been sufficiently linked to the general theories of party change. Hence, the paper theoretically embeds the study of political party Europeanization into extant theories of party change. It constructs a model accounting for variation in party response to

the institutional and policy challenges brought about by European integration. The model distinguishes between different levels of party Europeanization (*Awareness* and *Action*) and stresses the role of intra-party power relations as well as primary party goals as important mediating factors.

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Relation of legislative and executive powers in the Slovak republic in European matters after joining the EU

Political system of the Slovak republic, after having entered the European Union (hereinafter referred to as “EU”), has become a part of EU political system, individual institutions have been participating on creation and realization of the EU policies. It is possible to state that “democratic deficit“ so pertracted at the EU level has been shifted also to the level of domestic authorities in the form of executive branch consolidation.

The government delegates its members to the European Commission, to its working groups, to the COREPER, the Prime Minister participates at the European Council summit meetings that provides possibility to influence decision making as well as creation of the EU legislation.

As democratic deficit means a transfer of crux of the decision taking concerning the European legislative and policy to an executive branch, it is important to seek and ensure effective control mechanism of such activity by democratically elected authority – by the National Council of the Slovak republic (hereinafter referred to as “NC SR”). National parliament has a possibility to participate at the EU decision-making at three levels: 1. control of the European policy formulation created by national government; 2. ratification of supplements and amendments of the ES/EU founding Treaties; 3. activity monitoring of the member states ‘ representatives in the EU bodies.

In Slovakia, a tendency to establish a model with strong influence of the Parliament over the Government is claimed when the Parliament seeks to confer on a binding mandate to the Government for purposes of negotiations within the EU bodies.

Considering the above, there was adopted Constitutional Act No. 397/2004 of the Coll. on cooperation of NC SR and government in the EU matters which anchors obligation of the Government to keep NC SR informed and it also gives power to NC SR to approve statement of the Slovak republic to individual matters. In compliance with the law, the Government submits drafts of legally binding acts and other ES/EU acts as well as opinions of the Slovak republic to these drafted acts to NR SR.

Moreover, following law No. 397/2004 of the Coll. the National Council has established EU Committee being empowered to exercise its competence at hearing and conferring a mandate to the Government representatives at the EU negotiations. The Chancellery of the National Council has established Department of European Affairs and Office of Resident Representative of NC SR at the European parliament and other EU institutions.

All these measures are to decrease democratic deficit within the EU and to strengthen role of legislative body in the process of the EU policy and legislation creating.

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Visualizing Europe – The Analysis of Political Ads and Campaign Material

The *iconic turn* has become a lead paradigm in the cultural sciences. The social sciences and political sciences in particular, are still trailing behind, as visual political communication had long been sidelined in these fields. Meanwhile, doubts about its significance are raised no longer.

On the contrary, there is general agreement on the fact that imagery and visual impressions transported via the mass media play a decisive role in political campaigns. Nevertheless, most relevant studies address the phenomenon of how media colonize politics as such. The analysis of political stage management frequently veers towards mere critique: Concepts such as “infotainment”, “politainment” or “mediocracy” have a tendency to juxtapose the goals of political communication to their forms of presentation, which hark back to popular image production and entertainment formats in their turn. Much less frequently can one find analyses of political culture, which focus on actual iconic images circulating in the political orbit as well as their function to serve as projection screen for wishes, anxieties or identity constructs.

This contribution uses examples from campaigns and contexts concerning European politics – a particularly interesting field of political iconography because of the generally noted deficit in visualizing Europe.

The paper focuses on visual political representations (landscape images on the one hand, national or European symbols on the other), which are communicated to the public and explores their historical and actual linkages. Its main thrust is on showing that actually dominant political images cannot only be read in the context of other contemporary images. They also refer to “antecedent” images, which are stored in the European iconic memory.

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New EU member states and Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP)

-preference formation theory

-CFSP- in Lisbon treaty

nevýhoda malých členov- kapacita (čo prinesie External Service) ale na druhej strane sa môžu špecializovať

The aim of our research is to map national preferences of new member states in foreign and security policy with special attention We examine strategic priorities of each country both geographical priorities and values. Then we look at preferences in institutional setting of CFSP and ESDP (positions in questions like military missions, external diplomatic service, and cooperation with NATO etc.).

The paper focuses on cases from the Luxembourg, Helsinki and South East groups of countries acceding to the EU within the latest round of enlargement and

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Tracking EU-Integration Effects on Candidate Countries' parties

Europeanization is a rather implicit constituent part of the EU's accession strategy. With respect to political parties the European Commission merely demands their admission from accession candidates, while simultaneously largely ignoring politics in its monitoring through the Progress Reports. Until now, the connection between national parties and the EU has scarcely been addressed (for an exemption, see Poguntke et al. 2007). While the Europeanization of EU candidate countries in general receives more and more attention (for an overview, see Sedelmeier, 2006) the effects of domestic EU-accession-related adjustments on political parties in post-socialist countries remains under-researched (for an early assessment, see Lewis, 2005).

In this paper it is assumed, that the EU accession process exposes three features of import in impacting on post-socialist parties. First, the accession process is designed to be completed in the shortest time frame possible (Raik, 2004). Second, the extent of the *Acquis Communautaire* has grown to a critical level with reference to the absorption capacities of post-socialist countries (Ágh, 1999). Third, the accession process is top-heavy and relies predominantly on the executive branch (Grabbe, 2001).

Building on conceptual work on the Europeanization of parties (Ladrech, 2002) and party systems (Mair, 2000; Mair, 2006), the paper seeks to map a research strategy to track if and how these aspects of the EU's accession policy induce changes in party organizations in Southeast European EU candidate countries. Under special consideration of intervening variables like the formation phase of parties in Southeastern Europe (van Biezen, 2003), the Europeanization of core executives (Laffan, 2003), administrations (Goetz, 2000) and the Europeanization of national parliaments (Ágh, 2007), the direct effects exemplified by the degree of an internal shift of power resources and the degree of intraparty democracy form the empirical focus of the research design.

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Beyond Transition? Symbolic Politics in Central Europe

Focusing on political symbolism, the paper analyses how the representation of new EU member states, particularly Slovakia and its citizens are constructed in both internal and international context. The images of country, nation, or state as well as various forms of their symbolic representation are created mainly by so-called „cultural elites“.

Nonetheless, in today's Europe we observe a conflict between official cultural politics aiming at achieving a shared cultural identity, constructing a new European supra-identity, while at the same time emphasizing national and regional cultural diversity. This topic raises some very important issues concerning the relation between supra-national and national identities, and between national and sub-national identities (minorities). One aim of the presentation is a comparison of various countries with regard to how EU-enlargement processes affect ritual

practices and how rituals contribute to building, strengthening, and modifying regional, national, and European identities.

The paper will concentrate on the dominant topics of public discourse in the process of selecting and establishing holidays and official state symbols. The centre of these controversial interpretations lies in symbols and the parties involved in public discourse, which organize a ritualized defense of their positions through manifestations, meetings, petitions, open letters, and strikes.

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Teaching a new dog old tricks – the Europeanization of Euroscepticism in the UK and Poland in the context of the 2004 enlargement

Departing from the assumption that the existence of Euroscepticism can be seen as evidence of the impact of Europeanization, this paper compares expressions of Euroscepticism in public discourse in the UK and Poland in the context of the 2004 enlargement, in an attempt to explain the Europeanization of public opinion in the two Member States. The UK has consistently been identified as displaying Euroscepticism, with a explanations linking the phenomenon to such diverse traits as parliamentary sovereignty and the somewhat ephemeral concept of an ‘island mentality’. Now, though, it seems that Euroscepticism is no longer the preserve of sovereign parliaments and island inhabitants, for it has reared its head in states which, like Poland, have had a very different historical and socio-political trajectory. What causes Euroscepticism to emerge in two such divergent polities? If Euroscepticism is itself a potential consequence of Europeanization, what explains its differential impact? What effect does Euroscepticism have on public opinion and discourse, and can widespread Eurosceptic attitudes and manifestations thereof be seen as convergence among Member States? These are the questions with which this paper engages, with the aim of analysing the relationship between Europeanization, Euroscepticism and public opinion in ‘new’ and ‘old’ Member States.

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Symbolic versus Referential Politics: The Failure of Public Policies in 2007 Parliamentary Election in Croatia?

The theoretical matrix of early Murray Edelman is employed to interpret Croatian 2007 parliamentary election. The distinction between congestive and referential symbols in politics from Edelman’s book *The Symbolic Uses of Politics* applied to the analysis of November 2007 general election gives the following thesis: contest between the political parties was mainly symbolic and not referential, in the sense of contest between clearly elaborated and

feasible public policy packages which translate into economic and social costs and benefits for different social strata and interests, or simply in different ideological and political conceptions of good society for all. In the absence of significant divergence in “real” politics and political goals among main political actors, the questions of image, personality and better leadership prevailed (e.g. who is better leader, who is less corrupt, who is more capable to lead Croatia in the EU, etc.). The argument is supported by the analysis of the main events of political campaign, programs of the relevant political parties, post-electoral coalition agreements and some political events after the election. In the end, some future scenarios, which could be derived from the perspective of this “radical” analysis, will be discussed.

Key Words: Croatia, parliamentary election 2007, Murray Edelman, symbolic politics, referential politics, public policies.

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The Consolidation of the Political Class in the Baltic States

Politics in new democracies is most often studied via standard indicators of democratic consolidation: electoral volatility, party system stabilization, cabinet durability, policy consistency and effectiveness. In this paper, I examine the consolidation patterns of what I term ‘the political class’ in the Baltic states as a deeper proxy for democratic development.

In contradistinction to classical elite theorists such as Mosca or Pareto, I define the ‘political class’ in a more operationalizable manner as all those people, who have run as candidates in parliamentary elections. These people constitute a ‘political class’ because they are the ones, who make electoral democracy work. They are the ones, who are ready to fill the most primary post in a representative democracy, that of parliamentarian.

The empirical part of the paper therefore draws on the complete candidate lists from all of the post-independence parliamentary elections, which have so far taken place in Estonia (1992, 1995, 1999, 2003, 2007), Latvia (1993, 1995, 1998, 2002, 2006) and Lithuania (1992, 1996, 2000, 2004). I will examine patterns relating to three key phenomena: political diversity, political experience and political cohesion. In particular, I will focus on party switching and alignment patterns.

The paper will thus provide both cross-temporal as well as cross-country comparisons. One of the conclusions of the paper will be that the consolidation of the political class in the Baltic states is rather high, with Estonia slightly ahead of Latvia and Lithuania.

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Failed State. Pattern of State and Nation Building in SEE

There are two reasons, both of theoretical and practical nature, which renew interest in the topic that not so long ago was almost entirely suppressed, if not even forgotten in political theory. The first one is a general reason, pertaining to change in discursive universe of political theory. I shall define it briefly as centrality of state (national state) in discourse of contemporary political theory; the second reason contextualizes this general starting point and I shall define it as centrality of modern state building in the region of «delayed nations».

The general plan of analysis consists of three steps. In the first step, I shall present a general plan of modern state and nation building and indicate basic formative principles (citizenship, nationality, sovereignty) of this fundamental modernization process. The second step shall point to basic characteristics of political dynamics of the SEE. The third one introduces to the debate the term of an failed state, which I shall consider as the basic political form of that process in the region.

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The fight for the National History as Fight for Political Legitimacy: Hungary since 2006 as a Central European example?

The paper attempts to examine the representation of the Hungarian right wings – both parliamentary and extreme right – claim as the only legitimate heir of the 56 Revolution and of national history as a whole. The reconstruction of historical patterns enacted and symbols used in the 2006 (and 2007) demonstrations in the paper will follow references in the political discourse and landscape – the political and societal division of the country – with a focus on the representation of the right wing claim for national legitimacy through artifacts and their use.

The paper follows the assumption, that *memory politics* have become a central issue in post 89 ECE political legitimacy because of the necessity to *redefine* the national past. After briefly resuming some theoretical aspects of *memory politics*, the Hungarian political patterns in this field shall be compared with other Central European examples, especially the Polish right – and furthermore with eventually similar developments across the former Iron Curtain, for example in the Italian right.

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The Differentiated Europeanization of Political Parties in East-Central Europe

While initial research on the impact of the European Union on the new member states suggested that an extensive Europeanization of various institutions, organisations, decision-making and policy implementation has taken place, in recent years a more differentiated results are reported and conclusions are more cautious. The present paper looks and the

impact of the EU membership on political parties in East Central Europe and conceptualises the link between the macro-structural variables (primarily the timing of accession and the completion of the democratic consolidation) and mezzo-structural ones. The extent of Europeanization of political parties is gauged on the basis of party organisational changes, their EU-related programmatic appeals to the electorate, and the level of internalization of EU issues in political parties. The paper focuses on cases from the Luxembourg, Helsinki and South East groups of countries acceding to the EU within the latest round of enlargement and shows how the timing of the accession negotiations influenced in differentiated way political parties in these states. The government-opposition dynamics of the status of political parties plays about the same role in all countries studied, while the early start of accession talks provided better opportunities for stronger Europeanization of political parties than in the countries opening (and concluding) negotiations at a later stage.

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Democracy and Technocracy in the EU – The Case of the ECB

According to Willem Buiter modern independent central banks, most notably the ECB, have a higher degree of operational independence than virtually any other agency to which the state has delegated some of its responsibilities. The ECB is, however, and in spite of its almost unparalleled influence on EU economic policy-making, not subjected to rigorous democratic (or scientific) control mechanisms to the extent that other public policy institutions are.

In my presentation I will focus on some possible theoretical explanations and practical consequences of this unique situation from the perspective of accountability, transparency, representativeness, responsiveness and legitimacy. In constructing a *descriptive* theoretical framework mixing elements of public choice, democratic theory, critical state theory and public policy analysis my aim is to show that a rethinking of the role and everyday functioning of the ECB would both enhance its efficiency and solidify its democratic foundations.

An important task therefore for the leadership of ECB would be to acknowledge the inherently political nature of economic policy-making. And thus broaden its horizon in order to include different notions of macroeconomic stability while at the same time taming its appetite for new 'missions'. Such a policy *prescription* would possibly induce a strengthening of its input and output legitimacy and thus generate a more sustainable theoretical background for the Bank for pursuing its goals.

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Trends in Civil-Military Relations and the Role of the Military in the Successor States of the Former Yugoslavia

This paper analyzes the changing nature of civil military relations and roles of the armed forces in the states that emerged out of the former Yugoslavia. It will provide a framework to explain and assess the current and future stability and viability of civil military relations and the changing role of the military in these states.

The protracted struggle for independence experienced by the nations in the former Yugoslavia created unusually challenging complex and changing standards for civil military relations and the role of the military than was the case for other new governments in Europe. In these states, the armed forces and patterns of civil-military relationship had to be created while under great stress. These states also had to form governments, develop and staff ministries, and build democratic institutions, and the armed services had to partner with equally new and inexperienced state institutions to achieve the survival of the state and lay the foundations for integrating the state within Europe and the Atlantic communities. Meeting this challenge was essential to the survival of the state. Continuing to develop civil military relations and fine tune the role of the armed services, however, will be essential to successful integration in Europe.

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Europeanisation of the EU's eastern enlargement

No summary

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European and Croatian tradition of Social Thinking as relation of Political Identity

European integrations put in front of European states a request of their political identity. In that sense we can recognize that request as necessity for actualization of some *diferentia specifica* through which each country, in political sense, is characteristic. Intention is to show Social Thinking (Social democracy, Socialism, Social anarchism, etc.) as *diferentia specifica* of European Political Theory in her differential process from the rest of the world which has overtake specific European Institutions (Democracy, Liberalism, Capitalism, Republicanism, etc.). Second intention is to show Croatian Social Thinking and to put him in the relation of the European tradition of Social Thinking. Finally, we can recognize the influence of Continentaleuropean circle of Social Thinking as well as a socialistic influence as two mostly important influential processes in building of Croatian tradition of Social Thinking. That tradition allows Croatia to take stronger position in the relation between neoliberal and social democratic „bargining“ inside EU.

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European Elections, Electoral Cycles and National Politics: Lessons from the “New” Southern European Democracies

The theoretical framework of the paper is mainly the perspective which was first presented by Reif and Schmitt (1980) following the first EP elections in 1979, i.e. the so-called second-order elections model. Considering the ‘new’ Southern European democracies (Greece, Portugal, and Spain), this paper has four main objectives. First, the paper tests the short-term and the long-term impacts of national factors on voting behaviour in European Parliament (EP) elections. Second, it evaluates the specificity of voting behaviour in EP elections, *vis-à-vis* voting behaviour in first-order contests, namely in terms of the extent to which the opportunities for defection in EP elections are in fact used by voters. Third, it analyzes the impact of voting behaviour in EP elections on the anchors of partisanship in new democracies. The fourth objective is to test theories on electoral cycles, comparing aggregate electoral results of the governmental parties across first-order and EP elections. Due to their second-order nature, EP elections provide opportunities for defection without major consequences for the (national) political system. However, in new democracies, especially in the first decades of the new regimes, defection can be disturbing for the consolidation of ties between electors and political parties and, consequently, for the stabilization of the party system. By studying Greece, Portugal and Spain in their first three decades of democracy 1970’s-2004 both in a longitudinal and a comparative approach, we may learn lessons about the inter-relationships between national and European voting behaviour and try to extract some lessons for the new post-communist EU members upon the stabilization of the anchors of partisanship more generally. A main part of the proposed paper is published on the *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion & Parties*, vol.17 (1), February 2007 by André Freire and Eftichia Teperoglou. Part of the empirical data that is presented and analysed in this paper comes from the European Election Study (*EES 2004*) research in Greece, Portugal and Spain.

Key words

European Elections; New Democracies; Southern Europe; Second-Order Elections; Electoral Cycle; Strategic Voting; “Voting with the heart” ; “Voting with the boot”

Please note that the main paper-giver and applicant for the “*Conference on Europeanization of National Politics*” is Eftichia Teperoglou, but the aforementioned proposal is coauthored with André Freire, Assistant Professor, ISCTE - Higher Institute of Social Sciences and Business Studies, Lisbon, Portugal (andre.freire@iscte.pt). In case the proposed paper is accepted, Eftichia Teperoglou will be responsible for giving the paper, and she will also represent Andre Freire.

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Multilevel Governance Between IR Theory and Public Policy

Multilevel governance (MLG) is an approach that, from academics from a range of subdisciplines of political science, captures the increasingly fragmented and complex nature of decision making in a number of settings. MLG draws on frameworks and concepts from across subdisciplines, particularly from international relations and public policy. As such MLG contributes to a growing awareness that many contemporary issues and problems cannot be understood without crossing traditional academic boundaries. Most specifically in this case, MLG crosses the traditionally separate academic domains of domestic politics and international politics. The distinction between what is domestic politics and what is international politics is challenged by empirical developments, particularly in the European context, where the EU has taken on an increasing number of functions previously undertaken by nation states. It is no coincidence that MLG first emerged from studies of the EU. For many, the EU is not really like traditional international organizations or national political systems. It is something unique and as such defies explanation purely from approaches applied either to “politics within states” (domestic) or “politics between states” (international). MLG was first developed to capture the changing nature of EU structural policy following a major reform in 1989, and was subsequently applied to EU decision making more broadly.

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The Effects of the Process of Europeanization on the Parliament of Slovenia

No summary

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Can we talk about the Europeanisation of the Social Security System in Croatia?

The concept of Europeanisation usually focuses on the relationship of the European Union and the member states. However, the growing literature that investigates the effects that the European Union has on non-member state countries argues that the process of Europeanisation begins to happen even before the country is a member of the European Union - during the negotiation period for the accession of a country to the EU, European Union already starts using the mechanisms of Europeanisation in order to induce change within the candidate country (models, money, benchmarking, advice and gate-keeping).

There is a difficulty in distinguishing the effects of Europeanisation and the effects of global and domestic policy development in the Central and Eastern European countries, where Europeanisation is happening at the same time as modernization and post-communist reform. However, the example of the social security system goes to argue that it is possible to talk

about Europeanisation where the mechanisms that can be seen are based on soft law instruments of national governments, such as benchmarking and the diffusion of best practice. This paper will discuss the effects that the top-down process of Europeanisation has on the changes in Croatia's social security system: how great are the pressures for adjustment in the area of social security, is there institutional resistance present, and what are the outcomes.

Key words: Europeanisation, candidate countries, social security system, pressure for adaptation, adjustment, institutional resistance.

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Lost in translation: Discursive obstacles in educational policy transfers

This paper deals with various discourses of lifelong learning, in the context of difficulties they present for the educational policy transfers in European Union. In the European Union lifelong learning connects educational and social policies which are mostly defined by member states. The Union has only complementary, supporting competences in education and shared competences for social policy (for the aspects defined in Lisbon Treaty).

Open method of coordination has been applied as a way of harmonizing national educational policies. Policy transfers should increase quality, coordination and complementariness of European educational systems. One learns from the best, and their educational models are being transferred.

With the application of the policy transfers the problem of understanding and application of terms which are of a key value for the lifelong learning field has occurred. A number of researchers have shown how various discourses of lifelong learning have been established. This diversity is understandable, with regard to characteristics of the phenomenon itself, different national traditions, complexity of meanings which particular terms contain and attempts to keep national educational particularities. Difficulties occur with the attempts to standardize definitions of key concepts and harmonize meanings in policy process on the European level. The lack of standardization makes application of open method of coordination difficult. The problems are in policy learning, statistical monitoring, and setting benchmarks and instruments for the financing of common projects.

This process can be observed in Croatia through the application of translations and usage of terms, in the course of which meaning are partially changed or lost. Croatian case is not a unique one. Using the example of translations and understanding of particular terms influence of various discourses on the effectiveness of policy transfers can be shown.

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Europeanization and Democracy: Negotiating the Schengen III agreement (Prüm Treaty)

This case study deals with the issue of Europeanization and democracy. It analyses the negotiation process of the Schengen III agreement (also known as Prüm Treaty) that has come into force in selected Schengen member states, and that are willing to integrate deeper. The agreement deals with enhanced cross-border cooperation in the field of security. Participating states agreed on simplified data exchange and enhanced cooperation of police forces. Critique focuses on two topics: the protection of personal data and on the role of national executives and parliaments in the course of the negotiation process. National executives negotiated behind closed doors and at breathtaking speed a treaty that touches fundamental citizens' rights. Thus, they bypassed national parliaments and the European Parliament as the democratically legitimized actors that should be involved in this process from the very beginning. The paper will show in which ways different national executives and parliaments interacted, in order to secure support and democratic legitimacy. In most cases, national parliaments could only maintain a role as ex-post control instrument, but could not exercise any influence on the contents of the treaty.

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Poland's Politics and the Institutionalization of the EU

No summary