Compliance, Credibility and the State of the European Union

Tim Haughton, University of Birmingham

‘Is the European Union’, asked Gerda Falkner in her recent JCMS Annual Review lecture, ‘losing its credibility?’ To a mixed audience of scholars, students and politicians, Falkner assessed whether the EU is becoming what she terms a ‘non-compliance community’. In doing so, she argues that the notion of ‘non-compliance’ now needs to go beyond simple transposition, implementation and enforcement of directives and look at deeply worrying trends, such as threats to the rule of law, to fundamental values and to the principle of sticking to decisions agreed between Member States in Council meetings. Non-compliance, she maintains, strikes at the very heart of the integration project as it erodes trust and encourages non-compliance by others.

For Falkner decisive action is needed to ensure the EU will continue to be perceived as a trustworthy actor by the outside world and its citizens. After diagnosing the problem, she outlined several possible prescriptions. She stressed, for example, increased resources for the Commission to control the application of EU law, the need for a more active campaign across the EU championing the rule of law, the continued need for a Cooperation and Verification Mechanism for all new member states and that all new electoral and media laws should be checked at the EU level before being voted on in national parliaments.

She also offered some bolder prescriptions such as changing the rules for using Article 7 so only simple majorities were needed in both the Council and the European Parliament. Moreover, she made the case for an EU Minister of Justice. Falkner’s thought-provoking... continued on page 2
lecture and the subsequent comments of Darina Malova (Comenius University), who acted as discussant stimulated a lively discussion.

At the heart of Falkner's comments were themes present in recent JCMS Annual Review lectures given by Vivien Schmidt, Loukas Tsoukalis, Kalypso Nicolaides and Erik Jones: solidarity, sustainability and democracy. These themes also formed the basis of much of the discussion in the Rethinking European Integration panel discussion which preceded the lecture where four scholars from Central Europe (Attila Agh, Vladimir Bilcik, Leszek Jesien and Tereza Novotna) alongside JCMS Annual Review co-editor Nat Copsey, offered perceptive and challenging analyses of the EU's woes. Although no consensus was reached on how to resolve the EU's current difficulties, all participants left the conference venue in Bratislava's Comenius University buzzing with ideas.

The JCMS Annual Review of the European Union is co-edited by Nat Copsey and Tim Haughton. The next Annual Review will be published by Wiley Blackwell in August.

Andrew Moravcik delivers JCMS Annual Lecture in Baltimore

The JCMS editors were extremely pleased to host a lecture by Prof Andrew Moravcik at the EUSA Conference in Baltimore in early May. The event proved extremely popular and the large plenary room was crowded before the talk began, with extra chairs brought in to ensure that everyone had a seat.

Moravcik chose this event to revisit his theory of European integration which many of us know as ‘liberal intergovernmentalism’ (LI). After 20 years, and myriad changes in the EU, he asked whether his theory was still valid. No one in the audience seemed particularly surprised when he argued that it was. He spent some time in the lecture drawing on empirical illustrations from monetary policy to foreign affairs to support his argument, whilst providing a critique of theoretical literature often used to defend alternative perspectives on European integration.

The lecture was followed by a question and answer session, though the audience seemed rather reticent and only a small number of hands were raised. The lecture was followed by a reception, also hosted by JCMS, which was very well attended. JCMS hope to publish a version of the lecture in the journal in the first half of 2014.
Irregular Migration and the EU

Alan Desmond, University College Cork

In 2008 Project Clandestino estimated that there were about 3.8 million irregular migrants in the EU. While some had illegally crossed the border into the territory of the EU, most had entered lawfully on the basis of, for example, student or tourist visas, and remained in the EU after the expiration of these documents. It is of course difficult to assess with any accuracy the number of such migrants, and this number may have risen or fallen since the completion of Project Clandestino. But if we accept that there may be about 4 million irregular migrants in the EU we accept that there are up to 4 million individuals whose daily existence is shaped and structured by a fear of deportation.

This means that irregular migrants will often be afraid to approach the police if they fall victim to crime. They will be reluctant to cooperate with police if they witness crime. They will avoid accessing health care services until an illness becomes acute, creating a health risk not just for themselves, but for the wider community. They will be unable to provide a stable, supportive environment for their children, sometimes so fearful of coming into contact with school authorities that they will not send their children to school. They will be slow to seek redress through official channels if they are underpaid, unpaid or otherwise exploited or abused by employers. They act in this way because they fear that contact with the authorities may lead to their deportation.

The presence of irregular migrants thus leads to a situation where the trust that is essential for effective policing is eroded, the health of the community at large is put at risk, innocent children suffer disadvantages which have lifelong consequences and unscrupulous employers enjoy an unfair advantage over competitors who play by the rules. How then might we best deal with such an undesirable situation?

The EU response

Since the EU gained competence over asylum and migration with the entry into force of the Amsterdam Treaty in 1999 it has taken a security and enforcement approach to the issue of irregular migration. It has sought to prevent irregular migration by tightening the EU’s borders and its response to the presence of irregular migrants has been to remove them from the territory of the EU. Figures collated by the European Migration Network indicate that in 2009 a quarter of a million irregular migrants were removed from the EU.

There is, however, another way of dealing with the presence of such migrants. The conferral of a legal status on irregular migrants, commonly referred to as regularisation or legalisation, allows such migrants to reside lawfully in the EU, bringing them out of the legal netherworld of irregularity. No longer need they fear contact with the authorities, instead empowered by their legal status to access services to which they are entitled and to contribute fully to the community in which they live.

The Case for Regularisation

The European Commission and the Council take a dim view of regularisation, arguing that it has the effect of encouraging further irregular migration. Regularisation is an option, however, which has been endorsed by both the European Parliament and the European Economic and Social Committee, a consultative body which issues opinions to the EU institutions.

Of greater practical significance than a thumbs up from EU bodies is the fact that support for regularisation is to be found in the EU migration law framework itself. The 2008 Returns Directive, one of the most significant pieces of EU migration legislation in recent years, aimed to establish common standards across the EU for the removal of irregular migrants. Though criticised for sanctioning a punitive removal regime, the Directive, the main preoccupation of which is evident in its very title, nonetheless makes clear that Member States are not obliged to deport irregular migrants. They may instead choose to regularise them.

While the explicit recognition that Member States may regularise instead of returning is to be welcomed, the Directive does not place any strict regularisation obligation on Member States. Similarly, it provides no guidance as to the kind of legal status that should be conferred on migrants who will not be deported. More needs to be done to better protect the human rights of irregular migrants.

One course of action which could be pursued would be for the European Commission to follow up on the common EU rules concerning regularisation it has suggested in the past. A common EU legal framework on regularisation should provide for the conferral of a legal status on irregular migrants who have spent a specified minimum period of time in the EU, subject only to a number of core eligibility requirements such as the absence of a criminal record. This legal status should be renewable, subject again only to a number of core conditions, and should ultimately allow its beneficiaries to apply for long-term residence.

While securing the agreement of the EU Member States and institutions on a common legal framework for regularisation would present considerable challenges, such a framework would bring clarity, consistency and certainty to an area of State practice which is characterised by haphazard and ad hoc measures. It would allow for the realisation of both the potential and human rights of as broad a swathe of the EU’s irregular migrant population as possible. It would acknowledge the fact that regularisation, though usually depicted as an exceptional measure, is something to which States have frequent recourse: the ICMPD REGINE study estimates that between 1996 and 2008 up to 6 million migrants may, at least temporarily, have transitioned out of irregularity.

Regularisation also seems to make sense in the context of the EU’s aging and dwindling population. It would enhance the EU’s standing with countries whose citizens are regularised, lending some credibility to the claim that the EU is founded on respect for human rights and human dignity. Unfortunately, however, given the EU’s current economic woes and the attendant Euroscepticism, there is little appetite for such politically contentious migration measures. Millions of migrants in the EU must therefore continue to suffer denial of respect for their human dignity.
What have been the most significant changes in the 1973 accession states as a result of EU membership?

Following the conference we asked participants to reflect on the impact of EU membership on the acceding states. Here are their responses:

Put in very short form the greatest impact on Denmark from EC/EU membership has been the growing impact of Europeanisation. However, the 1973 enlargement has also, to a certain extent, been accompanied by a process of ‘Denmarkisation’. The use of this less ‘fashionable’ concept finds its logic in the argument that it may be employed to designate general responses by member states and their citizens aimed at controlling, contesting or even curbing EU-Europeanisation. We might also employ concepts such as Irelandisation or UKnisation because all three new member states of 1973 have been particularly active in checking the impact of Europeanisation.

However, the use of the concept ‘Denmarkisation’ is legitimised by the fact that Denmark has been a pioneer in devising mechanisms or negotiating policy outcomes with the ultimate aim of retaining democratic-parliamentary control over EU policy and safeguarding national sovereignty over key policy areas. These three mechanisms and policy solutions are: (1) The Danish Parliament’s European Affairs Committee, (2) the referendum institution, and (3) the opt-out policy solution.

Thorsten Borring Olesen
Aarhus University
Although the UK administrative structures and constitution have had to adapt to membership of the EC/EU after 1973, the most striking effects of membership have been on British politics. British parties have been deeply disrupted by the European issue, which has caused divisions between and more importantly within both Labour (in the 1970s and 1980s) and the Conservative party (since the 1990s), to the point of threatening the survival of the party in government under John Major and possibly David Cameron. It has also led to the creation of single-issue parties – the Referendum Party and now UKIP. The Europeanisation of the Conservative party has been extremely limited, both in terms of organisation and ideology, whereas Labour, especially under Tony Blair, has become more integrated in the European party network (especially in the European Parliament) and attempted to export a social democratic agenda to the European level.

Pauline Schnapper
Université Sorbonne Nouvelle

The most important development as to the EU law impact on Danish Ombudsman practice is the predominant non-impact. So far, a European influx is difficult to detect in the subareas of the broad ambit of Danish ombudsman control.

The statutory and functional powers of the Danish Parliamentary Ombudsman are wide and the institution enjoys a priori sympathy as a protector of citizens’ rights. There are no specialised administrative courts in Denmark and the ombudsman is unrivalled on the legal scene as the primary promoter of good administration.

Nevertheless, the Danish ombudsman subscribes to a narrow scope of focus in the protection of citizens’ European rights. In practice, the ombudsman often limits his review to the authorities’ compliance with national law.

The limited horizon in the control and thinking of the Danish ombudsman leaves the EU rights of citizens largely unidentified and unprotected. The Danish ombudsman is a watchdog with teeth but with discerning taste buds. As to EU Law - 40 years after - the ombudsman is a watchdog with limited appetite.

Elaine Fahey
University of Amsterdam

The increase in the number of legal sources, legal instruments and institutions is one of the greatest changes in any Member State legal order on account of membership of the EU. Social policy is the most high-profile example. Irish equality law was dramatically affected by EU membership and was subject to a decade long legal battle for full implementation of EU rights and remedies into Irish law. Similarly, Irish abortion law ignited a prolonged set of proceedings at EU and ECHR level, an early case of multi-level litigation. But remarkably, for all of the controversy of these issues of social policy, their Protocols and litigation and also for all of the policy preferences in accordance with the trickier customers of the EU acceding also in 1973, and despite several negative referenda on EU affairs, Irish membership of the EU is continuously regarded as a solidly pro-communautaire affair. Thus actual legal changes and conversely, their perception across disciplines, remains a curious juxtaposition.

Kathryn Simpson
University of Kent

It is in the Irish economic sphere, that we can discern the changes which Irish membership of the EU has generated. In the early decades of EU membership, Ireland had a somewhat closed economy and culturally uniform society. However, the burgeoning economic opportunity of the 1990s altered this context significantly. Yet, despite the economic success of the Celtic Tiger, Ireland is perhaps less a role model of successful development pioneered by European integration, but more a warning of the social costs of economic development with augmenting income inequality.

Debates on both the Nice Treaty and Lisbon Treaty referendums produced evidence of new economic dividing lines in Ireland’s relationship with the EU with heavy criticism in Ireland of the EU’s neo-liberal ideology.

Since accession to the EU in 1973, Ireland has evolved from being a poor peripheral state, to a booming, economic powerhouse, to a bailed-out-and-bust economy. The question now remains what impact will EU membership have on Ireland’s economic future?
The EU and Emerging Powers
Brussels, 29-30 April 2013

Fabienne Bossuyt, Ghent University

The European Parliament in Brussels hosted an international conference on the European Union and the emerging powers on 29-30 April. The last two decades have seen a profound shift in the global balance of power. Indeed, unprecedented developments in the world economy since the start of the 21st century have weakened the legitimacy and leverage available to Western powers to impose their concepts of global governance on the world. This new international context is forcing a radical revision of the perspectives of the EU as a key actor in global governance. In this light, the aim of the conference was to analyse how the recent rise of emerging powers has affected the external policies and global governance strategy of the EU. This question was focused on four key dimensions of the EU’s involvement in global governance, i.e. trade, development and finance; environment and energy; security; and human rights.

A joint initiative of eight Belgian research institutes (the Centre for European Studies of the Université catholique de Louvain, the Leuven Centre for Global Governance Studies of the University of Leuven, the College of Europe, the Department of Political Sciences of Ghent University, the Department of Political Science of the University of Liège, the Institute for European Studies of the Vrije Universiteit Brussel, the Institute for European Studies of the Université Libre de Bruxelles and the Institute for European studies of Saint-Louis University), the conference welcomed more than 350 participants, with speakers coming from across the globe. The key themes of the conference were addressed across 19 panels. The panels focused either on a particular topic of the EU’s relations with emerging powers (economy, security, environment, energy or human rights) or on the EU’s relations with a particular emerging power (with China, perhaps not surprisingly, attracting most of the attention).

The conference concluded with a high-level roundtable panel, consisting of Trade Commissioner Karel De Gucht, the ambassadors of China, South Africa, Brazil and Russia to the EU, and distinguished academics, including Martin Holland and Mario Telo. Based on a selection of papers presented at the conference, two edited volumes will be prepared by the organizing institutes. Given the success of the conference, the organizing institutes are currently considering the option of organizing a follow-up to the conference in two years’ time.

The Future Direction of Central and Eastern European Development Policy
Vienna, 26 April 2013

Simon Lightfoot, University of Leeds

The splendid location of the Austrian Research Foundation for International Development (OEFSE) in a very warm Vienna saw PhD students, early career academics and researchers from different CEE states (plus Austria, Canada, Sweden and the UK) come together to examine the future direction of CEE development policy. For many states in the region this is now their tenth year since the rebirth of their international development policies and thus a good time to both reflect on their journey so far from recipients of aid to donors of aid but also to review future prospects. The workshop, supported by UACES and the EADI working group on Development Aid of the Non-DAC Donors, provided an opportunity for the presentation of early research findings from a number of projects, including PhD thesis, book projects and a Marie Curie fellowship project.

Subsequent panels explored in detail different aspects of Polish aid (including public attitudes to aid), the challenge of grouping these new donors and the situation in Bulgaria. The discussion then focused on the emerging development-security nexus in the development policies of the states from the region, with a particular focus on Poland, Latvia and Slovenia. A series of papers also explored the role of the Private Sector and Civil Society as Development Actors, with a specific focus on Development NGOs and their role in shaping the future of development policy in the region. The final topic under discussion was the role of transition experience in CEE development policy and the transferability of this experience outside prospective EU members.

Overall, the workshop was a great success. The quality of the contributions and of the discussion was great, giving the participants much food for thought, and a number of useful potential research links were identified. Discussions will continue at the UACES Conference in Leeds where this topic will be explored in a number of different panels.

Small Event grants: proposals invited
Up to 1,000 GBP is available to support one-off events.
Application deadline: 13 September 2013
The Reporting Europe Prize, now in its 6th year, is awarded annually by UACES. It honours excellence in English-language reporting on the EU.

The winner of the 2013 prize was Sorana Stanescu for her piece ‘Cheap and Far from Free: The Migrants Building Britain’ which was published on the Balkan Insight website and in the New Statesman.

Her prizewinning report highlights the challenges facing workers coming to the UK from Romania and Bulgaria and reveals how job restrictions have left many underpaid and vulnerable to exploitation.

The prize ceremony featured Sorana in conversation with her editor, Neil Arun and UACES chair Helen Drake. Martyn Bond (UACES patron and Deputy Chair of the London Press Club) presented Sorana with her prize.

Speaking on behalf of the jury, Martyn commented that ‘good journalism holds a mirror up to society. This article certainly does that.’ It ‘gives us the facts behind the fictions’ and, like all ‘the best sort of journalism’, it illustrates the issues faced by migrant workers ‘through the human story’.

Jury member, John Palmer, explains why the jury selected Stanescu as the winner:

“As the issues surrounding the free movement of workers within the European Union - especially to the UK - have become politically ever more controversial, something of the human dimension has become lost. In this telling account of the hard working and frequently grossly exploited construction labourers from Romania and Bulgaria, Sorana Stanescu, reminds us of the human beings behind the crude statistics. For any politician genuinely looking to root out the neanderthal gang masters and so-called agency “employers” who are real villains not the migrant workers, there is all the ammunition they need in this important article.”

John Palmer, Jury member

Sorana’s winning entry, as well as all of the highly commended pieces, can be found on the prize’s website (www.reportingeurope.eu).

Nomination are now open for the Reporting Europe Prize 2014.

UACES would like to thank the following individuals for sitting on the Prize Jury:

- **Prof Helen Drake**, UACES Chair & Chair of the Jury
- **Paul Adamson OBE**, Editor-in-Chief, ElSharp
- **Dr Martyn Bond**, Deputy Chair of London Press Club
- **Antonia Mochan**, Head of Communications, Networks & Partnerships, European Commission Representation in the UK
- **Andreas Müllerleile**, News Editor, European Council on Foreign Relations
- **John Palmer**, Advisory Council of the Federal Trust


Bottom Audience members at the prize ceremony
The Impact of EU Membership on the UK since 1973

London, 13 May 2013

Adam Steinhouse, formerly head of the School of European Studies at the UK National School of Government

This event featured eminent practitioners, including three former UK permanent representatives to the EU, who could give us a view from the inside of the tortuous course of UK EU policy.

Stephen Wall started the day by citing the prediction of a senior FCO official in 1956 that the proposed European Economic Community would be unlikely to succeed. There was scarcely more enthusiasm for the European project by the time the UK joined in 1973. Disadvantageous terms of entry, especially relating to the Common Agricultural Policy and the Common Fisheries Policy, meant that the UK would not be able to claim financial benefits from membership. But the alternatives sketched out by Wall were even less obvious: EFTA was too small, there was no US interest in any North Atlantic free trade area, and going it alone was not realistic in comparison with the huge possibilities offered by access to the continental market.

Political benefits of EU membership were perhaps more apparent. Another former UK permanent representative to the EU, Nigel Sheinwald, referred to the influential Duncan Report of 1969, which averred that British foreign policy should be committed “to an increasingly integrated Western Europe on as wide a basis as possible, with the European Common Market as its core and to the strengthening of international organisations in which an effective dialogue can take place on issues which cause conflicts between nations.” Sheinwald insisted that European foreign policy today continues even now to magnify the scope and reach of UK foreign policy, as evinced in current trade partnership talks between the US and the EU.

Charles Grant, the director of the Centre for European Reform, noted that the UK influence on the EU concentrated on policy not process. He singled out the single market, enlargement, foreign policy, defence policy, justice and home affairs, energy and climate change as areas where the British have made sizeable positive contributions, but that the UK had held negative views regarding EU institutions, with many in Britain questioning their legitimacy. I would add that the UK has at times raised issues of gender, diversity and anti-discrimination that might not have otherwise been debated at the level of the EU. However, the reverse direction, that is the impact on the UK of EU social policies, is more important: these policies, usually resisted by UK governments, may yet determine the result of any future EU referendum in the UK, as women and men reflect upon higher maternity and paternity benefits and workplace consultation rights originating from EU directives. The gloom of an eventual referendum did permeate the event, despite the excellent contributions. The mood lifted at the end of the day when Sorana Stanescu, the winner of the UACES Reporting Europe Prize (see page 7), engaged in an inspiring discussion with the UACES Chair, Helen Drake. I would urge anyone who missed the conference to listen to the audio recordings of the sessions in the online archive of the UACES website.

The third former UK perm rep, David Hannay, asked the question of why the UK surrendered the role of leader of the EU. He gave us the memorable image of Europe as a ball-and-chain around the foot of every British Prime Minister. Hannay returned to the search for alternatives mentioned by Wall but concluded similarly that only the EU was left when all other possibilities had been eliminated. The one serving official who spoke at the event, David Frost, director at the Department for Business, Innovation and Skills, also explored different economic models available to the UK, including an intriguing “neo-Elizabethan” view of going it alone and perhaps once again ruling the high seas!

Missing in this high-level discussion throughout the day was the impact of EU membership on the practitioners themselves. Countless British officials have been Europeanised by their interactions with the EU and have themselves influenced the culture of Brussels. But we never gained an insight into the process of EU decision making in the UK. What training/preparation did they require and what networks did they create? To what extent did the UK model of lobbying and influencing spread to other member states?

Listen to audio recordings and find out more about the conference at: www.uaces.org/impact
Europeanising Devolution
Cardiff, 24 May 2013

Cardiff Bay’s historic Pierhead Building provided the setting for scholars and policy-makers to come together to consider debates related to Welsh devolution in a broader UK and European context.

The one-day conference included representatives from four devolved governments in the EU - Wales, Catalonia, Flanders, Brittany - who each brought a different perspective on their experience of the EU and regional governance.

The event was organised by the Learned Society of Wales in partnership with the British Academy and was supported by Cardiff University, The Leverhulme Trust, UACES and the Lifelong Learning Programme of the European Union.

A follow up conference in the British Academy in London took place on 31 May dedicated to the theme of Welsh Devolution in Perspective.

Further info: www.uaces.org/7602

Wales and the EU
Christopher Huggins, University of Portsmouth

The Wales, the United Kingdom and Europe: Europeanising Devolution conference presented a paradox for Wales’s engagement with the EU; while Europe is extremely important for Wales engagement seems to be lacking.

On the one hand it was recognised that the EU has the potential to offer Wales several benefits. On top of access to structural funds there were opportunities for policy learning, economic investment and improvements to organisational culture gained by being more outward looking. EU engagement also had the potential to assist with devolution, offering legitimacy to sub-state concerns.

Yet despite how important Europe is for Wales, preliminary results from the Territorial Governance in Western Europe research project (follow them on Twitter: @TERGOV) highlighted that European issues were not at the forefront of Welsh public policy. Results indicated that European issues were only a “peripheral” dimension to Welsh actors. Furthermore, the public sector (particularly local government) only had a very limited knowledge of key EU initiatives, such as Europe 2020. More than anything there was a need for ‘capacity building’ in the Welsh public sector to get the knowledge and skills required to make the most of EU engagement. A number of structural factors also hindered Welsh EU engagement, such as a lack of fiscal autonomy, constitutional limits and national elites in London wanting to make sure European activities remain a Westminster concern.

But there was cause for optimism. Academic and practitioner presentations reflected on the diversity of approaches undertaken by some of Wales’s transnational partner regions, showing how different regions had coped with varying degrees of state centralisation and other barriers to effectively engage at a European level.

The paradox faced by Wales is no doubt faced by other regions and sub-national governments; the conference highlighted the need to look to Europe, not only to secure the potential benefits on offer, but to learn from others about how best to access them.

This article was originally published on www.localperspectives.ideasoneurope.eu (a blog on the UACES blog hosting service, Ideas on Europe). It is published here with permission.

The Moral Case for Europe
Edinburgh, 8 March 2013

David Edward (pictured) delivered a thought-provoking lecture on the changing shape and nature of Europe and reminded us that peace and prosperity are relative and transient.

Audio and transcript available at: www.uaces.org/edinburgh
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September...

European Studies: Teaching and Learning with Impact
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www.uaces.org/850

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Leeds, 2-4 September 2013
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www.uaces.org/407

European citizenship and ‘the Romani Other’
Sheffield, 5-6 September 2013
www.uaces.org/874

Behind the Lines: Gender in the Bunker of Security and Defence?
Guildford, 11 September 2013
www.uaces.org/863

Annual Convention of Italian Political Science Association
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Oslo, 13-14 September 2013
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Warsaw, 18-21 September 2013
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Symposium in Honour of Professor Dave Allen
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Out of the Impasse: Constructive Bilateralism as a Way forward in EU-Russia Relations

Maxine David, University of Surrey

Members of the Brussels political community, scholars and journalists came together recently to listen to the findings of a four-year project mapping all the (then) 27 EU member states’ relations with Russia. The findings of the project were delivered by Hiski Haukkala (University of Tampere) who was joined by an expert panel comprised of fellow project coordinators Maxine David and Jackie Gower (King’s College London), as well as Sven Biscop (Egmont Institute) and Sven-Olov Carlson (European External Action Service). Tom Casier (Brussels School of International Studies), himself a contributor to the project and its publications, moderated the debate that followed.

The seminar came on the second day of the EU-Russia summit held in Yekaterinburg, which was itself a timely reminder of the importance of this relationship for the EU and of the challenges that it represents. The member states’ bilateral relations are most commonly considered to be detrimental to Brussels’s attempts to build a strong and cooperative relationship with Moscow. However, to date, scholarly analysis has been mostly focused on a very small number of member states’ bilateral relationships with Russia. Thus, we are exposed to much analysis of Germany-Russia, France-Russia or Italy-Russia, for example, but see very little that takes into account a fuller, let alone the fullest possible, range. Our project has addressed this gap in research and understanding, mapping the full range of the bilateral relationships.

The latest project output, National Perspectives on Russia. European Foreign Policy in the Making? (Routledge), delivers a comprehensive level of data in respect of each bilateral relationship and a critical analysis of the underpinning of each of the member state’s relations with Russia. The editors then used this data to deliver conclusions about what each of these relationships, singly and together, means for the EU and its own attempts to cooperate with Russia.

At the Arena seminar, Haukkala talked about the nature of the project and the editors’ conclusions. He began by outlining the comprehensive nature of the project, which for the edited collection included the analysis of 19 contributors from a range of nationalities and based in a variety of member states. He went on to summarise our authors’ contributions which had revealed that the relationships all had to be understood as founded on more than just politics and economics, suggesting that a wide spectrum of intervening variables needed to be taken into account, not least, history, culture and personal idiosyncrasies. One of the more interesting findings of the project was indeed this range, applicable not only to the supposedly big players in EU-Russia relations but to the smallest and the most far removed (from Russia) of the member states. Thus, he posited, we should think of a ‘universe’ of national perspectives on Russia and see the relationships as complex, simultaneously close on some issues, distant on others; making attempts to chart these relationships in a simplistic fashion deeply problematic and misleading.

Haukkala then went on to set out those findings that suggested two myths existed and needed to be rethought. The first of the myths is that each member state’s relations with Russia diverge immensely from those of other member states. Instead, he detailed evidence that requires us to see a good deal of commonality and even convergence between member states, such that the member states’ relations, far from being based on differing priorities and interests, are often compatible. Second went the idea that the bilateral relations always have a negative impact for Brussels. Instead, there was sufficient evidence to argue a member state’s relations with Russia provide the foundation for wider Brussels-Moscow cooperation and that the member state-Russia relations sometimes even act as a safety valve, ensuring that the EU and Russia can continue dialogue and the building of the partnership, even in a background of difficult moments for particular member states.

The presentation then moved on to our idea of ‘constructive bilateralism’, a concept that, in brief, argues the member states constitute important resources for the European Union, that they often work hard intentionally to help improve the EU’s foreign policy relations, that too little attention is paid to them as an epistemic community, in effect, and that the real challenge for the EU lies in finding means to harness these resources to better effect than it has to date.

Our guest panellists were reassuringly supportive of the project, talking of it as an important contribution to knowledge and understanding but arguing too that our future recommendations have to focus on methods for ensuring better use of these resources. Particularly satisfying was the suggestion that practitioners will in the future be sitting discussing the role of member states’ foreign policy relations in terms of ‘constructive bilateralism’. Equally pleasing was the statement that future academic work and Routledge’s publishing agenda should focus on replicating the same project for all of the EU’s partners and for the remaining BRICS. After four years of extremely hard, if very rewarding, work and with still more outputs to come, Hiski, Jackie and I are agreed that challenge is a gauntlet for others to pick up!

The UACES Arena is organised by UACES and Edelman | The Centre in cooperation with the University of Kent, Brussels
UACES supports eight Collaborative Research Networks. Presented here are reports from three which have recently held events.

Russia and the EU: The Future of Europe and Eurasia
Moscow 15-16 April 2013

This was the ‘grand finale’ of the three year programme of events organised by the EU-Russia network and with the two-day conference held at the Institute for Europe of the Russian Academy of Sciences and a very generous reception at the Residence of the Head of the EU Delegation it certainly lived up to expectations. His Excellency Fernando Valenzuela opened the conference with a keynote speech exploring some of the most pressing issues on the EU-Russia agenda, such as the negotiations on a new comprehensive agreement, the partnership for modernization, Russia’s concerns with regard to the third energy package and the new Eurasian Union.

The five main panels then explored the full range of EU-Russia relations including politics and identity; the economy, energy and modernization; economic and social issues, innovation and education; security and the shared neighbourhood, and regional cooperation. Each panel included members of both UACES and the Russian European Studies Association, which ensured a very fruitful exchange of ideas and stimulating discussion. Particularly noteworthy, especially for a high-level conference in Russia, was the large number of research students and young scholars who presented papers and actively participated in the debates. For this, we are very grateful for the support of not only UACES but BISA, BASEES and the University of Birmingham, which provided bursaries for young scholars to attend.

There is clearly a lot of interest in the Network and we are hoping that some of those energetic and creative young scholars will be willing to take the project forward. A number of people at the conference expressed their willingness to get involved but further volunteers would be very welcome.

Further info: Derek Averre (d.l.averre@bham.ac.uk) and Jackie Gower (jackie.gower@kcl.ac.uk)

Roma Participation, Empowerment, and Emancipation
Budapest, 29-31 May 2013

This event, hosted by Corvinus University Budapest, brought researchers, professionals and policy makers together with Roma and non-Roma activists querying local, national, and European organisations’ efforts to promote and involve Romani communities across Europe in decision- and policy-making. There is a complex network of organisations specialising in work on and with Roma, including international organisations, national governments and NGOs all of which raise awareness of an international community on issues Romani individuals and communities face across the EU; however, despite much of fanfare only marginal progress has been achieved in remedying the social exclusion of Roma, with large numbers of Romani individuals still living on margins of society.

As part of this event, the network organised a day-long workshop inviting social and political scientists working from different countries to assess normative issues related to EU programmes aiming at Romani empowerment. Interest in Romani inclusion increased after Romania and Bulgaria joined the EU in 2007 and since the European Commission highlighted need for implementation of non-discrimination policies. As presentations during the workshop argued however, non-discrimination strategies often essentialised group identities and often ignore the internal differences. In addition, policies advocating preferential treatment and positive discrimination are perceived to bestow rights and privileges onto some and not other individuals. And ultimately, as workshop discussions made clear, policies of inclusion often prove contentious as they mitigate Romani presence and voice in society.

The remainder of the event included workshops with NGOs and policymakers allowing for practical discussion on issues of cooperation between majority society and the marginalised Roma across the E. The event concluded with the launch of the civil society monitoring reports on the implementation of National Roma Integration Strategies (NRIS) and Decade of Roma Inclusion National Action Plans by the secretariat of the Decade of Roma Inclusion.

The network has also been active in a series of smaller events including a conference on ‘Collective Identity and Practices of Citizenship in Postcommunism’ (Wroclaw, 22-23 February 2013) and a study group colloquium ‘Racializing the Begging Debate in Northern Europe’ (Uppsala, 1 March 2013). The network also fielded three panels on ‘Alternative Strategies of Roma Mobilisation’ at the BASEES conference (Cambridge, 5-8 April 2013).

Further info: www.romanis.eu
The workshop was a collaboration between the ESSCA School of Management, the Graduate School of Global Politics (GSGP) at Free University Berlin and the College of Europe, Bruges and was hosted by the School of International Studies at Renmin University of China. The event, attended by 80+ participants from both Europe and China, discussed the pressing issues that characterise Sino-European cooperation in the light of leadership changes in both regions, with the ultimate aim of establishing a true strategic partnership. There was a general consensus amongst the participants that the EU-China strategic partnership needs more political investment from both Europe and China.

The opening expert panel featured Prof Song Xinning (Renmin University), Prof Klaus Segbers (Free University Berlin), Dr Chen Xin (Chinese Academy of Social Sciences) and Dr Klaus Vietze (German Embassy, China). The panel was hosted by Dr Peter Hefele (Konrad Adenauer Foundation). The panelists stressed that the new Chinese leadership will be characterised by continuous development rather than radical change with Prime Minister Li Keqiang opting for a pragmatic approach vis-à-vis Europe. Structural constraints remain unchanged despite new leaders in both China and Europe. There is also a need to link domestic solutions to regional cooperation to achieve the best results in Europe and China. Europe might not be China’s pivot, but the inter-linkage between both sides is now all-encompassing, engulfing every aspect of political, economic and cultural life. Therefore, the true meaning of the EU-China strategic partnership should be long-term, comprehensive and more goal-oriented.

Subsequent sessions of the Workshop delved into greater detail on the specifics of each of the issues addressed. Expert moderators from China and Europe welcomed early-stage and established researchers to present their findings on topics as diverse as ‘The Role of (New-) Leadership in EU-China Relations’, ‘Strategic Resources and Trade Relations’, ‘Urbanisation and Global Cities’, and ‘Diplomacy from Below? EU-China People-to-People Exchanges’. Both Chinese and European participants were very interested and thankful for the innovative and thought-provoking suggestions by the various contributors to the workshop.

Further info: www.uaces.org/china
**Appointments**

Camilla ADELLE has been appointed Research Fellow in Environmental Governance, University of Pretoria, South Africa.

Mai’a DAVIS CROSS has been appointed Senior Researcher at ARENA, University of Oslo.

Alan DESMOND has been appointed E.MA Fellow in International Human Rights Law at the European Inter-University Centre.

Jenny FAIRBRASS has been appointed Senior Lecturer in Business & Management at the University of East Anglia.

David GALBREATH has been appointed Professor of International Security at the University of Bath.

Carmen GEBHARD has been promoted to Lecturer in Politics & International Relations at the University of Edinburgh.

Tobais LOCK has been appointed Lecturer in EU Law, University of Edinburgh (from 1 August).

Jörg MONAR has been appointed Rector of the College of Europe (from 1 September).

Sarah WOLFF has been appointed Lecturer in Public Policy at Queen Mary, University of London.

**Awards**

Joachim KOOPS has received the 2013 LISBOAN Award for Outstanding Teaching on the Lisbon Treaty.

Benjamin POHL was awarded the inaugural EDA-Egmont PhD Prize in European Defence, Security and Strategy for his dissertation ‘But We Have to Do Something – The Drivers behind European Crisis Management Operations’.

**Grants**

Robert LADRECH (Keele University) was awarded £244,000 by the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) for the two-year project ‘Political Parties and Climate Policy’. The project investigates the internal party dynamics associated with developing policy to combat climate change. Key individuals will be interviewed in the major centre-right and centre-left parties in the UK, France, Germany, Denmark, Spain and Italy.

Further info: www.esrc.ac.uk

Stijn SMISMANS (Cardiff University) has been awarded a research grant worth €1.45 million from the European Research Council (ERC) to examine the regulation of different types of expertise in European policy making. The project entitled ‘Law, science and interests in European policy-making (LASI)’ focuses on three policy areas that feature very different modes of European governance and approaches to the use of expertise, namely nanotechnology, employment, and competition policy.

Further info: http://erc.europa.eu

**Stand Out and Be Counted**

Need to improve your quantitative skills? The ability to handle data and use numerical evidence systematically and in the correct way increases the value of your research. The British Academy have produced a guide, Stand Out and Be Counted, which you can download. The resources section at the end includes information on where you can go to develop your skills in this area.

Further info: www.uaces.org/7601

**New Global Europe Centre**

The Global Europe Centre (GEC) is a pioneering research centre just launched at the University of Kent. It focuses on the study of Europe and on Europe's relations with the outside world. The GEC is based within the School of Politics and International Relations and at Kent's campus in Brussels - the Brussels School of International Studies. The GEC has four main strands to its activities: research; knowledge transfer; learning and teaching; and student engagement.

A key aim of the GEC’s ambition is to engage in knowledge transfer with non-academic users of research including policy makers, politicians and think tanks. The research produced by the Centre is intended to be innovative and will be disseminated through publications and social media but also through learning and teaching activities. An ambition of the Centre is to contribute to the continuing professional development of practitioners. The Centre also has a strong commitment to the creation of the next generation of ideas innovators and policy makers and pursues these through its learning, teaching and knowledge exchange activities and via a new Global Europe Student Forum.

The GEC is run by a team based in Canterbury and Brussels. Richard Whitman is responsible for the research and research impact dissemination activities of the Centre. Elena Korosteleva is Director of Professional Studies and Tom Casier is Deputy Director of the Global Europe Centre and also holds the Jean Monnet Chair at the Brussels School of International Studies.

The School of Politics and International Relations at Kent is a Group Member of UACES.

Further info: www.uaces.org/groupmembers

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**UACES Scholarships 2014**

UACES are offering four Scholarships of £1,500 to be awarded on a competitive basis.

info: www.uaces.org/scholarships

Application deadline: 11 October 2013
Election Results
As ever, the UACES Committee elections were closely contested. We are grateful to all those who stood for election and to everyone who voted.

Newly elected and joining the UACES Committee from September will be Sven BISCOP and Robert LADRECH.

Sven Biscop works in Brussels at Egmont, Royal Institute for International Relations, where he heads up the ‘Europe in the World’ programme. He also teaches at the University of Gent and the College of Europe.

As a committee member he hopes to strengthen the links between academics and diplomats and officials in the Brussels hub. He regularly attends the UACES annual conference.

Robert Ladrech is professor of European Politics at Keele University and visiting professor at the College of Europe. His research interests are in comparative European party politics and the impact of the EU on domestic politics.

He has been a member of UACES since 1996 and would like to help it continue to prosper as the leading organisation for European studies in the UK and across Europe more widely.

Call to host the UACES Annual Conference in 2016
UACES is looking for a host for our 46th Annual Conference in 2016. In recent years the conference has grown in size and potential hosts will need to be able to accommodate ~400 participants over the three day event.

If you are interested in making an application we recommend that you speak to the UACES Secretary or a Committee member in advance of the initial deadline.

The deadline to submit an initial expression of interest form is 30 September 2013.

Further info: www.uaces.org/host

Open Call for Symposia to be published by JCMS
The JCMS editors are keen to encourage the occasional publication of symposia on issues of current interest to our readership. A JCMS symposium will normally comprise 4 short papers of around 4000-5000 words each, with a very short introduction of no more than 1000 words by the symposium editor. Other models may be proposed to the editors. However, please note that we will not be considering special issues under the rubric of JCMS symposia (see separate call).

If you have a proposal, please submit it (to jcms@bristol.ac.uk) in the form of a short 500-1000 word summary by Friday 17 May 2013. Please include in your submission the rationale for the symposium, the names of contributors (and editor(s)), the titles of the contributions, and information on the symposium’s state of preparedness. We envisage a quick turnaround, so we are particularly interested in submissions where written papers already exist.

Further info: www.uaces.org/host

Call for UACES Re-EUnion Applications
Deadline: 2 December 2013
Re-EUnions are envisioned as one or two day events designed to bring together academics and analysts with those policy-makers who devised or implemented policy initiatives, were present at key events and/or who devised activities for the EU. The intention is that the Re-EUnions afford the opportunity for critical reflection and allow for new insight in the study of the European Union. Re-EUnion events might include those that focus on landmark summits or meetings, anniversaries, new policy directions for the EU, contested legislation, or crises confronting the Union.

Up to 4,000 GBP in match funding is available.

Further info: www.uaces.org/reeunion

The destination for our 2015 conference is ...
Open Competition for the 2015 Special Issue of JCMS

Applications are invited for the editorship of a Journal of Common Market Studies (JCMS) special issue which will be published in 2015 under the general supervision of the JCMS editors Michelle Cini and Amy Verdun.

Proposals should be for 8-12 articles each of up to 8,500 words in length, including an editorial overview. Proposals should be concise: no longer than 1000 words. Proposals may come from practitioners as well as academics and are equally welcome from new or more established scholars. It should include a clear account of the research question, a schedule of work, the names of proposed or confirmed contributors and provisional titles. Full abstracts are not required at this stage, though a brief description in a sentence or two of the proposed content of each article is recommended.

The deadline for the submission of proposals (to jcms@bristol.ac.uk) is 15 July 2013. Proposals will then be considered by JCMS editors. The successful team will be informed by mid-August 2013.

The successful guest editor(s) will be expected to take on the full editorial task (using the Journal's Scholar One manuscript management system) up until the handover to copy editors, including finding reviewers and managing any consequent revisions. The successful teams of applicants will be expected to organise a JCMS-funded workshop in 2013 to discuss drafts of the papers for which there is a budget of up to £2000 and to which the JCMS editors should be invited. After the workshops, papers must be reviewed according to rigorous JCMS standards in time to be passed to the JCMS editors for final approval by end June 2014. Proposers and authors should be aware that this is a tight timetable to manage.

The decision of the Selection Panel is final. There is no appeal. Communication on the substance of any proposal with members of the panel will result in automatic exclusion from the competition.

Any further enquiries may be addressed to: the Editorial Office (jcms@bristol.ac.uk) or to the Editors (michelle.cini@bristol.ac.uk; averdun@uvic.ca)

UACES Lifetime Achievement Award in European Studies

UACES is pleased to announce that Prof Neill Nugent has been awarded the ‘UACES Lifetime Achievement Award’ for his contribution to contemporary European Studies.

The award will be presented to Neill at the Annual Conference Dinner in Leeds on 3 September 2013.

Neill Nugent has been one of the UK’s most prolific writers on European integration and has also been an assiduous teacher of the subject internationally. He is a very loyal colleague who has contributed to the general good of European Studies through, in particular, his service to the journals and publishers’ series.

For Neill, European integration has been very much an acquired expertise. His research was on right-wing extremism. Even in the early 1970s this was not a subject to be treated lightly, and it is perhaps understandable that when he came to Manchester Polytechnic (later, Manchester Metropolitan University) in 1971, his main taught course was that on the French Political Tradition and he published The Left in France with David Lowe in 1982. It was during the 1980s that Neill started teaching West European integration and his expertise on and mastery of the subject grew from there. By the late 1980s he was the recognized European studies person in the Department of Social Science. By 1995 Neill’s presence in the Department of Politics and Philosophy at Manchester Metropolitan University was a major attraction that drew me to join the department. I knew that I would not be alone in studying European integration, and so it proved. Neill was a reliable colleague, a source of wise advice and an excellent collaborator.

Neill’s books on European integration are legendary, especially The Government and Politics of the European Union which reached its seventh edition in 2010. Further works followed on theoretical perspectives, policy processes enlargement and on the Commission. His editorship of The European Community. Annual Review of Activities from 1992-6 helped set the gold standard for that journal. He has served on the editorial board of Politics and has been a member of the International Advisory Board of European Union Politics (2000-4).

Neill has beavered away at one university for over forty years, but he has an international presence in European Studies. Apart from his publications, he has had a number of international advisory roles such as that of Academic Director of the Institute of European Union Studies of the State University of New York (SUNY) since 2004 and he has undertaken a series of lecture courses in the US. Indeed he can be seen on the web lecturing at Indiana University in 2012 on the implications of Turkish membership of the EU. Also since 2004 he has been Visiting Professor at the College of Europe in Bruges, teaching courses there regularly, and since 2009 he has been senior Fellow at the Centre for European
Integration Studies at the University of Bonn, where he has also been a Visiting Professor. He taught on a summer school in the early 1990s on the Greek island of Spetsai. He has also been a frequent visitor to Cyprus where he has supervised postgraduate students and also built up an expertise on that country and the European integration process.

Neill’s scholarship on European integration provides us with one reason why the UK has been ahead in European studies. His sheer hard work and application has provided colleagues with publication beacons. His international presence in the US and Europe has bolstered his standing. He is a colleague for whom we can be grateful and it is appropriate that UACES recognises one of the shining lights in the UK’s European integration studies.

**Clive Archer**

In UACES we are justly proud of the way publications by our members have enjoyed an enviable international success and in that context Neill Nugent has been at the very forefront. His seminal text book ‘Government and Politics of the European Union’, now in its 7th edition is arguably the most influential and widely used text book in European Studies. In terms of clarity, accuracy and insight it raised the bar significantly. Neill was not content to rest on his laurels however. Each new edition is a new book not just an update. For that reason it remains without a rival as a single author treatment. Its accuracy is legendary. If it is in Nugent then the reader knows that it can be relied upon. Recently Neill has broadened his remit and brought out ‘Policies and Policy Processes of the European Union with Laurie Buonanno.

Alongside his own publications Neill has played a key role as an Editor beginning with being the editor of the Annual Review of the Journal of Common Market Studies. Together with the late Vincent Wright and William Paterson he was asked by Steven Kennedy to be a founding editor of European Union Studies. Two decades on the Series looks back on a truly formidable list of major publications in the area. Indeed so successful was the series that Alison Howson asked Neill, William Paterson and Michelle Egan to establish a related series known as the Palgrave Studies in European Union Politics which would cover research based studies. Once again this has been hugely successful and it would be fair to say that the two series together have had a major shaping role in the development of European Studies.

Alongside his publishing and editing Neill has been very influential as a teacher not only in his own institution but at the College of Europe, the University of Bonn and a number of North American universities.

In his various activities Neill Nugent has made a unique contribution to the development of European Studies. This contribution is based on a total dedication to getting things right. It is this quality that marks Neill out and which has ensured that his work in its various forms has had a foundational character. ‘Government and Politics in the European Union’ and the two series he is associated with have played a key role in the development of European Studies and he richly deserves to be honoured by UACES and the wider European Studies Community.

**William E Paterson**
Europeanization and the European Economic Area
Johanna Jonsdottir

This book examines Europeanization in the European Economic Area (EEA), exploring whether non-member states can have an input into EU decision-making and whether the EU can successfully export its policies within the framework of the EEA.

Iceland, Norway and Liechtenstein, while not EU member states, are members of the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) and signatories of the EEA Agreement. The Agreement allows participation in the EU's internal market but also requires extensive and continuous adaptation to EU rules. Whilst existing literature is limited mainly to the EU's impact on its own member states or neighbours to the east, this book extends the study of Europeanization to the EEA, exploring whether Iceland, as a non-member state, can have an input into EU decision-making and, conversely, whether the EU can ensure that its policies are adhered to outside of its borders. The author argues that, although the EEA Agreement is not without its challenges, it has proved considerably more resilient than originally expected. This raises the question of whether the EEA provides a realistic alternative to EU membership for other states with close ties to the EU.

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