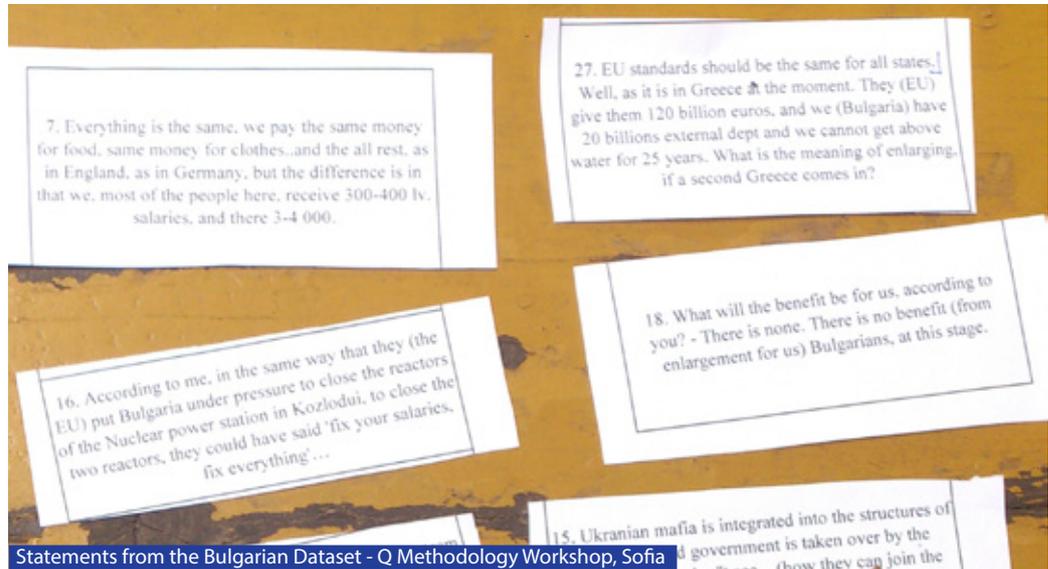


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## Editorial

Dear friends and colleagues of MAXCAP,

Just before the summer break we would like to update you about MAXCAP's most recent research activities. The spring of 2014 has been a time when the European Union and the members states which joined in 2004 have celebrated ten years of a broader, more united Europe. Scholars from MAXCAP partners have been invited at a number of these events and had the opportunity to present the project, its questions and first findings and reflect on further work with colleagues in Europe and beyond. We have presented MAXCAP and MAXCAP work at the conferences and workshops throughout Europe dedicated to the 10th Anniversary of the EU Eastern Enlargement such as the ECPR Joint Sessions of Workshops in Salamanca in April 2014 and the conference on 10 years enlarged Europe at the European University Institute in Florence and many, many more. This newsletter includes a brief overview of our contributions at these occasions.



Prof. Tanja A. Börzel



Dr. Antoaneta Dimitrova

Further, our partners at Leiden University, the ETHZ and the EUI have prepared short reports about their ongoing research dealing with public attitudes towards Enlargement, differentiated integration and the socio-economic development of the new member states. Extensive data gathering is under way for the analysis of discourses on EU enlargement in Germany, the Netherlands, Bulgaria, Serbia, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and Poland. The Leiden team and the Sofia team have organized a workshop in Sofia in April 2014 to discuss initial findings and train all researchers in the further stages of data gathering using Q methodology. We are very excited about the data we have gathered so far and expect interesting and unexpected findings.

We are also proud to announce the publication of our most recent MAXCAP working papers on political change in new member states, accession candidates, and Eastern neighbourhood countries and on Turco-skepticism in Europe. You can access the working papers through our website ([www.maxcap-project.eu](http://www.maxcap-project.eu)).

Last but not least, we have continued to follow the developments in Ukraine and the EU's policy towards its Eastern neighbourhood, one of MAXCAP's research themes, closely. Through our blog, hosted and coordinated by our partners from Leiden University, we publish regular posts on the domestic situation in Ukraine as well as on the role Russia and the EU play in the region. In October 2014, some of us will travel to Tbilisi, Georgia to discuss the challenges to the European Neighbourhood Policy with experts from Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia and Ukraine. We are keen to learn more about local reactions to the regional integration offers from Russia and the EU and will inform you about this trip in our next newsletter.

Have a nice summer!  
Best regards,

Tanja A. Börzel  
Project coordinator

Antoaneta Dimitrova  
Project co-coordinator

## MAXCAP Partners: Recent Research Activities

## “ MAXCAP at International Conferences and Workshops “

Over the past months several international conferences and workshops were dedicated to the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the Eastern Enlargement which gave MAXCAP partners plenty of opportunities to present their research:

From 11 to 15 April, 2014 the workshop “Ten Years on: Evaluating Eastern Enlargement” took place in Salamanca as part of the joint sessions of the European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR). MAXCAP co-coordinator Antoaneta Dimitrova directed the workshop together with Aron Buzogány from Freie Universität Berlin. The workshop was an opportunity to disseminate MAXCAP’s ideas and questions among a wider network of scholars interested in enlargement related issues and also an opportunity to present current MAXCAP research. Antoaneta Dimitrova presented MAXCAP’s framework and research questions to the participants in the workshop. A number of scholars from MAXCAP partner institutions presented their research on the outcomes and the impact of EU membership on the Central and Eastern European member states and current candidates. MAXCAP scholars’ contributions included papers on explaining variation in post-accession compliance by Asya Zhelyazkova (ETH Zurich), on the scientific and policy implications of the EU’ Eastern enlargement by highlighting the importance of domestic conditions to make EU conditionality work by Antoaneta Dimitrova (Leiden University), on the EU’s goals and means driving economic and regulatory integration since the Eastern enlargement by László Bruszt (European University Institute) and Julia Langbein (Freie Universität Berlin), on the effects of immigration from CEE member states on public support for European integration in the old member states by Dimiter Toshkov and Elitsa Kortenska (both Leiden University), and on the limits of the EU to promote domestic political change in current candidates by Adam Fagan (London School of Economics). Last but not least, MAXCAP advisory board member Klaudijus Maniokas (Vilnius University) presented a paper on post-accession development in Lithuania.

MAXCAP partner Ulrich Sedelmeier (London School of Economics) held a lecture entitled “The EU’s Eastern Enlargement: Success and Challenges from a Political Science Perspective” on 5 May, 2014 during a workshop at the University of Vienna. He reflected upon the EU’s ability to promote democracy, the rule of law, and regulatory alignment in post-communist Europe and explained why the power of conditionality albeit more limited than before has remained surprisingly strong to influence domestic change in new member, candidate, and neighbouring states. The European University Institute hosted the conference “Ten Years of the new Europe” from 28-29 May, 2014. MAXCAP partners László Bruszt (European University Institute), Antoaneta Dimitrova (Leiden University) and Frank Schimmelfennig (Eidgenössische Hochschule Zürich) took part in several panels covering the effects of Enlargement on law, political systems and socio-economic development in the new member states. Further, MAXCAP partner Dorothee Bohle (Central European University) discussed the performance of Cyprus, Estonia, Latvia, Malta, Slovakia and Slovenia in the Eurozone.

On 5-7 June, 2014 MAXCAP’s Leiden team hosted and co-organized the 7th Pan-European Conference of the Standing Group on the European Union of the European Consortium for Political Science Research. The ECPR-SGEU conference included more than 300 scholars from all over Europe and the world. There were several panels on enlargement, one of them chaired by Antoaneta Dimitrova of Leiden University

and Aron Buzogány of Freie Universität Berlin. MAXCAP's key themes and questions were presented to the colleagues attending these panels. In the final event of the conference, a round table co-organized with the European Commission and the Municipality of the City of The Hague, the results of the European Parliament elections were discussed also in the context of enlargement. The invited speakers featured both prominent academics like Christophe Crombez (Stanford University/University of Leuven) and Claes de Vreese (University of Amsterdam), politicians and experts. The round table debate was held in the Atrium of The Hague City Hall and attracted a broad and varied audience of citizens, media and academics. Freedom of movement in the context of enlargement, the completion of internal market, Dutch citizens' attitudes towards workers from the new member states were among the topics that attracted the most lively debates. It was clear that some Dutch politicians see the benefits of the internal market in allowing Dutch companies to expand their activities abroad, but not necessarily in the free movement of workers. More issues to research in the context of MAXCAP.



MAXCAP partners have also presented their research on current and prospective EU candidate countries at various occasions:

MAXCAP partner Tanja Hafner-Ademi (Balkan Civil Society Development Network) presented the first-ever "Regional Report on Enabling Environment for Civil Society Development in Enlargement Countries" together with the European Center for Non-profit Law (ECNL) at BCSDN's annual policy workshop in Brussels on 27 May, 2014. The [report](#) reveals that in the Western Balkan countries and Turkey the legal environment for civil society has improved. However its implementation in practice is still problematic. Most of the violations have been recognized in Turkey where legal guarantees on fundamental freedoms, such as the use of various media to receive and share information or to express critical opinions of public policies and actions, are still not fully established. BCSDN also launched a new website dedicated to monitoring the enabling environment for civil society in the Western Balkans and Turkey, called [www.monitoringmatrix.net](http://www.monitoringmatrix.net).

Last but not least, MAXCAP Partners Meltem Müftüleri-Baç and Emre Hatipoğlu, both Sabanci University, delivered talks on EU foreign policy and the EU-Turkey relationship on 28 May, 2014 at the European Institute, Bilgi University and at the Center for EU Enlargement Studies, Central European University.

# “ EU Enlargement and Differentiated Integration - Recent Research at ETHZ “

Enlargement is a major driver of differentiated integration. Accession treaties contain numerous transition arrangements excluding new members from individual benefits of membership but also exempting them from some of the obligations of members. The ETHZ Team pursues several research questions related to differentiated integration and enlargement. First, what drives the differentiated integration of new members? Second, how does the differentiated integration of new members develop after their accession? Third, how does differentiated integration affect policy outcomes both at the EU levels and the national levels?

In a recent publication covering all enlargement rounds of the EU, Frank Schimmelfennig shows that exemptive differentiation privileging the new member states has been more frequent than discriminatory differentiation. Whereas there is some evidence that poorer new members suffer more strongly from discrimination, most of the variation in differentiation across new member states is explained by differences between enlargement rounds.<sup>1</sup> An analysis of differentiated integration in Eastern enlargement in particular shows that wealthier, smaller, better governed, and more Euro-skeptic new member states are less discriminated and obtain more exemptions. On the whole, however, the differentiated integration of new member states has diminished sharply over the first years of membership and have almost reached the average level of differentiation of old member states.<sup>2</sup> This is an indication of successful “Europeanization” or normalization.

In her recent work, Asya Zhelyazkova studies the relationship between differentiated integration and the quality of domestic policies issued in response to EU legislation. The research focus is on a particular type of differentiated integration that allows member states to selectively participate in policies related to asylum, immigration and Schengen. The findings suggest that member states enjoying the right to selectively apply only certain common asylum and immigration directives fail to implement the EU laws, even when they legally commit to them. Thus, selective forms of participation do not entirely bridge the policy gaps between fully participating and non-participating countries. The new member states are equally likely to comply with the EU asylum and immigration rules as the old member states, indicating that implementation deficits in these policies are not driven by enlargement, but by already existing forms of differentiation in the area of asylum and immigration.

1 Schimmelfennig, F. (2014) ‘EU Enlargement and Differentiated Integration: Discrimination or Equal Treatment?’, *Journal of European Public Policy* 21(5): 681-698.

2 Schimmelfennig, F. (2014) ‘Eastern Enlargement and Differentiated Integration’, Paper presented at the *EUI Conference „Ten Years of the New Europe“*, Florence, 29-30 May.

## “ Researching Economic Integration in the Context of EU Enlargement at the EUI ”

The EUI team has proceeded analysing the data from the EU Progress Reports and developing an electronic database of candidate countries' progress in meeting the EU requirements. The latter will be used as the independent variable in econometric research of the socio-economic consequences of Europeanization. Furthermore, the team has proceeded with the development of research design for case studies that should analyze the EU effect at the sectoral level. Also, the database will be used as dependent variable when analyzing the effects of various patterns of economic transnationalization on progress in meeting EU requirements. Preliminary interviews have also been conducted in Zagreb, Warsaw and Brussels, exploring the different modes of governing economic integration of candidate countries / new member states. These interviews have helped to refine the design for the case studies in the automotive industry to be started in September 2014.

## “Workshop on Q Methodology at Sofia University”

A workshop on Q methodology and its usefulness for discovering national level discourses related to EU enlargement took place in Sofia on April 28 and 29, 2014. The workshop was organized by Sofia University and included participants from Leiden University, the Balkan Civil Society Development Network, Sabanci university and LSE. Using Sofia University's excellent facilities and with everyone's enthusiastic participation, the teams prepared for the next stages of the Q analysis, which is one of the main tasks of MAXCAP's work package three (WP3), aiming to establish citizens perceptions and discourses about EU enlargement.

How does one analyze statements in Dryzek and Berejikian's political discourse analysis matrix? How does one administer a Q sort? What kind of results can we expect to obtain at the end of the six country analyses and how can we interpret them? These were some of the questions addressed by the participants in the workshop in a lively and constructive atmosphere.

The Leiden University team provided some methodological guidelines for the ongoing data gathering and analysis under WP3. Participants discussed the general underpinnings and logic of Q methodology and its various steps, got familiar with its foundations and limitations. Day one ended with an exercise in political discourse analysis of statements from the Bulgarian dataset. On the second day participants simulated an exercise in administering Q sets and discussed choices and potential pitfalls for the second stage of empirical data gathering. Findings and experiences with analyses in WP3 were shared and discussed.



Participants of the workshop on Q Methodology

## Recent MAXCAP Working Papers

All MAXCAP Working Paper may be downloaded [here](#).

### Working Paper No. 3

#### Coming Together or Drifting Apart? Political Change in New Member States, Accession Candidates, and Eastern Neighbourhood Countries

*Tanja A. Börzel - May 2014*

Abstract: Some of the key questions we seek to examine in MAXCAP's work package 1 are whether the EU's 2004/2007 enlargement has been a success in political terms for the new member states. How do the political effects of Eastern enlargement compare to the changes in democratic and effective governance we observe in (potential) candidates, and to what extent does the European Neighbourhood Policy deploy transformative power in the absence of a membership perspective? This working paper shall provide the basis for assessing the EU's external integration capacity in terms of the political change in new member states, current and potential candidates, and neighbourhood countries. First, the paper offers a conceptualization of political change by focusing on democratic and effective governance. Second, it discusses different indicators that allow to measure changes in the democratic quality and governance capacity. Third, it reviews and assesses the macro-quantitative data available. The paper finds that political change in post-communist countries after the end of the Cold War shows overall progress, which is more pronounced and less diverse with regard to democracy than governance capacity. Still, there are significant disparities in democratic quality and governance capacity that mark a rift between the "old" member states in Western Europe and the "new" member states and candidate countries in Eastern Europe, which becomes even more pronounced when the Eastern neighbours of the EU are included in the analysis. In MAXCAP's future research, we will adopt a more x-centred approach to understand the effects of the EU on democratization and democratic consolidation as well as on governance capacity in the context of enlargement and the European Neighbourhood Policy. This will also allow us to grasp the magnitude of political change by exploring problems of democratic back-sliding within all three clusters of countries and the extent to which the lock-in by the EU has failed and why.

### Working Paper No. 4

#### Explaining Variation in Public Support to Turkey's EU accession, Turco-skepticism in Europe: A Multi-Level Analysis

*Emre Hatipoglu, Meltem Müftüleri-Baç and Ekrem Karakoc - July 2014*

Abstract: This paper tries to parse out the determinants of the European public's attitudes to Turkey's accession. Our factor analyses suggest that the European individual attitudes towards Turkey's accession are grouped under two main dimensions: utilitarian and normative. Furthermore, we posit and test the possibility that individuals' attitudes towards Turkey may also be shaped by the national political context they are immersed in. Our findings indicate that individuals who believe that Turkey belongs to Europe culturally and who believe that its EU membership will provide more benefits to the EU tend to be more pro-accession. An inverse relationship exists between individuals' belief that Turkey will benefit from EU membership and their support for Turkey's accession. The level of Turkish migrants in its population seems to be the most important country-level factor affecting the level of turco-skepticism in a member state. Finally, the ideological stance of the government amplifies the effect political ideology of individuals has on the belief about Turkey's accession.

## Recent Partner Publications

Hadzi-Miceva Evans, K. and Hafner Ademi, T. (2014) 'Monitoring Matrix on Enabling Environment for Civil Society Development. Regional Report', Skopje: Balkan Civil Society Development Network and European Center for Not-for-Profit Law.

Hatipoglu, E. and Evin, A. (2014) 'Convergence or Divergence: EU and Turkish Foreign Policy over the Last Decade', in P. Balasz (ed) *European Union with 36 Members? Perspectives and Risks*, Budapest: Central European University Press, pp. 185-197.

Müftüler-Baç, M. (2014) 'Turkey as an Emerging Power: An Analysis of its Role in Global and Regional Security Governance Constellations', *EUI Working Papers*, Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, Florence: European University Institute.

Müftüler-Baç, M. and Gorgulu, A. (2014) 'Turkey and the European Union: Partners in Foreign Policy Cooperation in the South Caucasus', in M. Wilga and I. P. Karolewski (eds), *New Approaches to EU Foreign Policy*, New York: Routledge, pp. 223-237.

Schimmelfennig, F. (2014) 'EU Elargement and Differentiated Integration: Discrimination or Equal Treatment?', *Journal of European Public Policy* 21(5): 681-698.

Toshkov, D. (2014) 'The Dynamic Relationship between Asylum Applications and Recognition rates in Europe (1987-2010)', *European Union Politics* 15(2): 192-214.