PHD Theses – Thèses de doctorat – Doktorarbeiten

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Engin I. ERDEM, *European Integration and Democratic Consolidation: Turkey, Spain and Poland in Comparative Perspective* – Florida International University, Miami, Florida, United States
Supervisor/jury: Tatiana KOSTADINOVA (Chair), Florida International University (Politics and International Relations Department); Ronald COX, Florida International University (Politics and International Relations Department); Dario MORENO, Florida International University (Politics and International Relations Department); Barry LEVITT, Florida International University (Politics and International Relations Department); Cem KARAYALCIN, Florida International University (Economics Department)
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The study explores when, under what conditions, and to what extent European integration, particularly the European Union's requirement for democratic conditionality, contribute to democratic consolidation in Spain, Poland, and Turkey. On the basis of a four-part definition, the dissertation examines the democratizing impact of the European integration process on each of the following four components of democratic consolidation: (i) holding of fair, free and competitive elections, (ii) protection of fundamental rights, including human and minority rights, (iii) high prospects of regime survival and civilian control of the military, and (iv) legitimacy, elite consensus, and stateness. To assess the relative significance of the EU's democratizing leverage, the thesis also examines domestic and non-EU international dynamics of democratic consolidation in the three countries.

By employing three qualitative methods (case study, process-tracing, and cross-national comparative analysis), the study focuses on three specific time frames: 1977-1986 for Spain, 1994-2004 for Poland, and 1999-present for Turkey. In addition

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to official documents, newspapers, and secondary sources, face-to-face interviews made with politicians, academics, experts, bureaucrats, and journalists in the three countries were utilized.

The thesis makes several conclusions. First of all, the EU's democratizing impact is not uniform across different components of democratic consolidation. Moreover, the EU's democratizing leverage in Spain, Poland, and Turkey involved variations over time for three major reasons: (i) the changing nature of EU's democratic conditionality over time, (ii) varying levels of the EU's credible commitment to the candidate country's prospect for membership, and (iii) domestic dynamics in the candidate countries. Furthermore, the European integration process favours democratic consolidation but its magnitude is shaped by the candidate country's prospect for EU membership, and domestic factors in the candidate country. Finally, the study involves a major policy implication for the European Union: unless the EU provides a clear prospect for membership, its democratizing leverage will remain very limited in the candidate countries.

Jon Marco CHURCH, *La Convention alpine, une organisation internationale: la pyramide à l'envers et le retour de l'État / The Alpine Convention, an international organization: the inverted pyramid and the return of the state* – University of Paris 1 – Pantheon-Sorbonne
Supervisor/jury: Yves VILTARD, University of Paris 1 – Pantheon-Sorbonne; Jacques SOPPELSA, University of Paris 1 – Pantheon-Sorbonne; Thomas LINDEMANN, University of Artois; François MANCEBO, University of Reims – Champagne-Ardenne; Susan PERRY, American University of Paris; Laurent STEFANINI, French Ministry of Foreign Affairs
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Recent publications on environmental politics and of international relations theory focused on everything except the state. This study of the Alpine Convention from the perspective of an international organization puts the state again at the center of the debate. We therefore start by framing the theory of ecoregions and ecoregionalism as a contested ideology. The convention as a regional environmental agreement is then compared to the Andean Community as a regional integration process. This leads us to consider it an international organization like many others. So, our study proceeds with a particularly detailed historical reconstruction of the creation and evolution of the convention between 1952 and today. This allows clarifying its ambiguous relationship with European integration – which went from the EU being one of its strong supporters, funding many of its activities while at the same time deserting its meetings – and its loss of momentum in recent years. We finally move on to the study of ecoregionalization as a norm dynamic through the case studies of the Working Group on UNESCO World Heritage and of the Protocol on Spatial Planning and Sustainable Development. The latter example points to the important role of the state within the convention process. We then use organizational charts to analyze the organs of the

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convention and illustrate the position of the states within the institutional structure. This relationship is represented symbolically as an inverted pyramid. Environmental challenges go beyond borders. The return of the state is essential for our transition towards sustainability. The historical reconstruction is based on documents collected by the author during more than four years of participant observation, often with the assistance of the Permanent Secretariat of the Alpine Convention, as well as other key actors. Informal conversations are also important sources, while structured interviews were not used because they proved unreliable.

Pauline BEAUGÉ DE LA ROQUE, *Les représentations de l'Europe chez les élites catholiques irlandaises de 1957 à 1985 / Representations of Europe by Irish Catholic Elites (1957-1985)*, Université de la Sorbonne nouvelle – Paris III (France); University College Cork (Ireland) (co-supervision scheme)
Supervisor/jury: Wesley HUTCHINSON, Université de la Sorbonne nouvelle (supervisor); Mervyn O'DRISCOLL, University College Cork (supervisor); Marie-Claire CONSIDERE-CHARON, Université de Franche-Comté; Michael HOLMES, Liverpool Hope University
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This thesis puts forward a Modern History perspective on the way representations of Europe were constructed by a specific group of people – Irish Catholic elites – from 1957 to 1985.

It proposes some new avenues of research on the wide question "What is Europe?" The aim is to explore how these elites opened up to "the other" that represents Europe. It focuses on a quite unknown aspect of the Irish European Integration process and emphasizes the movements of resistance and relaxation that punctuate such kinds of evolutions and changes. Moreover, within the context of increasing secularization in Ireland the study underlines how politics interfered in the religious field.

Taking into consideration that Europe is primarily a construction of the human mind the thesis observes the existence of a multiplicity of Europes. It analyzes how the Irish singular history has shaped the Irish Catholic understanding of Europe. It also shows in detail how Europe raised new issues and challenges for the Catholic Church and for Irish Catholic thought, such as questions of moral orders or economics. Therefore, the thesis evaluates the evolution of attitudes within the various sectors of Catholic elites. It shows how exposure to European integration altered received attitudes towards, and representations of, Europe. The process contributed to a fundamental redefinition of key aspects of the relationship between Catholic Ireland and its European Partners. It shows how Catholic Ireland engaged with key contemporary concepts such as pluralism, multiplicity, diversity and unity.

This work is mainly based on the analysis of the following primary sources: National Archives of Ireland (mainly coming from the Department of Foreign Affairs),

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Pontifical publications, Irish Diocesan Archives, Irish and European religious journals and papers, European and Irish official declarations and private interviews.

Francisco SEOANE PÉREZ, *A communications gap? A comparative study of regional engagement with EU politics in Yorkshire and Galicia* – University of Leeds
Supervisor/jury: Juliet LODGE, University of Leeds (supervisor); Sanna INTHORN, University of East Anglia; Chris Paterson, University of Leeds
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In the wake of the failed referenda on the European Union Constitutional Treaty in France and the Netherlands in 2005, EU and European national leaders proclaimed the existence of a 'communications gap', by which the incomplete and scarce coverage of EU issues by the news media, along with the denial of national leaders to acknowledge the European dimension of political life, were behind Europeans' seeming rejection of further European integration and the lower participation levels in European Parliament elections. This thesis challenges this mediation theory to explain the lack of popular political engagement with European politics and suggests instead a cultural and structural explanation that would account for the distant and apolitical nature of EU affairs. Using in-depth interviews with a hundred EU political actors from two European regions in which the popular support for the EU is clearly divergent (Yorkshire in the UK, Eurosceptic, and Galicia in Spain, pro-EU), and drawing from evidence of a comparative content analysis of EU news in those regions' benchmark newspapers, I argue the 'domesticisation' and 'politicisation' deficits of the EU are better explained by the elitist and anti-popular pattern of European integration, the neo-corporatist and diplomatic way of governing the EU, and the inexistence or incompleteness of a European political people (a demos). The EU political regime is found to be close to the 'managerial state' that Jürgen Habermas saw in post-World War II Germany. Even in those regions like Galicia where the EU is positively regarded, European affairs are an administrative (non political) matter, making the EU the sort of technocratic government that Carl Schmitt feared liberalism would lead to. The reasons why the EU is remote and difficult to politicise on a left versus right axis are, therefore, structural and cultural rather than communicational.

The thesis presents a content analysis of EU-related news stories published in the main regional newspapers of Yorkshire and Galicia during the European Parliament legislative period of 2004-2009. The analysis reveals that the EU's *raison d'être* is a constant topic in England, while it goes below the radar in Spain, despite this period being crucial because of the debate on the European Constitution. The network of news sources is more 'national' and 'parliamentarian' in the British case (national and European Members of Parliament are frequently co-cited), whereas in the Spanish case the network of news sources is 'multi-level' and 'governmental' (regional, national and EU-level sources are frequently co-cited, but executives are more central in the network of sources than parliaments).

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