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### *How can we make a difference?*

The last year was one of intense activity for the Association. For an entity that was recently born, the achievements have been quite remarkable.

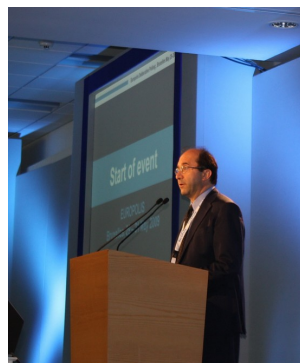
As an NGO, we participated in research projects funded by national and international bodies. In particular, we collaborated with CIRCAP and offered logistic and human support in a research project on Italian Public Opinion and

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## EuroPolis Proves that Debate does Change European Citizens' Attitudes

*Pierangelo Isernia*

EuroPolis is a project run by an international team of European universities and coordinated by the University of Siena through its CIRCAP centre. It was funded by the EU's 7th Framework Programme and by a network of European foundations led by the Compagnia di San Paolo.



The project intends to test whether deliberative democracy can contribute to address the democratic deficit in Europe, with particular reference to the European parliamentary elections of 2009. On May 29-31 2009, EuroPolis brought together 350 European citizens to a conference centre just outside Brussels for intensive discussions. On their arrival on Friday, the participants all completed a questionnaire on immigration, climate change and the EU. On Sunday, after the event, they also completed a similar questionnaire just before their departure. The three-day intensive EuroPolis seminar concluded on Sunday with a plenary session with Estonian President Toomas Hendrik Ilves, former Italian prime minister Giuliano Amato, former Danish MEP Jens Peter Bonde, and former Belgian deputy prime minister Isabelle Durant.

EuroPolis organised this Deliberative Polling® experiment as part of its investigation into how far European democracy can be served by informed debate.



*a deliberative polity-making project*

The participants in the weekend event were selected from among more than 4,000 European citizens polled over recent weeks across the 27 member states for their views on immigration, climate change and the EU.

Informed discussion can change policy attitudes and votes. That is the unambiguous conclusion from the EuroPolis project in Deliberative Polling®.

Citizens can change their views on hot topics if they have the chance to discuss them – and in this project they became more European, more tolerant and greener in their views, the experiment has demonstrated. And contrary to some expectations, exposure to debate on immigration did not have the effect of intensifying support for anti-immigration parties. The EuroPolis event demonstrated that when citizens ha-

ve access to information and the opportunity to discuss and reflect, their attitudes can change. After three days of intensive exchanges in small groups and with experts and politicians, 350 citizens from across the EU frequently modified their positions on immigration, climate change and the EU itself.

- The discussions dramatically increased support for the Greens, from a vote share of 8% before to 18% afterwards. By contrast, the EPP share fell from 40% to 30%.

- Enthusiasm for measures to combat climate change increased from 49% to 61%, including stronger support for cutting harmful emissions – from 72% to 85%. Energy efficiency rose in popularity from 75% to 84%, and the use of an emissions trading system from 39% to 49%. At the same time, support for nuclear energy and biofuels declined. Citizens attached greater importance to immigration as an issue (an increase from 44% to 64% over the weekend), but became more supportive of rights for illegal immigrants.

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Support increased for providing them with access to health care and other services, while support diminished for tighter border

**Citizens can change their views on hot topics if they have the chance to discuss them – and in this project they became more European**

der controls, and for admitting immigrants by nationality or culture.

The participants increased their support for penalising employers of illegal immigrants. These results were reflected even more dramatically among participants from Italy, where the immigration issue is particularly controversial.

Attitudes towards Europe and the EU also changed. Before the weekend,

- 37% of participants considered their country's membership of

the EU to be “a very good thing”, a figure that rose to 52%.

- 47% considered it their duty to vote in EU elections, a figure that rose to 56%.

- 72% thought of themselves “as just being from” their own country, a figure that fell sharply to 56%.

The results were presented in Brussels by Professor Pierangelo Isernia of Siena, the project leader, and Professor James Fishkin of Stanford and Professor Robert Luskin of the University of Texas at Austin and Stanford, leading exponents of Deliberative Polling®.

“If the European Parliament was elected by deliberating citizens, it would have a very different complexion”, said Fishkin. “The European public sphere

was brought to life for a weekend. And we showed it can make a difference in how people would vote”.



“The results show that citizens’ attitudes to immigration – a particularly hot topic in Italy at present – become strikingly more tolerant when they are exposed to a wider range of influences”, said Isernia.

“In everyday life, most people do not know or think much about politics”, said Luskin.

“The EuroPolis results show what EU citizens would think about immigration and climate change and how they would vote in the European Parliament elections if they knew, thought and talked much more

a-

about these issues”.

“They are becoming more tolerant – and the least tolerant are changing most”, said Pro-

fessor David Sanders of the University of Essex, another of the research team.

The participating organisations in the EuroPolis project are: the University of Siena – CIRCaP, Italy; the University of Essex, United Kingdom; the University of Mannheim, Germany; Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques, France; University of Oslo, Arena, Norway; Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Spain; European Policy Centre, Belgium; Avventura Urbana, Italy; TNS Opinion, Belgium; Median Research Centre, Romania

The donors funding the project are the European Commission under the 7th Framework Programme and a group of European foundations led by the Compagnia di San Paolo (Italy); the King Baudouin Foundation (Belgium), the Bosch-Stiftung Foundation (Germany) and the Open Society Foundation (Switzerland).

Further information at <http://www.europolis-project.eu/>

## How can we make a difference?

Foreign Policy funded by the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and in another project on Public Opinion and Humanitarian Aid funded by the World Food Program. As part of its teaching and cultural activities, the Association also supported the Jean Blondel Tuesday Seminar at CIRCaP and visiting scientists during their stay in Siena.

Thanks to research grants and to the donations of friends of the Association, in the period between October 2008 - October 2010 we were able to raise 23,000 euros. In our view, this is a great achievement. Most of these funds were linked to research projects. For this reason, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to all those who have helped to make this achievement possible, bringing calls to our attention, helping with research proposals, collaborating in the research. We hope to be able to expand our research potential and for this purpose I am asking your help by bringing to our attention any call open to no-profit entities that might suit our areas of interest and expertise.

In the future, we will continue to sponsor the Jean Blondel Tuesday Seminars, a fundamental task in our mission of promotion of teaching and cultural activities. Furthermore, in the attempt to meet the request of our members who at the last annual assembly strongly advocated the need for a student mobility fund, we decided to devote all donations from December 2009 until April 2010 to this purpose. Once this Fund is established, a call for applications will be launched, independent external referees will evaluate the student proposals and will assign the award at the next annual assembly of the Association.

It is a matter of fact that students suffer from a shortage of funds to finance their attendance at international conferences. This sometimes prevents them from attending the best conferences. With our initiative, we would like to help some of them to accomplish their own academic objective in the best way possible. At the moment, 365 euros have been collected thanks to your donations. We welcome this achievement but we think we can be more ambitious. For this reason, on behalf of the Board and of the whole Association, I am asking you to be generous. Students’ education and achievements also depend on your support. We have an online donation system that is quick and easy and you can decide how you want to donate (<http://circapalumni.org/donations/>).

As you can see, our Association is young but determined to make a difference. I really hope that you also find our activities to your interest and that you join the community of Friends who support us. It is important in order to grow, to keep connected and to stay energised.

Nicolò Conti - *President of the Alumni Association*)

## EuroPolis: Three Days of European Dialogue in Brussels

Stefano Braghioli

At the end of May a large CIRCaP delegation moved from Siena to Brussels to conduct the largest and most ambitious experiment of deliberative



democracy ever attempted at the European level. After breathing the spirit of those three days of European dialogue and after sharing this experience with the other colleagues involved in the initiative, I consider myself lucky and proud to have been given the chance to join the project. Beyond any rhetoric, I can honestly claim that it represents one of the most intense experiences of my PhD career, both academically and from a more personal and intimate perspective. This short piece is also the story of how EuroPolis changed my perspective on European integration and on the role that normal people can play.

When I was asked to join the project in late January, my initial task was limited to the identification of the political priorities of the European parties on the eve of the EP elections. Therefore, I had to go through the electoral programs of the transnational parties in order to identify their political vision with particular respect to immigration and climate change. At that time I was spending a visiting research period in Brussels



and I was working in close contact with the local organizers based at TNS. Soon after my return to Siena, the scope of my participation in the project came to touch other aspects of the organization and I got soon involved in all the activi-

ties of the EuroPolis team. Among others, these activities included the revision of the questionnaires and of the briefing materials and the coordination with the other participating organizations and scientific teams as well as the practical definition of every aspect of the meeting. As the date of the event was approaching, the team work became very intense and demanding. On the other hand, it gave us the unique opportunity to follow the development of a deliberative process involving hundreds of participants from the beginning to its complete realization. In particular, I had the chance to explore from a privileged perspective key aspects of the process of formation of a citizenry-based European polity. By doing so, I had a first hand experience in seeing what deliberative democracy looks like in practise.

Before getting involved in the realization of the EuroPolis project my idea of European demos represented at best an abstract and somehow distant concept. It consisted of a blurred patchwork of notions found here and there in books and articles in the course of my learning experience. On the other, despite my strong belief in the merits the European unity and in the potential of a direct involvement of European citizens in the process, I was somehow skeptical about their actual willingness to be involved. The creation of a genuine European citizenry and the development of a bottom-up approach in the EU decision-making process seemed to me more a rhetorical exercise, than a realistic possibility. Unlike other well-known achievements of European integration, the creation of such common demos combining consolidated national traditions is not only dependent on pro-active political elites, but also requires an aware and committed citizenry.

In my view, EuroPolis has had first and foremost the merit to demonstrate that the emergence of a goal-oriented and politically-involved transnational public opinion is possible! In the vacuum-packed-environment of the EuroPolis

laboratory at La Dolce our 400-people large Europe showed that the ingredients needed to achieve the result are information and the actual chance for people to meet their European “colleagues” from other member states.

In this short piece I deliberately avoided touching upon the scientific dimension of EuroPolis, which presented in an outstanding array of promising and revealing results. What I would like to share with you in these concluding lines are instead

**“I came home with different attitudes. Before I went I did not feel that I was a European citizen, just an Irish one. After talking to all the other EU citizens and having been part of it, I now really feel European”**  
*An Irish participant*

a couple of personal memories and anecdotes of those three days in Brussels.

What I think deserves to be mentioned is the change in behaviour and attitudes experienced by many participants in the course of the event. Just after arriving at the EuroPolis headquarter the national groups of participants were clearly identifiable and the ties of linguistic affinity seemed unchallengeable. However, as time passed things started to change and those groups became more and more blurred. As one could easily predict, the contamination started from the small “delegations”. Not surprisingly, the three Maltese participants were the first to feel the necessity to overcome national borders and to get in touch with participants from other countries. Similarly, the first timid contacts generally involved culturally close and neighbor countries: Spaniards started to talk to the Portuguese participants and Poles with Czechs. Then the virus spread inexorably...

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At the gala dinner held the last night at the Palais des Beaux-Arts in the heart of Brussels an attentive observer could notice 80-year old participants discussing their memories of war time or two housewives, one Greek and one Estonian, sharing their most secret recipes, or even a German guy dating a Bulgarian participant.

Beyond any empirical data, these anecdotes seem to me the most clear evidence of the enormous potential of citizenry based transnational dialogue. The awareness of this potential makes me think of Europolis as a priceless investment for the future. What should make us really proud is the individual memory of those three days that every participant brought back to his/her home country and hopefully shared with relatives, friends or colleagues, thereby further spreading this positive contamination. The enthusiasm which followed the conclusion of the event ended up in the creation of a Facebook group developed by the participants themselves which aims maintaining the ties created in Brussels. The group now counts more than 50 members.

I would like to conclude this piece with the words of an Irish participant which – in my view – express the most sincere essence of those three days of European dialogue: “I came home with different attitudes. Before I went I did not feel that I was a European citizen, just an Irish one. After talking to all the other EU citizens and having been part of it, I now really feel European”.

## Jean Blondel Tuesday Seminars in Political Science. A.Y. 2009/2010

The Centre for the Study of Political Change organizes a weekly two-hour seminar, open to all social scientists and to those who work on political science related issues from a variety of disciplines. The Seminar provides an opportunity to both the staff and the graduate students of the CIRCaP to be familiar with the research currently undertaken in Italy and abroad. Jean Blondel Tuesday seminars are supported by “Friends of CIRCaP,” Fattoria Campopalazzi and Vini Mazzei. Here is the list of speakers for the A.Y. 2009-2010:

- Claudius Wagemann (Istituto Italiano di Scienze Umane, Florence)
- Filippo Tronconi (University of Bologna at Forli)
- Enrico Borghetto (University of Milan)



- Gianfranco Pasquino (University of Bologna)
- Holger Doring (European University Institute)
- Giacomo Benedetto (Royal Holloway-University of London)
- John Bartle (University of Essex)
- Alexia Katsanidou (European University Institute)
- Lounann Haarman (University of Bologna)
- Olivier Roy (European University Institute)
- Jordi Calvet Crespo (University of Barcelona)
- Raymond Taras (European University Institute)
- Kristina Stoeckl (University of Roma Tor Vergata)
- Edward Chaplin (UK Ambassador to Italy)

CIRCaP ALUMNI  
Friends of CIRCaP association

<http://circapalumni.org/>



The internet address of the website is now [www.circapalumni.org](http://www.circapalumni.org). One can find here the aims of the association, the current list of its members, all the official documents and the legal basis of the association, like the Constitution Act, Statutes and Assembly minutes. The Activities page presents info about past events, current actions and further plans of the association. Information about how to make donations to our association are on the Donations page. There you will find the details of our bank account, or as an alternative the PayPal transfer money system. Finally, in the Photo Gallery there are some of our pictures from different lectures, conferences and other official and informal occasions. Should you have further questions, advice, comments or if you would like to upload your own contents on the website please contact Angela at [movileanu@unisi.it](mailto:movileanu@unisi.it).

## IntUne: A Challenging Research Project of CIRCaP

Maurizio Cotta

Over the last 5 years, the allusive but mysterious term “Intune” (or, to be more graphically precise, IntUne) has been a constantly recurring word in the small but busy world of CIRCaP. How is IntUne going? When and where will the next IntUne meeting/General Conference be? When are the IntUne “deliverables” due? Why are IntUne partners late with their reports, etc.? These questions and many others kept surfacing in the daily exchanges in the corridors and rooms of via Mattioli 10. So what is then IntUne? or was, as it came to an official end on December 31st of 2009? Since not everybody knows (but wait a few more months and you will find all you need to know in Wikipedia!) what IntUne stands for, an explanation is required! Officially, Intune, also known by its longer subtitle “Integrated and United? A Quest for Citizenship in an Ever Closer Europe”, is nothing else (and nothing less) than a four-year Integrated Project (IP) supported and financed by the European Union under the Sixth Framework Program (6thFP). This means also that it is a very large research project: promoted by 29 university and research institutions (for a complete list and much more information see the website [www.intune.it](http://www.intune.it)) under the coordination of CIRCaP, it has involved between September 2005 and December 2009 in a common research endeavor approximately a hundred senior and junior scholars from both Western and Central Europe.

### *What were IntUne’s goals?*

The basic idea behind the project was at the same time simple and ambitious. More than ten years after the concept of a European citizenship had been written in the treaties of



the European Union, followed by a period of rapid territorial expansion and sustained functional growth of the Union, what impact did this crucial political idea have on the European polity and how could we try to measure it? In order to provide an answer to these questions, we thought that we should interview the main actors of the European political game and explore their positions on this subject. The first obvious candidates were the citizens; but we thought that national elites (both political and economic), as well as the media and policy experts were to be sounded. Concretely, samples of citizens of a significant number

(16 out of 27) of European member countries, samples of members of national parliaments and of top economic leaders for the same countries were thus to be surveyed through a similar questionnaire. With regard to the media a linguistic corpus (in fact a complete collection of all the words pronounced over a given period of time) for selected newspapers and TV programs in four countries (due the unprecedented scope of the enterprise the number of countries had here to be more limited) had to be established and analyzed. And for the policy experts a sample was to be selected with regard to the most important European policy areas. Through these analyses the concept of citizenship was articulated and specified along the three sub-fields of identity, representation and scope of governance.

### *How did it all come about?*

The first idea originated in the discussions among Circappers that are constantly under way about what to

do in our (spare ?!) time. This idea had been subjected to some preliminary empirical exploration in a book devoted to the Italian case which had involved most of us (Cotta, Isernia, Verzichelli eds. *L’Europa in Italia*, Il Mulino 2005). The next step was to bring together a group of scholars that would be both able and willing to develop such a research program on a larger scale. In the preparatory stage the task seemed at moments beyond our forces. It is true that over the years each of us had developed strong scholarly ties with many leading members of the different research communities that would be involved. Maurizio Cotta and Luca Verzichelli with the “elites gang”, Pierangelo Isernia and Paolo Bellucci with the “mass people”, John Morley with his “words crunching” linguists. Yet these highly developed but also very independently minded networks had to be convinced, mobilized, cajoled into working together, and even more into devoting a large part of their energies for the following four years (or more) to a new common project.

Moreover the broad original ideas had to be turned into an articulated and coherent project. And, last but not least, we had to understand more clearly what kind of project the Commission would be keen on promoting. A first preparatory meeting took place in Siena in 2002 with a group of scholars from different countries and different research areas. In launching the project it was crucially important to show that Siena could command both the scholarly and administrative competences required for leading, steering and managing such a large project.



The meeting was successful, but the project was still vague as well as the membership of the team. More exchanges, contacts, and discussions were needed. Then there was another meeting in Barcelona, hosted by our good friend Mariano Torcal of Pompeu Fabra University. This meeting was probably the crucial one for concluding the

coalition building process. The nice restaurants and the friendly atmosphere of the Catalan city, always alert to matters of “multi-



level identities”, contributed to hammering out the founding pact. Then it came to writing the proposal (with the help of Mercedes Mateo Diaz) which was submitted in due time (December 2003). Then we waited. And ...wow in the Spring 2004 we learned that we were on the shortlist. A little more time elapsed and in the end, we had made it. Our project had been selected. But it was not yet time to launch the vessel in the open sea of research. There was to be the “negotiation” with the Commission. All sort of aspects of the project had to be clarified, specified, corrected. And finally came the signing of the contract. We were ready to start. In September 2005 the first General Meeting of the project could take place in Siena.

*What did we go during the four years of the project?*

As it happens most of our time and energies were spent visiting innumerable places - universities, hotels, bars, conference centers and restaurants - in beautiful European cities where the whole group or different subgroups met. Or in compiling even more innumerable reports as kindly asked by our Brussels custodian angels in the Commission (... Pia Laurila, Angela Liberatore, Jean-François Duchamps thank you for your con-

stant support !). Oh, I forgot: in the little spare time left, we did some research! None of this could have been possible without the strong hand of our two PMs (Prime Ministers?... or Project Managers as they were officially defined). Nicolò Conti came first and had to define the job and conduct it for the first two years,

then Elisabetta De Giorgi took over (and of course at that point everything was easy and smooth, am I right Elisabetta?).

Now to be a little more serious (just in case someone reads Polichange), the research

work we had promised to do in the Contract and which we indeed accomplished was not so small. After a long and intensely debated process of preparation of the mass and elite questionnaires by the Mass and Elites Working Groups and then an even more strenuous process of bringing them as close as possible to a maximum common denominator, two waves of surveys for the masses and two waves for the elites covering seventeen countries (the first in 2007 and the second in 2009) were organized. The mass surveys were implemented by a professional firm (TNS) while the elite surveys were conducted directly by the national teams. The Experts Working group conducted its own more in depth round of semi structured interviews and the Media Working Group created an extensive corpus of newspaper and television excerpts.

The huge amount of data collected was analyzed, squeezed, centrifugated, cooked and ironed into N papers discussed during the four years at the general and specialized meetings and presented to ECPR/APSIPA/SISP etc. conferences. And with the passing of time an increasing flow of articles, journal special issues, book chapters has started to appear in English and in the many languages of our research community (Hungarian

and Estonian included, meaning that only few people will be able to read them all, which may be a consolation of sort!). And it is not finished, as Oxford University Press has in principle accepted to publish not less than 7 (yes seven!) books that should contain the most important results. Which means that we shall be busy during the next N years writing and you, dear friends, will be busy reading us!

*What has IntUne done to Circap?*

Well, the first good thing is that it has not succeeded in killing us. We are still here, we have survived it! We have also learned something. The first lesson is that one should think very carefully before jumping into

**In order to grow both at  
the individual and at the  
collective level  
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taken**

such large projects. The lesson was learnt so well (!) that Pierangelo Isernia immediately launched himself into another large project, now under the 7thFP (and winning with Europolis a new important research grant for CIRCaP).

On a more serious tone I would like to underline a few important things. The first is that in order to grow both at the individual and at the collective level challenges must be taken. Challenges stimulate innovativeness, bring out energies that were often unsuspected, and put people's qualities to the test. In all these respects CIRCaP has significantly profited from the IntUne experience. We are particularly proud of the fact that thanks to this experience many young researchers (of CIRCaP as well as of the other institutions involved) have shown their scientific (and also organizational) qualities

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and have gained a higher national and international visibility.

The second is the importance of team work. Team work means essentially that every one is ready to work shoulder to shoulder with the others, to adapt personal agendas to a common one, and when needed to take upon himself or herself the responsibilities of the whole group. Only by being able to

rely upon a very cohesive team of people CIRCaP managed to launch and conduct to its successful conclusion such a large research project. Although we already had a long experience of working not only individually but also as a group, we had never done so to such an extent. The third aspect that I would like to mention is the internationalization effect of such pro-

jects. Thanks to IntUne CIRCaP has been able to significantly strengthen and extend the very important “capital” of scholarly contacts and networks that are so crucial for conducting comparative research today. I have no doubt that in the history of our Centre IntUne will be remembered as a key event.

## I Can Still Keep Playing My Data at Night!

*Interview with Luca Verzichelli, Dean of the Faculty of Political Sciences at the University of Siena*

Luca Verzichelli, one of the CIRCaP founders and a Professor of Political Science in Siena, was recently elected Dean of the Faculty of Political Sciences. We found him during one of his busy mornings, on the third floor of the Faculty building, in via Mattioli, and ask him to give us a brief rundown about this new professional experience.

*Luca. You are in the control room now. How does it feel to put on this new hat?*

Well. Of course it's a honour to hold such an important office. I now lead the faculty where I graduated, before moving to Florence and starting my professional life as a “political scientist”. It's a very emotional experience. Also, I was elected by a large majority and this makes me think that people appreciate my work. But I know that this is not enough. Colleagues and collaborators expect a lot from me. Students are demanding, and things are not so easy...

*What do you mean?*

The University of Siena is facing the most difficult crisis of its eight-century history, and a long road of sacrifice is ahead. As Dean, I have to defend my faculty, and its undergraduate and graduate programmes. Among these, our graduate school in Political Science, of course. But I have to consider the general interests of a historical university which will have to drastically reduce its budget. Probably we will have to cut a number of courses and programmes, frustrating the expectations of many young scholars. I have to keep my colleagues' motivations strong, but I cannot lie: they know that career perspectives and resources are not taken for granted....

*This job must be significantly different from what you used to do before.*

Absolutely. Days are busy with a lot of institutional activities and personal relations. Sometimes I feel like I'm a sort of policeman. Sometimes a psychoanalyst. I have to admit, I am not always good in managing visitors and queries: I miss my privacy and sometimes I get really frustrated. For Christmas, my administrative staff produced a nice comic strip, representing a desperate guy who complies and asks “How long is the Dean's term?”...However, there's a lot to learn from this day-by-day contact with colleagues, administrative officers and students. As a social scientist, I think I can get some interesting inferences from this little “experimental field work”.

*What is your main commitment right now?*

Eighty percent of my time is devoted to the issue of the university crisis. I am included in a special committee which is in charge of the development of a new strategic agenda for the University of Siena, and I am also very busy with the reduction/rearrangement of the teaching programmes. At the same time, I try to follow some new projects concerning the advertisement of my faculty in a number of high schools in Tuscany, the job placement of our students, and the internationalisation of our

undergraduate and graduate programmes. I hope these little efforts can mark the resurgence of a robust presence of the Social Sciences within the University of Siena.

*Is there anything you want to say to the community of CIRCaP friends now?*

Sure. I want to thank all my CIRCaP friends, scattered all across Europe and beyond, for the continuous support and the nice messages they have sent me in these months. The election to the deanship was a totally unexpected event: before getting elected, I had already booked my flights to Canada, where I was supposed to spend a sabbatical term. Also, starting with 2010 I have accepted the office of Chief Editor of the Rivista Italiana di Scienza Politica, the most important Italian journal in the field of political science. As you can see, I will have not an easy time. But all these engagements are crucial in order to keep thinking of myself as an intellectual. I will try to solve problems during my days, in order to keep playing my data at night!



## The Stories of the CIRCaP Alumni

*CATHERINE MOURY is Advanced Research Fellow at CIES – ISCTE and guest professor at the New University of Lisbon. Her research focuses on institutional change in the European Union and on coalition governments.*

It is strange how a short event can change the course of your life. When I was graduating, it never crossed my mind – neither those of my professors, for sure – that I would do a PhD afterwards. Instead, I was thinking about doing a Master's in Flanders, with the aim of improving my Dutch – something necessary to find a job in Brussels. While I was on my way to register, I bumped into my supervisor, Lieven de Winter, who strongly recommended a Master Program in a small town in Italy: Siena! The idea quickly charmed me, and I ended up learning Italian rather than practicing Dutch (good for me!).

While doing the Master's, I discovered something new about myself: for the first time, I actually liked studying. While in Belgium we were mostly asked to memorize, this time I was required to draft papers, and to think. That was nice, and I enjoyed putting a lot of effort and time into it.



However, the idea of doing a PhD was still very insubstantial, as I was quite convinced I was not up to such a challenge. Then, again, a second life-changing event occurred, as Jean Blondel encouraged me to apply. So I did. Won a scholarship. Finished the PhD on time. Worked for a while at the Schuman Center. Met my future husband. Followed him to Portugal. Had my first daughter. Got a research position in Lisbon. Had my second daughter. Won a prize. Won another prize.

When I look back at the past decade, three things strike me. The first is how insecure we all were at the time. Thankfully, this feeling decreased over the years, but I must say that in my case it never entirely disappeared. The second thing is that the recipe for academic success is simply to be perseverant. Get your article rejected, then work on it and try again. And again and again if necessary. I got an article accepted in party Politics recently; I am not ashamed to say that it had been rejected twice before that. Lastly, looking back, I can't help remembering the feelings I had, and still have, for my colleagues at Circap. These feelings of belonging, warmth, friendship, reciprocal respect but also reciprocal expectations are exactly the ones you have in a family.

*Catherine Moury*

### *The Vincent Wright Memorial Price and the 2009 Gubelkin Price to Catherine Moury!*

*Catherine Moury, PHD at CIRCAP, won the Vincent Wright Memorial Price and the Gubelkin Price for the best article of social sciences published between 2006 and 2008. She obtained these important international acknowledgments for her article titled "Explaining the European Parliament's Right to Appoint and Invest the Commission", West European Politics (2007), 30: 2.*

*KRZYSZTOF NOWACZEK graduated in 2008 with the PhD thesis "Communitarisation of Legal Immigration Policy: A Bridge to Equality or Another Brick in Fortress Europe". In 2007 and 2008, he worked as a research fellow at the Research Unit on European Governance (URGE) in Moncalieri, Italy. Krzysztof is currently employed at the Committee of the Regions where he coordinates the CoR Lisbon Monitoring Platform – a network of local and regional politicians and experts on the implementation of growth and jobs policies in EU regions and cities.*



student position in a country that I have never been to before and with no language skills of the local population? It was the doubt in my mind back in summer 2003 when I received a positive reply to my application from the University of Siena. However it was rather a rhetorical question since a quick visit in Siena for the interview had already convinced me of the potential and the excitement that living in Italy and studying at the University of Siena could bring. Six years later, I am outside the rese-

arch world and I am ashamed to admit that in 2009 I have read only two articles from academic journals. Does it mean that the years spent on writing the PhD and on struggling with deadlines for the submission of subsequent chapters have been fruitless? Not at all; as a matter of fact I believe that I would not be here where I am now if it were not for my experience at CIRCaP. Learning how to be independent and entrepreneurial must be a key to explain my life as a PhD student.

Should I replace a fulltime and stimulating EU-related job in Poland for a

*Continued on page 9*



## The Stories of CIRCaP Alumni

*SERGIO VASARRI is currently in the teaching staff of the Master Course, a UNESCO expert in programming and implementation of projects at national and international level and in networking with national and international Institutions and Public Administrations, and NGOs, and an expert - working for several public and private organisations - in supporting public administrations in the programming, management, monitoring of the Structural Funds Operational Programmes and related activities and in planning and management of the whole life-cycle of training and education activities.*



Anytime my mind goes back to the period of time I was attending the Master's course at the University of Siena, it brings a smile to my face. That period was crucial for my life: my professional career began there and, much more important, I met some of the most important people in my life.

First of all, my wife (and since October, the 1st 2008, my sweet daughter's mother). And with her, some friends I really treasure. I'm no

longer living in Siena, but anytime I go there and meet the people in Circap, I know I can rely on good and sincere advices.

So many times I've said to myself: "What a wonderful choice!"

Almost ten years have passed, and I'm still benefiting from that experience. When I left Siena for Rome, in 2002, I was really motivated but at the same time a little scared about the future and the challenges of the big city.

I came to Rome with a three-months contract and ten years later I'm still here. It means so much to me that I can look back on the many interesting experiences I've had at every level: in local and regional governments, in EU working groups, in many European and non European countries, in the government's staff, in international organisations experiences in which I put into practice study and research. Obviously, it wasn't easy, but I always found myself in the best conditions to compete with anyone for the positions I was interested in. Sometimes I succeeded, sometimes not: in any case, the heritage of competences and the sens of humanity I carry with me from my time at Siena has always been my best

asset. And it still is!

I never stop searching for new opportunities, in Italy and abroad, because I consider it very motivating and stimulating to be involved in new projects, in new environments, and in new challenges. And it does not really matter if some of the contents of my activity may vary: approaches and methodology, part of what we call *forma mentis*, can support you in the accomplishment of any task.

Many times I think about slowing down my working activity and investing more in doing research, in particular to support my teaching activities. I have so little time to stop and read articles, papers and books. But then I think that my multiple professional experience is vital to continue the rich interaction between ideas, studies and practice. So, keep going!

*Sergio Vasarri*

On the one hand, the University of Siena, with always intellectually stimulating members of the Faculty, helpful colleagues, freedom of choice and unforgettable views on the Tuscan hills, offers a wonderful environment to study, work on your research project and develop your analytical skills. On the other hand, it was the time to challenge myself with some fundamental (not only research) questions – not only "what to do" but also "how", "when" and "so what". When I commenced my PhD, the most challenging and actually terrifying thing was to imagine myself in three/four

EUROPEAN UNION



Committee of the Regions

years time once the PhD studies are over. It required a forward-looking approach, a lot of confidence and courage but it was needed in order to fully profit from the time spent as a post-graduate student. An interesting and relevant topic of the research project (i.e. EU immigration policy) as well as plenty of possibilities for "ideas shopping" (participation seminars in Italy-based or abroad, traineeships at international institutions, research stays at the foreign universities or last but not least CIRCaP Tuesday Seminars) surely facilitated reaching this goal.

*Krzysztof Nowaczek*

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<http://www.gips.unisi.it/circap/sram>

## The Stories of CIRCaP Alumni

*CÉLINE VIVIER was Leonardo Trainee at Circap and is Manager Assistant in the Intune Project. She will take on soon a new post as MP assistant in Belgium*

I was wondering the other day whether I ever thought about working at CIRCAP while I was doing a Master here nine years ago. Probably not, and not until nine months ago to be honest... and yet... here I am, at the end of a 3 month contract that followed a 3 month Leonardo traineeship at CIRCAP. Last summer, after several job experiences -from work at the International Relations Office of the University of Siena, to the Oxfam's EU advocacy office in Brussels, to the team of a Belgian Senator- I was again a bit lost. Suddenly, I remembered the Leonardo da Vinci Mobility Programme and realised that it was open to European in the labour market who are under 35 years old. Just in time, I thought! This EU programme, similar to the Erasmus one but specific for training activities, offers the possibility to have



a job experience of maximum 3 months in another Member State. As I was still feeling very attached to Italy and to Siena in particular after many beautiful years spent here, I decided to contact my ex Master Professors and I told them about this nice opportunity. They proved to be very enthusiastic about it straight away, we did all the paperwork within few weeks. I started the stage at the end of September and was given various tasks, all very interesting and challenging. The keyword in this busy research centre is flexibility and, in general terms, that's always an important skill to develop. I learned a lot and enjoyed every moment of this stimulating period, familiarising myself more and more with the on-going research activities, the academic world, politics, etc. but also getting to know nice people. In particular, I had the chance to get involved in the large IntUne project and to get a 3-month contract to work on it: a unique opportunity to learn more about project management, project reporting and accounting in the EU and to be in touch with partners from all around

Europe. As this period is now coming to an end, I can say that I have acquired new competences, gained some self-confidence and developed more and more interest in research work that previously seemed a distant dream to me. Now I am considering doing a PhD.

In other words, dear CIRCAP friends, I can strongly recommend you to try the Leonardo experience at CIRCAP. All you need to do is to apply for a Leonardo grant in your country, which is usually pretty easy to get, and to contact the CIRCAP to agree on the working period and possible duties. You can find more information at your Lifelong Learning (LLP) National Agency, find the link to yours here: [http://ec.europa.eu/education/lifelong-learning-programme/doc1208\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/education/lifelong-learning-programme/doc1208_en.htm) or check out with Universities and Employment Agencies. Believe me, it's always nice to come back here!

*Céline Vivier*

### History File

#### They were awarded a *PhD in Comparative European Politics* from CIRCaP in 2009

Name	Country of origin	Discussion	Title
CHANG, Meng Jen	Taiwan	9/4/2009	EU's Common Trade Policy Towards China and Sino-EU Trade Dispute
FORMICHELLI, Solidea	Italy	2/10/2009	Presidentialization and Leader's Impact on Electoral Behavior
OZEN, Pinar	Turkey	2/10/2009	The First Impact of the EU Supported Regional Development Programs on the Administrative Networks in Turkey

### History File

#### They were awarded a *Masters in Politics and Society in Europe* from CIRCaP in 2009

Name	Country of origin	Title
TUNCER, Çiğdem	Turkey	Turkey and EU Relations
LUPIANI, Natalie	USA	Race in Italy: Exploring the Links between Racism, Immigration and Generalized Trust
BAKO, Marsela	Turkey	The Activites of the Italian Region Veneto in Bruxelles
ILYAS, Burmalis	Indonesia	Future European Defense and Security Policy and Its Impact on NATO and Transatlantic Relations
QUADRO, Stefano	Italy	Elezioni Europee 2009: Studio su database dei candidati e gli eletti
CANIGLIA, Marco	Italy	Better Regulation Policies and EU-US Cooperation
FASOLI, Fabio	Italy	The EU and the Mediterranean
SMALDORE, Liana	Italy	Political Groups of the European Parliament

## Ph.D. News: A Bird's Eye View from Room 25

Most of you probably know my name, Stacey Bancone, from the constant flow of my emails. As the secretary of the CIRCaP graduate school and the new "Silvina Cabrera" since 2008-2009, I handle administrative matters for the Phd programme- from student enrollment, to programming, to organizing the programmes of visiting scholars, all the way to the final defense of the thesis. You might say I have a sense of the big picture of what's going on at CIRCaP, so of course I was happy to share this picture when Prof. Bellucci asked me to provide our Friends with a sort of summary of what's been happening in the doctoral programme over the past few years.



Stacey Bancone, Manuela Maltese and Alice Mackenzie

Looking first at student enrollment, we've had a consistent and significant number of students who have applied for the doctoral programme in Political Science (44 in 2007, 41 in 2008, and 72 in 2009), therefore allowing CIRCaP to be quite selective in terms of acceptance (5 students enrolled in the 2007-2008 academic year, 9 in the 2008-2009 academic year and 6 in the current academic year). We've also carried forward the vision of creating an international learning environment. Between 1999 and 2010, in fact, almost half of the students in the PhD programme come from outside of Italy, with 22% from non-EU countries and 16% from other Member States, and 9 out of 16 PhD students coming from countries other than Italy in the past three years, including the Congo, Jordan and Taiwan just to name a few.

It's been part and parcel of the vision of CIRCaP to host visiting scholars from some of the most prestigious universities from around the globe. In the 2007-2008 and 2008-2009 academic years, the following scholars have spent a visiting period at CIRCaP: Anna Gwiazda (Trinity College Du-

blin) June 2008; Michael Cohen (Ohio State University) January-July 2007; Philippe Everts (University of Leiden) May-June 2008; Mathias Stendtner (University of Mittweida) May-June 2008; Roula Nezi (University of Athens) February-July 2008; Stuart Soroka (McGill University) October 2008; Enkela Dalipi (University of Tirana) February 2009; Paul Lewis (Open University) March 2009; David Hine (Oxford University) March-April 2009; Sergiu Gherghina (University of Leiden) April 2009;

Grant Jordan (University of Aberdeen) April 2009; Raymond J. La Raja (University of Massachusetts) May 2009; Philip Everts (University of Leiden) June 2009; and Mariano Torcal (Pompeu Fabra University) Fall 2009. Many of these scholars have collaborated with CIRCaP faculty and students by participating in or acting as guest speakers for the Jean Blondel Tuesday Seminar Series as well as writing and/or collaborating on CIRCaP Occasional Papers.

In addition, through the Pro-M Models of Modernisation series (funded by Santa Chiara and Monte dei Paschi di Siena) CIRCaP has made a series of seminars available to students on topical or otherwise specialized issues such as Voter Behaviour (John Bartle, Essex University), International Relations (Sonia Lucarelli, University of Bologna), and Technology and Society in Italy 1800's-1900's: historical issues and methodological aspects (various professors, University of Milano), and Italy: Between Party Government and

Semi-presidentialism (Gianfranco Pasquino, University of Bologna).

One of the most important ingredients to the success of the Centre is, of course, the students who enrich the programme with their academic contributions. The following seven doctoral PhD students defended their final theses in the past three academic years, leaving the halls of the faculty and joining the family of CIRCaP alumni: Fabio Garcia-Lupato (*Europeanisation and Political Parties: Salience and Usage of Europe in Spanish and Italian Electoral and Parliamentary Competition*), Angela Movileanu (*Assessing the Descriptive Political Representation of Women in Cabinet of Central and Eastern European Countries*), Federico Russo (*Parliamentary Questioning in Western Europe: Towards New Forms of Political Representation?*), Weiqing Song (*Europeanisation of National Foreign Policy: The EU and UK's Relations with China*), Fabio Zuccheri (*Beyond Conditionality: The Impact of the EU on the Protection of National Minorities and Gender Equality in Central-East Europe*), Chang Men Jen (*EU's Common Trade policy towards China and Sino-EU Trade Dispute*), Solidea Formichelli (*Presidentialization and Leader's Impact on Electoral Behavior*) and Pinar Ozen (*The First Impact of the EU Supported Regional Development Programs on the Administrative Networks in Turkey*).

So there you have a summary of the recent history of the PhD programme, from my bird's eye view in room 25. If anyone would like further information about the happenings of the PhD programme or further data about enrollment, demographics, etc., feel free to contact me in the CIRCaP office at 0577-23 -5311.

Stacey Bancone



## Give your contribution to Polichange!

All the CIRCaP alumni are warmly invited to collaborate to the following issues of Polichange. We want to make of this newsletter your **voice**. The voice of dozens CIRCaP Alumni scattered all along Europe and beyond.

You can reach us by e-mail and send us ideas, comments and criticisms. But we would also ask you to give us a more concrete contribution: we are looking for materials and short articles describing your ongoing projects, your current work and the experiences you are doing in the academic life as well as in other sectors.

### Send us your news!

Please send us your news, your coordinates and your photos for our archives

Also, we want to create an up-to-date address book to keep all of you in touch, and a detailed dataset concerning the job placement experiences and the publications of the CIRCaP alumni. Your help will be decisive. Please, complete our on-

line survey at <http://circapalumni.org/>.

We are looking forward to hearing from you soon.

*The editorial board of POLICHANGE*

## POLICHANGE

The NEWSLETTER of the Friends of CIRCaP

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## Recent Publications from the Alumni

Marco BRUNAZZO, *Come funziona l'Unione Europea. Le istituzioni, i processi decisionali, le politiche*, Rome-Bari: Laterza, 2009.

Nicolò CONTI, *L'Europa vista dai partiti. Paesi dell'UE e Italia a confronto*, Pisa: PLUS - University Press, 2009.

Nicolò CONTI, Christophe ROUX and Filippo TRONCONI (Eds.), *Parties and Voters in Italy: The Challenges of Multi-level Competition*, a special issue of "Modern Italy", 14: 2, 2009.

Nicoletta DI SOTTO, *Dalla periferia all'Europa. I partiti etnoregionalisti e l'Unione Europea*, Soveria Mannelli: Rubettino, 2009.

Alessia DONÀ, *Introduzione alle politiche pubbliche*. Rome-Bari: Laterza, 2010.

Isik GURLEYEN, *Impact of EU on Turkey's Democracy*, Berlin: VDM Verlag Dr. Muller, 2008.

Catherine MOURY and L. DE SOUSA (Eds.), *Institutional Challenges in Post-Constitutional Europe: Governing Change*, London: Routledge, 2009.