



EUROPEAN UNION CENTRES OF EXCELLENCE  
**NEWSLETTER**

ALBERTA CARLETON DALHOUSIE MONTRÉAL/MCGILL VICTORIA

**Democratic Development After Conditionality**  
 Lori Thorlakson, University of Alberta

How does the conditionality of EU accession and the experience of EU membership affect democratic development in the postcommunist member states of the European Union? A research project at the EUCE at the University of Alberta, in partnership with the Wirth Institute for Austrian and Central European Studies, examines the factors that shape democratic development in new member states of the European Union. The project culminates in a September 2014 workshop at the European University Institute in Florence.

The accession of the post-communist EU member states is generally considered to be a success story. On measures of democratic performance, there is evidence of remarkable convergence between the 2004 EU entrants and the EU 15 (Cameron, 2007), and research has found that, on the whole, new member states have posted a stronger record of *acquis* implementation than the old EU 15 when measured by infringement

actions (Sedelmeier, 2012). Meanwhile, the democratic performance of the Soviet successor states of Eastern Europe outside the EU has worsened over time (Cameron, 2007; Vachudova, 2005).

Despite comparative research that has found a general positive trajectory of democratic development for new member states after accession (Levitz and Pop-Elech, 2010), other evaluations are less positive and note recent democratic backsliding in the region, including

***“Once the moment of accession passes, the incentives for compliance change dramatically...”***

corruption, the erosion of the rule of law and liberal rights (including freedom of the press and protection of minorities), and the erosion of judicial independence. Freedom House reports that, of the countries that joined the EU in 2004 and 2007, only Latvia and the Czech Republic have seen their democracy scores increase since accession. Freedom House has singled out Hungary for democratic backsliding. With its democracy scores steadily declining since 2006, Hungary is close to falling out of the ‘consolidated democracy’ category in its 2013 *Nations in Transit* report. Overall among the new EU entrants, corruption, restrictions on media freedom, and shortcomings in national democratic governance are the largest contributing factors to low democracy scores.

These problems compound underlying fragility with certain ele-

ments of democracy in the post-communist states, including weakness of civil society (Howard, 2003), lack of transparency in policy-making, and low public input (Rose-Ackerman, 2007). Voter turnout levels of new member states, on average, are lower than those of the EU 15 for national elections, and especially for elections to the European Parliament (Rose, 2004). Survey research has found a disenchantment with elites and political institutions weakening the already-anemic linkages between citizens and civil society and the state.

Democratic development in new member states is an important issue for the EU as it looks ahead to further enlargement in the western Balkans. Conditionality will be put to the test by the region’s legacy of ethnic conflict, which makes the process of democratic consolidation more difficult and fragile. Conflicts rooted in national identity can either (from a rational bargaining perspective) increase the costs of compliance, or (from a constructivist perspective) impede the acceptance of the ‘appropriateness’ of the requirements of political conditionality.

One way to prevent democratic backsliding might be to find a way to extend the leverage of conditionality after accession. In traditional rational bargaining models, EU membership is a ‘carrot’, providing an incentive for rule adoption. The costs and benefits of rule adoption depend on the clarity and formality of rules (the ‘determinacy’ of conditions), the size and speed of rewards, the ... *Continued on page 5*

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# CANADIAN EUROPEAN UNION CENTRES OF EXCELLENCE

## *Best Practices and Innovation*



In February 2014, Carleton EUCE launched the first of a series of web-based lectures. The *CES Webinar Series* allows for online access, via the BigBlueButton technology, for participants from any part of the world to contribute to the discussion of valuable scholarly topics. The first webinar, "Balancing Humanitarianism and Security: The European Union's Responses to New Migration and Refugee Issues," featured Dr. Martin Geiger, Banting Fellow and Professor in the Department of Political Science at Carleton University. The 30-minute online presentation by Dr. Geiger was followed by a 30-minute question and answer period with registered online participants that highlighted key points of discussion from the migration policy workshop presented in January 2014. The second webinar will feature Dr. Achim Hurrelmann's research workshop coming in September 2014.

—EUCE, Centre for European Studies, Carleton University

[www.carleton.ca/ces](http://www.carleton.ca/ces)



As outreach is a large component of our work here at the Centre, we have contacted local EU Honourary Consuls to inform them of our work and invite them to our events. We have had a positive response from the Consuls and have collaborated with the British Honourary Consul and the Latvian Honourary Consul. We are in the process of working with the Polish Honourary Consul to sponsor a speaker for the next academic year. We have also conducted an outreach to local EU cultural organizations and plan to collaborate with the German Canadian Association of Nova Scotia to sponsor a film night for the larger Halifax community.

—EUCE, Dalhousie University

[www.euce.dal.ca](http://www.euce.dal.ca)



This year, EUCE Alberta has been working with a team of high school social studies teachers from the Edmonton Public School Board to develop curricular materials on the European Union for use in grade 11 classrooms in Alberta. The materials are designed to fit into the Alberta social studies curriculum unit on nationalism. This project is led by Professor Ken Moure, Chair of the Department of History, George Richardson, Professor and Associate Dean in the Faculty of Education, and Professor Kent den Heyer, also in the Faculty of Education.

The curricular materials include background material and lessons based on three different policy issues in the EU: economic and monetary union, migration, and energy. These policy areas were chosen not only because of their importance in current EU policy debates, but also because these are policy issues that students in Alberta are likely able to relate to. The curriculum resources, which include text, images, video, and sound clips, are designed so they can be used flexibly by teachers, allowing them to use one, two, or all three policy themes in the classroom. The materials will be published as a downloadable e-book. In the autumn of 2014, the team will present the resources to social studies teachers at the Alberta Teachers' Association annual conference.

—EUCE University of Alberta

[www.eucentre.ualberta.ca](http://www.eucentre.ualberta.ca)

## NEW CENTRE PROFILES

### **EUCE—Montréal/McGill**



The European Union Centre of Excellence-Montréal (CEUE/EUCE-Montréal) was established in September 2006 as a joint initiative between the Université de Montréal (UdeM) and McGill University. It brought together the Institute for European Studies at UdeM and McGill, the Jean Monnet Chair in European Integration at UdeM, and the Jean-Monnet Chair in the Law of International Economic Relations at McGill, and it functions as a truly joint and bilingual partnership.

The EUCE-Montreal's funding has been renewed for the period 2014-2017, thus allowing for an extension of the activities undertaken since 2006. The EUCE-Montreal will further fulfil its mandate, which is to promote the understanding of the European Union in Montreal and to foster the EU-Canada relationship in Quebec. Through business, policy, and public outreach conferences, summer schools, research seminars, a public lecture series, and training programs, the EUCE-Montreal proposes numerous activities that will foster dialogue and enhance the visibility and understanding of EU affairs among academics, business circles, policy makers, the media, and youth.

[www.centreurope-montreal.ca](http://www.centreurope-montreal.ca)

# CANADIAN EUROPEAN UNION CENTRES OF EXCELLENCE

## New Centre Profiles (Continued)



### Executive Director

**Catherine Villemer** is an agro-economist (AgroCampus, Rennes, 1996) and worked abroad (Belgium, Germany, Vietnam) in the field of secondary and higher education, economics, and environmental policies in Europe. She was in charge of the development and the transfer of research at the Jean-Monnet Chair after 2007. Villemer is also the publisher of the monthly *Québec@Europe* e-letter, leads the *EuroAffaires* project, and has acted as Executive Director of the Centre since 2012. In collaboration with her colleagues, Villemer ensures the implementation of the scientific programming of the EUCE and its financial management, and she elaborates the grant applications necessary to the development and sustainability of the Centre.

### Directors

**Juliet Johnson** is an Associate Professor of Political Science at McGill University. She is the author of *A Fistful of Rubles: The Rise and Fall of the Russian Banking System*, editor of the *Review of International Political Economy*, and author of numerous scholarly and policy-oriented articles. She is an elected member of the McGill Board of Governors. Dr. Johnson has also served as Associate Dean (Research and Graduate Studies) for the Faculty of Arts, and received the Faculty's Fieldhouse Award for Distinguished Teaching. She received her PhD and MA in Politics from Princeton University and her AB in International Relations from Stanford University.



**Frédéric Mérand** is an Associate Professor of Political Science and Director of the Centre for International Studies (Cérium) at the Université de Montréal. He is the author of *European Defence Policy: Beyond the Nation State*, and the associate editor of *Politique européenne*; the only peer-reviewed journal in French devoted to the European Union. His work on European security, policy networks, transatlantic relations, and the sociology of the European Union can be found in journals such as *Security Studies*, the *Journal of Common Market Studies*, *Comparative European Politics*, and *Cooperation and Conflict*. Dr. Mérand has been a visiting teacher at the University of Toronto, Sciences Po Strasbourg, and the LUISS Guido Carli in Rome. His current research projects deal with burden-sharing in international organizations and the decline of great powers.

## EUCE— University of Victoria



### University of Victoria

The University of Victoria has been again selected as a European Union Centre of Excellence; they previously co-hosted from 2009-2012 with the University of Toronto's Munk Centre. The EUCE is housed at the Centre for Global Studies (CFGs) and will coordinate lectures, conferences, workshops, summers schools, online courses, and student travel and research grants. UVic's activities are unique in that they connect numerous faculties

working in either an academic, outreach, or networking capacity. UVic will build further awareness and understanding of the EU and its policies for British Columbia across a wide range of stakeholders, including a conference on the *Implications of CETA for BC* in early May 2014.

UVic has a community of EU Scholars, which developed around our 2009-11 EUCE partnership with the University of Toronto. For our new EUCE, we mobilized a larger and more interdisciplinary group from five faculties and twelve departments that are interested in EU Integration. This expanded team is committed to engaging with business, civil society, students, and educational communities in British Columbia to increase knowledge about the EU and the EU integration process. UVic also endeavors to strengthen the linkages between EUCes in Canada and in Asia Pacific with annual conferences showcasing graduate students' research.

[www.uvic.ca/europe/euce.php](http://www.uvic.ca/europe/euce.php)

### Director

**Dr. Emmanuel Brunet-Jailly** is the Director of the European Studies Program and the SSHRC Partnership *Borders in Globalization*; the Jean Monnet Chair in European Urban and Border Region Policy; and an Associate Professor in the School of Public Administration. He specializes in comparative and urban politics and previously worked for the French public sector. Dr. Brunet-Jailly's goals while EUCE director are to establish the University of Victoria as the flagship school for EU studies on the west coast, increase the number of students interested in the EU, and build better awareness in BC of the EU and its policies.



## The Common European Asylum System and the Upcoming European Elections

Petra Bendel, Friedrich-Alexander-Universität

The new “Common European Asylum System” (CEAS), which was negotiated for the first time with the participation of the European Parliament, was created with the intention of ending the European “asylum lottery”. Indeed, the new system has succeeded, to a considerable extent, in harmonising Member States’ legislation and in raising the common protection standards; however, it has failed to secure more responsibility-sharing and solidarity among the Member States. While the European Union (EU) organs will next be negotiating the Union’s guidelines for Justice and Home Affairs, in many EU Member States xenophobia and euro-scepticism are on the rise, just before the upcoming European parliamentary elections.

In the first phase in which the EU Member States tried to harmonise asylum laws, between 1999 and 2007, they failed to establish a common system. The recast of the CEAS, passed in June 2013, basically consists of two regulations – Dublin III (Regulation (EU) No. 604/2013) and EURODAC (Regulation (EU) No. 603/2013)- determining that an EU Member State is now responsible for examining applications for asylum seekers and for collecting data necessary for this process. It also consists of four directives that are now to be transposed and implemented into the national laws of the Member States. These directives lay down the standards for qualification as a refugee (Directive 2011/95 EU), the status of third-country nationals who are long-term residents (Directive 2011/51/EU), the standards for the reception and treatment of applicants and refugees (Directive 2013/33 EU), and the standards of common asylum procedures (Directive 2013/32/EU).

As to the harmonisation of national asylum laws, the Union no longer takes the line of previous minimum standards. Instead, it has established the basis for real common standards. Nevertheless, with regard to some

directives, there is still relatively ample room for manoeuvre left to the Member States that enables them to cement existing differences. This becomes obvious in matters that have an extreme focus on sovereignty, as Member States continue to cling to their exceptional rules, such as access to the labour market for asylum seekers, or the duration of asylum procedures.

The protection standards of those Member States, which up until now have used very rudimentary asylum systems, will have to be raised. Various legal texts improve the rights of especially vulnerable persons and unaccompanied minors. This is a sign of a decisive change from past practices. The procedural laws for asylum seekers have been improved on all levels. The recast Qualification Directive ensures that, for persons eligible for subsidiary protection, the rights in the receiving country are adjusted to those of refugees. Access to the labor market, now allowed after nine months instead of twelve (with several loopholes), has become faster and easier for asylum seekers.

On the other hand, the asylum package sanctions the existing procedures of detention in some Member States by accepting wide grounds for arrest. The EURODAC regulation trades higher efficiency of the control and deportation system for remarkably lower data protection standards for third-country nationals. Accelerated procedures provide only lower procedure guarantees when a great number of people are involved at a border or are in transit. The principle of “safe countries of origin” (SCO) – also seen in Canada’s Bill C-31 – is maintained.

The oft-quoted Dublin III system by no means establishes a solidarity system, but aims at determining which of the EU Member States is responsible for examining an application for asylum seekers – usually the one where an asylum seeker first entered the territory of an EU Member

State. Although this system has repeatedly been questioned, Member States still show an apparent lack of political will to reform the system for a potential relocation or redistribution of refugees within the EU.

With the adoption of the CEAS, the integration phase of the EU asylum system is now finished. Refugee and asylum policies will now concentrate on the transposition and implementation of the CEAS into national laws, while EU legislation is likely to concentrate on issues of border security and the fight against “irregular migration”.

This, however, must not result in the neglect of refugees’ international rights; on the contrary, it will be the newly-elected European Parliament’s task to put real teeth into the laws regulating international refugee and human rights. This is why the upcoming elections are so important for the direction that Justice and Home Affairs in the EU will take going forward.

*Please see Dr. Bendel’s full policy brief [here](#) or watch her interview with the Canada-Europe Trans-Atlantic Dialogue project available [here](#). Both materials can be found under publications and multimedia <http://labs.carleton.ca/canadaeurope/>*

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... Continued from page 1

credibility of threats and promises, and the size of adoption costs (Schimmelfennig and Sedelmeier, 2004:664; Vachudova 2005). Once the moment of accession passes, the incentives for compliance change dramatically; behaviour that might compromise the democratic values of the EU is very difficult to penalize. First, political conditionality suffers from weak determinacy: compared to relatively clear single market regulatory requirements, the Copenhagen criteria on democracy are vague. Compounding this is the fact that there is little scope for EU pressure on the internal functioning of member state democracies. Short of the 'nuclear option' of withdrawing voting rights from a member state under Article 7 of the Treaties, there is little that the EU can do to sanction a member state. The EU attempted to address this problem after the 2004 enlargement when it reformed the accession process to include a new monitoring instrument in the accession treaties of Romania and Bulgaria to try to extend the leverage of conditionality beyond the date of accession. This was done to allow the EU to address problems of corruption and judicial reform. The Control and Verification Mechanism (CVM) linked both financial support and Schengen membership to satisfactory biannual performance reports, increasing both the strength and the time horizon of conditionality. Bulgaria, for instance, had funds frozen in 2008 after unsatisfactory progress reports (Spendzharova and Vachudova, 2012:40-41).

Still, these reforms have not been enough. Frustrated with the lack of tools that the EU can use to address behaviour that violates democratic values set out in the treaties, a group of EU member states, led by German foreign minister Guido Westerwelle, called in 2012 for more effective and flexible tools to shape compliance with the Treaties, and particularly with the values in Article 2, which include freedom, democracy, the rule of law, and respect for human rights. The EU

currently lacks mechanisms for enforcing compliance, short of the nuclear option of withdrawing voting rights. Under Article 7 TEU, the European Council, acting unanimously, may vote to withdraw a country's voting rights if they are deemed to be in 'serious and persistent breach' of the values in Article 2. What mechanisms might be developed to give the EU the tools to deal more effectively with backsliding member states? Can the accession process be reformed to more effectively support robust and lasting processes of democratic consolidation? What particular vulnerabilities do the new democracies in the EU possess?

The project also examines how EU membership influences democratic development in its member states. While EU membership has long been considered to support and sustain democratic consolidation, it might have other, less benign impacts on democratic development. EU integration is characterized by elite centered decision-making, relatively low transparency, and low public engagement (Raik, 2004; Grabbe, 2001). This is particularly true of the accession process where candidate states are not in a position to dictate the terms of their treaties, and must adopt the whole of the *acquis* with little public input into the terms. For post-communist states, the consequent constraints on policy options limited political debates and encouraged the development of technocratic politics, where party competition was pushed towards valence issues (Grzymala-Busse and Innes, 2003).

In its assessment of the impact of conditionality and EU membership on democratic development, we pay particular attention to the intermediary institutions that link citizens and the state. The project examines state and civil service politicization, the development and evolution of effective party competition and oppositions, the development of civil society and citizen-elite linkages, the consolidation of party systems and party organizations, the stability of partisan attach-

ments and party fluidity, or the development of technocratic politics. Some indicators of stability and democratic health—party system volatility, political participation, and trust in government—are of special interest in post-communist countries because these have been found to be particularly weak. *More details on this project, and its outputs, can be found at [www.eucentre.ualberta.ca](http://www.eucentre.ualberta.ca)*

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## AUTHOR'S BIOGRAPHY

Lori Thorlakson is Associate Professor and Jean Monnet Chair in the Department of Political Science at the University of Alberta. Dr. Thorlakson researches democracy and party competition in the European Union and multi-level systems. She has been published in journals including the *European Journal of Political Research*, the *Journal of Common Market Studies*, *West European Politics*, *Party Politics* and the *Journal of European Public Policy*.

## SPOTLIGHT ON: EUCE ADMINISTRATORS

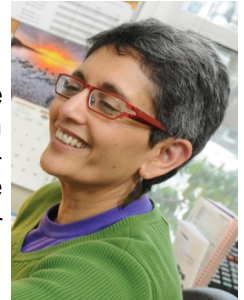


### Carleton University

In Fall 2013, **Cathleen Schmidt** joined the EUCE at Carleton University as the EU Programs Coordinator and began her work with a variety of activities with the Centre. Event planning and management, media outreach, supervision, and office coordination are key pieces as she continues the work of the CES. Cathleen supervised the newly-developed CES webinar series and continues to integrate program outreach through virtual technology. Her background includes administration and project management in issues of education, women and work, security and defence, and program evaluation.

### Dalhousie University

**Andrea D'Sylva** started in the position of Centre Coordinator in January 2013 at the start of the new funding cycle. She brought with her extensive experience working at Dalhousie as a Research Coordinator, which has been extremely beneficial to the smooth operation of the Centre. In addition, Andrea is an active community member in Halifax, which has allowed the Centre to make connections with local think tanks such as the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives – Nova Scotia branch, and to connect with high schools to engage students in their EU studies.



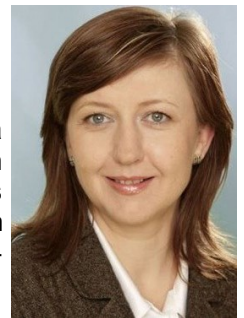
### Montréal/McGill University



**Antoine Rayroux** holds a joint PhD from the Université de Montréal and the Université libre de Bruxelles. His doctoral thesis, which he defended in 2013, dealt with the Europeanization of peacekeeping policies in France and Ireland, in the context of EU military operations in Africa. His publications have appeared in *Cooperation and Conflict* and the *Journal of European Integration*. Prior to joining the EUCE, Antoine was a Fulbright Schuman scholar at Georgetown University in Washington, DC, where he started working on the European Union's reputation in the US and Canada. Antoine is the editor of the monthly [Québec@Europe](mailto:Quebec@Europe) e-letter, and coordinator of the EUCE's research, training, outreach, and networking activities.

### University of Alberta

**Skirmante Tamelyte** is EUCE Project Administrator and Coordinator at the University of Alberta. Skirmante studied German Linguistics and Political Science at the University of Vilnius, Lithuania and the University of Bonn, Germany. She has worked as an assistant to Lithuanian and German politicians and as an interpreter for both Lithuanian and German governments. Recently she was Project Administrator for Research and Measurement projects at Ketchum Pleon, a leading German and European Public Relations company. A native Lithuanian, Skirmante also speaks English, German, and Russian.



### University of Victoria



**Nicole Bates-Eamer** is Project Manager for the European Union Centre of Excellence and the SSHRC *Borders in Globalization (BIG)* research program, and Coordinator for the European Studies Program. Nicole is also an independent research consultant; her research focuses on international development, climate change governance, global governance, and G8 and G20 reform. Nicole founded her own education consulting company, which delivers interactive workshops on global issues to high school students. She has an M.A. in international development from the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs at Carleton University and a B.A. in history and chemistry from the University of Memphis.

## EUCE-CANADA NEWS



**Carleton**  
UNIVERSITY

Wednesday, April 30<sup>th</sup>, 2014, 3:00 to 7:00 pm. **An EU-Canada Perspective: Writing to Be Read—The Impact of New Technologies and Globalization.** Cultural Diplomacy Seminar organized by EUNIC Ottawa.

Monday, May 12, 2014. Full-Day Workshop: **The Canada-EU Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement.** <http://carleton.ca/ces/cu-events/canada-eu-comprehensive-trade-agreement/>

Monday June 2, 2014, 3:00 PM - 5:00 PM. **8th European Parliament Elections: How to Interpret the Results?**  
**Location:** Robertson Hall, Senate Room 6th Floor #608.

For more news and events from EUCE Carleton, please visit <http://www.carleton.ca/ces/events/events-archive>



**DALHOUSIE**  
UNIVERSITY  
*Inspiring Minds*

April 23, 2014. We hosted International Baccalaureate (IB) students from local high schools for a debate on an EU-related topic. This is the second year of this initiative and there has been a strong response from schools.

May 27, 2014. We will be hosting a social policy workshop on healthcare in conjunction with the EUCE at the University of Victoria.

For more news and events from EUCE Dalhousie, please visit [www.dal.ca/diff/euce/news-events.html](http://www.dal.ca/diff/euce/news-events.html)



**CEUE EUCE**  
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European Union Center of Excellence  
Université de Montréal - McGill University

May 8-10, 2014. **10<sup>th</sup> ECSA-C Biennial Conference.** Please [click here](#) for more information.

June 11, 2014. Montreal Economic Forum. Business Roundtable on “**Inter-regional Free Trade Agreements: Views from Europe, North America and Asia**”. Location (TBA)

July 7, 2014. **Summer schools 2014: European and Global Governance** Please [click here](#) for more information.

For more news and events from EUCE Montréal/McGill, please visit <http://www.centreurope-montreal.ca/en/events-news/>



**UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA**

May 7, 2014. **The Common House of Europe: Integration of Diversity.** Lecture given by Former Prime Minister of Slovakia, Professor Iveta Radičová.

For more news and events from EUCE Alberta, please visit <http://eucentre.ualberta.ca/events>



**University of Victoria**

May 5-6, 2014. **CETA Conference – Implications for BC,** University of Victoria.

Social Policy Workshops: “**Using European Governance Ideas to Open Up Canadian Federalism: The Case of Social Policy**”. Dates, locations, and themes:

April 14, Vancouver, “**Employment**”; April 16, Edmonton, “**Research/Post-Secondary Education**”;  
May 09, Montreal, “**Civil Society Engagement**”; May 12, Toronto, “**Homelessness/Social Inclusion**”;  
May 13, Ottawa, “**Citizen Engagement/Children’s Policy**”; May 16, Halifax, “**Health Policy**”.

**UVic Welcomes EUCE Visiting Scholar Dr. Patrycja Rozbicka** in July 2014. She will be teaching POLI 379: *Topics in Contemporary European Politics: European Integration*, and will offer a seminar in our EUCE Lecture Series on a topic TBA. She joins us from Ruhr University Bochum, Germany, Faculty of Social Science, where she is the Chair of Comparative Politics.

For more news and events from the EUCE Victoria, please visit <http://web.uvic.ca/europe/euce.php>

**For a complete list of events, please visit**  
**[carleton.ca/euce-network-canada](http://carleton.ca/euce-network-canada)**



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