1st ECPR-OSCE/ODIHR Summer School on Political Parties & Democracy 9-15 July 2018

Warsaw, Poland









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Welcome

Welcome to this seven-day intensive Summer School organised by the OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) and the European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR), under the auspices of the ECPR Standing Group on Central East European Politics and the support of the ECPR Standing Group on Political Parties. This Summer School, organized with the collaboration of the Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University (Warsaw) and the Research Centre for the Study of Parties and Democracy: REPRESENT (University of Nottingham) brings together an international team of 6 academics and 6 practitioners to train and instruct a group of 11 MA/PhD researchers and 11 practitioners and civil society leaders in the field of political parties and democracy.

The main aims of the Summer School include to:

- to provide instruction and discussion on a wider range of analytical perspectives in the study of political parties, party systems, elections and democracy;
- to develop a multinational forum for both junior scholars and practitioners to critically discuss their research projects and the development of the subfield;
- to assist PhD researchers to develop their dissertation projects at the cutting edge of the field, contributing to innovation in conceptualisation, measurement, analysis and theory;
- to prepare PhD researchers for the requirements and criteria of international academic publishing, and to encourage them to submit their work to academic journals;
- to help practitioners to understand the main academic findings regarding party politics and democracy promotion;
- to build on the most recent developments of political party development and democracy promotion presented at most recent interdisciplinary International Conference in Birmingham (26-27 April) and Brussels (18-20 June);
- to stimulate international collaboration in the field of parties, party systems, elections and democracy and to encourage PhD researchers and practitioners to take part in such collaboration.









Summer School Program

Sunday (8. July)	
Afternoon	Arrival of participants
Monday (9. July)	
9.00-9.10	Welcome by Dr Marcin Walecki, Head of Democratization
	Department, OSCE/ODIHR
9.10-9.45	Introduction by the organizers
9.45-11.15	"Party Politics in the Age of Populism", Dr Lenka Bustikova (Arizona
	State University, USA)
11.15-11.45	Coffee break
11.45-13.15	Discussion
13.15-14.15	Lunch break
14.15-15.15	"European Right-wing Populist Parties Influence on Western Balkans
	Democratization and Integration Process" (Kaltrina Beqiri)
15.15-15.30	Coffee break
15.30-16.30	"Comparing the Issues and Economy in the Support for Radical Right
	Wing Populist Parties in Western Europe" (Stefan Stojkovic)
16.30-17.30	"Prediction of Voting for the Liberal Opposition Parties in
	Russia" (Olga Lavrinenko)
	Guest Expert: Dr Ben Stanley (SWPS University)
17.30	Welcome reception
Tuesday (10. July)	
9.30-11.00	"Political Parties, Party Systems and Democracy", Prof. Andrey
	Meleshevich (Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, Ukraine) and Dr Fernando
	Casal Bértoa (University of Nottingham)
11.00-11.30	Coffee break
11.30-13.00	Discussion
13.00-14.00	Lunch break
14.00-15.00	"Political Parties for Democracy and Challenges of Legislative
	Framework" (Nino Kashakashvili)
15.00-15.15	Coffee break









15.15-16.15 "EU Neighbourhood Politics: Democratization Process and Economic Development in South Caucasus" (Nino Chanturia)

Guest Expert: Jacopo Leone (OSCE/ODIHR)

Wednesday (11. July)	
9.30-11.00	"Elections and Campaigns", Dr Richard Lappin, Deputy Head of Election Department (OSCE/ODIHR, Warsaw, Poland)
11.00-11.30	Coffee break
11.30-13.00	Discussion
13.00-14.00	Lunch break
14.00-15.00	"Political Fragmentation in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Its
	Consequences" (Nedim Hogic)
15.00-15.15	Coffee break
15.15-16.15	"The Party Systems' Effect on the Process of Euro-Integration: Case of
	Post-Soviet States" (Mariia Maksimova)
16.15-17.15	"Political Party Ideology in Mongolia" (Anujin Ankh-Amgalan)
	Guest Expert: Dr Wojciech Gagatek (University of Warsaw)
18.30	Dinner in town
18.30 <i>Thursday (12. July)</i>	Dinner in town
	Dinner in town "Youth, identity politics and democracy promotion", Zuzana Papazoski
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Friday (13. July)









9.30-11.00	"Political Parties and Diversity – Women, Youth, and Persons with Disabilities", Tiina Kukkamaa-Bah, Chief of Democratic Governance and Gender Unit (OSCE/ODIHR, Warsaw, Poland) and Anete Erdmane, Democratic Governance Officer (OSCE/ODIHR, Warsaw, Poland)
11.00-11.30	Coffee break
11.30-13.00	Discussion
13.00-14.00	Lunch break
14.00-15.00	Women's Organization within Mainstream Political Parties (Karolina Leakovic)
15.00-16.00	"Political Parties and Diversity" (Anush Nazaryan)
16.00-16.15	Coffee break
16.15-17.15	"The Representation of Women in Government and in Political Parties in Azerbaijan" (Nurlana Jalil)
17.15-18.15	"Ensuring the Rights of Citizens with Disabilities in the Electoral Process in Kyrgyzstan" (Allia Maralbaeva)
	Guest Expert: Ajla Van Heel (OSCE/ODIHR)
Saturday (14. July)	
9.30-11.00	"Party Funding, Transparency and corruption", Dr Marcin Walecki, Head of Democratization Department (OSCE/ODIHR, Poland) and Dr Fernando Casal Bértoa (University of Nottingham)
11.00-11.30	Coffee break
11.30-13.00	Discussion
14.00-15.00	"Access to Financial Statements of Polish Political Parties and Election Committees in Comparative Perspective" (Adam Sawicki)
15.00-15.15	Coffee break
15.15-16.15	"How Best Practices in Party Financing Fail to Tackle Party Corruption" (Gorana Misic)
16.15-17.15	"Legal Basis for Data Management in Online Political and Campaign Finance Reporting and Disclosure Systems in Europe" (Rokas Stabingis)
	Guest Expert: Dr Tomasz Gąsior (Polish Electoral Commission) [TBC]
Sunday (15. July)	
9.30-11.00	"Political parties and new media", Dr Katarzyna Grzybowska - Walecka (Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University, Poland)









11.00-11.30	Coffee break
11.30-13.00	Discussion
14.00-15.00	"Electronic Government as a Critical Factor for Better Citizen
	Participation in Policy Making Progress" (Shakhlo Khasanova)
15.00-16.00	"Views of the Candidate, Views of the Party: Case Study of
	Questionnaires for Candidates to the Polish and European Parliaments"
	(Anna Scislowska)
17.30	Departure of participants

Logistic information

Arrival at the airport

Warsaw Chopin Airport (http://www.lotnisko-chopina.pl/en/passenger/) is the main airport of Poland, located about 8 kilometres from the city centre.

Participants staying at the Hotel Ibis Warszawa Stare Miasto can reach the city centre quickly by bus (further information can be found on the airport website (http://www.lotnisko-chopina.pl/en/passenger) or taxi (recommended).

Official taxi stand is located right at the exit from the arrivals hall of the airport. Please make sure you take the official taxi such as Super Taxi, SAWA Taxi, ELE Taxi, Merc Taxi. Transportation from/to the city centre should cost around 45-60 PLN (up to 15 Euro).

Accommodation

The participants funded by the OSCE ODIHR will be accommodated at the Hotel Ibis Warszawa Stare Miasto, Ul. Muranowska 2 (tel: (+48) 22/3101000): http://www.ibis.com/gb/hotel-3714-ibis-warszawa-stare-miasto-old-town/index.shtml

The hotel accommodation for the participants of the Summer School has been booked and paid by OSCE/ODIHR. Breakfast will be included for all the hotel guests. Please note that additional hotel services such as minibar, laundry services, telephone costs or WiFi access in hotel rooms should be paid by each participant individually and directly.

Ibis Stare Miasto hotel is located in the vicinity of the OSCE ODIHR office.







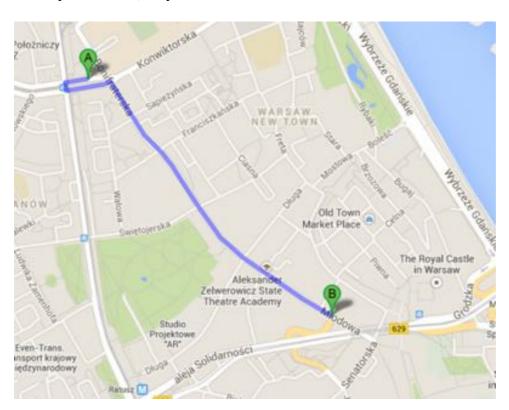


Venue

The Summer School will be taking place in the OSCE/ODIHR premises (ul. Miodowa, 10) in the Prague meeting room, on the ground floor.

Please bring an identification document to present to access the OSCE/ODIHR premises.

Please see map below on how to get from the Ibis Stare Miasto hotel to the OSCE ODIHR office on foot (appr. 10 min). Miodowa is under construction and you will not be able to get there by taxi or bus, only on foot.



Refreshments will be served throughout the Summer School. Participants will be offered lunch at the Warszawski Sznyt Restaurant near ODIHR Premises each day, as well as invited to a reception on 9 July and dinner on 11 July (Restaurant to be confirmed).

ALL PARTICIPANTS FUNDED BY ODIHR SHOULD REMEMBER THAT THEY SHOULD BRING ALL BOARDING PASSES (please give them to Jolanta Cichocka).

Dress-code

Dress-code for the School is smart-casual.









Insurance

Personal and medical insurance is the responsibility of the individual participant. The OSCE/ODIHR will not be responsible for any loss of luggage, currency, or personal effects or any medical costs incurred during the travel to or stay in Poland.

Medical issues

Illness requiring medical treatment or hospitalization is the responsibility of the individual. Participants taking medicine should bring enough to cover their needs, take a copy of the prescriptions with them, and ensure that they have adequate health insurance. Participants should not forget to bring their health insurance card or documents. For urgent matters, please call Jolanta Cichocka, Tel: +48 607 123 225, or your Embassy.

Weather

The average temperature in July in Poland is 21-25 °C.

Currency and banking services

The official currency of Poland is the Zloty. The current exchange rate is 1 PLN= 0.23 Euro and

Cash can be obtained from cash machines. Money can also be exchanged at the hotel and at exchange offices. Credit cards are widely accepted in major hotels, restaurants, cafes, and shopping malls.

Electricity

The voltage in Poland is 230 V (50 Hz).

European plug with two circular metal pins is used throughout the country.

Telecommunications

The international code for Poland is +48.

Wireless Internet should be available in the common areas in the hotel and in ODIHR premises.









Reading list

Session 1

- . Bustikova, L. and Guasti, P. (forthcoming): The State as a Firm: Understanding the Autocratic Roots of Technocratic Populism, *East European Politics and Societies: and Cultures*
- . Bustikova, L. (under contract): *The Established and the Ascendant. Radical Right Mobilization in Eastern Europe.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, chapter 2
- . Ziblatt, D. and Levitsky, S. (2018) *How Democracies Die.* New York: Crown Publishing, chapters 1 and 4

Session 2

- . Stokes, S.C. (1999): "Political Parties and Democracy", *Annual Review of Political Science*, v. 2, pp. 243-267
- . Meleshevych, A.A. (2010): "Political Parties in Ukraine: Learning Democratic Accountability?", in Kay Lawson, Baogang He and Anatoly Kulik (eds.) *Political Parties and Democracy*. Praeger
- . Casal Bértoa, F. (2017): "Political Parties or Party Systems? Assessing the 'Myth' of Institutionalization and Democracy", *West European Politics*, v. 40, n. 2, pp. 402-429

Session 3

- . TCC Section 6, Election Obligations and Standards ($\frac{https://www.cartercenter.org/resources/pdfs/peace/democracy/cc-oes-handbook-10172014.pdf)$
- . Lappin, R. Elections, Violence and the Democratic Process in Jamaica (https://academic.oup.com/pa/article-abstract/65/2/489/1429778)









ODIHR/VC - Joint Guidelines for Preventing and Responding to the Misuse of Administrative Resources during Electoral Processes (https://www.osce.org/odihr/elections/227506?download=true)

Session 4

- . Foa, R.S. and Mounk, Y. (2016): The Democratic Disconnect, *Journal of Democracy*, v. 27, n. 3
- $. \ \ \, \underline{https://www.demworks.org/protect-their-democracy-slovak-youth-gather-largest-protests-fall-communism}$
- . https://www.demos.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/Nothing-to-Fear-but-Fear-Itelf-final.pdf pages.305-351 (on Poland)

Session 5

- . Lawson, A. (2007): "The United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities: New Era or False Dawn", *J. Int'l L. & Com.*, v. 34, pp. 563-619
- . Carothers, Th. (2016): *Democracy Support Strategies: Leading with Women's Political Empowerment*. Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
- . Krook, M.L. and Norris, P. (2014): "Beyond Quotas: Strategies to Promote Gender Equality in Elected Office", *Political Studies*, v. 62, pp. 2-20
- . Priestley, M. et al. (2016): "The Political Participation of Disabled People in Europe: Rights, Accessibility and Activism", *Electoral Studies*, v. 42, pp. 1-9

Session 6

- . IDEA Handbook on Political Finance: Chapter 6. Eastern, Central and South-Eastern Europe and Central Asia (https://www.idea.int/publications/catalogue/funding-political-parties-and-elections-campaigns-handbook-political-finance?lang=en)
- . ODIHR/VC Guidelines on Political Party Regulation all the sections dealing with party/campaign finance (https://www.osce.org/odihr/77812)
- . OSCE Anti-corruption Handbook Chapter 9 Political Party Funding (https://www.osce.org/secretariat/232761)
- . Casal Bértoa, F. and Biezen, I. van (2018): Introduction in *The Regulation of Post-communist Party Politics*. Abingdon/New York: Routledge (an electronic version can be found here: https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/21599165.2014.938738)

Session 7

. Brundidge, J. and Rice, R.E. (2009): "Political Engagement Online: Do the Information Rich Get Richer and the Like-minded More Similar?", in Chadwick and Howard (eds.) *Routledge Handbook of Internet Politics*. Abingdon/New York: Routledge









- . Dijck, J. van and Poell, T. (2013): "Understanding Social Media Logic", *Media and Communication*, v. 1, n. 1, pp. 2-14
- . Vaccari, C. (2012): "From Echo Chamber to Persuasive Device? Rethinking the Role of the Internet in Campaigns", *New Media and Society*, v. 15, n. 1, pp. 109-127

Biographies

Directors



Fernando Casal Bértoa is an <u>Assistant Professor</u> in the School of Politics and International Relations at the University of Nottingham (United Kingdom). He is member of the <u>OSCE/ODIHR</u> "Core Group of Political <u>Party Experts"</u>. He is also co-director of <u>REPRESENT:</u> <u>Research Centre for the Study of Parties and Democracy</u>. His work has been published in *Jounal of Politics*, *European Journal of Political Research*, *Sociological Methods and Research*, *Electoral Studies*, *West European*

Politics, Party Politics, Democratization, among others. He was awarded the 2017 Gordon Smith and Vincent Wright Memorial Prize, the 2017 AECPA Prize for the Best Article and the 2018 Vice-Chancellor Medal of the University of Nottingham for "exceptional achievements".











Katarzyna Grzybowska-Walecka is an Assistant Professor and the Head of MA studies on Politics in Cyberspace at the Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University (UKSW) in Warsaw. She holds a PhD in Social and Political Science from the European University Institute (EUI) in Florence and she was also a Chevening Scholar at St. Antony's College, Oxford. Cofounder and co-leader of the business academic project/partnership called Political Radar, which monitored and analysed theonly activity of political parties and political movements in Poland before and after the 2015 elections. She is also co-editor of Polish academic journal "Politologia".

Before becoming an academic, she was elected as one of the youngest city councillors in Warsaw, and worker for the European Parliament in Brussels as well as the United Nations Headquarters in New York.

Speakers



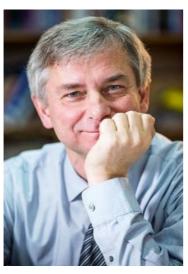
Lenka Buštíková is an Assistant Professor in the School of Politics and Global Studies at Arizona State University. Her research focuses on party politics, voting behavior, clientelism, and state capacity, with special reference to Eastern Europe. She is the recipient of the 2015 APSA Best Article Prize for her article "Revenge of the Radical Right", published in the *Comparative Political Studies*; as well as the 2017 APSA Best Paper Prize for her paper, co-authored with Cristina Corduneanu-Huci "Patronage, Trust and State Capacity: the Historical Trajectories of Clientelism".











Andriy Meleshevych is the President of the National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, a leading institution of higher education in Ukraine, and a Professor of Law and Politics. He received a Master's in Law from Kyiv University and holds a Ph.D. from the Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs at Syracuse University. He was awarded a visiting fellowship at Stanford University in 2010, and has also served as a visiting professor at Groningen University (Netherlands), Heidelberg University (Germany), Dusseldorf University (Germany), Syracuse University (United States), and Yerevan University (Armenia). He is widely published in the fields of institution-building in the post-Soviet transitional countries, political consequences of electoral laws and executive-legislative arrangements, political parties,

comparative constitutionalism, European human rights law, and philosophy of law. Professor Meleshevych is a member of the Ukrainian Constitutional Commission and the National Council of Ukraine on Anticorruption Policy.



Zuzana Papazoski is the Resident Director for NDI in Poland and legislative consultant for Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) programs. She manages the implementation of several NDI projects in Poland and the CEE region, including overseeing the regional Central Europe Democracy Initiative (CEDI). A long-time NDI staff member, she also oversees NDI's Western Balkans Legislative Strengthening program, a multi-year effort to strengthen the law-making and

oversight functions of the Western Balkans' parliaments, promoting transparency and









accountability in national policymaking. She earned her master's in law from Comenius University in Bratislava.



Richard Lappin is the Deputy Head of the Election Department at the OSCE's Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR). Richard is responsible for the overall administration and operational planning to assist the 57 OSCE participating States in implementing election and democracy-related standards through field-based election observation missions and technical assistance activities. He has worked extensively on the development of methodology and research, including the publication of the ODIHR Handbook on the Follow-up of Electoral Recommendations, the ODIHR Handbook for the Observation of Campaign Finance, the

ODIHR Review of Electoral Legislation and Practice in the OSCE, and the ODIHR and Venice Commission Joint Guidelines on the Misuse of Administrative Resources during Electoral Processes. He has worked as a gender focal point for six years.

Prior to joining ODIHR, Richard worked on elections and democracy assistance projects with the UN, EU and Carter Center and has administered elections in the United Kingdom. Richard holds a PhD on post-conflict democracy assistance from the University of Leuven and a LLM in international human rights law from the University of Oxford.



Marcin Walecki possesses over 15 years of democracy assistance and governance experience working in more than 30 countries around the world. He also presents regularly at international conferences, seminars, and has written for numerous publications on democratization, political corruption, political financing, elections, political parties, gender equality and good governance. A Polish citizen, Walecki holds a doctorate of philosophy in politics from St. Antony's College at Oxford University and a master's in Law from the Department of Law and Administration at the University of Warsaw.









He is a former Max Weber Fellow at the European University Institute in Florence, Italy and a board member of the International Political Science Association Research Committee on Political Finance and Political Corruption.



Tiina Kukkamaa-Bah is the Chief of Democratic Governance and Gender Unit of the OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) based in Warsaw, Poland. Before joining ODIHR in March 2016, she worked as the Executive Director of Political Parties of Finland for Democracy, Demo Finland, a collaborative organization of Finnish political parties in the field of democracy support. She has worked with governments, political parties, and civil society for the past 15 years, focusing on supporting democratic and inclusive governance, political participation of women and youth as well as civil society development across Asia and Africa alongside the OSCE region. She has also held various board positions, for example with the European

Partnership for Democracy (EPD) and The Finnish NGDO Platform to the European Union, Kehys. Ms Kukkamaa-Bah has a Master's degree in Sociology from the University of Helsinki.



Anete Erdmane, Associate Democratic Governance Officer at the OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR). Her work focuses on promoting the political participation of persons with disabilities. Anete has been working with the OSCE since 2013, including on various human rights and democratic governance issues in Kosovo and Kyrgyzstan. Prior to that, she worked as the legal advisor at the office of the Ombudsman of the Republic of Latvia and NGO "Resource Centre for People with Mental Disability "Zelda" where she provided legal aid to people with mental health and intellectual disabilities and advocated for legal and policy reforms in Latvia. From 2012 until 2017 she served as a Management and Executive Board member of the EU Agency of

Fundamental Rights. Anete holds a law degree from the University of Latvia and a Master's Degree in Human Rights and Democratization (E.MA) from the European Inter-University Centre for Human Rights and Democratization and University of Leuven.

Guest experts



Wojciech Gagatek is Assistant Professor at the Institute of Political Science of the University of Warsaw and Part-Time Professor at the Alcide de Gasperi Research Centre at the European University Institute in Florence. He holds an MA in Political Sciences and MA in Law (from









the University of Warsaw), PhD in Political and Social Sciences (from the European University Institute in Florence), habilitation in Political Sciences from the University of Warsaw. Currently he conducts a study on the role of the Group of the European People's Party in the development of the European integration process and of the directly elected European Parliament and leads a research project entitled *The Multi-Level Testing of Theories of Party Adaptation - the Polish Case* (funded by the Polish National Science Centre).



Ben Stanley is Assistant Professor in the Centre for the Study of Democracy at the SWPS University of Social Sciences and Humanities. He received a PhD in Government from the University of Essex and has worked at the Institute for Public Affairs in Bratislava, the Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University in Warsaw, and the University of Sussex in Brighton, United Kingdom (as Marie Curie Intra-European Fellow). His primary area of research interest is the politics of populism in Central and Eastern Europe, incorporating analysis of party ideological appeals and voter behaviour. His current

research activities include an experimental analysis of the links between conspiracy theory mentality and populism in Poland, measurement of populist attitudes in Central and Eastern Europe, and a monograph on Polish populism.



Ajla van Heel, Adviser on Gender Issues of the OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) The work of Ajla van Heel Merdanović focuses on advancing women's political participation. While at ODIHR, she contributed to the development of the following publications: Gender Equality in Elected Office: A Six-Step Action Plan, Handbook for National Human Rights Institutions on Women's Rights and Gender Equality, Comparative Study of Structures for Women MPs

in the OSCE Region, Handbook on Promoting Women's Participation in Political Parties, and Compendium of Good Practices for Advancing Women's Political Participation in the OSCE Region. Prior to joining the OSCE, she worked with the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) and United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), mainly on combating trafficking in women and girls in the Western Balkans. Ms. van Heel holds a bachelor degree in international affairs from Princeton University and a master's degree in human rights from University of Bologna. Her efforts to promote peace and advance women's rights were recognized through awards received from the British Royal Family, Rotary International, and Zonta International.











Jacopo Leone (Italy/United Kingdom), Democratic Governance Officer, OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR). Jacopo has been working as a political analyst for over eight years in the field of democracy assistance and governance, with a strong focus on parliamentary strengthening, political party assistance, anti-corruption, public integrity, and civil society development. Currently working as a Democratic Governance Officer at the OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR), he provides

analyses of political developments and delivers assistance to OSCE participating States on democratic governance issues, with particular attention on strengthening integrity in parliaments and political party systems, promoting inclusive political institutions and youth and women's political participation. Before joining ODIHR, he worked among others for the OSCE Mission in Kosovo, NATO, the European Union Institute for Security Studies (EUISS) and the European Parliament. Jacopo holds an MSc in International and European Politics from the University of Edinburgh.

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The OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) provides support, assistance and expertise to participating States and civil society to promote democracy, rule of law, human rights and tolerance and non-discrimination. ODIHR observes elections, reviews legislation and advises governments on how to develop and sustain democratic institutions. The Office conducts training programmes for government and law-enforcement officials and non-governmental organizations on how to uphold, promote and monitor human rights. For more information see www.osce.org/odihr

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