

SPS *in press*

This bi-monthly newsletter lists details of recent publications by faculty, fellows, and researchers currently associated with the Department of the Political and Social Sciences of the European University Institute. Full bibliographic details of these and all other publications stemming from the EUI are listed at <http://cadmus.iue.it/dspace/>. All publication dates are 2009, unless otherwise noted.

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No. 2: July 2009

Bahar Baser, researcher.

Journal article

“Home Thoughts from Abroad: Diasporas and Peace-Building in Northern Ireland and Sri Lanka,” with Feargal Cochrane and Ashok Swain. *Studies on Conflict and Terrorism* (August): 32-8.

This paper looks at the dynamics of Diaspora groups as possible catalyst for peace-building within violent segmented societies. With the help of two case studies, Irish-America’s role in Northern Ireland and Sri Lankan Tamil Diaspora’s role in Sri Lanka, it locates the variable impacts of Diaspora involvement in violent conflicts within their homelands. Despite their unique histories and individual complexity, both of these cases illustrate that Diasporas have a significant role to play in peace-building, are diverse rather than homogenous communities, and that they represent an important and often under-utilized resource to bring negotiated settlement to violent conflicts.

Johan Davidsson, researcher.

Working Papers

Davidsson, Johan and Marek Naczyk. “The Ins and Outs of Dualisation: A Literature Review.” *Barnett Papers in Social Research* (2). University of Oxford. <http://www.spsw.ox.ac.uk/publications/barnett-papers-in-social-research.html>

Also published as:

Davidsson, Johan and Marek Naczyk. “The Ins and Outs of Dualisation: A Literature Review.” *RECOWE Working Paper* (2). http://www.socialpolicy.ed.ac.uk/recowe_pudisc/working_papers/

“Outsiders”, the “underclass”, the “working poor”, the “socially excluded”, the “disadvantaged” are all terms that point to what is deemed to be a key characteristic of post-industrial societies, i.e. increasing inequalities and the growth of a group of people who are at risk of finding themselves at a permanent disadvantage in the labour market and in other spheres of social activity. This article aims at providing an overview of the empirical and theoretical literature on the growth of a population of outsiders in European societies and in America, a

development that has been labelled “dualisation.” Throughout the paper, we will study three potential dimensions of exclusion. First, we look at individuals’ position in the labour market. Second, we study individuals’ status in terms of social protection and, finally, we examine which effect the first two dimensions may have on individuals’ political behaviour, attitudes and capacity to be represented by political organisations.

Donatella della Porta, professor.

Books

Della Porta, Donatella, and Manuela Caiani. *Social Movements and Europeanization*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Are social movement organizations euroskeptical? Or do they accept the EU as a new level of governance to place pressure on? Do they provide a critical capital, necessary for the political structuring of the EU? This book includes surveys of activists at international protest events, targeting the European Union (for a total of about 5000 interviews); a discourse analysis of documents and transcripts of debates on European politics and policies conducted during the four European Social Forums held between 2002 and 2006 and involving hundreds of social movements and tens of thousands of activists from all European countries; about 96 interviews with representatives of civil society organizations in seven European countries, and a systematic claims analysis of the daily press in selected years between 1996 and 2003. The empirical research shows the different path of Europeanization taken by social movements and civil society organizations.

Della Porta, Donatella (ed.), *Another Europe. Conceptions and Practices of Democracy in the European Social Forums*, London, Routledge.

With its focus on the conceptions and practices of democracy within contemporary social movements in Europe, this volume aims at contributing to the debate on the different dimensions of democracy, especially on representation and participation. Given the recent focus in political science and political sociology on the challenges to representative democracy, and the search for new institutions and procedures that can help to channel increasing participation, the research we present offers empirical insights on alternative conceptions of democracy and the actors that promote them. Additionally, with the attention paid to the transnational dimension of democracy and the emerging conception of “another Europe” the volume addresses a relevant, and little analyzed aspect of Europeanization: the Europeanization of social movements. From a methodological point of view, the research innovates by covering (through a large-N survey of activists) an until recently neglected population of individuals: social movement activists. Additionally, the various chapters combine the analysis of the individuals’ attitudes and behavior with that of organizational characteristics, procedures and practices of democracy.

Journal Articles

Donatella della Porta, *Sorgimiento de movimientos europeos? Sociedad civil y Union Europea*, In *Agora. Revista de ciencias sociales*, 17, 2008, Volume 2, pp. 9-36.

Europeanization processes are more and more politicized and the EU is the target of protest campaigns. Focusing on the European Social Forum process, the article uses surveys with activists and focus groups in order to conceptualize these actors’ attitudes towards the European Union, conceptualizing them as “critical Europeanists”.

Donatella della Porta and B. Guy Peters, Editorial foreword, in *European Political Science Review*, 1, no. 1, pp. 1-2.

Foreword by the two co-editors for the first issue of the new ECPR-Cambridge University Press Journal.

Luís de Sousa, Jean Monnet fellow.

Books

DE SOUSA, Luís, HINDESS, Barry and LARMOUR, Peter (eds.) *Governments, NGOs and Anti-Corruption: The New Integrity Warriors*. London: Routledge/ECPR Studies in European Political Science.

The purpose of this book is to understand the rise, future and implications of two important new kinds of "integrity warriors" - official anti-corruption agencies (ACAs) and anti-corruption NGOs – and to locate them in a wider context and history of anti-corruption activity.

Key issues of corruption and anti-corruption are discussed in an integrated and innovative way; through a number of country studies including Taiwan and South Korea, South East Europe, Fiji, Russia and the Baltic States. Some of the questions, used to examine the development of new anti-corruption actors, include:

In what context were these born?
How do they operate in pursuing their mission and mandate?
How successful have they been in relation to expected results?
To what extent are governmental and non governmental actors aware of each other and how far do they cooperate towards the common goal of fighting corruption?
What explains the shift in emphasis after the end of the cold war, from national to international action?

Governments, NGOs and Anti-Corruption will be of interest to students and scholars of corruption, public policy, political science, developmental studies and law.

MOURY, Catherine and DE SOUSA, Luís (eds.) *Institutional Challenges in Post-Constitutional Europe. Governing Change*. London/NY: Routledge [Routledge Advances in European Politics].

This book discusses the future of the European Union following the failure of the Constitutional and reform treaties, examining the transformations, dynamics and major issues facing present-day Europe.

Discussing key questions relating to the future of the European project, this book brings together leading academics and practitioners, including: Adrienne Héritier, Jan Zielonka, Yves Mény, Maurizio Cotta, Philippe Schmitter, ECJ Advocate General Miguel Maduro and former President of the European Parliament, Pat Cox. These contributors provide provocative and innovative accounts of developments within the European Union, contrasting theoretical reflections with a more professional perspective based on first-hand experience in running European affairs. The contributions focus on three key challenges: enlargement, the end of the permissive consensus and the need for democratization of the European Union, considering questions such as:

What does Europe represent to neighbouring countries and how is it addressing their expectations?
How could a larger Union be governed efficiently?
Are European citizens willing to delegate responsibility to their leaders to tackle European integration?
Is it accurate to accuse the European Union of a "democratic deficit"?

Institutional Challenges in Post-Constitutional Europe will be of interest to students and scholars of European politics, especially those with an interest in European integration/enlargement, constitutionalism, and democratization.

DE SOUSA, Luís (ed.) (2009) *Ética, Estado e Economia: Atitudes e Práticas dos Europeus*. Lisbon: ICS Publicações.

A actual crise económica colocou a nu a urgência de repensar a dimensão ética do Mercado e das instituições públicas. A privatização e a desregulamentação da economia, advogadas pela corrente neoliberal como solução, ainda que parcial, para a redução das estruturas de oportunidade potenciadoras da corrupção, foram mal sucedidas neste propósito, acabando mesmo por gerar efeitos contrários aos desígnios iniciais. Num contexto de rápida transformação das relações entre o Estado e o Mercado, a sociedade civil é, por vezes, entendida como fonte de um determinado capital social positivo, consubstanciado em normas de reciprocidade e em relações sociais sedimentadas na confiança, mas também de um capital social negativo capaz de distorcer o funcionamento da economia e da política. Nesta colectânea, Luís de Sousa e os seus colaboradores abordam estes temas através de uma perspectiva teórica inovadora, apresentando uma análise empírica de dados originais, obtidos através do European Social Survey, respeitantes às atitudes e práticas dos cidadãos europeus face à moralidade económica.

Rasmus Hoffmann, Max Weber fellow.

Journal article

Doblhammer, G., & Hoffmann, R. (2009). "Gender differences in trajectories of

health limitations and subsequent mortality. A study based on the German socioeconomic panel 1995 – 2001 with a mortality follow-up 2002 – 2005." *Journal of Gerontology: Social Sciences*.

Objectives: Although research on health limitations has investigated gender differences in health and mortality, gender differentials in individual-level trajectories have been studied less frequently. Moreover, there are no studies on the relationship between course types and subsequent mortality. We investigate course types, explore confounding by socioeconomic and demographic correlates, and pose the question of whether the gender gap in morbidity results from differences in the onset of, and/or survival with, health limitations.

Methods: Using the German Socioeconomic Panel, we identify individual trajectories of health limitations and use multinomial logistic regressions to explore confounding and the relationship with mortality.

Results: The frequency of stable trajectories without limitations is lower among women because they tend to experience courses that involve extended periods of limitations and deteriorating health. Women also experience more frequent improvement after deterioration. The female mortality advantage is particularly large after health deterioration.

Discussion: Health limitations do not make men and women more equal in the face of death. Our results are consistent with earlier studies showing that mortality selection and differences in chronic conditions may explain the gender gap in health and mortality. We extend previous research showing that the female health disadvantage is largely the result of their mortality advantage.

Michael Keating, professor.

Journal Articles

MICHAEL KEATING, 'Putting European Political Science Back Together', *European Political Science Review*, 1.2 (2009): 1-20.

Political science is the product of modernity and the nation-state. A dominant tradition within it has striven for a positivistic and universal form of understanding, based on the individual actor. Developments in recent years have questioned our understanding of modernity, universalism, science and the nation-state. Political science has responded in two ways: by reinforcing the positivist approach; or by adopting various forms of interpretivism. This has created an artificial division within the discipline. Political scientists can overcome this artificial divide by looking outside the discipline. There are promising developments in this direction but these are inhibited by trying to confine them within the dominant positivist mode. They have also responded by borrowing from neighbouring disciplines, but in doing so they have too often appropriated concepts in simplified form or coined empty concepts. They need to take neighbouring disciplines more seriously and work across disciplinary boundaries. A pluralistic approach is possible, which neither seeks a grand synthesis of all the social sciences, nor sees them as independent and self-standing, but which encourages cross-fertilization and combinations of approaches. The existence of distinct European national and disciplinary traditions, far from being an obstacle to the development of the discipline, gives European political scientists an advantage.

MICHAEL KEATING, 'Scottish Independence', *Scottish Affairs*, 69: 95-112.

The United Kingdom must be understood as a complex state in which the relationship between nation and state varies from one part to another. It is under pressure because of functional restructuring and the construction of a new, or rebuilt, political space in Scotland. This is not because values are diverging in Scotland but because Scotland is the site of a rival nation-building project based on loosely-bounded space and post-sovereign conceptions of authority. Unionists and nationalists are locked into a traditional debate about nationality and sovereignty, which neither side is winning. There has not been a serious debate about the political economy of an independent or autonomous Scotland, or the implication of its position among competing, geo-political, geo-economic and geo-strategic poles.

Book Chapter

MICHAEL KEATING and PAUL CAIRNEY, 'The New Scottish Statute Book: The Scottish Parliament's Legislative Record since 1999', in Charlie Jeffery and James Mitchell (eds), *The Scottish Parliament 1999-2009. The First Decade*, Edinburgh: Luath.

A distinctive feature of Scottish devolution compared with other countries is that Scotland has always had its own statute book, with distinct Scottish legislation over a range of policy fields. Some of this consisted of separate Scottish bills, but a lot of it took the form of Scottish clauses tacked onto UK bills, making the statute book somewhat untidy and not easy to follow. Most Scottish MPs tended to specialize in Scottish legislation, which was dealt with largely by the Scottish Grand Committee and Scottish Standing Committees, isolating it from the Westminster mainstream. While they jealously guarded their prerogatives in these matters, the policy content of legislation was not greatly different from that pursued in England and Wales, given

government dominance of the process and the fact that the essential Second Reading and Report votes were taken in the whole House. Standing Committees were also nominated to ensure a government majority, with English MPs being drafted in during the later years of the Conservative Government in order to make up the numbers.

One effect of devolution has been an increase in separate Scottish bills. From an average of six bills per year at Westminster between 1979 and 1999, the number increased to an average of 15 per year in the first session of the Scottish Parliament (1999-2003) and 17 in the second (2003-7). The first year of the third session saw only five bills passed, a not surprising outcome since the new SNP government lacked a parliamentary majority.

Bram Lancee, researcher.

Journal article

Dronkers, J. & Lancee, B. (2009).
“Aandacht voor de Putnamhypothese is in het geheel niet overdreven.”
Migrantenstudies, 25(2), 155-162.
[Research attention for the Putnam-hypothesis is not at all exaggerated.]

The reply of Merove Gijsberts, Tom van der Meer en Jaco Dagevos to our article 'Ethnic diversity, social trust in the neighbourhood and contact of immigrants and native residents with the neighbourhood' is interesting, because ethnic diversity in neighbourhoods is an important topic, and since they raise important issues. In this contribution we hope to show that we do not unjustly generalize American results, that their treatment of ethnic concentration and diversity as being equal is conceptually more confusing than our use of a multiple indicator construct for social trust, and that we do not overestimate the importance of contextual characteristics, such as ethnic diversity.

Peter Mair, professor.

Journal article

“The Way We Work Now.” *European Political Science* 8: 143-50.

Two aspects of the training and status of the contemporary Ph.D. process are dealt with. First, I assess the growing importance of the new doctoral programmes in Political Science and suggest that it is now almost impossible to conceive of preparing a Ph.D. without a training programme. Second, I look at changing perspectives on doctoral degrees, and at how a Ph.D. has become a necessary but no longer sufficient qualification for successful entry into the academic labour market.

Tim Peace, researcher.

Journal Article

“Un antisémitisme nouveau? The debate about a 'new antisemitism' in France.”
Patterns of Prejudice 43, 2 (May): 103 - 121

Nowhere has the debate about a 'new antisemitism' been as fierce and relevant as in France. In recent years this country has witnessed high recorded levels of antisemitism, prompting many commentators to claim the existence of an *anti-sémitisme nouveau*. Something has indeed changed, at least in terms of the nature, frequency and perpetrators of antisemitic violence in France. Previously connected exclusively to the extreme right, it has now also become associated with a group that is itself a victim of discrimination: ethnic minority youths living in the poor suburbs (*banlieues*). Peace first discusses and explains the statistics produced by the French watchdog on racism and antisemitism as well as the effects of the Middle East conflict. He then

traces the debate on this 'new antisemitism' in the French context, contrasting the views of the label's promoters and opponents. He argues that, while antisemitism has undoubtedly evolved, the 'new' label is effectively erroneous as it fuses supposedly leftist and 'Muslim' antisemitism into one entity when they are not necessarily linked. In addition, he offers vital clarification of the distinction between anti-Zionism and antisemitism along with suggestions for further research.

Mathieu Petithomme, researcher.

Book

Les élites postcoloniales et le pouvoir politique en Afrique subsaharienne. La politique contre le développement Paris, L'Harmattan, Paris, 2009.

Pourquoi l'Afrique subsaharienne semble-t-elle résister au développement? Comment rendre compte du fait que se soient consolidés des régimes politiques forts, voire autoritaires, alors même que les États postcoloniaux d'Afrique subsaharienne demeurent si faiblement institutionnalisés? Quels rôles jouent les élites du politique dans la persistance du sous-développement de leurs propres pays? Cet ouvrage contribue au débat scientifique sur les causes de la défaillance des États en Afrique subsaharienne. L'auteur considère les principaux phénomènes explicatifs de la prévalence de ce phénomène au sein de systèmes politiques pourtant très différents. La contradiction entre la défaillance des infrastructures étatiques d'une part, et la résilience des régimes politiques d'autre part n'est en fait qu'apparente, dans le sens où l'instrumentalisation du pouvoir peut se convertir en une logique politique à part entière. La souveraineté par la reconnaissance internationale ne pourvoit pas pour autant de légitimité interne aux élites nationales. Tout en considérant le poids historique du colonialisme sur la

faible institutionnalisation des États subsahariens et les asymétries du commerce international, l'auteur souligne comment les dilemmes actuels du continent sont aussi intimement liés aux stratégies et aux jeux de pouvoirs des acteurs politiques. Appropriation des richesses nationales, conservatisme idéologique et concentration du pouvoir demeurent des tendances dominant l'action de nombreuses élites postcoloniales, qui font jouer la politique contre le développement.

Journal articles

« La despolitización de la política europea y el dilema del déficit democrático », *Cuadernos Europeos de Deusto*, universidad de Deusto, Bilbao, vol. 27, p. 24-41, January 2009.

Political parties in government usually tend to resist to the politicization of European issues, through hollowing out the European dimension from political competition. As a supranational political system, the question of the democratization of the EU political process has only been considered recently. The debates around the notion of democratic deficit have tried to grasp the gradual divorce between elites and citizens. This article defends that the tendency to exclude European debates from the traditional left-right ideological dimension of political competition has indirectly reinforced the sociological cleavage between European elites and national citizens. The democratic deficit of the European Union is directly related with the tendencies to depoliticize the democratic process, and with the progressive construction of a European constitutional pillar without the parallel institutionalization of a popular pillar. The debate is more linked with the modalities of exercise and of control of political power at the European level, than with the extension of the rights and liberties of European citizens. Moreover, it is not the idea of a united Europe which is generally

contested, but rather, the quality of political representation at the EU level and the possibilities to influence and control European policies. A great deal of the dilemma has to do with the prevalence of new modes of governance which tend to exclude political competition from the democratic process to the benefits of non-majoritarian institutions and mechanisms which remain apart from conventional representation and electoral responsibility.

« L'émergence et la consolidation des partis écologistes au sein de systèmes partisans institués: Une comparaison entre la Grande-Bretagne et l'Allemagne », *Écologie et Politique*, Paris, éditions Syllepsis, n° 38, p. 1-13.

L'émergence des parties écologistes a été expliquée pendant longtemps par le développement de valeurs post-matérialistes au sein des démocraties avancées. Cet article défend une perspective différente, en analysant les effets conjoints des facteurs institutionnels et stratégiques. En comparant de façon systématique les cas de la Grande-Bretagne et de l'Allemagne, l'étude démontre que les stratégies d'ensemble et les structures d'opportunité institutionnelles au sein desquelles les partis écologistes doivent s'insérer peuvent expliquer leurs succès et leurs dilemmes.

Book chapter

« Éléments d'analyse empiriques sur l'eupéanisation des partis politiques français et la stabilisation du système partisan », in Deutsch-Französisches Institut (éd.): *Frankreich Jahrbuch 2008. Frankreich in Europa*, Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2009.

Cette étude empirique s'intéresse à l'adaptation des partis politiques et du système partisan français à l'approfondissement de l'intégration européenne. Il est démontré comment l'eupéanisation des partis constitue un processus qui va de pair avec la

stabilisation progressive du système de partis. Les organisations partisans partagent des objectifs stratégiques relatifs à la survie de leur organisation, la cohésion idéologique et la limitation du factionnalisme. Néanmoins, l'adaptation des partis à l'Europe s'exprime selon des modalités différenciées suivant leur positionnement au sein du système. Alors que les partis périphériques ont progressivement trouvé en l'arène électorale européenne un espace privilégié de mobilisation, les partis de gouvernement se sont adaptés en résistant à la diffusion, à l'émergence d'un clivage européen au niveau national.

Book review

« Nicolas Sauger, Sylvain Brouard et Emiliano Grossman, Les Français contre l'Europe ? Les sens du référendum du 29 mai 2005, Paris : Presses de Sciences Po, 2007, 155 p. », Reviewed in *L'Europe en formation. Revue d'études sur la construction européenne et le fédéralisme*, n° 351, 2009, p. 195-99.

Au-delà des nombreuses interprétations à chaud ayant été formulées sur les raisons de la victoire du «non», les auteurs considèrent le 29 mai 2005 comme un révélateur afin de s'interroger plus globalement sur l'évolution du rapport des Français à l'Europe. Le fil conducteur général de l'ouvrage est une réflexion sur le paradoxe d'une France généralement pro-européenne, même si la force des doutes vis-à-vis de l'Europe a amené une majorité d'électeurs à ne pas suivre les consignes de votes des deux partis dominants et à rejeter le projet de Traité Constitutionnel. Comme le soulignent les auteurs, la relance du projet européen depuis l'échec du référendum est d'autant plus difficile que le Traité n'était pas lui-même porteur de nouveau projet, mais apparaissait simplement comme une consécration des avancées portées par les Traités précédents. C'est peut être en cela que le rejet du référendum est

paradoxalement le symbole de l'essoufflement du projet politique européen, de la politisation croissante de l'enjeu européen au niveau national et de la remise en cause du «consensus permissif» prédominant jusqu'alors. Bien que le référendum ait temporairement bloqué la construction européenne, il a aussi souligné la possible émergence du «géant endormi» au niveau national, à savoir l'essor d'un débat sur le contenu du projet européen, sur les modalités de la construction européenne plus que sur l'idée réductrice et aujourd'hui largement admise du soutien à l'idée d'Europe en elle-même.

Roger Schoenman, Max Weber fellow.

Op-Eds

“Iran's internet-savvy youth sidestep the regime.” Roger Schoenman and Naveed Mansoori *guardian.co.uk*, Tuesday 16 June 2009 16.30 BST

Iran's draconian internet filtering is no match for young Iranians who are interconnected and politicised by virtual social networks. There is much to be learned about the incredible mobilisational power of Facebook and Twitter although we believe the standard analysis takes the argument too far – because of the potential for disrupting the transmission of messages (either by cutting access to the internet or disinformation) these tools are powerful only if supported by strong face-to-face social networks where trust can be established, and a movement with a consolidated leadership. The "Twitter Revolution" in Moldova, for example, lacked the latter and failed. The combination, which we are seeing in Iran now, has the potential to channel deep discontent into a sustained movement if a consolidated leadership is able to withstand pressure from the regime.

“Khamenei's regime is breaking apart.” *guardian.co.uk*, Tuesday 23 June 2009 17.00 BST

The regime of Ayatollah Ali Khamenei and the religious conservatives who support him has begun to break apart. If the willingness to repress protests of military commanders and their underlings falters, the situation will develop rapidly and a real change of power may take place. Iran's protesters – and the west – should not assume, however, that toppling the supreme leader would bring political renewal.

Dorota Szelewa, researcher.

Journal article

«Welfare et socialism: de certains concepts relatifs au genre.» *Cahiers du Genre*, n° 46/2009 [with Dorottya Szikra].

Cet article entend proposer un cadre conceptuel pour appréhender les dispositifs de *welfare* à l'œuvre sous le régime socialiste. Bien qu'il faille les modifier sur plus d'un point, on s'appuiera sur les approches théoriques développées à propos des démocraties capitalistes de l'Ouest. Les principaux travaux auxquels nous nous référons sont ceux de Marshall sur la citoyenneté et ceux d'Esping-Andersen sur le processus de démarchandisation découlant des politiques sociales. Les concepts de nationalisme et de familialisme nous sont apparus très heuristiques pour analyser le *welfare* à l'ère socialiste. Les études de cas portent sur la Hongrie et la Pologne — deux pays ayant emprunté des voies très différentes en matière de *welfare*.

Gabor Toka, Jean Monnet fellow.

Journal Article

Brug, Wouter van der, Mark Franklin, and Gábor Tóka, 2008. “One Electorate or

Many? Voting Behavior in New and Established Democracies in Europe.” *Electoral Studies* 27, 4 (December 2008): 589-600.

We investigate differences in the factors influencing citizens' votes between elections conducted in established and new democracies using data collected at the 2004 European Parliament elections, comparing 7 former communist countries with 13 established democracies. Despite contrary expectations in some of the extant literature, voters in 'new' democracies make their political choices in ways that are very similar to the decision processes found in more established democracies. The only systematic difference is that voters in post-communist countries are somewhat less likely to make use of ideological location as a cue to the policy orientations of political parties. Perhaps in compensation, somewhat greater relative use in those countries is made of cues from social structure (particularly religion) and from issues.

Book Chapters

Tóka, Gábor. "Expressive vs. Instrumental Motivation of Turnout, Partisanship and Political Learning." in *The Comparative Study of Electoral Systems*, edited by Hans-Dieter Klingemann. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 269-288.

This chapter examines if intrinsic rewards of expected political benefits have a greater motivational force for turnout, political learning and the development of political preferences. Using comparative survey data from several dozen contemporary democracies, the article demonstrates that the intrinsic rewards (or consumption value) of party choice dominates the expected political benefits in the determination of political preferences and turnout, while political learning – exactly because it is an even more costly activity for the individual citizen – has a

fundamentally instrumental motivation. The theoretical discussion explains that the roots of this phenomenon lay in the most general characteristics of electoral democracy, and the empirical evidence shows that the relevant findings do indeed fail to vary by types of democratic institutional settings.

Popescu, Marina, and Gábor Tóka, 2008. "Districting in Eastern Europe: Regulations and Practices." in *Redistricting in Comparative Perspective*, edited by Bernard Grofman and Lisa Handley. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

This chapter reviews how electoral systems in Eastern and Central Europe coped with the issue of drawing electoral district boundaries. The article finds that the regions shows a relatively high level of tolerance for malapportionment and an unusual rarity of redistricting taking place.

Antoine Vauchez researcher.

Journal Article

« 'Quand les juristes faisaient la loi...'. Le moment Carbonnier (1963-1977), son histoire et son mythe », *Parlement[s]*, 2009/1 - n° 11, pp. 105-116

Drawn from the analysis of the writing of French legislation in the domain of civil law from 1963 to 1977, the article exemplifies the renewed conception of legal expertise (one armed with opinion polls and directly to the service of the government) that comes along with the establishment of the Vth Republic. It argues that this new legal expertise is built in line with the new frames of understanding of a Fifth Republic that tried to circumvent both traditional professional elites and parliamentary committees.

Book Chapter

« Entre 'Etat' et 'société civile' : justice, administration et politique » in Marc Lazar, dir., *L'Italie contemporaine*, Paris, Fayard, pp. 81-92

The book chapter is an overview of the transformations in the configuration of political and bureaucratic elites in contemporary Italy. Focusing particularly on the origins and consequences of the 1992-96 political crisis, it stresses the unprecedented role played by professors (in law and economics), judges and experts in leading the transition.

Pascal Vennesson, professor.

Journal Article

Pascal Vennesson, Fabian Breuer, Chiara de Franco, Ursula C. Schroeder, "Is There a European Way of War? Role Conceptions, Organizational Frames and the Utility of Force," *Armed Forces and Society*, Vol. 35, N°. 4 (July), 628-645.

Europe is the region of the world where the network of security institutions is the densest. Yet, these institutions did not erase differences about conceptions of force employment among European countries and between European countries and the United States. Why have concepts of military power and force employment remained distinct and varied in Europe, and yet, what facilitates their convergence at the European Union level into the ambiguous notion of crisis management? We argue that an important answer to these questions is endogenous to the military: both role conceptions and organizational frames of military institutions are key underlying aspects of the differences at the national level and of the common ground at the European Union level. We examine and compare empirically the role conceptions and organizational frames of the armed forces in France, Germany, Italy and the United Kingdom since the early 1990s.

Book chapter

"S'adapter aux normes internationales : les militaires face à la norme "interventionniste"," in: Yves Schemel, Wolf-Dieter Eberwein, eds., *Normer le monde*. Paris: L'Harmattan-Logiques Politiques, 2009, 337-368.

Since the early 1990s, the emergent norm of humanitarian intervention, while not entirely unprecedented, has allegedly transformed the uses of force and redefined military power. States have been pressed to intervene militarily, and they have launched armed interventions to protect foreign people from violence perpetrated or permitted by the government of the target state. The norm of humanitarian intervention has become politically and militarily influential: it framed perceptions of military power and its legitimacy, it altered strategic preferences and choices. However, while some strategists – and some military organizations – accepted and endorsed the humanitarian intervention norm, others rejected it, and others still attempted to shape it while adjusting their professional identity. Why? How can we explain the diversity of military responses to the humanitarian intervention norm? The chapter explores the conditions under which the norm of humanitarian intervention is influential (or not) depending on the adaptation capacity of political and military leaders.

Alex Wilson, researcher.

“Multi-level Coalitions and Statute Reform in Spain,” with Andreu Orte. *Regional and Federal Studies* 19 (3), 415-436, July 2009.

Journal article

Between 2003 and 2007 six regional statutes of autonomy were reformed in Spain. These are Organic Laws that form

part of the 'constitutional bloc' in Spain and determine the characteristics of state decentralization, so contain high thresholds for revision in the regional and Spanish parliament. Statutes are a flexible component of 'non-institutional federalism' in Spain and their negotiation highlights both centripetal and centrifugal dynamics in state design. Existing empirical studies have compared the content of these reforms. This article compares the political dynamics of statute reform, in light of existing literature on coalitional bargaining. It argues that statute reform is a competitive two-level game (regional and central), which requires parties to form single-issue 'statute coalitions'. Statute coalitions require varying degrees of inter-party co-operation, and can distort more permanent governing or parliamentary coalitions between statewide and non-statewide parties. They can exacerbate intra-party tensions, but may also be useful for 'coalitional experimentation' in multi-level arenas. Statute negotiations are unbounded because Spanish parties exploit them for electoral advantage and not merely to secure their policy preferences. This article contains two case studies of statute reform (Catalonia, Valencia) which illustrate these complex and varied dynamics, and suggests comparative avenues for further research on constitutional reform in multi-level systems