

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.

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Journal article: *Stakeholder Citizenship and Transnational Political Participation: A Normative Evaluation of External Voting*, by Rainer Bauböck.

Published in *Fordham Law Review*, vol. 75, no. 5, 2007, pp. 2393-2447.

The number of countries that have introduced voting rights for expatriates has increased dramatically but the challenges this development raises for theories of democracy have been rarely addressed. This article proposes a typology of external voting rights and discusses normative concerns about the integrity, accessibility and democratic legitimacy of voting from abroad. The main problem for democratic theory is whether expatriates who will not be subjected to laws that apply within a territorial jurisdiction can still have a claim to be represented in the making of such laws. The article criticizes arguments from universal suffrage for all citizens, from self-determination of the demos, from contribution-based claims, from ethno-national community, from territorial inclusion and from affected interests. As an alternative it proposes a principle of stakeholding under which those emigrants who retain an interest in permanent membership, rather than in

particular political decisions, could qualify for external voting. This principle is then applied to a scale of inclusion claims for external citizens. The final section discusses whether tipping and swamping scenarios in which the external vote determines election outcomes can serve as a justification for restricting access to the franchise from abroad.

Book chapter: *The Trade-Off between Transnational Citizenship and Political Autonomy*, by Rainer Bauböck.

Published in *Dual Citizenship in Global Perspective*, edited by Thomas Faist and Peter Kivisto. Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2007, pp. 69-91.

Legal scholars and social scientists studying the rights of migrants have noted, and have generally welcomed, a trend towards increasing toleration of dual nationality. In Central and Eastern Europe, however, several states have been concerned about “fuzzy citizenship” or dual nationality that would provide a legal status or multiple citizenship to ethnolinguistic minorities that have been culturally and historically affiliated with a neighbouring kin state. This article

suggests that transnational forms of citizenship must indeed be evaluated contextually, and that claims of “homeland minorities” to external affiliations with a kin state may be incompatible with a simultaneous aspiration to territorial autonomy within a plurinational democracy. The distinction between migrant and homeland minorities should, however, not be regarded as a static dichotomy. The article proposes therefore a typology of transborder minorities that provides a set of different options with trade-offs between them. The article also considers complex and mixed cases of (1) divided countries with several external kin states, such as Cyprus, (2) disputed territories and condominium solutions, such as in Northern Ireland or Kashmir, (3) transborder minorities without kin-states (e.g. Kurds or Basques) and (4) dispersed transnational minorities, such as the Roma in Central Eastern Europe.

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Monograph: *Inherited Wealth*, by Jens Beckert, translated by Thomas Dunlap.

Published by Princeton University Press, 2007.

How to regulate the transfer of wealth from one generation to the next has been hotly debated among politicians, legal scholars, sociologists, economists, and philosophers for centuries. Bequeathing wealth is a vital ingredient of family solidarity. But does the reproduction of social inequality through inheritance square with the principle of equal opportunity? Does democracy suffer when family wealth becomes political power? The first in-depth, comparative study of the development of inheritance law in the United States, France, and Germany, *Inherited Wealth* investigates longstanding political and intellectual debates over inheritance laws and explains why these laws still differ so greatly among these countries. Using a sociological perspective, Jens Beckert sheds light on

the four most controversial issues in inheritance law during the past two centuries: the freedom to dispose of one's property as one wishes, the rights of family members to the wealth bequeathed, the dissolution of entails (which restrict inheritance to specific classes of heirs), and estate taxation. Beckert shows that while the United States, France, and Germany have all long defended inheritance rights based on the notion of individual property rights, they have justified limitations on inheritance rights in profoundly different ways, reflecting culturally specific ways of understanding the problems of inherited wealth.

Working paper: *Wie viel Erbschaftssteuern?*, by Jens Beckert.

Published in the MPIfG Working Paper Series 07 / 4 No. 07/9, October 2007. Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies (MPIfG), Cologne.

Germany introduced a federal inheritance tax in 1906. Historically, the share of its revenues compared to total tax revenues has always been low. Currently, less than one percent of total revenues are generated from inheritance tax. In countries like France, the United States and England, inheritance tax revenues are higher. With its ruling in 2007 the German supreme court has forced parliament to revise regulations on inheritance taxation. Various proposals are currently the subject of intense political debate. I take this discussion as the starting point for an investigation of fundamental arguments for and against estate taxation. Proposing that inheritances be taxed as a further type of income within the context of the income tax, I examine the impact of inheritance taxes on economic performance, family solidarity and the political community as well as the relationship between inheritance taxation and important value principles of individual freedom, social justice and equality of opportunity.

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Working paper: *Multi-Level Governance – The Eastern Versions. Emerging Patterns of Regional Developmental Governance in the New Member States*, by Laszlo Bruszt.

Published in the EUI SPS Working Paper Series. No. 2007/13.

This paper deals with emerging configurations of developmental regionalism, different patterns of multi-level governance in the CEE countries using examples from the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland. EU conditionality and pre-accession programmes linked to the idea of a Europe of the Regions played considerable role in the changing, and in the case of some of the aspiring member countries, in the creating of regional institutional landscapes. While later, the same programmes became instigators of (re)centralization and re-nationalization, the interaction between uniform EU conditionality and diverse domestic conditions resulted in various emerging versions of NMG, different configurations of regionalism.

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Monograph: *Moral Responsibility and Global Justice - A Human Rights Approach*, by Christine Chwaszcza.

Published by Nomos, 2007.

Arguing for a dual role of human rights as legal rights and moral standards of legitimacy, Chwaszcza extends their role as normative correctives of the achieved status quo in law and political practice to international relations. How can the normative standing of individuals and collective responsibilities among states be combined? Interpreted as standards of legitimacy for institutions, the concept of human rights offers a fruitful normative heuristic for determining the moral status of individual persons in international relations and for assessing collective

responsibilities of transnational justice among political associations. Four areas of moral concern are discussed: peace ethics, humanitarian intervention, poverty relief, and migration.

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Journal article: “*Movimenti sociali e partiti politici: un gioco a soma zero?*”, by Donatella della Porta.

Published in *Rassegna Italiana di Sociologia*, 48, no. 3, 2007, pp. 503-532.

Social movements and political parties are perceived as more and more distant from each other. While in the past the emerging social movements tended to ally with existing parties (especially the “Old Left”) and/or to create new ones (see the Green parties), the cycle of protest that became visible at the turn of the millennium around issues of global justice testifies for an increasing mistrust between those two actors. This article documents--on the basis of survey data and focus groups --the attitudes and behaviors of European activists of the global justice movement towards political parties, explaining the growing criticism as motivated by a perceived organizational detachment of the (left-wing) parties from the society as well as their move towards the center. At the same time, there are however also evidences of overlapping memberships in social movements and political parties, as well as of an interest by movement activists in addressing party politics. These evidences are explained on the basis of a comparative analysis of political and discursive opportunities in six European countries.

Journal article: *Quale sicurezza? Mobilitazioni locali e comitati cittadini*, by Massimiliano Andretta and Donatella della Porta.

Published in *Rivista Trimestrale di Scienza dell'Amministrazione*, anno 51, no. 4, October 2007, pp. 77-104.

Security and security policy as well as local mobilizations are nowadays at the center of political debates. This article links both issues within an analysis of the ways in which “security” is defined by citizens committee active in six Italian cities (Turin and Milan in the North, Bologna and Florence in the Center and Catania and Palermo in the South). Data from a research based upon protest event analysis and semi-structured interviews are used to single out a typology of citizens committees active on security issues (Nimby, neighborhood committee, single issue committee and urban movement organizations) as well as their main frames for addressing security (xenophobic securitarianism, ethno-localism, moderate xenophobia and quality of life). Political opportunities and organizational resources are analysed in order to explain the characteristics of the groups.

Book chapter: “*Addressing Europe: How domestic actors perceive European institutions and How they try to influence them: The Italian case in comparative perspective*”, by Donatella della Porta and Manuela Caiani.

Published in *Les resistances à l'Europe*, edited by Justine Lacroix and Ramona Coman, Bruxelles, Editions de l'Université de Bruxelles, 2007.

This chapter looks at view of Europe, focusing in particular on the subjective perceptions of different Italian domestic actors regarding the impact and importance of Europe and European integration for their strategic choices, the repertoires adopted to influence public decision making at the European level, and their relations with European institutions. On the basis of data coming from claims analysis on seven policy issues as well as semistructured interviews with actors mobilized on three policy areas (migration, agriculture and European

integration), the article stresses the emerging criticism to the EU policies, but also a growing perception of the EU as an influent actor and the development of specific structures and strategies for multi-level collective action.

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Monograph: *Ruggengraat van ongelijkheid. Beperkingen en mogelijkheden om ongelijke onderwijskansen te veranderen*. [Backbone of inequality. Constraints and possibilities of education policy in Europe], by Jaap Dronkers.

Published by Mets & Schilt / Wiardi Beckman Stichting, Amsterdam 2007.

The book provides a review for the broader public of three subjects. First, a number of processes that influence inequality in and around education is discussed, describing current research in this area. This discussion is based on the ‘state of the art’ in empirical research on education and inequality. In the light of the processes outlined, then the mistakes that have been made in educational policy are described. Particular attention is paid to mistakes made by the social-democrats, as they have been a driving force behind educational policy in most European countries for the last 50 years. Finally, bearing in mind these processes and the mistakes that have been made, a rough outline of possible policies is provided that could successfully reduce educational inequalities.

Handbook entries: *Schools, religious*, by Jaap Dronkers. pp. 4052-4055.

Elites, by Jaap Dronkers and H. Schijf. pp. 1362-1364.

Published in *The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Sociology*, edited by G. Ritzer. Malden (MA), Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Journal article: *"Do School Segregation and School Resources Explain Region-of-Origin Differences in the Mathematics Achievement of Immigrant Students?"* by Jaap Dronkers and M. Levels.

Published in *Educational Research and Evaluation* 13 (2007), pp. 435-462. Levels & Dronkers (2006) show that educational achievement differs as between immigrant students from different regions of origin (Latin America, Northern Africa and Western Asia). This follow-up paper establishes whether these differences in educational achievement between immigrant students from different regions of origin can be explained by school segregation, whether along ethnic or social-economic lines. Ethnic and social-economic school segregation has a negative influence on the scholastic achievement of all students, although the impact of social-economic school segregation is greater than that of ethnic school segregation. Ethnic school segregation affects the scholastic outcomes of native students and immigrant students from some regions of origin more than that of immigrant students from other regions. The analysis shows that neither ethnic, nor social-economic, school segregation explains the lower mathematics achievement of immigrant students from Latin America, Northern Africa and Western Asia.

Handbook entry: *"Schools, religious."*, by Jaap Dronkers. pp. 4052-4055 in *The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Sociology*, edited by G. Ritzer. Malden (MA), Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Handbook entry: *"Elites"*, by Jaap Dronkers and H. Schijf. pp. 1362-1364 in *The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Sociology*, edited by G. Ritzer. Malden (MA), Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

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Journal article: *Geneza i ewolucja frakcji Europejskiej Partii Ludowej (Chrześcijańscy Demokraci) w Parlamencie Europejskim*, by Wojciech Gagattek.

Published in *Studia Polityczne* (a journal of the Polish Academy of Sciences), vol. 20, 2007, pp. 99-126.

This article is devoted to the origins and development of the Group of the European People's Party (EPP), since 1999 the largest political group in the European Parliament (EP). Although the literature concerning EP political groups is constantly expanding, one of its important gaps is the omission of the possible impact of political tradition on how the political groups organize. Therefore, this paper investigates the influence of Christian democratic tradition on the organization and working methods of the EPP Group as well as the effects of opening up the group to new parties. The qualitative historical analysis (1953-1999) confirms the hypothesis that the strategy of the enlargement of EPP Group in 1980s and 1990s, mostly to do with the opening up to Conservative parties, resulted from the definitional multifaceted character of Christian democracy and Christian democratic parties. However, this article concedes that in the EPP Group there seem to be two distinctive blocs of Christian democratic parties, which although united by many political ideas, appear to differ markedly over the vision of building political party and forging political alliances.

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Edited book: *Cohousing e Condomini Solidali. Guida pratica alle nuove forme alternative di coabitazione*, edited by Matthieu Lietaert.

Published by AAM Terra Nuova, Firenze 2007.

Cohousing brings relevant answers to some of the main problems urban citizens face at the dawn of the 21st century. This particular housing model consists of urban neighbourhood developments that creatively combine private and common dwellings to recreate a sense of community, while preserving a high degree of individual privacy. Far from being just a theory, this phenomenon that started in Scandinavia 30 years ago, is spreading in the Anglo-Saxon world and in Japan since the 1990s, and more recently in the rest of Europe. The book is structured in 4 parts: first, international experts explain how cohousing improves people's lives; second, cohousers from 6 countries write about their own experience; part 3 then gives some practical ideas of what to do - and not to do - to start a cohousing; finally, part 4 is an attached documentary (in English, subtitled in 6 languages, selected at the Ekotopfilm festival 2007) that was filmed in 14 cohousings in order to get a "view from within."

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Book chapter: *Party Systems and Alternation in Government, 1950-2000: Innovation and Institutionalisation*, by Peter Mair.

Published in *Globalisation and Democratisation: Challenges for Political Parties*, edited by Siri Gloppen and Lise Rakner. Bergen: Fagbokforlaget, 2007, 135-154.

Among the most evident ways in which party systems differ from one another is in terms of the frequency with which governments alternate, and in terms of the extent to which real alternation occurs. Yet the experience of alternation in government in parliamentary democracies has tended to remain largely unspecified and unexplored. This paper attempts to make a first systematic mapping of the patterns of alternation which have prevailed in these various systems over the

past half-century, and seeks also to identify the major changes which have been wrought over time. I contend that by analysing changing patterns of government composition, including not only the pace and level of change, but also the degree of innovation in governing formulae, we can derive an overall measure of the extent of *closure* or *openness* in processes of government formation, and of the degree to which these processes are either more or less predictable or flexible. And this, in turn, allows us to derive a much clearer sense of the differences between party systems and their varying capacities to endure.

Working Paper: *The Challenge to Party Government*, by Peter Mair.

Published in the EUI SPS Working Paper series 2007/09. European University Institute. <http://hdl.handle.net/1814/7158>

At a time when the literature on political parties is brimming with health and vitality, the parties themselves seem to be experiencing potentially severe legitimacy problems and to be suffering from a quite massive withdrawal of popular support and affection. This paper addresses one key aspect of the problems facing contemporary parties in Europe, which is the challenge to party government. I begin by reviewing the changing pattern of party competition, in which I discuss the decline of partisanship in policy-making and the convergence of parties into a mainstream consensus. I then look again at the familiar 'parties-do-matter' thesis and at the evidence for declining partisanship within the electorate. In the third section of the paper I explore the various attempts to specify the conditions for party government, before going on in the final section to argue that these conditions have been undermined in such a way that it is now almost impossible to imagine party government in contemporary Europe either functioning effectively or sustaining complete legitimacy.

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Journal article: *"The Gap between Electoral and Liberal Democracy Revisited. Some Conceptual and Empirical Clarifications"*, by Jørgen Møller.

Published in *Acta Politica*, Volume 42, Issue 4, December 2007.

Since the late 1990s, many students of democratisation have emphasised that a salient empirical gap is emerging between electoral and liberal democracy. In this article, I reappraise the gap by revisiting Larry Diamond's important contribution from *Developing Democracy*. Emphasising both the electoral and the liberal component of democracy, with assistance from classical and modern authors, the article arrives at a clear conclusion. The gap between electoral and liberal democracy only increased very modestly in the 1990s and it has decreased sharply in the 2000s. These results differ from the conventional wisdom for a very simple reason: because I systematically treat the two components of liberal democracy as different attributes, conceptually independent of each other, I do not identify a gap that is based on a difference in degree, not in kind.

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Journal article: *The Origins of European Citizenship in the First Two Decades of European Integration*, by Espen D. H. Olsen.

Published in *Journal of European Public Policy* Vol. 15, N° 1, 2008, pp. 40-57.

By tracing conceptions of citizenship in the early period of European integration until 1971, this article argues that the Maastricht Treaty was not year zero in the EU citizenship discourse. In contrast to previous research, this article contributes *theoretically* by studying citizenship as a *status of individuals in relation to a political unit*, differentiated analytically into membership, identity, rights and participation, and subsequently focuses on the interplay between them. Further, it

contributes *empirically* by highlighting those treaties, judicial decisions, policies and practices that affected the status of individuals. The analysis finds that citizenship elements in early European integration created a frame upon which later conceptions of citizenship developed, including Union citizenship. It must, however, not be overstated as anything resembling a status akin to national citizenship. European citizenship should rather be understood as a status emerging from concrete judicial, legislative and political practices.

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Edited volume: "Growing Apart? America and Europe in the 21st Century", edited by Sven Steinmo and Jeff Kopstein.

Published by Cambridge University Press, 2008.

This book explores the forces pushing America away from its democratic friends and neighbors. It examines the underlying forces shaping the democratic states of the West. Individual chapters pose questions such as: Why is religion so powerful in America? How will the flow of immigration shape politics across the West? Why is Europe rejecting America's version of capitalism? How is the media changing in Europe and America? Why are "Conservatives" so different on each side of the Atlantic? And, finally, what do these competing forces portend for the future of the transatlantic relationship?

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Journal article: "The Continuing Legacy of the Communist Legacy? The development of family policies in Poland and the Czech Republic," by Dorota Szelewa and Steven Saxonberg. Published in *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society*, 2007, Vol. 14 pp. 351-379.

This article compares family policies in Poland and the Czech Republic in order to explain why the two countries have different policies. Previous studies are right to claim that post-communist family policies are basically going in a refamilialist direction that gives mothers a greater incentive to return to the home, but they tend to neglect the important differences that exist between countries. Although previous studies were correct to emphasize the role of the anti-feminist communist legacy in explaining this trend toward re-familialization, it is a country's economic-institutional legacy that goes the farthest in explaining the differences in policies.

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Journal article: *Campaign Effects and Second-Order Cycles: A Top-Down Approach to European Parliament Elections*, by Till Weber.

Published in *European Union Politics* 8(4): 509-536.

Second-order elections theory explains cyclical losses by national government parties in elections to the European Parliament (EP) through strategic protest voting owing to performance deficits in policy-making. This paper confronts the conventional bottom-up view with a top-down approach to second-order elections. Ultimately, the electoral cycle is driven not by instrumental voting behaviour but by party strategies oriented towards governmental power in the member states of the European Union. Based on survey data from the European Election Studies of 1999 and 2004, first-order campaign mobilization is shown to determine the prospects of government parties in second-order elections. Mobilization itself depends on the quality of spatial representation in terms of distinct programmatic alternatives, which governments are unable to provide during the midterm. Although this process can be traced on the left–right dimension, parties

prevent it with regard to integration issues by systematic demobilization. After all, EP elections are still second order, but first-order politics exert their influence through cyclical campaign mobilization and not through strategic protest voting.

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Journal article: “*The Albanian Renaissance between the Enlightenment and Romanticism*”, by Lea Ypi.

Published in *East European Politics and Society*, 21 (4), 661-80 (2007).

The conceptual genealogy of the Albanian so-called Renaissance is often linked to the influence of Western Romantic ideas on the nationalist movements of the Balkans. This paper analyzes the specificities of the Albanian cultural and political context and suggests, by contrast, that Enlightenment categories provide a better means of comprehension of this stage in Albanian intellectual history. It focuses on the ideological function played by the critique of religion as well as by a cultural project addressed to political struggle and emphasizes its roots in the Enlightenment tradition. It finally argues that Enlightenment concepts such as self-criticism and rational teleology might help to grasp some unique features of the Renaissance movement and to construct a more sophisticated account of the emergence of the Albanian modern state.

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