

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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Book chapter: *Unterwegs in der Globalisierung: Eine anthropologisch-politische Konzeption der Pilgerschaft*, by Mariano Barbato.

Published in *Ordnungen im Wandel. Globale und lokale Wirklichkeiten im Spiegel transdisziplinärer Analysen*. edited by Friedrich Arndt et al. Bielefeld: transcript, pp. 245-267.

Das Angebot der Pilgerschaft im Sinne einer Übersetzung religiöser Semantiken für die postsäkulare Gesellschaft (Habermas) umfasst eine anthropologische und eine politische Komponente. Anthropologisch wird dem „flexiblen Menschen“ (Sennett) der Globalisierung im Blick auf die himmlische Utopie eine Dimension des Unterwegsseins erschlossen, die ihn aus der materialistischen Enge herausführt und ihn sein Unterwegssein nicht vom Mangel, sondern von der Fülle dieser Utopie her verstehen lässt. Eng damit zusammen hängt der politische Teil des Angebots. Wenn es die großen Ziele der alten diesseitigen Utopien nicht mehr gibt, kann nomadisches Unterwegssein nicht mehr als Fortschritt, sondern nur noch als prekärer Dauerzustand verstanden werden. Die himmlische Utopie des Pilgers erlaubt ein Aushandeln begrenzter Ziele in der kritischen und motivierenden Perspektive der himmlischen Fülle, ohne in die Phantasien eigenen Herstellens zurückzufallen. Denn der Idealzustand dieser Utopie wird nicht diesseitig her-, sondern nur jenseitig vorgestellt. Das Kapitel bringt dieses Angebot

in die Diskussion der Globalisierungskritik und um die Rückkehr der Religionen ein.

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Journal article: *Beyond the gap: relevance, fields of practice and the securitizing consequences of (democratic peace) research*, by Christian Büger and Trine Villumsen.

Published in *Journal of International Relations and Development* (10:4): 417-448.

International Relations (IR) has cultivated the idea of a gap between the theory and the practice/praxis of IR. This article sets out to avoid further cultivation of the so-called gap between theory and practice, and instead addresses the question of how the theories of IR relate empirically to the practices of world politics. We suggest a theoretical and empirical alternative based on practice theoretical thought. We argue that researchers' theories and policymakers practice 'hang together' and require analytical attention. In order to give empirical flesh to the theoretical discussions and to demonstrate the difference a practice theory approach makes, we discuss the example of the democratic peace thesis. We lay out how US peace researchers, the Clinton government and NATO participated in weaving a 'web of democratic peace practice' and stabilizing the thesis as a 'fact'. We argue that 'ivory tower scientists', US foreign policymakers, and NATO politicians and

bureaucrats hang together in this web and use each other as a resource.

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Book: *Israeli Counter-Insurgency and the Intifadas: Dilemmas of a Conventional Army*, by Sergio Catignani.

Published by Routledge, 2008.

This volume analyzes the conduct of the Israel Defence Forces' (IDF) counter-insurgency operations during the two major Palestinian uprisings (1987-1993 and 2000-2005) in the Territories of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. It employs primary and secondary resources to produce a comprehensive analysis on whether or not the IDF has been able to adapt its conventional conduct of warfare to the realities of the Israeli-Palestinian low-intensity conflict and achieve any sort of victory over the Palestinian insurgents. The book provides new insights into how conventional armies struggle with contemporary insurgency by looking in particular at the strategic, operational, tactical and ethical dilemmas of the IDF over the last two decades. By examining the way in which the IDF and the Israeli security doctrine were formed and developed over time, it explores the extent to which Israeli security assumptions, civil-military relations, the organizational culture, command and control structure, and conduct of the IDF have affected its adaptation to the contemporary Israeli-Palestinian low-intensity conflict.

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Book: *Le ragioni del no. Le campagne contro la Tav in Val di Susa e il Ponte sullo Stretto*, by Donatella della Porta and Gianni Piazza.

Published by Feltrinelli, 2008.

The research is designed around the binary comparison of two cases that have the common objective of mobilising against large-scale public works, and share a similar historical timeframe, coinciding with the development of

a movement for globalisation from below, to which the two protest campaigns are indeed linked. In both our cases at the centre of the conflict are decisions taken which regard the transport system. The two cases differ however considerably in terms of their context, both with regard to their social structure and their territorial characteristics as well as their political traditions. Even the structure of political alliances is different, with a national centre-left increasingly critical of the Bridge (defined as 'Berlusconian') but supportive of the Tav (initially proposed by a centre-left government), while the regional governments and provincial capitals of Piedmont (both centre-left and centre-right) are strongly supportive of the Tav. The most interesting results concern the presence of similar paths and mechanisms, notwithstanding the environmental diversity. In particular we focus on the development of the framing of the protest from local into global issues, the development of a sense of community through participation into protest events, as well as the networked structure of the protest actors.

Book chapter: *Movimenti sociali e contesti multi-livello*, by Donatella della Porta.

Published in Nicola Montagna (ed.), *I movimenti sociali e le mobilitazioni globali*, Milano, Franco Angeli, 2008, pp. 69-88.

This chapter, first, defines the global justice movement. Second, it compares and characteristics of the Global Justice movement in six European countries (Italy, France, Germany, Switzerland, Spain and the UK) and then discuss its development on the basis of discursive, political and social opportunities at national and transnational level.

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Book chapter: *Education as the backbone of inequality - European education policy: constrains and possibilities*, by Jaap Dronkers.

Published in *Social Democracy and Education. The European Experience*, edited by F. Becker, K. Duffek en T. Mörschel. Berlin /Wien/ Amsterdam: Friederich Ebert Stiftung /

Karl Renner Institut / Wiardi Beckman
Stichting 2008, pp. 50-135.

The chapter provides a review for a 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.

Working paper: *The Divorce Cycle in Cross-National Perspective: Results from the Fertility and Family Surveys*, by J. Härkönen and Jaap Dronkers.

Published in the CIQLE Working Paper Series, Yale University, New Haven, 2008.

We use data on women's first marriages from the Fertility and Family Surveys to analyse the intergenerational transmission of divorce—the divorce cycle—across 18 countries and seek explanations for the cross-national variation from macro-level characteristics. Our results show that women whose parents have divorced have a significantly higher risk of divorce in 17 countries. Furthermore, using multilevel models, we find cross-national variation in these associations. This variation is negatively associated with the share of women in each cohort who experienced parental divorce and the levels of female labour market participation. We conclude that increases in the number of peers who experience parental divorce weakens its signal of low marital commitment that is passed to children of divorce, thus weakening the divorce cycle.

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Book chapter: *Effects of Space and Time on Turnout in European Parliament Elections*, by Mark Franklin.

Published in Wouter van der Brug and Cees van der Eijk (eds.) *European Elections and Domestic Politics: Lessons from the Past and Scenarios for the Future*. Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press: 13-31.

Low and declining turnout at European Parliament (EP) elections has often been taken as a symptom of low and declining support for the European project, yet individual-level analyses of survey data have regularly shown that turnout at EP elections is not a function of support for the EU, once adequate controls for contaminating factors are in place. This paper seeks to resolve the apparent paradox by demonstrating that declining turnout at EP elections can be quite satisfactorily explained by aggregate phenomena: the changing composition of the EU itself as it enlarges, the different proportions of new and established member states, and the vagaries of election timing. The EU, half of whose members in 1979 employed some form of compulsory voting, by 1999 only had this requirement in three of fifteen member states (by 2004 the proportion was four of 25), giving rise to an expectation of lower turnout. In 1979, all nine members had the prospect of enjoying a roughly 10 percent 'first election boost' whereas in 1999 no states were in this situation. Random fluctuations in the timing of EP elections relative to national elections account for the remainder of the decline between 1979 and 1999. In 2004, established member states voted at about the same rate as in 1999. Explanations for the low turnout of some new member states in 2004 have to be sought elsewhere.

Book chapter: *EU support and Party Choice*, by Mark Franklin, Wouter van der Brug and Cees van der Eijk.

Published in Wouter van der Brug and Cees van der Eijk (eds.) *European Elections and Domestic Politics*. Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press: pp. 168-188.

This chapter focuses on party choice and attitudes toward European integration. The key

question it addresses is to what extent party choice is motivated by support for or opposition to European integration or EU policies, and to what extent it is motivated by other considerations deriving from the domestic political environment. The paper finds that despite the salience of the European dimension to many voters, party choice at European elections is still largely structured by domestic political considerations.

Book chapter: *The Sleeping Giant: Potential for Political Mobilization of Disaffection in Europe* by Mark Franklin and Cees van der Eijk.

Published in Wouter van der Brug and Cees van der Eijk (eds.) *European Elections and Domestic Politics*. Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press: pp. 189-208.

This chapter explores the locations assigned by survey respondents to themselves and to the parties that compete for votes in their political systems, in terms of left-right position and of pro- or anti-European integration. After mapping this two-dimensional space, it identifies positions where many voters are located, but which are not represented by parties. These locations span the pro-anti Europe issue space, providing an opportunity for political entrepreneurs to politicize this dimension. The title of the paper arises from the observation that the pro-anti Europe issue space is well-structured and well-populated by individuals who have well thought-out positions on European issues. If parties were to emerge (perhaps new parties or perhaps as a result of splits in existing parties) the consequences for domestic and European politics could be dramatic.

Book chapter: *European Elections, Domestic Politics and European Integration*, by Mark Franklin, Wouter van der Brug, et al.

Published in Wouter van der Brug and Cees van der Eijk (eds.) *European Elections and Domestic Politics*. Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press: pp. 226-261.

This chapter is the product of a working conference in which a number of scholars joined forces to reflect on parties' and citizens'

responses to further European integration. We discuss how future European elections are likely to be affected by domestic political circumstances and how attitudes toward the EU will affect the outcomes of future elections. We argue that the issue of European integration is likely to become more politicized and to become more important for party choice, and we model the consequences thereof in the form of three scenarios. The first scenario is one in which voters' orientations toward European integration become more important determinants of their votes, but where their own positions and those of parties are unchanged. In a second scenario, positions of parties become more Euro-skeptic, and in the third scenario positions of both parties and voters are changed in such a way that distances between voters and parties on a European integration dimension are given equal play to affect voters' choices as the left-right dimension, which has until now been the most important domestic political orientation in all of the member states. Obviously, these scenarios are ideal-types, and it is unlikely that future developments will play out exactly in these stylized forms. But we do think that these scenarios contain some of the most important elements of how the relations between voters, member states, and the EU will develop in future years.

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Book: *Repensar la política en la era de los movimientos y las redes*, by Mayo Fuster Morell et al. (Colectivo Político en Red).

Published in Icaria Editorial, Barcelona.

The world of our days draws a disquieting scene for who believes in peace, social justice, the communal properties and ecology. On the one hand, the traditional institutions of democratic control are exhausted; by the other, the great movements of protest, so visible on the eve of the invasion of Iraq, have rooted more in their local contexts, without leaving the global connections. A shift of paradigm in the transforming political thought is taking place: a distance of the concepts of political vanguard and traditional and parliamentary forms of representation and a distance of unit

forms that do not include the diversity and the plurality and the creation of cooperation relations and deliberation; and an openness to principles of horizontalidad and direct or participative democracy. On these new proposals to draft new type of institutions treats this book, forms that recognize that the nucleus of the change is outside the traditional institutions, in the conflicts and movements of the amplest society.

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Working Paper: *How Not to Implement: Hungarian Pension Reforms in an Institutionalist Perspective*, by Igor Guardiancich.

Published in TIGER Working Paper Series No. 110, 2008. Warsaw: Transformation, Integration and Globalization Economic Research.

After 1989, Hungary inherited a pension system characterised by an unfair mix of social insurance and social assistance. Widespread public dissatisfaction and the near drift into a financial crisis cleared the path for the first paradigmatic multipillar reform in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE), thereby attracting major international attention. Implementation, however, did not live up to the high expectations. Ten years down the road, the Hungarian pension system stands indeed as a model, but of partial failures and unintended consequences. Applying a historical institutionalist framework, it is shown that Hungarian pensions underwent both agency based and structural institutional degeneration, caused by the system's poor and hasty institutional design. Actors' expectations failed to adapt, as policymakers indulge in extreme political budget cycles and private pension providers do not self-regulate, thereby distorting competition. Furthermore, institutional complementarities are not gainfully exploited, since unfortunate policy solutions rendered the funded pillar costly and inefficient. Consequently, Hungarian pensions require once again a structural overhaul. A coherent solution is, however, nowhere in sight and the weaknesses of PM Ferenc Gyurcsány's government do not bode well. Policymakers shall learn from the Hungarian experience that correct policy implementation may be every

bit as problematic as a successful legislative phase.

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Edited volume: *Les politiques publiques. 1, la France dans la gouvernance européenne*, edited by Olivier Borraz and Virginie Guiraudon.

Published by Presses de Sciences-Po, 2008.

Cette nouvelle série a pour objectif de rendre compte régulièrement des transformations de l'action publique et des analyses nouvelles des politiques publiques. Sa première livraison a pour thème la France dans la gouvernance européenne. La première partie est consacrée aux changements d'échelle de l'action publique avec l'analyse de plusieurs secteurs diversement exposés à l'europanisation, à l'internationalisation et à la décentralisation des politiques publiques : environnement, agriculture, défense, immigration, enseignement supérieur, politiques économiques et sociales. La deuxième à l'évolution du « modèle français ». Celui-ci est-il encore pertinent à l'heure de l'intégration européenne et de la réforme des institutions locales? Voit-on se dessiner un nouveau modèle d'administration publique? Finalement, si le rôle de l'État évolue, les transformations récentes laissent entières la question de la place des citoyens dans l'action publique, comme celle du contrôle démocratique des politiques publiques. Ont contribué à cet ouvrage : Daniel Benamouzig, Julien Besançon, Philippe Bezes, Ève Fouilleux, Claude Gilbert, Bastien Irondele, Pierre Lascoumes, Patrick Le Lidec, Jonah D. Levy, Christine Musselin, Cécile Robert, Andy Smith.

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Journal article: *Consensus Democracy and Support for Populist Parties in Western*

Europe, by Armèn Hakhverdian and Christel Koop

Published in *Acta Politica* Vol. 42, No 4, 2007, pp. 401-420.

Inspired by a previous debate in *Acta Politica* between Rudy Andeweg and Arend Lijphart on the pros and cons of consensus democracy, this article explores whether support for populist parties is traceable to the institutional framework of West European democracies. 'Populism' is conceptualized in terms of its emphasis on the antagonism between the people and corrupt elites, and its opposition to intermediary structures between the rulers and the ruled. We consider right-wing as well as left-wing populism. Two institutional dimensions — the executives-parties dimension and the federal–unitary dimension — are drawn from Lijphart's work to analyze the association between patterns of democracy and populism. Throughout, consensual systems are hypothesized to display higher support for populist parties than majoritarian systems. We show that the executives-parties dimension, which measures the diffusion of power within political institutions, indeed makes a difference for populist support. Moreover, unlike many similar studies on anti-system parties, this article also explores Lijphart's federal–unitary dimension and consequently finds that federal states are more conducive to populism than unitary states.

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Special issue: *The Shadow of Hierarchy and New Modes of Governance*, edited by Adrienne Héritier and Dirk Lehmkuhl.

Published by *Journal of Public Policy*, 1/2008 vol. 28.

This special issue about sectoral governance in the shadow of hierarchy focuses on two sets of questions. *Firstly*, do new modes of sectoral governance in themselves contribute to the efficacy of policymaking or do they require the shadow of hierarchy, i.e. legislative and executive decisions, in order to deal effectively

with the problems they are supposed to solve? And, *secondly*, what are the institutional links between sectoral governance and territorially bounded democratic governments? How do different links contribute to the efficacy of policymaking and how do they change over time? Is there a retreat of government from policymaking and a corresponding increase of sectoral governance, or just the opposite? Distinguishing sectoral governance from territorially bounded democratic government avoids conflating them, as happens in the literature on policy networks, policy subsystems and policy communities and hybridisation (Sabel and Zeitlin 2007; Scott and Trubek 2002; Trubek and Trubek 2005). While the two are in practice intertwined, we argue that their analytical distinction is necessary in order to understand the nature of their linkages and reciprocal influence.

Journal article: *New Modes of Governance in the Shadow of Hierarchy: Self-regulation by Industry in Europe*, by Adrienne Héritier and Sandra Eckert

Published in *Journal of Public Policy*, 1/2008 vol. 28, 113-138.

In technically complex areas, political actors increasingly rely on private actors to shape public policy, due to the greater expertise of private actors. This article theorises and empirically investigates the conditions under which self-regulation by industry (governance) emerges in environmental policy at the European level and asks how effective it is. Is a shadow of hierarchy (governmental intervention) needed to ensure the emergence and effectiveness of voluntary agreements? We show that the willingness to engage in self-regulation is prompted by the threat of governmental legislation. Once legislation has been pre-empted, environmental self-regulation is implemented under a weak shadow of hierarchy. We identify the causes of this weak control and explain the differential performance in the two sectors on the basis of different market incentives.

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Journal article: *Identifying the Nation*, by Michael Keating.

Published in *Ethnopolitics*, 6.4 (2007): 67-12.

This is part of a symposium on Will Kymlicka's Multicultural Odysseys organized by Rainer Bauböck at the EUI.

Book chapter: *A Regional History of Modern Europe. Territorial management and the state*, by Michael Keating.

Published in *An Agenda for Regional History*, edited by Bill Lancaster, Diana Newton and Natasha Vall, Northumbria University Press 2007, pp. 149-64.

This chapter focuses on two aspects of the use of history in political analysis. The first concerns the evolution of the state, its critical historical junctures and state traditions. The second aspect concerns historiography and the way in which the agenda of historical studies changes with current events, and the manner in which historical arguments are used to sustain current political claims. A recurrent theme in debates about changing the political order is the tendency for reformers to look both ways, arguing either that the constitution needs to be changed to meet modern needs, or that it needs rather to be reinterpreted in a historically more authentic manner, reflecting original intentions or time-honoured convention. There may be some conflict between these two uses of history. One is analytical and positivist, assuming that we can, at least generally, know the past. The second takes us into the normative dimension and deeply into matters of interpretation. At the extreme, a post-modern historiography may insist that the past is unknowable and that all is interpretation. Yet, not taken to the extremes of positivism and constructivism, but relying rather on empirically-informed interpretation, both provide ways of understanding regional politics both historically and in the present.

Journal article: *La integración europea y la cuestión de las nacionalidades*, by Michael Keating.

Published in *Revista Española de Ciencia Política*, 16 (2007), pp.9-35.

European integration questions the relationship between nation and state. It undermines traditional sovereignty in both substantive and ideological ways and weakens the need for statehood. Minority nationalist movements have in many cases adopted the European theme, adjusting their conceptions of self-determination and strategy accordingly. Adaptation depends on the ability of their ideology on both national and social and economic questions to fit within European parameters; and on the existence of appropriate constitutional traditions or a useable past. Some have used 'new regionalist' themes to construct new systems of action below and beyond the state. Europe provides opportunities for territorial movements and grants some minority protections. There are differences between Western Europe and Central and Eastern Europe because of the evolution of state structures. The Convention on the Future of Europe constitutional treaty risked formalizing the EU as a two-level game of states and the Union, with little room for regional and minority claims.

Journal article: *Beyond Sovereignty. Stateless Nations in the European Commonwealth*, by Michael Keating.

Published in *Razprave in Gradivo. Treaties and Documents*, 52, Institute of Ethnic Studies, Ljubljana, 2007, pp.38-69.

Transformations in the state are weakening its former powers of social regulation and identity formation but, far from presaging the end of nationalism, this has encouraged new and reborn minority nationalist demands. Yet, at the same time, it has provided new means for accommodating them. These possibilities are most apparent in Europe, where the trans-national order is best developed. The emerging European order dilutes and divides sovereignty, reducing claims to singular state sovereignty and encouraging the emergence of multiple normative orders; provides a framework for rights, divorcing these from state citizenship; and allows stateless nations to act with a certain degree of autonomy in trans-national institutions, satisfying symbolic and substantive demands without the need to assume full statehood.

Book chapter: *Rival nationalisms in a plurinational state: Spain, Catalonia and the Basque Country*, by Michael Keating.

Published in Sujit Choudhry (ed.), *Constitutional Design for Divided Societies. Integration or Accommodation?*, Oxford University Press, 2008.

Spanish constitutionalism has had to accommodate a Spanish nation-building project and rival nation-building projects in the Basque Country and Catalonia. The State of the Autonomies combines the principle of a unitary nation with regional autonomy and makes an ambivalent distinction between regions and nationalities. Catalan and Basque nationalists have sought to retain their *hecho diferencial*, while other regions have sought to match their constitutional gains. The state has practiced a policy of *café para todos*, trying to equalize autonomy statutes within a regionalized state.

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Journal article: *Intergenerational transfers of time and money in European families: Common patterns - different regimes?*, by Marco Albertini, Martin Kohli, and Claudia Vogel.

Published in *Journal of European Social Policy* 17:319-334.

The 'generational contract' is the most important and also the most contentious dimension of contemporary welfare systems. Much of the debate on how to reform it is still truncated by focusing on its public dimension only, especially on pensions and health-care provisions. Research on family transfers has almost exclusively been limited to single-country studies. In this article, we present a comparative study of financial transfers and social support in ten Western European countries based on the *Survey of Health, Ageing and Retirement in Europe (SHARE)* conducted in 2004. Our results confirm, at the European level, the existence of a common transfer pattern. There is a net downward flow from the older to the younger generations, both by *inter vivos* financial transfers and by social

support. Transfers from the elderly parents to their children are much more frequent and also usually much more intense than those in the opposite direction. The positive balance decreases with age but even those over the age of 70 clearly remain net givers. Our results also demonstrate that country-specific transfer patterns follow the typology of welfare regimes. Transfers from parents to children are less frequent but more intense in the Southern European countries than in the Nordic ones, with the Continental European countries being somewhere in between the two. This welfare regime effect still holds after controlling for the most relevant characteristics of the parents.

Journal article: *Familienpolitik als Lebenslauf- und Generationenpolitik*, by Martin Kohli.

Published in *Zeitschrift für Soziologie* 36 (2007):396-400.

The article discusses two of the recent large social reports of the German Federal government, the *7th Family Report* and the *5th Aging Report*, and goes into some of the issues posed by the practice of large-scale government-sponsored social reporting.

Journal article: *Il mondo che abbiamo dimenticato: una rassegna storica del corso di vita*, by Martin Kohli.

Published in *La Rivista delle Politiche Sociali* no. 3:11-40.

L'articolo, uscito per la prima volta nel 1986, viene presentato qui in una versione leggermente abbreviata e aggiornata da una post-fazione dell'autore. Esso rappresenta nella letteratura mondiale il primo, o almeno il più significativo, contributo che si concentra sull'esigenza di considerare i processi del corso della vita come dimensione indipendente della struttura sociale, come fatto sociale, ovvero uno schema di regole che disciplina una dimensione fondamentale della vita e può essere teorizzato in termini di istituzione sociale. Nei vent'anni trascorsi l'approccio basato sul corso di vita è diventato un'ottica ampiamente accettata e praticata: e anzi esso è divenuto indispensabile per quanti desiderino analizzare la struttura sociale al livello di

azione individuale. L'articolo percorre le ragioni teoriche del passaggio, considerando i processi di strutturalizzazione della dimensione dell'età, di standardizzazione e destandardizzazione, di individualizzazione, e le diverse ottiche e prospettive (posizione, carriera, biografia). L'analisi e le riflessioni successive dell'autore sollecitano riflessioni e interrogativi non scontati rispetto al futuro.

Journal article: *The institutionalization of the life course: Looking back to look ahead*, by Martin Kohli.

Published in *Research in Human Development* 4 (2007): 253-271.

This is a review of the issues posed twenty years ago in my model of the historical institutionalization of the life course. Its aim is both to assess the current relevance and dynamics of the life course as a social institution, and to engage in informed speculation about where it will be moving. The paper (1) recapitulates the claim that the life course has become one of the major institutions of contemporary societies; (2) discusses what we have learned in the meantime, both with respect to the dynamics of social change and to how the sociology of the life course is able to thematize them; (3) examines the current trends towards an erosion of the institutionalized life course and the structural anchors that keep it in place; and (4) focuses on life course politics and their effect on the future of the life course.

Working paper: *The generational contract in the family: Explaining regime differences in financial transfers from parents to children in Europe*, by Martin Kohli and Marco Albertini.

Published in DemoSoc Working Paper Series, No. 24 (2007). Barcelona: Universitat Pompeu Fabra.

The exchange of social and economic support between the generations is one of the main pillars of both family life and welfare systems. In our previous research we have shown that intergenerational exchange is more likely to take place but less intense in the Nordic welfare regime than in the Continental and Southern ones. In the present paper we analyze

the social mechanisms that create and explain this nexus between patterns of intergenerational transfers and welfare regimes. The notion that Southern European family support networks are stronger and more effective than those of Continental and Northern European countries is only partially confirmed. In Southern (and partly in Continental) countries, children are mostly supported by means of co-residence with their parents till their complete economic independence. However, once they have left the parental home there are fewer transfers; support tends to be restricted to children who have special needs (such as for the formation of their own family), and depends more on their parents' resources. In the Nordic countries, in contrast, transfers are less driven by children's needs and parental resources, and more by individualized choice.

Report: *Family linkages: Transfers and support among adult family generations*, by Martin Kohli, Marco Albertini, and Harald Künemund.

Published by the Research Group on Aging and the Life Course, Research Report 77. Berlin: Free University.

Intergenerational family linkages (financial transfers and social support) are important as an informal insurance for children's life course risks (e.g., unemployment, divorce), as support for children's parenting and thus for the reconciliation of parenting and employment, and as a source of care for the dependent elderly. They also provide generational integration in an increasingly age-segregated society. However, their ability to perform is threatened by demographic and social change. Based on SHARE Wave 1 and Wave 2 data, we present an overview of the size of family networks of the elderly in Europe, describe the patterns of intergenerational support, and explain the activation of support from Wave 1 to Wave 2 as a function of exposure to life course risks. Our results show that aggregate transfer giving and support remains fairly stable across the two waves, but that there are substantial individual changes that react to changes in needs arising from problematic life course transitions. As to policy consequences, family support may be costly for those who give, especially women, and lead to individual

and policy dilemmas. Public policy should encourage new arrangements between employment and care. It should moreover be designed as generational policy i.e. address itself not only to those in need but also to those who support them.

Report: *The sociology of familial exchange in later life: A comparative German-Israeli study of the determinants of intergenerational transfers*, by Martin Kohli, Harald Künemund, Howard Litwin, Thomas Lux, Sharon Shiovitz-Ezra, and Claudia Vogel.

Published by the *German-Israeli Foundation for Scientific Research and Development*. Berlin: Free University.

We study the patterns of exchange of time and money between adult family generations in Germany and Israel. These patterns are crucial not only for the well-being of individuals and families, but also for the broader issues of social policy, social inequality and stratification, and social integration. The study charts the giving and receiving of time (social support across households, including personal care) and money (inter vivos and through bequests) in nationally representative samples of persons aged 50 and older in the two countries. It highlights both the specificities of the two societies and their commonalities, with the latter delineating the extent to which intergenerational family transfers are similar across a broad range of societal contexts. By this the study also resolves some of the theoretical debates in this field.

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Book chapter: *Democracies*, by Peter Mair.

Published in Daniele Caramani (ed), *Comparative Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008, 108-132.

Since the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, scholars and institutional designers have become much more interested in understanding how democracies differ from one another. This chapter reviews the reasons for this new concern with comparing democracies, and also

looks at the different definitions of democracy, paying particular attention to procedural definitions. Following a brief assessment of the different milestones that were reached on the path towards developing democracy, the chapter reviews the various attempts to model democracies as holistic systems and concludes that most efforts in this direction are almost bound to be frustrated. The chapter concludes by looking at the notion of audience democracy as well as at the growing levels of popular dissatisfaction with democracy.

Journal article: *The Parameters of Party Systems*, by Luciano Bardi and Peter Mair.

Published in *Party Politics*, 14:2, 2008, 147-166.

Despite the scepticism that increasingly surrounds their role and standing in contemporary democracies, scholarly interest in political parties continues unabated. But this interest is also proving uneven, with relatively little attention now being given to the study of party systems. More specifically, the level of theoretical interest in party systems remains very limited, with almost no substantial innovations being made since the publication of Sartori's classic work of 1976. This paper seeks to redress some of this neglect by identifying the relevant parameters that can be used in the definition of party systems and, eventually, in the explanation of party system change. We then go on to look at the minimum defining characteristics of a system of parties (as opposed to a set of parties) before finally arguing that party systems are best understood as multi-dimensional phenomena in which we identify and discuss the implications of three types of divisions – vertical, horizontal, and functional.

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Journal article: *Penser les guerres nouvelles : la doctrine militaire en questions*, by Pascal Vennesson.

Published in *Pouvoirs. Revue Française d'études constitutionnelles et politiques*, N° 125, 2008, pp. 81-91.

Military doctrine, and doctrinal thinking within military organizations, is a key aspect of the profound transformation of the armed forces in France since the 1990s. This article analyses the changing role of doctrine in the French military. First, it defines military doctrine and highlights its strategic and political implications. Second, the article presents the main sources and characteristics of the doctrine revival, particularly in the Army. Third, the article provides a critical examination of the current doctrine, especially the notion of war within the society on the one hand, and the relations between political and military logics, on the other.

Edited volume: *Konfliktfeld Islam in Europa*, edited by Monika Wohlrab-Sahr and Levent Tezcan.

Published by Nomos, 2007.

Related to migration and processes of globalization, a new arena of conflict has emerged in Europe. In this arena, Islam as the religion of migrants is of growing importance as a point of reference as well as of attribution. At the same time, local conflicts are embedded in a global horizon. The volume deals with this new constellation by means of case studies of different European countries (France, Bosnia, England, Germany, the Netherlands) as well as systematic contributions. It treats recent debates and conflicts as well as their societal and historical contexts. Among the contributors are: Shmuel Eisenstadt, Claire de Galember, Armando Salvatore, Werner Schiffauer, Reinhard Schulze, Monika Wohlrab-Sahr and others.

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Book chapter: *Religion and Science or Religion versus Science? About the Social Construction of the Science-Religion-Antagonism in the German Democratic Republic and its Lasting Consequences*, by Monika Wohlrab-Sahr.

Published in *The Role of Religion in Modern Societies*. edited by Detlef Pollack and Daniel

V.A. Olson. New York/London 2008: Routledge, pp. 223-247.

The chapter develops a specific perspective on the secularization process in the GDR. It is argued, that the (enduring) success of this process cannot be explained by social pressure alone; the successful construction of a dichotomy between religion and science by the Socialist Unity Party (SED) has to be taken into account. Even if it is based on a general tension between the two spheres in modernity (Max Weber), the explicit conflict between the spheres is the result of specific conditions under which such antagonism has been effectively constructed. Even today, East Germans differ significantly from West Germans with regards to the impact that “scientist” perspectives have on their world views in general. Based on family-interviews conducted within a research project at the University of Leipzig, three different modes of how such “scientist” perspectives may relate to religious issues are reconstructed.

Book chapter: *Die Sinnstruktur von Weltansichten und die Haltung gegenüber muslimischen Migranten*, by Monika Wohlrab-Sahr.

Published in *Konfliktfeld Islam in Europa*, Special Volume 17 of *Soziale Welt*, edited by Monika Wohlrab-Sahr and Levent Tezcan. Baden-Baden 2007: Nomos, pp 155-178.

The chapter introduces the concept of world views, based on the three dimensions of order, limit, and attribution. It conceptualizes a continuum of religious and non-religious world-views, which differ in their reference to levels of transcendence. Using data from the 4th membership survey of the Protestant Church of Germany (including Protestants and non-affiliates), results of a factor analysis are presented, based on different items related to the integration of Muslim migrants. Considering mainly the proportions, a broad reluctance towards certain elements of Islamic religious practice (especially headscarves in schools) is obvious, as well as the broad support of the idea of a “Christian leading culture”. Looked upon as parts of world views, such positions get different meanings. Then, the support for a leading culture is revealed as

an integral part of anomic worldviews as well as of world views strongly focusing on an external order. Headscarves are evaluated completely different in the context of different worldviews.

Book chapter: *Das stabile Drittel jenseits der Religiosität. Religionslosigkeit in Deutschland*, by Monika Wohlrab-Sahr.

Published in *Religionsmonitor 2008*, edited by Bertelsmann-Stiftung. Gütersloh 2007: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, pp 95-103.

Based on the data of „Religionsmonitor“, an international survey on religion conducted in 2007, the chapter interprets the findings for non-affiliation (with churches) and non-religiosity in Germany. Since the German reunification, non-religious and non-affiliates constitute one third of the population. Even if there is some religiosity among non-affiliates and some non-religiosity among affiliates, both characteristics overlap to a large degree. Non-affiliates show a certain amount of intellectual interest in religion, but hardly any religious practice or belief. In a comparative perspective, the difference between Turkey and Germany is of special interest. Whereas in Turkey the percentage of the population with a low level of religious intensity is less than 10 percent, in Germany it adds up to more than 30 percent. This sheds a certain light on recent debates about the presence of Islam in European country. It may be that those debates are not simply related to the notion of a Christian “leading culture”, but also to a certain notion of secularity that is seen to be endangered.

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Journal article: *Statist Cosmopolitanism*, by Lea Ypi.

Published in *Journal of Political Philosophy* 16, no. 1 (2008): 48–71.

The article defends the normative relevance of political communities for the pursuit of cosmopolitan justice. It makes no attempt to provide an independent argument for the

justification of cosmopolitan obligations. What it tries to show instead is that: *if* we accept that every needy individual in the world has a justified claim to certain primary goods (moral cosmopolitanism) and *if* the nature of the claim is such that it requires the transformation of political institutions (political cosmopolitanism), then political communities provide the unique associative sphere in which cosmopolitanism obtains political agency, may be legitimately enforced and cohesively maintained.

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Call for submissions

The fourth issue of *SPS in press* will come out in May. If you want your recent publications to be included, please send your abstracts to helen.callaghan@eui.eu before Monday, April 28.

Publications (by EUI-affiliated scholars) are eligible for inclusion if they are no more than 6 months old and have not been included in previous editions of the newsletter. Abstracts must not exceed 200 words and can be either in English or in the language in which the item was published. Please include information on the type of work and the nature of your affiliation with the SPS department.