

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: *Human Security and Coherence within the EU: the case of Small Arms and Light Weapons*, by Javier Alcalde & Caroline Bouchard.

Published in *Hamburg Review of Social Sciences* Vol. 3, Issue 1, 2008 (special issue on Revisiting Coherence in the Common Foreign and Security Policy).

The EU has presented itself as an important actor in the promotion of concrete international initiatives in the area of international human security. This paper examines whether coherence issues affected the EU's effectiveness in a specific case of human security negotiation: the 2006 UN Small Arms Review Conference. It begins by examining how the EU has become an active actor on the issue of small arms and light weapons (SALW). The issue of coherence of the EU in international policy-making being complex and multifaceted, the paper suggests an analytical framework which identifies different types of coherence in two dimensions: horizontal/vertical and content/representation. It also utilizes a multilevel game approach to examine the factors affecting the effectiveness of the EU at the 2006 Small Arms Review Conference. It explores the ways in which a complex web of actors and institutions interact at three different levels: EU, UN and domestic. This paper suggests that although the EU appeared to show some overall coherence, it suffered from vertical consistency problems and incoherence due to pillar competition. This had a direct impact on the ability of the EU to

be an effective actor during the Review Conference and affected the EU's capacity to convince other states to support its objectives.

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Journal article: *Review symposium: What went wrong with liberal multiculturalism?*

Published in *Ethnicities* vol. 8, N° 2, 2008: 271-276.

This essay is part of a review symposium of Will Kymlicka's recent book "Multicultural Odysseys", in which the Canadian political philosopher argues that international organisations have promoted liberal multiculturalism without taking into account its preconditions. My contribution suggests that there is also a need for revising normative defences of multiculturalism by shedding some of the culturalist baggage of theories such as Will Kymlicka's. I sketch an alternative defence of accommodating diversity that relies on the core values of liberty, equality and self-government without invoking contested values of cultural membership.

Book chapter: *Dreierlei Europa. Über politische Gemeinschaft und Bürgerschaft in der Union*, by Rainer Bauböck.

Published in Anton Pelinka and Fritz Plasser (eds.) *Europäisch Denken und Lehren. Festschrift für Heinrich Neisser*, Innsbruck University Press, 2007: 23 – 30.

This essay distinguishes three dimensions of citizenship in the European Union: a multinational, a supranational and a transnational one and argues that these correspond to three complementary sources of legitimacy in the EU polity: the EU as a multinational union of member states, the EU as a supranational democracy whose institutions of government are accountable to individual citizens, and the EU as transnational space of free movement within which a European civil society can emerge.

Journal Article: *The Rights of Others and the Boundaries of Democracy*, by Rainer Bauböck.

Published in *European Journal of Political Theory*, vol. 68, N° 4, 2007: 398-405.

This essay is a part of a review symposium on Seyla Benhabib's "The Rights of Others". It argues that Benhabib's attempt to apply discourse ethics to the problem of inclusion of non-citizens has not yet successfully resolved three puzzles about the boundaries of democratic polities. These are, first, the justification of immigration control in a context of global inequality, second, the principles for allocating individual membership status not only inside, but also outside the territorial jurisdiction, and, third, the question how to settle disputes over territorial borders.

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Working paper: *How Multilevel Governance Affects the Clash of Capitalisms*, by Helen Callaghan.

Published in the MPIfG Discussion Paper Series, No. 08/6. Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies, Cologne.

This article challenges the methodological nationalism of the convergence debate by arguing that multilevel governance destabilizes

the coalitions thought to underpin liberal and coordinated varieties of capitalism. Existing efforts to explain how coherent production regimes emerge and persist assume that some dominant social bloc ensures coherence by imposing its interests across all relevant regulatory subspheres. This assumption is not tenable in systems of multilevel governance. Three features of multilevel governance diminish the scope for a uniform social bloc to ensure a tight coupling of complementary regulations. First, the strategic opportunities for playing multilevel games vary across regulatory subspheres. Second, willingness to exploit these opportunities varies, because the transnational scope of legislation adds a "constrain-competitor" dimension to actors' decision-making that may either strengthen or weaken interest group cohesion. Third, the institutional set-up at the supranational level of Europe's multilevel polity multiplies alignment options. To illustrate these claims, the article draws on case studies of EU company law initiatives concerning takeovers and worker participation.

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Book: *European Governance and Democracy: Power and Protest in the EU*, by Richard Balme and Didier Chabanet.

Published by Rowman & Littlefield, 2008.

Considering the future of European integration, this study explores the interplay between collective action and democracy in the European Union and its member states. The authors analyze the influence of supranational governance on democratization through a wealth of case studies on a broad range of civil society interests, including regional policy, unemployment and poverty, women's rights, migration policy, and environmental protection. They trace the evolving relationship between citizens and European institutions over the past decades, especially as public support for deepening and widening integration has waned. This trend culminated in a deep institutional crisis precipitated by the rejection of the draft constitutional treaty in France and the Netherlands in 2005. At least two truisms were proven wrong during this tumultuous period:

that European citizens have little interest in European integration and that citizens have little influence on EU politics. However, this power shift has left citizens with a deep distrust of integration and EU institutions with limited capacities to cope with issues the public considers priorities-primarily unemployment and social inequalities

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Book chapter: *Sozialstaatlichkeit und demokratische Legitimation in Europa*, by Christine Chwaszcza.

Published in Helmut Koenig, Emanuel Richter and Sabine Schielke (eds.): *Gerechtigkeit in Europa. Transnationale Dimensionen einer normativen Grundfrage*, Bielefeldt: transcript Verlag, 2008.

The development of the European Union is transforming legal and political functions of, as well as socio-political practices within, its member states. These transformations conflict with basic assumptions of traditional accounts of socio-political justice and liberal theories of justification, because all of the traditional liberal approaches implicitly rely on the assumption of the co-extensionality of a unified political government and a unified legal domain with the unity of the citizens. This article argues that normative theory therefore has to respond to these transformations and explores how this might be done by discussing the issue of intra-European mobility of persons and state-organized systems of pension funds.

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Journal article: *De sociaaleconomische integratie van immigranten in de EU. Een analyse van de effecten van bestemmings- en herkomstlanden op de eerste en tweede generatie* [The socio-economic integration of immigrants in the EU. An analysis of the effects of countries of destination- and origin on first and second generation], by F. Fleischmann, and Jaap Dronkers.

Published in *Sociologie* 4 (2008): 2-37.

In this article, we analyse four different dimensions of socio-economic integration of 1st and 2nd generation immigrants into the labour markets of thirteen EU countries and we assess, taking into account a number of individual characteristics, the effects of the countries of origin and the countries of destination on this integration. We find that participation in the labour market, unemployment, occupational status and the chances of reaching the upper middle-class are different, although inter-related, dimensions of the socio-economic integration of immigrants and they work differently for men and women. In the countries of destination, the level of employment protection legislation affects this integration negatively. Most indicators of national policies aimed at the integration of immigrants have no effects on the socio-economic integration of immigrants. Furthermore, we find a number of origin effects which continue to have an impact on 2nd generation immigrants. Political stability and political freedom in origin countries have positive and negative effects on socio-economic integration. The emigration rate of the origin countries has a negative effect. The higher levels of socio-economic integration amongst immigrants from other EU-countries demonstrates the functioning of the European Union as an integrated labour market. Controlling for individual religious affiliation turns out to be very useful, since we find a number of negative effects of being a Muslim, among both men and women. Moreover the return of the education of Muslim men at the labour market is lower than for non-Muslim immigrants.

Journal article: *Declining Homogamy of Austrian-German Nobility in the 20th Century? A Comparison with the Dutch Nobility*, by Jaap Dronkers.

Published in *Historical Social Research / Historische Sozialforschung* Vol. 33, no. 2, 2008, pp. 262-284.

Has the Austrian-German nobility had the same high degree of noble homogamy during the 20th century as the Dutch nobility? Noble homogamy among the Dutch nobility was one of the two main reasons for their 'constant

noble advantage' in obtaining elite positions during the 20th century. The Dutch on the one hand and the Austrian-German nobility on the other can be seen as two extreme cases within the European nobility. The Dutch nobility seems to have had a lower degree of noble homogamy during the 20th century than the Austrian-German nobility. However, the analysis shows that this is a consequence of the different composition of the Austrian-German nobility (higher noble titles, more nobility with feudal origins), a more modern concept of nobility among the Dutch nobility (paternal family instead of noble stock of paternal and maternal ancestors) and a successful merger of the feudal and post-feudal Dutch nobility. If one takes these compositional differences between the Austrian, German and Dutch nobility into account, then the Dutch nobility had a higher degree of noble homogamy in the early 20th century, yet their homogamy declined faster during this century than that of the Austrian-German nobility.

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Journal article: Status prawny frakcji politycznych w Parlamencie Europejskim, by Wojciech Gagattek.

Published in *Studia Europejskie* No. 2 (42) 2007, pp. 83-111.

This article analyses the legal status and role of political groups in the European Parliament (EP). It argues that the legal status of political groups not only gives them an advantage over non-attached Members of the European Parliament (as it is often argued), but also over other entities in this institution, such as parliamentary committees. An analysis of groups' legal status and role provides a better understanding of the functioning of the EP. This article first offers some conceptual reflections and then a comparative case study of Parliament's Rules of Procedure in relation to the legal status of political groups in certain parliaments in EU Member States, such as Poland. Subsequently, through studying the case law of the European Court of Justice, the paper illustrates the problems of interpreting contentious issues within the Rules of Procedure. The analysis of the reports of the European Court of Auditors, on the other hand,

captures the problem of groups' legal and financial responsibility. Compared to other parliaments in Europe, political groups in the European Parliament seem to enjoy a large number of privileges that ensure their central position within the Parliament's operation.

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Journal Article: *Consensus to Contestation: Reconfiguring Democratic Representation in the European Union in the Light of 19th Century United States Democratization*, by Andrew Glencross.

Published in *Democratization*, 2008, 15:1, pp. 123-141.

This article explores how proposals for democratizing the EU according to a supranational, contestational model are likely to disrupt its existing political system. The current EU is characterized by a dual system of representation that combines the representation of member states with that of individual citizens. Democratization typically entails enhancing the representation of individuals at the expense of state prerogatives. It is thus possible to make a pertinent analogy with the antebellum United States, which also featured dual representation, and where a great wave of democratization took place following Andrew Jackson's presidency (1829–1837). As the system of representation there became more majoritarian, John C. Calhoun led the calls for introducing new anti-majoritarian constitutional safeguards. A transatlantic comparison suggests the contestational system born of EU democratization will require institutional innovation in order to prove viable. In this context, Calhoun's theory of nullification, an ex post political mechanism wielded by the units to stymie federal legislation, appears more appropriate as an anti-majoritarian bulwark and better able to engender constitutional debate over competences than is the EU's stillborn judicial principle of subsidiarity. In similarly Calhounian fashion, a bottom-up procedure of constitutional amendment originating in the units is further proposed as a way of establishing unit acquiescence to greater supranationalism.

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Edited volume. *European Politics: Pasts, Presents, Futures*, edited by Klaus H. Goetz, Peter Mair, and Gordon Smith.

Published as special issue of *West European Politics* Vol. 31, No. 1-2, 2008, 396pp.

This volume marks the 30th anniversary issue of the journal *West European Politics* and evaluates how European politics itself, as well as its study, has been changed since the late 1970s. Contributors include Yves Mény, Klaus Goetz, Peter Mair, Gordon Smith, Colin Crouch, Leonardo Morlino, Michael Keating, Maurizio Ferrera, Liesbet Hooghe, Gary Marks, Ronald Inglehart, Hanspeter Kriesi, Joni Lovenduski, Philippe Schmitter, Morten Egeberg, Martin Lodge, Vivien Schmidt, Frank Castles, Herbert Obinger, Ellen Immergut, Karen Anderson and Hans-Dieter Klingemann.

Journal article: *Trajectories of European Politics: An Introduction*, by Klaus Goetz, Peter Mair and Gordon Smith.

Published in *West European Politics* 31: 1-2, 2008, 1-13.

This article introduces a specially commissioned issue of *West European Politics* marking the journal's 30th anniversary. It highlights profound changes in the European political landscape over the past three decades, including the fall of Communism; progressive European integration; territorial restructuring; public sector reforms at European, national, regional and local levels; changes in democratic participation, protest, elections, political communications, political parties and party competition; and challenges to the welfare state. The special issue also discusses how political science has responded to these changes in terms of its substantive focus, concepts, methods and theories. Many of the 17 contributions included in the special issue identify important challenges for the future, including those challenges stemming from European integration, the reduced

accountability of politicians, the problematic legitimation of party government and the sharpening of the edges of the state.

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Journal article: "The Challenge to Party Government", *West European Politics* 31: 1-2, 2008, 211-34, by Peter Mair.

Published in *West European Politics* 31: 1-2, 2008, 211-234.

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. [This paper was previously listed in the EUI Working Paper series]

Book chapter: "Popular Democracy and the European Union Polity," by Peter Mair.

Published in Deirdre Curtin and Anchrith Wille (eds.), *Meaning and Practice of Accountability in the EU Multi-Level Context*. Connex Report Series No. 7, Mannheim, 2008, 19-62.

Although we still celebrate the late twentieth-century 'victory of democracy', our understanding of what democracy entails in both theory and practice is increasingly subject to a variety of qualifying definitions, many of

which now seem to devalue the role of elections and electoral accountability. This is also obviously seen in the politics of the European Union, where the efforts to displace conflict dimensions into arenas where democratic authority is lacking, as well as the efforts to depoliticize issues that relate to European integration, have led to the development of a distinct political system in which the exercise of popular control and electoral accountability proves very difficult. At the same time, the EU should not be seen as exceptional in this regard, but should instead be seen as symptomatic of a wider process of depoliticization. As the experience of the EU suggests, the combination of popular democracy and legitimacy is proving increasingly problematic - not only in Europe, but also further afield

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Book chapter: *Que tienen en comun la identidad, el espacio publico y la democracia?*, by Daniela Vicherat Mattar.

Published in *Espacios Publicos y Construcción Social. Hacia un ejercicio de ciudadanía*. Edited by Olga Segovia. Santiago, Chile: SUR Ediciones, December 2007, pp. 57-68

De un tiempo a esta parte muchos de los debates académicos y políticos han reposicionado temas que giran en torno a la pregunta por la identidad, el espacio público y la desafección ciudadana por la democracia. Que tienen que ver estos conceptos entre sí y como nos afectan en nuestra vida cotidiana es sobre lo que reflexiona este artículo. La premisa es simple: tanto la identidad como los espacios públicos y la democracia son por definición categorías inacabadas que implican procesos, implican dinámicas de relaciones sociales que modelan tanto la subjetividad individual como las relaciones intersubjetivas y la formación de lo colectivo. Que así sea es a la vez una ventaja y un peligro. Una ventaja, porque significa que la posibilidad de cambio y re-creación está siempre presente. Un peligro, porque supone los conceptos y las experiencias que ellos reflejan, se desgastan. De hecho, la identidad, los espacios públicos y la democracia no solo forman parte de la jerga en

la que se refugian políticos, académicos y los hacedores de políticas, sobre todo son conceptos que se vinculan estrechamente con nuestra vida cotidiana, pública y privada. Los tres son conceptos fundamentales a la hora de cuestionar el país que estamos construyendo día a día, el que habitamos y aquel que habitamos con aquel que querríamos habitar.

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Journal article: The Impact of the ECHR and the European Court of Human Rights on the Rights of Third Country Nationals in Greece, by Georgia Mavrodi.

Published in the *Journal of Immigration Asylum and Nationality Law* Vol. 22, No. 1, 2008, pp. 45 – 62.

Combining perspectives from “Europeanisation”, migration and legal studies, this article focuses on the mechanisms and scope conditions that account for the impact of European norms of human rights protection on national immigration policy making. The case of Greece highlights the importance of domestic institutional, cultural and economic factors, which may facilitate or inhibit the domestic impact of international norms and jurisprudence. The article shows that ECHR norms may have considerable effects on protecting and even enhancing the rights of third country nationals, when they are diffused in domestic case-law through institutional windows of opportunity and the mechanisms of developing domestic jurisprudence. However, the characteristics of immigration flows, the costs associated with domestic and international litigation, and the national legal culture may prove decisive in limiting the impact of European legal norms on the rights of third country nationals. The article refines what we already know about the domestic impact of international norms, and it invites for a comparison with other neglected cases of “new” or “older” immigration countries in Europe.

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Journal article: *What makes you happy? Insights into feelings and muses of community radio practitioners*, by Stefania Milan.

Published in Westminster Papers in Communication and Culture, Vol. 5, N° 11, 2008, pp. 25-43.

What makes you happy in your daily activity at the radio? This question was asked to more than forty community radio practitioners from all over the world in the framework of a research on community radios as a social movement. People were encouraged to reveal their feelings and elaborate on their inner motivations for joining the radio station. Three main points could be singled out from the interviews: the idea of the radio as a 'free space' for the articulation of views and opinions, the role of community radio as an amplifier of voices of other social groups, and the collective dimension of the projects. This article draws on interview texts using the method of discourse analysis to illustrate motivational frames of community radios activists, providing an original view of the radios, often considered 'only' as producers of alternative audio material or mere 'infrastructures', while the dimension of motivations and feelings is often neglected.

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Journal article: *The Limits of Consequentialism: ICTY Conditionality and (Non)Compliance in Post-Milosevic Serbia*, by Nikolas Milan Rajkovic.

Published in Review of European and Russian Affairs, vol. 4, No. 1 (2008), pp. 27-72.

Since 2000-the dusk of the Milosevic-era-three successive Serbian governments, the Djindjic, Zivkovic and Kostunica administrations, have amassed an inconsistent and oscillating record of (non)compliance with EU and US conditionality for full cooperation with the International Criminal Tribunal on the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY). How do we explain this changing pattern of compliance and noncompliance by Serbia? This paper contends that international rules and norms which attempt far-reaching institutional and

social change, such as ICTY conditionality in Serbia, will likely elicit a historical process that is multidimensional and diachronic, more politically complex than the parsimony suggested by incentives-based, model-driven theorizing. The paper argues for a more contextual and practice-oriented approach to the study of compliance politics; focusing on how material, normative and temporal dimensions interact historically to form particular compliance processes & outcomes. The empirical section uses inductive process-tracing to make a temporal reconstruction of the process and experience of Serbian (non)compliance with ICTY conditionality during the Kostunica government; focusing on the interaction between three dimensions of compliance politics: (1) strategic calculation; (2) identity & cultural resonance; and (3) temporality.

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Journal article: *Who cares? Changing patterns of childcare in Central and Eastern Europe*, by Dorota Szelewa and Michal Polakowski.

Published in *Journal of European Social Policy*, Vol 18(2) 2008: 115-131.

Abstract: This article compares childcare provisions in the new member countries of the EU. It takes into account two pillars of childcare policy: publicly provided childcare services and parental leave provisions. In the analysis, the *fuzzy set* ideal types approach is utilized. In contrast to the studies conducted so far, this article stops treating the region of Central and Eastern Europe as a monolith and demonstrates the existence of cross-country variation of childcare policies within the region. Furthermore, the difference is systematized by identifying four clusters of childcare policy. These are: explicit familialism, implicit familialism, female mobilizing and comprehensive support types. The countries are clustered as follows: the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Slovenia in the explicit familialism policy model; Estonia and Latvia in the female mobilizing type policy; Lithuania and Hungary pursuing the childcare policies typical of the comprehensive support

model; and finally the childcare policy in Poland resembles characteristics of the implicit familialism model.

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Book: *Qualitative Sozialforschung. Ein Arbeitsbuch*, by Aglaja Przyborski and Monika Wohlrab-Sahr.

Published by Oldenbourg, Munich 2008.

The book gives an introduction into methodology and practice of qualitative research. It deals with the complete process of social research: Starting with the first conception of a research project, it deals with problems of entering the field, with different kinds of data collection, several sampling procedures, different methods of interpretation, with the issue of generalization and – finally – with the problem of writing down one's findings in an adequate way. Also the basic principles of qualitative methodology, including adequate standards for qualitative research are discussed. The authors deal with different qualitative approaches, but nevertheless point out their commonalities, as well as common problems of quantitative and qualitative research. Many practical examples are given for every step of the research process. The book may be used by students and researchers as a guideline for qualitative research, as well as a textbook for teaching qualitative methods. The book could be finished during a sabbatical at the EUI.

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