

SPS in press

This bi-monthly newsletter lists details of recent publications by faculty, fellows, and researchers currently associated with the Department of the Political and Social Sciences of the European University Institute. Full bibliographic details of these and all other publications stemming from the EUI are available at <http://cadmus.eui.eu/dspace/index.jsp>.

Editor: Armèn Hakhverdian, Max Weber Fellow
armen.hakhverdian@eui.eu

May 2010

Rainer Bauböck
Professor

‘Studying Citizenship Constellations’,
Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 36
(5), 847-59.

The field of citizenship studies is moving towards a more systematic comparative approach. There are also signs that the gap between political and legal branches might be narrowing. For both comparative and normative purposes, we need to study not merely the citizenship traditions, laws and policies of states considered separately, but rather as part of intertwined citizenship constellations. The paper explores this new research perspective.

Dorothee Bohle
Visiting Fellow

‘Varieties of Capitalism and Capitalism “tout court”’, *European Journal of Sociology*, 2009, 50(3), 355-86 (with Bela Greskovits).

The article reviews the “Varieties of Capitalism” (VoC) approach and its large impact on the field of comparative political

economy. It situates the approach within the field, and stresses its specificities. The article argues that VoC’s firm-centeredness, parsimony, and reliance on conceptual tools borrowed from economics, fit better than other approaches to a *Zeitgeist* formed in the context of the demise of Western capitalism’s alternatives, and the globalization-induced shift of societies’ center of gravity away from politics towards firms and markets. The article then revisits major debates that have followed the publication of the seminal Hall-Soskice book. The debates have revealed that VoC’s greatest strengths, in the end, turn out to be obstacles when it comes to analyzing problems of contemporary capitalism.

‘Transnationale Unternehmen und Gewerkschaften in Osteuropa’, *Industrielle Beziehungen*, Special Issue, 2010, 17(2) (co-edited with Dieter Sadowski).

With their accession to the European Union, Central Eastern European countries quickly became attractive investment locations for West European Multinationals. Investors cherish the favorable industrialization legacies, skill structures and stable

institutional environment as well as the low remuneration levels, low trade union density, and limited collective bargaining capacities. The special issue takes stock of investment strategies of Multinational Companies in the region and analyses work practices in their subsidiaries, maps the emerging intra-European division of labor, analyses the reasons for trade union weakness in Central Eastern Europe and East Germany, and investigates under which conditions transnational labor cooperation can come about.

‘Slovakia and Hungary: successful and failed euro entry without social pacts’, in P. Pochet, M. Keune and D. Natalie (eds) *After the Euro and Enlargement: Social Pacts in the EU*. Brussels: ETUI (with Bela Greskovits).

Faced with the challenge of labor market and public sector reforms in the 2000s, the majority of post-socialist new member states of the European Union have not emulated the practices of a number of “older” member states, in which the need for similar reforms – typically related to the adoption of the euro – led to a surge of social pacts. To better understand the reasons for the absence of national-level social pacts in most ECE countries, we compare the dynamics and logic of policy making in Slovakia and Hungary with a focus on the neglect and atrophy of institutionalized social dialogue in the policy process, and its consequences over the 2000s. In particular, we argue that by routinely bypassing and thus hollowing out one of the few established institutions of civil actors’ participation in policy making and implementation, namely the tripartite institutions, the Slovak and Hungarian governments have not done good service to themselves, and eventually undermined their countries’ social and political stability.

Edoardo Bressanelli

Researcher

‘La Politica nella Unione Europea all’Orizzonte 2009: Gruppi e Partiti in Azione’, *La Comunità Internazionale*, 2009, 64(4), 607-28 (with M. Peronaci).

In June 2009, about 350 million European citizens have been asked to cast their vote for the new European Parliament. Once more, however, the participation of the European people(s) failed to reach a satisfactory level and the “democratic deficit” argument regained momentum. This result appears to be in sharp contrast with the expectations enshrined in the Treaty of Lisbon, declaring that the Union “shall be founded on representative democracy”, with the direct representation of the EU citizens in the European Parliament and a linkage role explicitly assigned to the EU transnational parties. This paper, relying on an ample documentary evidence concerning European institutions and parties and on a questionnaire targeting the Italian elected representatives in the Sixth EP, seeks to depict the current state of “representative democracy” in the EU. It focuses, specifically, on the “European” elements of the EU elections: the definition of common electoral rules among the Member States, the presentation of clear and distinct programmatic agendas by the Euro-parties and the consolidation of autonomous party organizations in Brussels. Finally, the effects of the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty on the political and institutional architecture of the EU are also briefly evaluated.

Hanns-Georg Brose

Fernand Braudel Senior Fellow

‘Das Gleichzeitige ist ungleichzeitig – Über den Umgang mit einer Paradoxie in Zeiten der Transformation’ in H.-G. Soeffner (ed) *Unsichere Zeiten. Herausforderungen gesellschaftlicher Transformationen*. Verhandlungen des 34. Kongresses der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Soziologie in

Jena 2008. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag, 2010, pp 547-62.

Gängigen Thesen zufolge entwickelt sich die soziale Zeit in spätmodernen Gesellschaften in einer Art dialektischer Bewegung: Zunehmende Beschleunigung führe zur Annihilation von Raum und Zeit und schlage schließlich in einen „rasenden Stillstand“ um. So entstehe eine zeitlose Zeit. Diese Interpretation ist weder theoretisch schlüssig noch empirisch haltbar. Als alternative theoretische Herangehensweise wird im Anschluss an die neuere Systemtheorie vorgeschlagen, von der Prämisse der unausweichlichen Gleichzeitigkeit des Geschehens in der Weltgesellschaft auszugehen. Gleichzeitigkeit, also das Fehlen jeglicher Unterscheidung in der Zeitdimension, bedeutet aber zunächst „Chaos“: Es gibt keine Differenz von vorher und nachher, Ursachen und Wirkungen können nicht unterschieden werden. Um sich nicht in diesem schwarzen Loch der Gleichzeitigkeit zu verlieren, müssen soziale/psychische Systeme Ungleichzeitigkeiten - und damit erst eigentlich Zeit - konstituieren. Diese Konstitution vollzieht sich jedoch wiederum unausweichlich unter Bedingungen der Gleichzeitigkeit des Weltgeschehens, also als Entfaltung eines Paradox: Das Gleichzeitige ist ungleichzeitig. Als ein bewährtes Mittel dazu dient die standardisierte Weltzeit. Für alle sozialen Systeme/Akteure gilt als sie als Referenz. Durch diese Zeitrechnung, die die Gleichzeitigkeit bzw. Ungleichzeitigkeit des jeweiligen Weltgeschehens zu bestimmen erlaubt, wird die Mannigfaltigkeit aber auch die Synchronisierbarkeit von unterschiedlichen Eigenzeiten ermöglicht. In dem Beitrag wird vorgeschlagen, diese zeittheoretischen Überlegungen zur Grundlage der Entwicklung empirisch gehaltvoller Hypothesen zur Analyse der sozialen Zeit in Gegenwartsgesellschaften zu machen.

László Bruszt
Professor

‘Civil Society, Institutional Change and the Politics of Reform’, *UNU-WIDER World Institute for Development Economics Research Working Papers*, 2010/38 (with N. F. Campos, J. Fidrmuc, and G. Roland).

This paper examines the relationship between differences in civil society development under communism and the political, economic and institutional change and transformation after 1989. We collected a unique dataset on nature and intensity of dissident activities in 27 former communist countries during the years immediately preceding the collapse of communism. We use the resulting data to explain the subsequent political, economic and institutional developments in the post-communist countries. Both extent of political opposition and severity of government reaction help explain the choice of political regime after 1989, the concentration of power government and the nature and pace of economic reforms.

Available at:

http://www.wider.unu.edu/publications/working-papers/2010/en_GB/wp2010-38/

Helena Carrapiço
Researcher

‘The evolution of the European Union’s Understanding of Organized crime and its embedment in EU discourse’, in F. Allum, D. Irrera, F. Longo and P. Kostakos (eds) *Defining and Defying Organised Crime*. New York: Routledge, 2010.

In the light of current level of threat assessment applied by the European Union (EU) to the phenomenon of organized crime and the importance this phenomenon has come to hold within Justice and Home Affairs, this article will examine the origin and development of such discourse, as well as the policy responses adopted during its

path from random police cooperation to a set of European Union institutionalized policies. More specifically, this text argues that the EU anti-organized crime discourse is perfectly in line with the securizing trends of the Area of Freedom, Security and Justice (AFSJ).

Considering that anti-organized crime policies are directly linked to specific understandings of what organized crime is and do not constitute simple reactions to external independent events, this chapter proposes to approach the concept of organized crime as a social construction enabled through the power of discourse. Basing itself on this idea, this text analyses key documents of the EU discourse on organized crime, as well as interviews with EU Officials, by underlining how they reproduce a specific concept of security.

Ayça Çubukçu

Max Weber Fellow

‘Few Prime Fragments for a Radical Title,’ *parallax*, 2010, 16(3), 94-5.

[No abstract available]

Mayo Fuster Morell

Researcher

‘La PARTECIPAZIONE NELLE COMUNITÀ DI CREAZIONE ONLINE. PARTECIPAZIONE COME ECOSISTEMA? i CASI DI OPENESF.NET E WIKIPEDIA’, *Politica del diritto. Il Molino*, 2, 2010 (Italy). Ed. Il Molino.

Le comunità di creazione online costituiscono una forma di azione collettiva basata su ambienti virtuali e che dà luogo alla fornitura di un bene o servizio pubblico. Le comunità di creazione online seguono modelli comuni per quanto riguarda la distribuzione della generazione di contenuti. Le analisi quantitative della partecipazione in queste comunità mostrano l’esistenza di forti diseguglianze a livello dei contributi tra i partecipanti. Per meglio valutare la

partecipazione negli ambienti e nelle comunità online, il articolo analizza in che modo la partecipazione stessa è organizzata e concepita. Grazie all’analisi qualitativa delle logiche e delle concezioni organizzative è emerso che la partecipazione nelle comunità online non ha un carattere dicotomico (partecipare o non partecipare), ma sembra seguire il funzionamento di un ‘ecosistema’.

‘Participacion en comunidades online y democracia radical’, in A. Calle (ed) *Aproximaciones a la democracia radical*. Editorial Popular, 2010.

Este artículo analiza la lógica organizativa de la participación en las comunidades de creación online (CCOs). El análisis se desarrolla a partir de dos estudios de caso: uno sobre una plataforma creada por el Foro Social Europeo y otro sobre Wikipedia. La participación en comunidades online se aleja de un carácter dicotómico y parece seguir un funcionamiento “de ecosistema”. La participación se puede entender como un ecosistema en seis sentidos. 1) Lo que importa es que el sistema esta abierto a la participación, pero no se espera que todo el mundo participe y contribuya de la misma manera. 2) La participación adopta múltiples formas y grados que están integrados. 4) La participación es pública; 5) La participación es autónoma en el sentido de que cada persona elige el nivel de compromiso que quiere asumir y de qué maneras quiere contribuir. 6) La participación es voluntaria. 7) La participación no sólo es deliberación sino implementación. Para concluir se incluye una reflexión sobre las cuestiones e implicaciones políticas que las CCOs plantean y sobre qué aportan a la definición de los conceptos de democracia radical o directa.

‘La governance dei commons digitali: Wikipedia e il World Social Forum’, A Anna Carola Freschi e Sabrina Franceschini (Coord.) *E-democracy 2.0 - Istituzioni, cittadini, nuove reti: un lessico possibile*,

Quaderni della Partecipazione. Regione Emilia – Romagna, 2010.

In this paper Fuster Morell explores the democratic potential of the Internet in communities around knowledge-making processes for the provision of public goods. The paper presents several models of governance of platforms of participation and how governance relates to community growth. Though the case study of Wikipedia and World Social Forum, the author analyses the role of the providers of the platforms that host the interaction and the distribution of functions between the providers and the community of participants in “co-governing” the process.

Alexi Gugushvili

Researcher

‘Towards a welfare research framework in the countries of Eastern Partnership Initiative’, *Journal of East European and Asian Studies*, 2010, 1(3), 351-81.

Abstract: The Eastern Partnership (EaP) initiative is a EU project aiming to advance socioeconomic development in Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine. To date, virtually no research has been done on comparative welfare systems in these countries. This paper aims to narrow this gap. It is argued here that the comparative welfare state approach for the Central and Eastern European Post-Communist countries is not appropriate for the selected region, since weak democratic institutions and economic underperformance contradict the foundations of the welfare state. The paper instead considers a welfare regime paradigm developed for less advanced nations. The empirical part is based on the clustering method to analyse different welfare indicators and on binomial logistic regressions to scrutinise public attitudes towards welfare. The results indicate that the welfare outcomes in EaP countries can be clustered into three distinct groups, but that using conventional welfare state variables

cannot explain the systematic determinants of varying welfare performance among the countries. It appears that employing the welfare regime framework, which more vividly takes into account the domestic and international activities of state, market and household, can increase the robustness of research of the strategies employed by EaP countries to address their social risks.

Costanza Hermanin

Researcher

‘Le istituzioni contro la discriminazione razziale’ (Bodies against racial discrimination), *Lavoro e diritto*, 2009, 4, 641-56.

The fact that antidiscrimination law has been harmonized and enhanced at European Union level does not imply automatically that victims of discrimination have easier access to existing means of redress. Thus, this contribution stresses the role of equality bodies for the enforcement of antidiscrimination law. After an overview of the antidiscrimination bodies existing before Directive 2000/43 introduced a requirement for all member states to set up an equality body, the article analyses the provisions of the directive highlighting their strengths and limits. Last, three equality bodies established ex novo in France, Germany and Italy are described, with a particular focus on the latter one. The analysis shows that multidimensional independence and adequate resources are essential if equality bodies are to positively enhance redress possibilities for victims of racial discrimination.

Martin Kohli

Professor

‘Childlessness and intergenerational transfers: What is at stake?’ *Ageing & Society*, 2009, 29(8), 1171-83 (with M. Albertini).

(Special issue on *Minimal families*:

Childlessness and intergenerational transfers, co-edited with M. Albertini).

In this introductory article for the special issue on Childlessness and Intergenerational Transfers, we first discuss the prior research literature and then overview the presented contributions. Up to now, childless older adults have been treated for the most part as both homogeneous and a problematic group. This does not do justice to the different pathways to childlessness: there are those who actively forgo having children, those who defer births so long that they involuntarily become childless, and those who are not fecund or lack a partner. It also neglects the changing social profile of the childless, e.g. the shift from less educated to more highly-educated women. Most importantly, it fails to recognise what childless older people give to others. The studies presented here aim to redress these two deficits in previous research. They examine how the consequences of childlessness are mediated by the pathways to and motivations for being childless and by factors such as gender, education and marital history, and they also examine what childless older adults provide to their families and to society at large. Such adults establish strong linkages with next-of-kin relatives, invest in non-family networks, and participate in voluntary and charitable activities, and broadly do so to a greater extent than older people with surviving children.

‘What childless older people give: Is the generational link broken?’ *Ageing & Society*, 2009, 29(8), 1261-74 (with M. Albertini).

(Special issue on *Minimal families: Childlessness and intergenerational transfers*, co-edited with M. Albertini).

With the increase of childlessness in European societies, its consequences have become a matter of concern. Studies in this field, however, have concentrated on what childless people lack and need in terms of social, financial and moral support. In

contrast, this article focuses on what childless people give to their families, friends, unrelated others and to society at large. Using 2004 data on social support and financial transfers given and received by people aged 50 or more years in ten European countries from the Survey of Health Ageing and Retirement in Europe (SHARE), the analyses show that the support networks of childless older people tend to be somewhat weaker than those of parents and that links with members of the younger generations in the family are stronger for parents than for those without children. The results also indicate, however, that the differences in transfer behaviour between parents and childless adults are small, and that the support networks of the childless are more diverse than those of parents, and characterised by stronger links with ascendants and lateral relatives and with nonrelatives. Moreover, people without children tend to be more intensely involved in charities and comparable organisations.

‘Verschärfen oder verringern Erbschaften die soziale Ungleichheit?’ in S. Nissen & G. Vobruba (eds) *Die Ökonomie der Gesellschaft*. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2009, pp. 95-107 (with H. Künemund).

Die mit dem Matthäus-Effekt einhergehende Annahme einer generellen Verschärfung sozialer Ungleichheiten durch Erbschaften greift zu kurz. Auf der gesamtgesellschaftlichen Ebene reproduziert sich die soziale Ungleichheit derart, dass Personen mit höherem Einkommen oder Vermögen eine höhere Erbschaftswahrscheinlichkeit aufweisen. Daraus kann man in der Tat – ganz im Sinne des „Matthäus-Effekts“ – auf eine Verschärfung der absoluten Ungleichheit in der Erbgeneration schließen: Wer schon mehr hat, dem wird mehr gegeben. Damit überträgt sich ein wesentlicher Teil der Ungleichheit zwischen den Eltern auf die Erben und führt bei diesen zu einer stärker ausgeprägten internen Differenzierung. Da

der Erbfall überwiegend erst im mittleren Erwachsenenalter eintritt, bedeutet dies auch eine biographisch spätere Transmission sozialer Ungleichheit, als sie in der Schichtungs- und Mobilitätsforschung gewöhnlich unterstellt wird. Auf gesamtgesellschaftlicher Ebene bleibt jedoch die Ungleichheit der Vermögensverteilung unverändert oder nimmt sogar ab, insbesondere im Falle einer progressiven Besteuerung. Die Schlüssel zur Auflösung dieser komplexen Zusammenhänge liegen einerseits in der Präzisierung des zugrunde gelegten Ungleichheitskonzepts (absolute oder relative Ungleichheit), andererseits in der ins Auge gefassten Population (Erbgeneration oder Gesamtbevölkerung). Bei einem relativen Ungleichheitskonzept nimmt die Vermögensungleichheit in der Gesamtbevölkerung durch Erbschaften nicht zu-, sondern tendenziell etwas ab.

‘What transfers from parents contribute to the economic well-being of adult children’, in H. Obinger & E. Rieger (eds) *Wohlfahrtsstaatlichkeit in entwickelten Demokratien: Herausforderungen, Reformen und Perspektiven*. Frankfurt/M: Campus, 2009, pp. 493-516 (with H. Künemund and J. Lüdicke).

According to the conventional story of modernization, adults have become increasingly independent and separated from their family of origin. The influence of the family on children’s life chances is limited to the period before and during schooling; family strategies of children’s status maintenance or status improvement must become educational strategies. Recent research on intergenerational transfers refutes this view. It shows that the transfer of financial resources from parents to children remains important until after the parents’ death, both as *inter vivos* transfers and as bequests. Parents thus influence their children’s economic well-being throughout the joint life course of the two generations (and even beyond). This influence is unequal, however; some children profit from transfers

while others do not. In this paper we ask how the transfer process shapes social inequality, and which adult children are to gain or to lose. Based on data from Germany, we proceed in three steps. First, we find that current *inter vivos* transfers tend to go to the more needy children of a family (and are thus altruistically motivated), while bequests favor children who are themselves better off (and thus exhibit a ‘Matthew effect’). Secondly, we model the effect of parental bequests on economic well-being in middle age. Finally, we show that, in spite of their Matthew effect, bequests do not increase overall relative wealth inequality but tend to somewhat reduce it.

‘The life story approach: A continental view’, in N. G. Fielding (ed) *Interviewing II*, vol. 2. London: Sage; and in B. Harrison (ed.): *Life story research*. London: Sage. (Reprint from 1984, with D. Bertaux)

‘Die Institutionalisierung des Lebenslaufs. Historische Befunde und theoretische Argumente’ in H. Solga, J. Powell & P. A. Berger (eds) *Soziale Ungleichheit: Klassische Texte zur Sozialstrukturanalyse*. Frankfurt/M: Campus, pp. 387-409 (Reprint from 1985).

‘The world we forgot: A historical review of the life course’, in W.R. Heinz, J. Huinink, and A. Weymann (eds) *The life course reader: Individuals and societies across time*. Frankfurt/M: Campus, pp. 64-90 (Reprint from 1986).

Friedrich Kratochwil
Professor

‘How (Il)liberal is the Liberal Theory of Law? Some Critical Remarks on Slaughter’s Approach’, *Comparative Sociology*, 2010, 9(1), 120-45.

Also appeared as ‘How (Il)liberal is the Liberal Theory of Law? Some Critical Remarks on Slaughter’s Approach’, in L. Morlino and G. Palombella (eds) *Rule of Law*

and Democracy. Leiden: Brill, 2010, pp. 187-212.

This article explores the limits of Anne-Marie Slaughter's liberal theory of (international) law. Despite her admirable interdisciplinary work, Slaughter falls prey to proposing largely technical solutions based on best practices and buttressed by universal norms. She thereby misses the purpose of law as a source of meaning, not to mention the historicity and content-independent authority of law that can be legitimized only politically. Despite all universality, a closer look reveals that the practices of the US are taken to be best practices which then make them part of an imperial project. They are not a means of mediating between the inevitable cultural, political, and historical tensions that are part of our predicament.

'Between Explaining and Understanding: What is new in the New Systems Theory?' in L.-E. Cederman and A. Wendt (eds), *The New Systems Theory*. New York: Palgrave/Macmillan, 2010, pp. 23-43 (with Oliver Kessler).

[No abstract available]

Theresa Kuhn
Researcher

'Austria', in W. Gagatsek (ed) *The 2009 Elections to the European Parliament: Country Reports*. Florence: European University Institute (with S. Meyer, F. Perlot., and F. Wolkenstein).

This country report gives a concise overview of the background, issues, campaigns and results of the 2009 EP elections in Austria. It starts out by discussing the main political events preceding the elections and the actors dominating the national political scene. Next, it presents the most salient topics structuring public discourse and emphasises party campaign strategies and dynamics. Finally, the election results and their ramifications for national politics are discussed.

Bram Lancee
Researcher

'The economic returns of immigrants' bonding and bridging social capital. The case of the Netherlands', *International Migration Review*, 44(1), 202-26.

This paper aims at explaining to what extent social capital can help immigrants in the Netherlands make headway on the labor market. Two forms of social capital are identified. Bonding refers to a dense network with thick trust and is measured as the strength of family ties and trust in the family. Bridging implies a crosscutting network with thin trust and is measured as inter-ethnic contacts and outward orientation. It is examined to what extent bonding and bridging for immigrants in the Netherlands can be associated with a higher likelihood of employment and higher income. Results show that 1) bridging networks are positively associated with both employment and income; 2) bonding networks do not affect economic outcomes; 3) levels of trust (neither thick nor thin) cannot explain economic outcomes.

Julia Langbein
Researcher

'À la carte - Die Ukraine und der Freihandel mit der EU', *Osteuropa*, 2010, 60(2-4), 359-72.

Die Ukraine verhandelt mit der EU über ein umfassendes Freihandelsabkommen. Das osteuropäische Land soll die Regelungen des EU-Binnenmarkts übernehmen, im Gegenzug werden tarifäre Handelsbarrieren abgebaut. Dagegen sperren sich in der Ukraine all jene, die von der intransparenten und korruptionsanfälligen Wirtschaftspolitik profitieren oder einem höheren Wettbewerbsdruck ausgesetzt sein werden. Im Verwaltungsapparat ist der Widerstand groß. Die Interessen der Großunternehmer hingegen sind vielfältig. Ihre Haltung zu dem

Freihandelsabkommen ist daher ebenso wie jene der Parteien ambivalent.

Kathryn Lum

Researcher

‘The Ravidassia Community and Identity (ies) in Catalonia, Spain’, *Sikh Formations*, 2010, 6(1), 31-48.

This article discusses the Punjabi Sikh community in Spain, with a special focus on its caste profile and on the ex-touchable Ravidassia community. The author describes the evolution of the Ravidassia community in Barcelona and their increasing institutional/cultural autonomy from mainstream Sikhism with the passage of time. Ravidassia experiences of caste discrimination in Spain are discussed, and the reasons for their perception of increased casteism in the diaspora are analysed. Finally, the impact of the 2009 Vienna killings, in which the most important *sant* (religious leader) of the Ravidassias was killed, is discussed. The implications for both individual religious/caste identity and community cohesion are explored, based on fieldwork carried out during 2009/2010 by the author.

Dennis-Jonathan Mann

Researcher

‘Die Schlussbestimmungen des Vertrags von Lissabon’, in A. Marchetti and C. Demesmay (eds), *Der Vertrag von Lissabon. Analyse und Bewertung*, Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlag, 2010, pp. 267-85.

This chapter examines and evaluates the ‘final provisions’ of the Lisbon treaty. It is part of an interdisciplinary *Kommentar* on the Lisbon treaty that has been produced in the course of a joint project by ZEI (Bonn) and Ifri (Paris). The most important change identified in the ‘final provisions’ is the unilateral right of any member state ‘to decide to withdraw from the Union’ (Art. 50). Other important changes to the hitherto

existing provisions can be found in the Unions legal personality (Art. 47) and the new ‘revision procedure’ (Art. 48ff) which is mostly based on that of the failed ‘Constitutional Treaty’. The chapter closes with a *political* evaluation of the changes and finds the new provisions to be only partly convincing.

Jeroen Moes

Researcher

‘CosmoPoles: A Mixed-methods Study on the European Identity of Higher-educated Polish Youth’, *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism*, 2009, 9(3), 429-51.

Through the combination of quantitative and qualitative analyses, this study investigates the extent to which a European identity has emerged across Europe and what it means to ‘be European’ for higher-educated Polish youth. The results of a quantitative comparative analysis (multilevel regression analysis on Eurobarometer survey data) are complemented by the results from a qualitative inquiry that was conducted within the framework of the same research project. It is argued that national and European political identifications are not mutually exclusive but rather seem to complement each other (both quantitatively and qualitatively). It is further argued that mixed-methods research designs offer a promising approach to the study of collective identities and Europeanisation.

Klaus Poier

Visiting Fellow

‘*Demokratie im Umbruch. Perspektiven einer Wahlrechtsreform*’, Wien/Köln/Graz: Böhlau, 2009 (editor).

Especially because of the criticism of the grand coalition and the related democratic deficits, Austria has witnessed an increasing discussion about a reform of the electoral system in the last few years. Reform proposals vary from a change towards a

majority voting system to a higher personalization of the electoral system. This book collects 22 papers written by renowned Austrian political science and public law scholars (e.g. Joseph Marko, Heinrich Neisser, Anton Pelinka, Manfred Welan) who analyze the theoretical framework as well as concrete alternatives for an electoral system reform from different perspectives. In addition, some articles are dedicated to an international comparison (e.g. Mario Caciagli, Florian Grotz).

‘Wahlssysteme im internationalen Vergleich – ein Überblick’, in K. Poier (ed) *Demokratie im Umbruch. Perspektiven einer Wahlrechtsreform*. Wien/Köln/Graz: Böhlau, 2009, pp. 41-73.

This paper aims to elaborate a typology of voting systems using the typology proposed by Dieter Nohlen as a basis. It distinguishes between six different types of majority voting systems and six types of proportional voting systems. In the second part of the paper, the voting systems of 143 countries of the world are classified according to this typology. In total, 82 cases of majority voting systems and 61 cases of proportional voting systems could be identified. From a regional perspective, proportional voting systems prevail in Europe and Latin America whereas majority voting systems are predominant in the rest of the world.

‘Wahlssystemvorschläge für Österreich – mögliche Auswirkungen und Bewertung’, in K. Poier (ed) *Demokratie im Umbruch. Perspektiven einer Wahlrechtsreform*. Wien/Köln/Graz: Böhlau, 2009, pp. 271-95.

First, this paper presents ten evaluation criteria for voting systems. Considering the various sociopolitical contexts, the importance of each criterion might vary, of course, from one to another political system in an international comparison. Applying these evaluation criteria to the Austrian reform discussion, the paper then evaluates the seven most-discussed types of voting

systems, taking also into account their probable effects on the distribution of parliamentary seats.

‘Idee und Entwicklung der österreichischen ‘Fachhochschulen’ im europäischen Kontext’, in W. Mantl (ed) *Phänomenologie des europäischen Wissenschaftssystems*. Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2010, pp. 231-61.

Since 1993, the tertiary education sector of Austria has been differentiated by the establishment of the so-called ‘Fachhochschulen’ (‘universities of applied sciences’). This paper describes and explains, from a law and political science perspective, the ‘idea’ and the development of these ‘Fachhochschulen’, taking the European context into account. The paper analyzes e.g. the growth of the student numbers and the main focuses of the study programs as well as questions of privatization, financing and transmissibility of the tertiary education sector. As a conclusion, the paper points out that the Austrian ‘Fachhochschulen’ still show deficits especially in the aspects of science-based teaching, research, quality management and internationalization.

‘Postal voting in Austria – First Experiences from a Law and Political Science Perspective’, *Vienna Online Journal on International Constitutional Law*, 4/2009, 255-67.

In the year 2007 – compared to other countries quite late – Austria introduced the possibility of postal voting in general elections. This introduction became only possible because of a political compromise: the social democrats agreed to postal voting while the ÖVP (Christian democrats) accepted the lowering of the voting age to 16. From a law perspective, this paper analyzes legal deficits and problems of the new postal voting provisions. From a political science perspective, this paper analyzes first postal voting experiences in Austria after the 2008 Nationalrat and the 2009 EP elections. These two elections

showed only a slight increase of voter turnout. The ÖVP and the Green party had an above-average success within the group of postal voters, whereas the results of the SPÖ and the right-wing party FPÖ were below average in this group.

‘Cyber-democracy’, in D. Nohlen and R.-O. Schultze (eds) *Lexikon der Politikwissenschaft. Theorien, Methoden, Begriffe. Band 1. A-M*. München: C.H.Beck, 2010, pp. 122-3.

This encyclopaedia article gives a short overview of the implications and effects of the electronic revolution and internet on democracy, political communication and participation.

Grzegorz Piotrowski
Researcher

‘Civil society, un-civil society and the social movements’, *Interface: a journal for and about social movements*, 2009, 1(2), 166-89.

This article discusses the experience of civil society and social movements in Central and Eastern Europe both before and after the events of 1989. It shows how the different paths to the development of "civil society" as an organising concept in the pre-1989 period impacted on experiences after that date, and relates this to broader theoretical debates on the concept. In particular, it argues that the movements of "un-civil society" often fulfil a more substantial political role than the NGOs of "civil society", for a range of reasons. The article draws on a series of interviews conducted with "alter-globalisation" activists in the region.

Donatella Della Porta
Professor

‘Mouvements sociaux, terrorisme et institutions,’ in M. Lazar and M.-A. Matard Bonucci (eds), *L'Italie des années de plomb*. Paris: Autrement, 2010, pp. 164-77.

This chapter looks at radicalization processes in Italy in the 1970s, addressing the interactions between (new left) social movements, (right-wing) counter-movements and the state. The theoretical model suggests a relational and constructivist approach to political violence, that addresses the interactions between different actors as well as at the social construction of the external reality. Trial records as well as life history interviews are used in the empirical analysis of the Italian case.

‘Terrorismo’, in *XXI Secolo. Il Mondo e la Storia*, Roma, Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 2009, pp. 425-32.

This encyclopedia entry addresses research on political violence at the turn of the century. After a short discussion of the definition of terrorism, it analyses the main theoretical approaches, developing then an analysis of violence as the product of radicalization of social and political conflicts.

‘In difesa del pluralism. Combinare gli approcci nelle scienze sociali’, *Quaderni di scienza politica*, 2010, 16(3), 581-604 (with M. Keating).

The article aims at conceptualizing methodological pluralism, at different levels. The social sciences have been racked by arguments about ontology, epistemology, approaches, methods and methodology. There is a tendency to reduce these to a dualist division between two schools. This is misleading, since there are numerous cross-cutting cleavages and there is no necessary correspondence between choices at each of the five levels. Instead of seeking a unified field theory, social scientists should see methodological pluralism as a positive and permanent feature. Pluralism exists at the level of the system, where the existence of different approaches sustains debate and innovation. It can also be a feature of individual research projects, where researchers can use different approaches to answer different questions, can move across

levels of analysis, and can triangulate methods in search of better understanding of complex phenomena.

Pedro Riera

Researcher

‘L’evolució del voto dual a Catalunya’ (The evolution of dual voting in Catalonia), Working Paper 278/2009, Institut de Ciències Polítiques i Socials, 49 pp.

The development of the pattern of territorial organization established in the Spanish Constitution of 1978 creates non-statewide institutions with legislative powers, and regional elections take place in order to choose non-national deputies. Electoral results in general and regional contests usually differ in Catalonia. Previous works use the concepts of dual voting and differential turnout in order to explain this phenomenon. In this paper, I analyze the explanatory factors of dual voting in three different electoral cycles: 1989-92, 1996-99 and 2004-06. The quantitative analyses implemented show that the evaluation of the candidate of *Convergència i Unió* y el *Partit dels Socialistes de Catalunya* that run for President of the Generalitat is the variable that better explains voters’ transfers between regional and general elections. The use of surveys from the *Institut de Ciències Polítiques i Socials* from Barcelona represents one of the main novelties and contributions of the paper since the long list of questions included in them allows us to test alternative hypotheses and decrease the risk of establishing spurious causal relationships.

Miriam Ronzoni

Max Weber Visiting Fellow

‘Constructivism and Practical Reason: On Intersubjectivity, Abstraction, and Judgment’ *The Journal of Moral Philosophy*, 2010, 7(1), 74-104.

The article offers an account of the constructivist methodology in ethics and political philosophy as 1) deriving from an agnostic moral ontology and 2) proposing intersubjective justifiability as the criterion of justification for normative principles. It then asks whether constructivism, conceived in this way, can respond to the challenge of “content skepticism about practical reason”, namely whether it can provide sufficiently precise normative guidance whilst remaining faithful to its methodological commitment. The paper critically examines two alternative ways of meeting this challenge, namely John Rawls’s original position and O’Neill’s Kantian constructivism, analyses what is problematic about both, and endorses a third, possibly intermediate model. Within such a model, the basic features of the original position are accepted, but in a flexible and heuristic manner, thereby accommodating some of O’Neill’s concerns.

‘Does Justice Need to Be Rescued?’ *European Political Science*, 2010, 8(4): 395-403

A review article cum obituary of G.A. Cohen's "Rescuing Justice and Equality", which critically appraises the book and situates it within Cohen's work and contribution to political theory.

Federico Rossi

Researcher

La participación de las juventudes hoy: la condición juvenil y la redefinición del involucramiento político y social. Buenos Aires: Prometeo, 2010.

¿Qué activa políticamente con más frecuencia a los jóvenes en la actualidad? ¿Cómo participan los jóvenes hoy? ¿Existe algún tipo de organización que los atraiga más? La condición juvenil contemporánea obliga a una redefinición de nuestro entendimiento sobre las formas de participación política. Desde la inclusión de mujeres jóvenes en la estructura

internacional de la YWCA hasta la participación en una sociedad rural de clanes en Papúa Nueva Guinea, este libro estudia la complejidad que subyace a las causas de la activación política y las formas de participación que en la actualidad despliegan las juventudes. El autor presenta un análisis de las dimensiones individuales, organizacionales y societales de la participación política de los jóvenes en estudios de casos micro y macro con el fin de encontrar patrones comunes que ayuden a su comprensión teórica y a la generación de políticas públicas. Sin perder rigor académico, se presenta un análisis de las nuevas formas y espacios de participación de, para y con jóvenes en un lenguaje claro para el público no especializado.

Michael Tatham

Researcher

“‘With or without you’? Revisiting territorial state-bypassing in EU interest representation’, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 2010, 17(1), 76-99.

Both the number and the powers of sub-state entities in the European Union (EU) have grown. These sub-state entities represent their European interests using both intra- and extra-state channels. The increasing use of the latter has encouraged scholarly literature to focus on the emerging 'paradiplomacy' of these entities. Sub-state paradiplomacy, however, can be both conducted in tandem with its member state or bypassing it. This article seeks to better understand such patterns of interaction between state and sub-state interest representation. Using original survey data, it tests five different hypotheses about the determinants of state bypassing and non-bypassing. It argues that devolution of powers and party politics are relevant factors explaining the frequency of bypassing and co-operative interest representation. Other factors, including size, financial resources and length of exposure to the integration process do not seem to play a role.

José Santana Pereira

Researcher

‘A campanha eleitoral de 2005 nos media: Padrões e factores de exposição’ (The 2005 campaign in the media: patterns and factors of exposure), in M. Costa Lobo & P. Magalhães (eds) *Os Contextos do Voto em Portugal – Perspectivas sobre as eleições legislativas e presidenciais*. Lisbon: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais, 2009, pp. 105-25.

This chapter focuses on the Portuguese legislative elections of 2005, and starts by identifying the patterns that characterized the voter’s exposition to the media during the campaign, using survey data collected by the Portuguese Electoral Behaviour Project. Afterwards, and based on the same data, the author analyses the factors which explain the degree of exposure to the media in the two weeks before the elections, going beyond the mere study of media effects and trying to understand the root of the political persuasion processes – exposure. In terms of patterns, the study revealed that the average Portuguese voter followed the campaign to those legislative elections quite often; moreover, television is, not surprisingly, the predominant information source, being followed by the press and, lastly, the radio. This study also revealed that the exposure to written outlets (newspapers and news magazines) is more affected by a series of political attitudes than the use of audiovisual outlets (television and radio) – for instance, the former are mostly used by people with higher perceptions of political efficacy, whereas exposure to the latter is not influenced by this factor.

‘Portugal’, in W. Gagatsek (ed) *The 2009 Elections to the European Parliament: Country Reports*. Florence: European University Institute (E-Book), 2010, pp. 143-8.

This chapter briefly describes the main features of the elections to the European

Parliament in Portugal, in June 2009. The chapter focus on the background of the election, describing the political scene in which the elections occurred (major parties and new actors), the (small but consistent) decrease in the Portuguese citizen's euro-enthusiasm in the last few years, the issues conveyed by the most important political forces in their Euromanifestos for 2009, the features of the electoral campaign (duration, major characters, most relevant events, funds allocated by the parties for campaign-related activities), the evolution of the relative positions of the parties in the opinion polls, and the final results, with a discussion of how the election outcome was interpreted by the different actors in the national arena. The chapter is part of a volume in which the European Election of 2009 is described in the context of 24 different countries, using the same analytical frame.

'Which Europe do the Portuguese political parties want? Identity, Representation and Scope of Governance in the Euromanifestos (1987-2004)', *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, 2010, 11(2), 183-200 (with E. R. Sanches).

This article analysed the nature of Portuguese political parties' attitudes towards Europe. Three major European dimensions are under focus: identity, representation and policy scope – their consistency over time and their relevance on party competition were analysed drawing on the INTUNE Euromaniesto Dataset. We observed that behind the apparent enthusiasm of the Portuguese party system towards the European project, there are significant differences between the parties on European integration issues. Our three independent variables (left vs. right; mainstream vs. extreme; incumbent vs. opposition) are clearly related with differences on the reference of a European identity, but not national identity. Moreover, mainstream parties adopted favourable opinions towards the outcomes of the integration in the European Union (although in a lesser extent

after 1991), while extremist parties tend to be more pessimistic. In what regards scope of governance for the six policy areas considered, differences (either in terms of mainstream/extreme and incumbent/opposition status) are more evident in defence and foreign policy areas.

Lorenzo De Sio

Jean Monnet Fellow

Il voto. Perché ha rivinto il centrodestra', in R. D'Alimonte and A. Chiaramonte (eds) *Proporzionale se vi pare. Le elezioni politiche del 2008*. Bologna: Il Mulino, 2010, pp. 75-105 (with Roberto D'Alimonte).

The chapter presents an analysis of the results of the critical 2008 Italian general elections, based on aggregate data. After a discussion of long-term trends in electoral participation, various aspects of the results are presented, with particular regard to the effects of the new structure of the political supply.

Finally, an analysis of voting shifts is presented, obtained through the aggregation of 474 local voting shifts tables estimated on the basis of precinct-level data. The main results show that at least half of the large success of Berlusconi's coalition in 2008 (compared to the quasi-tie of 2006) can be explained in terms of increased abstention among centre-left supporters.

Simone Tholens

Researcher

'Another Nakba: Weapons Availability and the Transformation of the Palestinian National Struggle, 1987-2007', *International Studies Perspectives*, 2010, 11(2), 112-30 (with F. Strazzari).

Violent clashes of June 2007 saw Hamas ousting Fatah from the Gaza Strip, thereby making patent the existence of a deep politico-military split within the Palestinian national movement. This article sheds light on the present face of the conflict in the

Palestinian territories by adopting a historical-analytical perspective that emphasizes the role played by the availability of small arms and light weapons, as one of the many structural factors that underlie the transformation of the Palestinian struggle. Aware of the essentially contestable and reductionist nature of this endeavor, the authors examine the way in which the weapons acquisition process has changed in the time period from the beginning of the first Intifada in 1987 to the Gaza take-over by Hamas, 20 years later. In doing this, they extend the applicability of existing theories about the correspondence between access to weapons and the changing nature of insurgency, so to better understand a complex case where a national struggle has been spiraling into internecine violence and splintering, in what we may call ‘another Palestinian Nakba’.

Antoine Vauchez

Visiting Fellow, RSCAS

‘L’académie européenne. Savoirs, savants et experts dans le gouvernement de l’Europe’ in C. Robert and A. Vauchez (eds) Symposium, ‘L’académie européenne’, *Politix*, 2010, 1, pp. 9-34 (with C. Robert).

This introductory article draws a general framework for a political sociology of “European studies” here defined as an array of academic undertakings simultaneously devoted to and built with EU political and bureaucratic actors. Studying the genesis of this transnational academic sub-field where the theories of European integration have been defined helps identify a field of Europe’s reform in which EU political agenda emerge and consolidate. We argue that these narrow connections between academic and political entrepreneurs of Europe are not a transitory phenomenon but a constitutive and perennial feature of the government of the EU.

‘À quoi « tient » la cour de justice des communautés européennes? Stratégies

commémoratives et esprit de corps transnational’, in A. Cohen and A. Vauchez (eds) Symposium, ‘Sociologie politique de l’Europe du droit’, *Revue française de science politique*, 2010, 2, pp. 247-70.

The present article explores the foundations of the authority of an international court, the European Court of Justice, which has neither a supranational professional corps nor a state apparatus to rely on. Based on a corpus of hitherto unexamined commemorative writings, we show the pains a judicial elite has taken to maintain a transnational esprit de corps since the 1970s. Festschriften, laudations and other jubilees are the locus of a transnational effort to establish both the institutional identity of a Court whose legitimacy is fragile and the contours of a “community” of support which the Community courts draw on for their authority to pronounce “verdicts” on Europe.

‘The transnational politics of judicialization. Van Gend en Loos and the making of EU polity’, *European Law Journal*, 2010, 16(1), 1-28.

This article tracks the genesis of one of the EU’s most established metanarratives, that of Europeanisation-through-case-law. Instead of studying this theory of European integration as an explanatory frame, I consider what is at stake in its genesis as a dominant frame of understanding of Europeanisation. I trace its emergence in the conflicting theorisations of the relationship between law and the European Communities that come along with the ECJ’s ‘landmark’ decisions (Van Gend en Loos and *Costa v ENEL*). This approach helps seize the genesis of a specific and—at the time—rather unlikely political model for Europe in which a Court (the ECJ) is regarded as the very locus of European integration’s dynamics as well as the best mediator and moderator of both Member States’ ‘conservatism’ and individuals’ ‘potential excesses’.

Pascal Vennesson

Professor

‘Military Strategy in the Global Village’,
New Global Studies, 2009 - published
February 2010, 3(3), Article 1.

<http://www.bepress.com/ngs/vol3/iss3/art1>

How has globalization – a set of connected processes that lead to a greater interaction capacity in the international system – affected military planners at the beginning of the 21st century? Over the years globalization has transformed social trends, national and foreign policies. Its consequences for military strategy, i.e. policy-makers’ conception of how to employ military force to achieve political objectives, however, has been comparatively neglected. The goal of this article is to fill that gap by empirically tracing the ways in which military planners in the United States and in Europe have thus far grappled with globalization. The article has four main findings. First, I show that the resource dependence approach in organization theory provides a useful analytical framework to conceptualize military planners and military organizations as strategic actors who can choose among different ways to respond to their globalizing transnational environment which potentially puts their relevance into question. Second, the evidence shows that military planners have perceived, and reacted to, changes in the interaction capacity of the international system. Land power is not immune from globalization’s influence. Third, while political and military strategists perceive the growing interconnectedness of the international system, they react in different ways: some dismiss it as irrelevant, others focus on only one of its dimension (like technology), while others disagree on how much it matters and how. Fourth, land power adaptations to the stresses and strains of a globalized international system has both an international/transnational and a domestic side.

Till Weber

Researcher

‘American Electoral Practices in Comparative Perspective,’ in J. E. Leighley (ed) *The Oxford Handbook of American Elections and Political Behavior*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010, pp. 667-84 (with M. Franklin).

This chapter takes a comparative perspective on American elections and voting. We focus on three areas in which American elections have features that are illuminated by voting behavior in countries with somewhat different features. These are multiple elections, separated powers, and the locality rule. By multiple elections we mean not just the multiplicity of elections but also simultaneous elections for multiple offices. This results in some offices being filled in very different contextual circumstances from one election to the next. By separated powers we mean more than just the separate US executive, which is not that unusual in comparative perspective. What is unusual in the American case is the extent and multiplicity of the ways in which sources of political power are split. Finally, we bring up the locality rule because it is a feature apparently unique to the American system that we believe to have effects far beyond those generally attributed to it. The aspects of electoral behavior that we feel to be most affected by these three institutional features are split-ticket voting (and the associated phenomena of party identification and electoral realignments), the cycle of elections (and the associated phenomenon of midterm loss), and low voter turnout.