

SPS *in press*

This bi-monthly newsletter lists (in alphabetical order, by author) 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

Editor: Helen Callaghan, Max Weber Fellow

Helen.Callaghan@eui.eu

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Journal article: *El comercio de armas en España*, by Javier Alcalde.

Published in *Política Exterior* Vol. 21, N° 119, 2007, pp. 151-161

To know what is being sold, to whom and in which hands the weapons exported actually end up is the main objective of the future law that will be approved by the Spanish parliament before the end of the current term. On another front, both the UN and the EU are looking for a global framework to achieve transparency in a trade with many shadows. This article analyses the situation of the Spanish case within the international market, the evolution of the demands of the Spanish peace movement for increasing national transparency measures and the international processes of disarmament that are currently taking place. It concludes by addressing the challenges posed by the new law, as compared with other European cases.

Javier Alcalde is a 4th year PhD researcher in the SPS department. Contact: javier.alcalde@eui.eu

Edited volume: *Pension reform in Europe: Politics, policies and outcomes*, edited by Camila Arza and Martin Kohli.

Published by Routledge, 2008.

Pension reform is now a top policy priority for European governments. Many countries have significantly modified their pension arrangements, and many more are considering new changes for the years to come. This book provides a cross-country comparative analysis of the key issues shaping the latest pension reforms in Europe: political games, welfare models and pathways, population reactions, and observed and expected outcomes. The first part of the book evaluates the political conditions and practices that – against high odds – have made reform viable in different national and institutional contexts, including the nature of political bargains, actors and ideas. It shows that institutional constraints and path dependence are less effective than previously assumed. The second part looks at the process and outcomes of pension reform. In the search for a solution to the financial challenge posed by growing pension budgets, the scope for public intervention in old-age income protection has shifted. The book addresses the

models of the new public-private pension mix in Europe, including key issues such as the distributional and gender impacts of reform, and evaluates the performance of private pension provision of the Anglo-Saxon type. It also engages in the ‘generational conflict’ debate and analyses the evidence on age cleavages in people’s attitudes towards pension reform.

Camila Arza was a Marie Curie Fellow in the RSCAS (now at Pompeu Fabra University, Barcelona). Martin Kohli is a Professor in the SPS department.

Contact: martin.kohli@eui.eu

Book chapter: *Die soziale Ordnung von Märkten*, by Jens Beckert.

Published in *Märkte als soziale Strukturen*. edited by Jens Beckert, Rainer Diaz-Bone, Heiner Ganßmann. Frankfurt a. M.: Campus, pp. 43-62.

The chapter develops a proposal for understanding the theoretical vantage point of the sociology of markets, focusing on the problem of the social order of markets. The initial premise is that markets are contingent arenas of social action, which can only operate if three coordination problems with which market actors are inevitably confronted are resolved. I define these coordination problems as the value problem, the problem of competition and the cooperation problem. These problems can only be resolved based on stable reciprocal expectations on the part of market actors, which have their basis in the socio-structural, institutional and cultural embedding of market action. The sociology of markets aims to investigate how market action is structured by these expectations and to examine their dynamic processes of change. Market exchange is recognized as a form of social action that cannot be explained by a “natural propensity to truck, barter and exchange” (Adam Smith), but only by the institutional structures, social networks and horizons of meaning within which market actors encounter one other.

Journal article: *The Longue Durée of Inheritance Law. Discourses and Institutional Development in France, Germany, and the United States since 1800*, by Jens Beckert.

Published in *Archives Européennes de Sociologie* XLVIII, 1, pp. 79-120.

This article investigates discourses on inheritance law and legal development in France, Germany, and the United States since the revolutions of the late eighteenth century. I argue that in each of the three countries a different set of normative and functional issues relating to the bequest of property has dominated and expressed itself in nationally specific discursive fields. The respective “repertoires of evaluation” were formed in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and show a surprisingly stable pattern that can be recognized even in today’s debates on the issue. This I refer to as the *longue durée* of inheritance law. The distinct discursive fields exercise a dominant influence over the perception of problems associated with the transfer of property *mortis causa* and the strategies deemed feasible to solve them. Moreover, I argue that the different cultural frames matter for the institutional development of inheritance law. My aim is to contribute to institutional theory through investigation of a socially and economically important realm of legal regulation that has received little attention in recent sociological scholarship. The analysis is carried out within a multi-dimensional theoretical framework that acknowledges the influence of culture and ideas, but also considers changing socioeconomic conditions, as well as actor interests.

Working paper: *Rejecting the Constitution or the Market? Where does the Popular Resistance to European Integration Come From? Part Two of the Constitution Trilogy*, by Jens Beckert.

Published in Working Paper Series No. 10-07. Mario Einaudi Center for

International Studies, Cornell University, Ithaca NY.

The French "non" in the referendum on the Constitutional Treaty in 2005 has brought the train of European integration to an unexpected stop. The rejection of the Constitution testifies to a gap between elite enthusiasm for further European integration and popular disenchantment that originated long before the referendums on the Constitutional Treaty. Why does European integration increasingly confront popular resistance? The answer given to this question relates not primarily to the economic payoffs and costs of European integration but rather to the normative implications of market liberalization. I argue, primarily with reference to France, that popular disenchantment and resistance reflect fears from ongoing economic changes which lead to a more and more direct exposure of people to market forces that escape political control.

Jens Beckert is a Senior Braudel Fellow in the SPS department.

Contact: jens.beckert@eui.eu

Working paper: *Insiders, Outsiders and the Politics of Corporate Governance: How Ownership Shapes Party Positions in Britain, Germany and France*, by Helen Callaghan.

Published in Discussion Paper Series No. 07/9. Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies (MPIFG), Cologne.

This paper argues that differences in the dispersion of corporate ownership can help explain why party positions on corporate governance vary across countries and over time. Expectations that left-right conflicts should pitch capital against labor overlook that "capital" is not a homogenous constituency with regard to corporate governance issues. Two segments of capital with diverging interests need to be distinguished: "insiders" with voice over company management, and "outsiders" who exercise arms-length control by threatening exit. Party positions depend on the relative size of the insider and outsider

constituencies, which in turn depends on countries' prevailing structure of corporate ownership. The paper draws on evidence from British, German and French political debates over takeover regulation from the 1950s onward. It speaks to the literatures on party competition, corporate governance, Varieties of Capitalism and institutional change.

Helen Callaghan is a Max Weber Fellow at the EUI.

Contact: helen.callaghan@eui.eu

Monograph: *Mani Impunite. Vecchia e nuova corruzione in Italia*, by Donatella della Porta and Alberto Vannucci.

Published by Laterza, 2007.

Corruption in Italy did not disappear (or even weakened) after the political scandals of the early 1990s. The networks of corrupt exchanges survived by adapting to a changed environment, with a stronger role played by public bureaucrats and private entrepreneurs in the organization of corruption. Using trial records, in-depth interviews and a systematic analysis of the press, this volume compares "old" and "new" corruption, discussing the evolution in time of resources, actors and mechanisms of political corruption.

Edited volume. *The Global Justice Movement. Cross National and Transnational perspectives*, edited by Donatella della Porta.

Published by Paradigm, 2007.

The general focus of the book is on the transformations in the repertoire of protest, collective identities and mobilization structures of social movements. The new cycle of protest that became visible with the countersummit against the Millennium round of the WTO in Seattle in 1999 is particularly interesting in this respect: it adopted an innovative network structure, mobilized in protest campaigns that combined lobbying and direct action, framed local and national problems within

global identities and concerns. Besides the secondary analysis of existing research, the chapters included in this collection cover the development of the Global Justice Movement in France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Spain, Switzerland and the United States. They are based on a systematic analysis of the main protest campaigns leading to and involving the global justice movement in each country and at the supranational level, in-depth analysis of information included on the websites of about 40 movement organizations in each country and at the supranational level, and survey data on global justice activists.

Monograph. *O movimento por unma nova globalizacao*, by Donatella della Porta.

Published by Edicoes Loyola, 2007.

This book addresses the most recent wave of protest on transnational issues. Drawing on social movement studies, it describes and explains the changes in the organizational structures, the repertoires of actions and the collective framing of the movement that emerged on issues of global justice. Data from a survey with participants to the first European Social Forums in Florence are presented in order to discuss the multi-issue, networked and transnational characteristics of the movement for a different globalization.

Collective volume. *Global democracy and the World Social Forum*, by Donatella della Porta et al.

Published by Paradigm, 2007.

This collective volume focuses on the emergence and development of the World Social Forum as a new form of social movement organization and action strategy. Written by European and American sociologists and political scientists, the book presents information on the main organizational characteristics of the WSF, the cleavages and debates inside it, as well as the characteristics of individual and collective participants.

Book chapter: *The Europeanization of Protest: A Typology and Empirical Evidence*, by Donatella della Porta.

Published in *Debating the Democratic Legitimacy of the European Union*, edited by Beate Kohler-Koch and Berthold Rittberger, Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2007, pp. 189-208.

Taking recent trends of expansion of the competences of EU institutions into account, research on protest and social movements has now begun to address multilevel strategies of protest. Protest is in fact used according to different paths. Social movement organizations, as well as other actors using protest, adapt their strategies so as to communicate with the various territorial levels of government at the same time. To do this they have developed strategies of 'crossed influence', that is to say pressure at the national level to change decisions at the European level, or pressure at the European level used to change national decisions. On the basis of case studies as well as survey data, the chapter analyses the characteristics of three types of 'crossed' mobilisation: i) Mobilisation at the national level to change decisions at the European level; ii) The use of the European level as a source of resources for modifying national decisions; iii) The organizations of protest by loose networks of local, national and transnational actors that target the EU policies

Journal article: *Corruption and Anti-corruption: The Political defeat of "Clean Hands" in Italy*, by Donatella della Porta and Alberto Vannucci.

Published in *West European Politics*, 30, 2007, pp. 830-853.

The apparent triumph of the 'revolution of the judges' (which in the early 1990s led to talk of a '2nd Republic' in Italy) proved to be of short duration. Between the mid-1990s and the early 2000s the question of political corruption was intentionally demoted as a political priority by means of a 'bi-partisan' agreement. The Clean

Hands investigations do not seem to have led to the moral regeneration of Italian politics: available indicators available on the diffusion of corruption instead signal high and constant levels. In this article, the authors underline that as Clean Hands opened a window of opportunity to overcome the various ‘anomalies’ of Italian politics, the political class has been unable or unwilling to seize the moment. Not only is the balance of action against corruption rather meager, but profound divisions have emerged in the relationship between the judiciary and the ‘new’ political class.

Journal article. *Europeanization from Below? Social movements and Europe*, by Donatella della Porta and Manuela Caiani.

Published in *Mobilization*, 2006, Vol. 11.

Although social movements are more and more interacting transnationally, research on the Europeanization of social movement actors is far from developed. Some scholars, focusing especially on public interest groups active at EU level, expect that civil society actors, due among others to the flexibility of their organisational structures, will be able to adapt quickly to integration. Others, especially looking at protest activities, are skeptical: not only that actors endowed with scarce material resources will be able to invest in building transnational organizations and stage supranational protest events, but also the European Union will be accountable to pressure from below. In this article, the authors focus on the degree and forms of social movement participation in the public debates and collective action concerning Europe—that is, their capacity to take part in the debate and mobilisation referring to European issues, targets and actors. On the basis of a comparative dataset that includes content analyses of daily press and interviews data from seven European countries, they argue that various forms of Europeanization of the public discourse and mobilisation by social movements are indeed on the rise, with a growing presence not only of purely European

actors but also of European targets and frames, as well as transnational movement networks. Changes across time emerge with the development of (conflictual) forms of ‘Europeanization from below’.

Book chapter: *Social Movements in a Multilevel Europe*, by Donatella della Porta and Manuela Caiani.

Published in Otfried Jarren, Dominik Lachenmeier and Adrian Steiner (eds.), *Entgrenzte Demokratie? Herausforderung fuer die politische Interessenvermittlung*, Baden-Baden, Nomos, 2007, 163-180.

This chapter focuses on the degree and forms of Europeanisation in social movement participation in the public debates and in their collective action. It addresses the extent to which collective actors operating within the (national) public spheres are carriers of Europeanisation, by organising at the European level, making demands on European institutions or framing their demands within a European discourse. The analysis builds on a new comparative dataset that includes supranational actors at the EU level and national actors from six EU countries (France, Germany, the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, Spain and Italy) and one non-EU-member state (Switzerland). We will use various sources to investigate the degree and forms of participation of social movement organisations in European politics. First, claim analysis is used in order to observe the evolution of different indicators of the participation of social movements and NGOs in the development of the public discourse on Europe, confirming the low representation of civil society actors in a Europeanised public sphere, but also indicating some paths of Europeanisation from below. A somewhat different picture emerges however from interviews with representatives of SMOs and NGOs, indicating a high level of attention to Europe that translates into transnational networking and the use of multiple strategies to target EU institutions.

Donatella della Porta is a professor in the SPS department.

Contact: ddellapo@eui.eu

Book chapter: *Party Funding in Hungary*, by Zsolt Enyedi.

Published in Daniel Smilov and Jurij Toplak (eds.) *Political Finance and Corruption in Eastern Europe: The Transition Period*, Ashgate, 2007.

The chapter describes and comments on the rules of party finance in Hungary. It focuses on the modes and weight of state finance, the (lack of) social control concerning both income and expenditure, and the consequences of the financing regime on the party system. It also briefly discusses current reform initiatives.

Book chapter: *The Only Game in Town: Party Politics in Hungary*, by Zsolt Enyedi and Gábor Tóka.

Published in Stephen White and Paul Webb (eds.) *Party Politics in New Democracies*. Oxford University Press, 2007, pp. 149-178.

The chapter contains a comprehensive analysis of various aspects of party politics in Hungary, with the principal aim to assess how institutionalized the parties and the party systems are and what is the weight of parties within the overall political system. It demonstrates that the country developed genuine party government in the decade after transition to democracy in 1990. However, while their overwhelming control of the whole political process is taken for granted the parties fulfill relatively few social functions and tend to be unpopular as institutions. The key to this puzzle is that they organize representative democracy without significant challengers. Power is centralized both within the parties and within the cabinet. Party system consolidation is well advanced, volatility dropped below the Western European average, governmental alternatives are highly identifiable, nearly all channels of

political communication are structured along partisan lines and party representatives in assemblies are disciplined. Consequently, prime ministers – elevated to the top through party lines – seem to be the only actors able to rival political parties.

Journal Article: “Europeanization” of Eastern Central European Party Systems, by Zsolt Enyedi.

Published in *epsNet Kiosk Plus*, 5:1, 2007, pp. 67-74.

The study of the interactions between European integration and national party systems is a fast developing research field. This is so in spite of the fact that national political institutions tend to be resilient to the transformational effects of integration. There is a particularly rapidly growing interest in the developments induced by integration on the eastern part of the continent. Eastern European party systems are, on average, more fragile and fragmented than the Western ones. The party competition is more open than in the West, the profile of the parties is less crystallised. Therefore the impact of the integration process on the parties is widely expected to be larger than in the West. The article suggests a wider research agenda than the one that dominates the field, pointing at eleven different target areas. It demonstrates that contradictory tendencies can be expected in all these areas, and therefore the interaction between national and European arenas is still open-ended.

Journal Article: *Measurable and Unmeasurable Prejudice*, by Zsolt Enyedi.

Published (in Hungarian) in *BUKSZ*, 2007, vol. 19, no. 2, pp. 124-129.

This article contains a critical review of the work of Andras Kovacs on antisemitism, with a particular focus on his latest book. One of the principle issues raised in the article is whether antisemitism can and should be studied from a group-interaction perspective. Another one is

whether the focus of Hungarian parties on identity-related issues can be explained by a lack of differentiation on policy issues. A considerable part of the paper is devoted to the problem of operationalization, in particular to the question whether cluster-analysis can form the basis of scale construction. In contrast with the arguments of Kovacs, this article emphasizes the inertia of historical discourses, and calls for further research on the symbiosis of moderate and extreme right.

Zsolt Enyedi was a Marie Curie Fellow in the SPS Department. Contact: enyedizs@ceu.hu

Book chapter: *Strumenti tecno-politici* by Mayo Fuster Morell.

Published in *Transform! Italia Parole di una nuova politica*. Roma: Edizioni XL (2007), pp. 113 – 121.

This paper introduces a definition of techno-political tools. Techno-political tools refer to a strategy of social movements and to a rich variety of experiences that have elements in common: to be based on the application of the technologies for political goals; bringing to light decentralized swarming methodology; an open atmosphere of collaboration; the systematization of the information and knowledge generated through mobilization processes; and the collective construction of social memory. Then it invites to reflect on the problematic and the potentialities of techno-political tools: What makes an online tool pro-democratic? How could the property of such instruments be distributed? What are the differences between techno-political tools and websites of social networking?

Journal article : *Un somni obert per les noves tecnologies*. by Mayo Fuster Morell.

Published in *Revista Illacrua*. No. 150, June 2007.

As part of a collective review addressing the question of “Which will be the social movements at Catalonia in 15 years time – in 2022?”, Fuster presents some lines on the angle of how the new technologies of information could affect the further development of social movements. In particular she reviews how the Internet could support the freedom and the lack of freedom of political action and how the new technologies plus other factors are contributing to more flexible and open forms of political organization.

Mayo Fuster Morell is a Second Year Researcher in the SPS department. Contact; mayo.fuster@eu

Journal article: *The Political Economy of Pension Reforms in Croatia: 1991-2006*, by Igor Guardiancich.

Published in *Financial Theory and Practice* 31:2, 2007, pp. 95-151.

After the collapse of ex-Yugoslavia, Croatia inherited a ‘premature’ socialist pay-as-you-go pension system. During the early 1990s, it was used more extensively than elsewhere in Central and Eastern Europe to ease the pains of the country’s transition to a market economy, thereby leaving Croatian pensions in dire need of reforms. This article will try to meticulously describe the reform process during the period 1991-2006, which was characterised by three relatively independent phases: the first, a retrenchment phase, which condemned a majority of pensioners to old-age poverty; the second, a restructuring phase, which led, under the aegis of international financial institutions, to the legislation of radical reforms; and the third, a populist phase, which undid most of the previous efforts. The article will conclude that this concoction of poverty, agency capture and crony capitalism had a common denominator, that is the struggle for power during the country’s democratic consolidation.

Working paper: Institutional Degeneration of Multipillar Pension Systems: The Case of Croatia, by Igor Guardiancich.

Published in EUI Working Papers SPS No. 2007/10.

Recent advances in institutionalist theory showed how a rigid dichotomy between typically path-dependent incremental adaptation and radical transformation fails to capture important transformative processes common to advanced political economies. Consequently, a vast uncharted territory opened up and needs to be explored. This paper fills part of this gap by analysing processes where institutional rules and practice show a high degree of resilience in spite of structural reforms. The essay proposes the concept of 'institutional degeneration' to capture a situation where structural transformation takes place, but where, in practice, the old institutional structures 'contaminate' the new institutional arrangements, thereby enabling the coexistence of old and new logics of action. The argument is empirically sustained through the investigation of the Croatian pension reform, which due to and in spite of its technically almost impeccable implementation embodies a critical example of degeneration amid comparable cases in Eastern Europe and Latin America.

Igor Guardiancich is a researcher in the SPS department.

Contact: igor.guardiancich@eui.eu

Book chapter: *Five ways to govern a public broadcaster*, by Chris Hanretty.

Published (in Danish translation) in Carstensen, Martin B., Flemming Svith, and Per Mouritsen (eds.), *DR og TV2 - i folkets tjeneste?* (Aarhus, Ajour, 2007).

In this chapter, I provide a typology of five types of PSB governance. The five types I identify - the Northern, Parliamentary, Corporatist, French, and Residual types - are distinguished by two characteristics:

their board structure (in particular, whether dual or single-board), and their appointments process. Each type is associated with two further characteristics: their predominant method of funding, and their way of regulating controversial political content. The clustering of these characteristics into the five types suggests links between each of the characteristics, links which may constrain the design or the implementation of PSB reform. In the second part of the chapter, I look at two trends in the governance of PSBs: the increasing amount of soft regulation; and a gradual move away from licence fee funding, and discuss how broadcasters can best improve their performance within each category.

Journal article: *The gospel truths of Italian media bias*, by Chris Hanretty.

Published in *ComPol [Comunicazione Politica]*, Vol. 8, No. 1, pp. 49 - 66.

The Italian debate on the political impartiality of the media has given us a series of hypotheses, which may be put to the test, on (1) the direction of the partiality of each network, and (2) political interference in Rai. Data collected by Agcom show that received wisdom on the direction of the partiality of each network - understood as the gap between the quantity of screen time given over to the two coalitions - is correct. Government interference, however, - manifested through appointments to Rai's administrative council - has not altered the pre-existing models of partiality on the public channels. Polemics over nominations to Rai may therefore be a sign that the political class is more interested in the distributive consequences of such nominations than on their impact on the impartiality or correctness of journalism.

Chris Hanretty is a second year PhD researcher in the SPS department. Contact: chris.hanretty@eui.eu

Journal article: *Mutual recognition: comparing policy areas*, by Adrienne Héritier.

Published in *Journal of European Public Policy* 14:5 August 2007, pp. 800–813.

Based on the analysis of the different policy areas discussed in the same volume, the article proposes a strategic choice argument to account for the differential outcomes in the establishing of mutual recognition and, if instituted, for the divergent outcomes of its implementation in the different policy areas. In this article it is argued that a rational strategic choice argument may help to account for the differences in output, outcome and impact of mutual recognition across policy areas.

Adrienne Heritier is a Professor in SPS and in the Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies.

Contact: Adrienne.Heritier@eui.eu

Edited volume: *Scottish Social Democracy*, edited by Michael Keating.

Published by Presses Interuniversitaires Européennes, 2007

Scotland is a country of strong progressive traditions and could be a model for a renewed social democracy. Devolution has given it a chance to show what a small self-governing nation, within a wider British and European Union, can do. Yet the authors of this volume are disappointed by the lack of policy innovation since 1999. In an effort to relaunch the debate, they offer a range of ideas for new thinking and new policies for Scotland of the twenty-first century. Whether independent or devolved, Scotland faces the same challenge: how to harness the energies of the nation and to combine economic competitiveness with social cohesion.

Book chapter: *Devolution and Public Policy Making*, by Michael Keating.

Published in *Devolution and constitutional change in Northern Ireland*, edited by Paul Carmichael, Colin Knox and Robert Osborne, Manchester University Press 2007, pp. 231-42.

The Northern Ireland devolution settlement is an ad hoc solution to a specific problem, the communitarian conflict and the relationship of the province with the United Kingdom and the Republic of Ireland. Yet, it is embedded in wider processes, in the UK and beyond. At one level it is part of the belated triumph of the Gladstonian project to convert the United Kingdom into a union of self-governing nations on quasi-federal lines. At another, it is the local manifestation of the restructuring of the state and political authority in the context of globalization and European integration, part of the ‘new regionalism’ in Europe. So although as yet we have no empirical evidence on the potential and limits of devolved government in the province, we can draw on a wealth of experience elsewhere and a large body of literature in order to assess the prospects. This chapter looks at the ability of the devolved institutions to make policy and the various constraints they face. It argues from general principles and from experience in Europe and draws particularly on experience with Scottish devolution since 1999.

Book chapter: *Beyond Independence – Creating a Development Coalition*, by Michael Keating.

Published in Rob Brown (ed.), *Nation in a State. Independent Perspectives on Scottish Independence*, Dunfermline: Ten Book Press, 2007 pp.131-52.

This chapter reviews the evidence for the weakening of the Anglo-Scottish Union. It argues that the main difficulty with Scottish independence is not political or constitutional but related to the lack of a coherent development project for a small nation in an interdependent world. Scotland has inherited an interest group structure and social relations from the industrial era and the welfare state, and is at present ill-equipped to engage in the social concertation necessary for a project that successfully combines economic competitiveness with social cohesion.

Journal article: *La importancia recurrente del territorio. Las regiones y la historia del Estado europeo*, by Michael Keating.

Published in *Alcores*, 2 (2006), pp.37-56 (appeared in Summer 2007).

History and political science have focused largely on the nation-state. A modernist teleology has often confounded state integration, societal evolution and social and economic progress. The nation-state is presented, analytically, as the inevitable product of historical progress and, normatively, as the bearer of modernity and liberal and democratic values. Eruptions of territorial politics are interpreted as evidence of retarded modernization or reversion to the past. In recent years, challenges to the state from below (at the regional level) and from above (through globalization and European integration) have highlighted the historically contingent nature of the nation-state. This has stimulated scholars not only to look at the present and the future but to revisit the past. Territorial politics changes in form across time but it has never disappeared. This gives rise to two considerations. The first is analytical, presenting another way of thinking about the state and the regions. The second is normative, exploring what new ways of thinking about history can tell us about the locus of legitimate political authority.

Report: *Federalism Study. Bosnia and Herzegovina*, by Michael Keating.

Published by SIGMA/ OECD, 2007.

This is a report commissioned by SIGMA for the European Union as a contribution to the negotiations over constitutional reform and European accession. It considers constitutional options for Bosnia in the light of federal theory and practice and the requirements of European integration.

Michael Keating is a Professor in the SPS department.

Contact: Michael.keating@eui.eu

Book chapter: *Generational equity: Concepts and attitudes*. by Martin Kohli.

Published in *Pension reform in Europe: Politics, policies and outcomes*, edited by Camila Arza and Martin Kohli. London: Routledge, 2007, pp. 196-214.

The chapter discusses pension policy as a societal effort to achieve generational equity. In the history of the welfare state, the key 'social question' to be solved was the pacification of class conflict. Now its place seems to have been taken over by generational conflict. The new inter-generational cleavages still need to be balanced, however, with the old intra-generational ones. The chapter shows how the ideas about generational equity have been organized in public discourse, how they manifest themselves in the attitudes of the population towards the welfare state and pension reform, and how the contradictions between public discourse and popular attitudes may be explained. The discourse of generational equity claims that the elderly receive an unfair amount of public resources, and that this comes at the expense of the younger population. In terms of the distribution of resources, the empirical record does not confirm this claim: As to popular attitudes, the distributional conflict among generations is much less pronounced than is presumed (or advertised) by the proponents of generational equity. Support for public pensions is still high. There is some differentiation along the age dimension, but much less than one would expect from a purely interest-based model of political preference. The prediction (or fear) that the political agenda will increasingly be dominated by narrowly conceived old-age interests is thus not warranted.

Book chapter: *Von der Gesellschaftsgeschichte zur Familie: Was leistet das Konzept der Generationen?* [From societal history to the family: What does the concept of generation accomplish?] by Martin Kohli.

Published in *Generationen und Familien: Analysen - Konzepte - gesellschaftliche Spannungsfelder*, edited by Frank Lettke and Andreas Lange. Frankfurt/M: Suhrkamp (2007), 47-68.

The concept of generation seems to promise a privileged access to the issues of social evolution and reproduction: of how individuals and groups are affected by social change while themselves shaping it. Realization of this promise has been frustrated by persistent difficulties, however, among them, how to delimit generations in time and how to relate them to other dimensions of social differentiation (such as class, ethnicity or religion). Overcoming these difficulties requires a renewed theoretical and empirical effort. The chapter makes such an effort by linking three levels. It discusses the concept (1) in terms of historical generations, as a reference category and thus as a basis for anchoring biographical identities; (2) in terms of political generations, as an interest category and thus as a basis for mobilization; and (3) in terms of family generations, as a relationship category and thus a basis for emotional and material exchange.

Handbook entry: *Generational change*. by Martin Kohli.

Published in *The Blackwell encyclopedia of sociology (Vol. IV)*, edited by George Ritzer. Malden, MA: Blackwell. 2007: 1900-1906.

Martin Kohli is a professor in the SPS department.

Contact: martin.kohli@eui.eu

Documentary: *Voices of Cohousing: Rebuilding Villages Inside Big Cities*, by Matthieu Lietaert.

Morrisville, NC: Lulu Publishing. English, subtitled in French, Italian, Spanish, German, Dutch and Swedish. 37 min.

This documentary is about the growing cohousing movement, which brings relevant answers to some of the main problems urban citizens face at the dawn of the 21st century. These housing models are urban neighbourhood developments that creatively combine private and common dwellings to recreate a sense of community, while preserving a high degree of individual privacy. This phenomenon that started in Scandinavia 30 years ago, is spreading in the Anglo-Saxon world and in Japan since the 1990s, and more recently in the rest of Europe. While communities around the world are facing hard times, it is puzzling to see that this specific community type is spreading fast at the global level. Made in 14 co-housings, in 4 European countries, the DVD gives a “view from within”. The language is English (subtitled in 6 languages). It is an award winner at the 34th Ekotop international film festival 2007.

Matthieu Lietaert is a researcher in the SPS department.

Contact: matthieu.lietaert@eui.eu

Book chapter: *Left-Right Orientations*, by Peter Mair.

Published in Russell J. Dalton and Hans-Dieter Klingemann (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Political Behaviour*. Oxford: Oxford University Press (2007), pp. 206-222.

The distinction between left and right, and the widespread use of the left-right dimension in scholarly analyses of political behaviour, has been usefully described as a ‘shorthand’ device that facilitates comparisons through space and time. The utility of the left-right distinction is now less evident, however.

The meanings of left and right have been blurred by changes in patterns of party competition, and the divide itself has become more complex and confused. The left-right dimension may therefore be losing its traditional capacity to offer a means of simplifying and comparing otherwise complex realities.

Peter Mair is a professor in the SPS department.

Contact: peter.mair@eui.eu

Journal Article: *Aid Suspensions as Coercive Tools?* by Clara Portela.

Published in *Review of European and Russian Affairs* 3:2, 2007. Available online.

This article deals with the development of EU sanctions policies toward the ACP countries. The objective of this article is to analyze the effectiveness of EU sanctions as policy tools. This is done by focusing on the use of the article 96 that allows the suspension of development aid toward a number of African Caribbean and Pacific countries when violations of human rights and democratic principles have occurred.

Clara Portela is PhD researcher at the European University Institute.

Contact: clara.portela@eui.eu

Journal article: *Aggregated threshold functions or how to measure the performance of an electoral systems*, by Rubén Ruiz-Rufino.

Published in *Electoral Studies* 26, 2007, pp. 492-502.

This article introduces a set of functions that measures the mechanical performance of an electoral system. Aggregated threshold functions offer the necessary and sufficient share of the vote nationwide to win a given number of seats. Traditionally, electoral systems have been measured taking into account the share of the vote required to win one seat given a district. In the approach used here, the values obtained are calculated taking into account all districts in which a country is divided and for any number of seats. This article offers the definition and formalization of these functions. Once the aggregated threshold functions are defined in all their terms, I show some data validation to test their capacity of prediction. The main goal of the article is to provide with a tool that

can be used, for example, to develop a measure that summarizes in a single value the functioning of an electoral system. This value can be used by electoral reformers as well as by students of electoral systems to test the consequences of electoral systems as a whole.

Rubén Ruiz-Rufino is a Max Weber fellow at the EUI.

Contact: ruben.ruiz@eui.eu

Journal article: *'I know what you're doing', reflexivity and methods in Refugee Studies*, by Anna Schmidt.

Published in: *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, Vol.26 Issue 3.

What considerations should inform the choice of methods in Refugee or Forced Migration Studies? In a widely shared dictum of social science, the primary research question largely conditions the methods chosen to answer it. More problematic is whether the meta-purpose - the ultimate purpose and target audience of our research - conditions methodology. This paper analyses the methodological implications of different primary and meta purposes of research in forced migration and shows how and where the two are linked. One prominent feature of forced migration is that it frequently takes place in a highly political environment. This has direct methodological consequences. For a number of reasons discussed here, forced migration research can be described as taking place in what sociologist would call situations of 'heightened reflexivity' where both findings and terrain are strongly influenced by the presence of the researcher. Drawing on Weber's 'science as a vocation' and Barbara Harrell-Bond's defense of 'advocacy research,' the final section of the paper suggests some of the methodological and ethical consequences of this fact.

Anna Schmidt was a Jean Monnet fellow in the Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies.

Contact: anna.schmidt@eui.eu

Report: *Internet voting in the March 2007 Parliamentary Elections in Estonia.* by Alexander H. Trechsel, Guido Schwerdt, Fabian Breuer, Michael Alvarez and Thad Hall.

Published by the Council of Europe and EUDO (2007); available online

In March 2007 Estonia deployed e-voting for parliamentary elections at the national level – a world premiere. The report, commissioned to EUDO by the Council of Europe, is based on a specifically designed telephone survey, which was conducted among 987 Estonian voters who had the right to cast their ballot in the elections of March 2007. The report analyses what voting channels have been used by what type of voters and why they have chosen or refrained from using a particular voting channel. In addition, it examines the participation patterns and political behavior of citizens. In the light of the report's findings, the authors recommend that the Estonian authorities continue to strengthen the information society so as to enable internet voting to become a permanent and universally accessible feature of Estonia's political landscape. This should be accompanied by a thorough technological monitoring which, in turn, would be facilitated by a robust and systematic certification of the internet voting system. Finally, the authors suggest extending the duration of the Internet voting period so as to fully exploit internet voting's potential to enlarge citizens' freedom of choice with regard to the moment of voting, a major comparative advantage over voting at the polling station.

Alexander Trechsel is a professor in the SPS department. Guido Schwerdt is a PhD researcher in the Economics department. Fabian Breuer is a former researcher in the SPS department.

Contact: alexander.trechsel@eui.eu

Journal Special Issue: *New Foreign Policy Challenges and Canada-EU relations*, edited by Frédéric Mérand and Antoine Vandemoortele.

Published in *Review of European and Russian Affairs* 3:2, 2007. Available online.

This special issue on European Union - Canada relations and the new foreign policy challenges seeks to provide a forum for a discussion on key aspects of the transatlantic link and of new elements of the foreign policies of both the EU and Canada. All articles in this issue present original analysis on a specific aspect of this question; the governance of security within the EU, the use of sanctions by the EU, the EU strategy toward the Middle East, the development of hybrid peace operations and, finally, the promotion of security sector reform in post-conflict situation.

These five articles were first presented and discussed by young scholars during the Young Researchers Network (YRN) Transatlantic conference held at the European University Institute in April 2007.

Journal article: *The promotion of security sector reform strategies*, by Antoine Vandemoortele.

Published in *Review of European and Russian Affairs* 3:2, 2007. Available online.

This article analyzes the issue of post-conflict reconstruction and the importance of security sector reform. The paper seeks to explore the relationship between national and regional contributions toward security sector reform (Canada and the EU) and the role of international organizations involved in this process (the OSCE and NATO). More specifically, this article explains the role of the EU and Canada in the promotion of security sector reform (SSR) within the OSCE and NATO.

Antoine Vandemoortele is a PhD researcher in the SPS department. Contact: antoine.vandemoortele@eui.eu

Journal article: *The Party as Pariah: The Exclusion of Anti-Immigration Parties and its Effect on their Ideological Positions*, by Joost van Spanje & Wouter van der Brug.

Published in *West European Politics* 30 (5), pp. 1022-40.

During the last three decades, anti-immigration parties have emerged all over Western Europe. Some of these parties have been treated like any other party by their mainstream opponents and a few have even become members of governing coalitions (e.g., the Austrian FPÖ). Other such parties have been politically excluded: established parties have refrained from any cooperation with them and in some cases have even refused to enter into a political debate with their politicians. This paper investigates how the strategy of ostracising anti-immigration parties affects the internal dynamics within these parties. In particular, we assess whether these parties radicalise as a result of this strategy, and, conversely whether it has a moderating effect when these parties are approached more pragmatically. Our analyses, regarding ten parties at several moments in time, show that anti-immigration parties that were not ostracised became more moderate, whereas those that were treated as outcasts continued to be extremist.

Joost van Spanje is a PhD researcher in the SPS department.

Contact: Joost.vanSpanje@eui.eu

Book chapter: *Judge-made law. Aux origines du modèle politique européen. (Retour sur Van Gend en Loos et Costa v. ENEL)*, by Antoine Vauchez.

Published in *L'Europe des élites*, edited by Olivier Costa and Paul Magnette, Presses de l'Université libre de Bruxelles, 2007, pp. 139-166.

There is now a wealth of writing insisting on the central role of case law (and consequently of the European Court of Justice) in fuelling the process of

European integration. But the very genesis of this role remains poorly understood. As a matter of fact, European integration was initially thought of as being mainly economic and the role devoted to lawyers was essentially limited to providing a technical expertise in dealing with harmonization of *legislations* under the political lead of *Council of ministers*. The article shows the conditions under which the locus of European integration has shifted and how it has started to be identified in *case law* (under the lead of the *ECJ*). It shows a specific *context* of emergence (1962-1966) in which: 1) « legal harmonization » that had initially attracted the hopes of most Euro-lawyers in the first years of Rome Treaty substantially failed; and 2) political integration was seriously halted by disagreements between the member states. It pinpoints a particular “historical moment” in the *Van Gend & Loos* and *Costa v. Enel* decisions. From different sites of European polity (European Parliament, Commission, Fédération internationale pour le droit européen, national research institutes on Euro-law...) and under various forms (academic, political, bureaucratic), lawyers converged in inventing a new European commonsense combining the criticism of governments’ inertia and the promotion of the integrative potential of case law.

Antoine Vauchez is a Marie-Curie fellow in the Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies.

Contact: antoine.vauchez@eui.eu

Journal article: *Lifting the EU's Arms Embargo on China: Symbols and Strategy*, by Pascal Vennesson.

Published in *EurAmerica* 37 No. 3 (September 2007), pp. 417-444.

From October 2003 to March 2005, the prospect of the lifting of the European Union’s (EU) arms embargo on China grew into a major diplomatic crisis, and the focus of an intense bargaining between China, the EU, the EU member states, the U.S., Taiwan and Japan.

However, the 1989 arms embargo is a non-legally binding political declaration which never fully prevented the selling of European military equipment to China. Furthermore, it is neither the only, nor the principal, mechanism governing EU member states' technological and military related exports to China. Why do some actors so badly want to have it lifted, while others insist that the EU should keep it at all costs? The paper argues that the international crisis triggered by the lifting of the arms embargo was the product of a combination of symbolic and strategic dynamics. Employing a conceptual framework inspired by the work of Barry O'Neill on the symbolic dimensions of international politics, this paper distinguishes message symbols and focal symbols. By lifting the arms embargo, EU leaders wanted to send a symbolic message exclusively to China, but the form that they used – lifting the arms embargo – created an unwanted focal symbol that reached a wider audience: Europeans will sell arms to China. EU leaders did not foresee this transformation of their symbolic message to China and, for the most part, had not meant to create that focal symbol.

Pascal Vennesson is a Joint Professor, SPS and the Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies.

Contact: pascal.vennesson@eui.eu

Book chapter: Ideology that Mattered: The Debates on Historical Materialism and Sociology in the USSR, Poland, and Czechoslovakia, 1948–1968, by Michael Voříšek.

Published in *Prague Perspectives II: A New Generation of Czech East European Studies*, edited by Lukáš Babka and Petr Roubal, Prague, National Library of the Czech Republic – Slavonic Library, pp. 121–156.

The article contests the thesis that in the Soviet Bloc ideology was merely an external obstacle to sociology's development, and argues against the widespread conviction that Stalinism

condemned sociology as a “bourgeois pseudo-science”. In fact, the Stalinist philosophy did assume the existence of a Marxist sociology, and later on, it is argued, ideological disputes played an important part in sociology's self-constitution. That was especially the case with the post-Stalinist discussions on relationship between historical materialism and sociology, which concerned the very outlook of Marxist sociology. The debates on this issue in Czechoslovakia, Poland, and the USSR are reviewed, and linked to the institutional development and some other characteristics of sociology in these countries.

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Michael Voříšek is a PhD researcher in the SPS department.

Contact: michael.vorisek@eui.eu