

# 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. All publication dates are 2008.

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**Javier Alcade** is a 5<sup>th</sup> year PhD researcher in the SPS department.

**Journal Article:** *New media and collective action in Spain: the events of March 2004*, with Igor Sádaba.

Published in *Partecipazione e Conflitto*, 1, pp. 69-95

This paper presents the static and dynamic dimensions characterizing the media opportunity structure for collective action in Spain. These characteristics help explain the emergence of a cycle of mobilization between 2003 and 2004, concluding in the events that took place between 11 and 14 March 2004. Through an examination of different data, including participation in protests and type of mobilisations, the use of new technologies and the role of official and alternative media, the text aims at studying the extent to which the emergence of recent waves of social mobilisation is linked to and shaped by new communication technologies. Specifically, the focus is on the spontaneous demonstrations of 2004 against the Spanish centre-right government (13 March) after the terrorist bombings in Madrid (11 March) and a few days before the general elections (14 March). This analysis develops some reflections about the role of communication in processes of collective mobilization.

**David Art** is a Max Weber fellow in the SPS department.

**Journal Article:** *The Organizational Origins of the Radical Right: The Case of Belgium*.

Published in *Comparative Politics* 40(4): 421-440.

Recent findings on radical right parties indicate that their organizational structure is an important variable in their electoral performance. These studies, however, do not explain variation in party organization. This article claims that the legacies of previous far right organization, particularly from the postwar period, strongly influence why some radical right parties were able to build strong organizations while others were not. Focusing on the cases of Flanders and Wallonia, I show that in cases like Flanders, in which far right political parties and organizations persisted after the Second World War and possessed some legitimacy in politics and society, radical right parties possessed a structural backbone. In cases like Wallonia, in which the far right was decimated after the war and consisted only of fringe elements, radical right parties were unable to build functioning party organizations. The article argues that more attention to historical legacies and organizational factors are necessary to understand the divergent trajectories of radical right parties in Europe.

**Journal Article:** *Using the Past in the Nazi Successor States From 1945 to the Present*, with Jenny Wüstenberg.

Published in the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 617: 72-87.

This article examines the political uses of memory in the three successor states of the Third Reich. The focus is on how political elites offered stylized histories of the Nazi past in the service of broader political goals, both domestic and international. After reviewing key junctures in the politics of memory, the authors discuss contemporary debates about the Nazi past, particularly in Germany, the country often viewed as the model for coming to terms with a traumatic past. Despite the massive and growing literature about confronting the Nazi past, the authors note that there are few studies that link ideas about history to broader political outcomes and suggest that this represents a fertile area for future research. The article concludes by considering whether German memory politics will serve as a model for European memory.

**Marta Arretche** is a visiting fellow in the SPS department.

**Journal Article:** *The Veto Power of Subnational Governments in Brazil: Political Institutions and Parliamentary Behaviour in the Post-1988 Period*.

Published in *Brazilian Political Science Review*, Vol 1, Issue 2 (available at <http://www.bpsr.org.br>)

The article analyses the veto power of territorial governments in Brazil, by examining the parliamentary behavior of state caucuses (bancadas) as well as their institutional veto opportunities when it comes to matters related to sub-national governments' revenues as well as the decision-making authority over their own taxes, policy competences and expenditures. The article concludes that the decision-making centralization at the central level arenas, the absence of additional veto arenas and the ease to approve constitutional amendments characterize decision-making on federal issues in Brazil. Furthermore, state caucuses do not act as collective players since

they vote along party lines. These institutional factors limit the veto power of territorial governments in Brazil.

**Bahar Baser** is a 1<sup>st</sup> year PhD researcher in the SPS department.

**Book:** *Third Party Mediation in Nagorno Karabakh: Part of the Cure or Part of the Disease?*

Published by VDV Verlag.

The dissolution of the Soviet Union has caused many conflicts of different types in the Caucasus region. Among them, the conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh turned out to be the most intractable dispute since it had the properties of a modern global conflict in terms of territorial, ethnic and national dimensions, intertwined with a historical burden of ancient grievances. Many major states and regional actors initiated third party mediation in order to resolve the conflict and to terminate violence. Today, many critics argue that the mediators were to blame for the delay of a peaceful settlement since they gave first priority to their own interests and stalled the negotiation process. In this book, the contribution of the mediators to the failure of negotiations in the case of Nagorno-Karabakh is examined with a focus on the third party mediation; variables concerning the mediator, the conflict and the negotiation process.

**Journal Article:** *Diasporas as Peacemakers: Third Party Mediation in Homeland Conflicts*, with Ashok Swain.

Published in *International Journal on World Peace* 25, 3.

Most of the violent conflicts fought since the Cold War are intrastate conflicts and a majority of these armed struggles are deterritorialized through the involvement of diaspora groups. Large portions of the existing research criticize diaspora communities for financing war efforts, promoting extremist ideology and holding on to their uncompromising political views. However, there are several instances where diasporas have contributed to peacemaking efforts in

their homelands' conflicts as well. Through lobbying host governments and international organizations and aiding processes of democratic transition and post-conflict reconstruction, diasporas are increasingly playing an important role in achieving political compromise and helping to build sustainable peace. The primary purpose of this paper is to explore and analyze the potential positive contributions of diasporas to the third party mediation process aimed at resolving conflicts in their homelands.

**Rainer Bauböck** is a professor in the SPS department.

**Book Chapter:** "Normative Political Theory and Empirical Research."

Published in *Approaches and Methodology in the Social Sciences. A Pluralist Perspective*, edited by Donatella della Porta and Michael Keating. Cambridge University Press.

Rainer Bauböck, in chapter 3 of this book, shows how normative considerations have come back into social science in recent decades, starting with theories of social justice and moving into other concerns such as self-determination and competing conceptions of liberalism and democracy. He argues that normative questions are unavoidable in social science, since concepts are often normatively charged, especially when dealing with questions of power and its legitimation. Bauböck goes on to explain how normative theory and empirical research can be combined, in the empirical study of attitudes and beliefs; in institutionally-embedded norms; in qualitative case studies including legal judgments; and in quantitative comparative cases. He concludes with some remarks on the ethics of normative theorizing and the position of the political theorist in present day political debates.

**Laszlo Bruszt** is a professor in the SPS department.

**Journal article:** *The Politics of Civic Combinations*, with Balazs Vedres.

Published in *Voluntas*, vol. 19: pp. 140-160.

In this paper we explore the ways in which partnerships with the state within state-led developmental programs might affect the autonomy of civic organizations and their readiness to enter in political action. To identify the relationship between collaboration with the state and civic autonomy we draw on data from a survey of 740 Hungarian regional civic associations. We did not find support for the theses that mixing with the state might undermine the autonomy of COs and lead to their political neutralization. Also, we did not find support for the hypotheses that political action is solely about money or it is the property of non-autonomous NGOs. We have identified several mechanisms that allow COs to combine participation in partnership projects with maintained autonomy and political activism.

**Journal article:** 'Wielopoziomowe zarządzanie - warianty wschodnie. Wyłaniające się wzorce zarządzania rozwojem regionalnym w nowych państwach członkowskich [Multi-level governance - the eastern versions. Emerging patterns of regional developmental governance in the new member states]

Published in *Zarządzanie publiczne*, 1 (3):pp. 5-22.

**Christine Chwaszcza** is a professor in the SPS department.

**Journal Article:** *Beyond Cosmopolitanism: towards a non-ideal account of transnational justice.*

Published in *Ethics and Global Politics*, vol. 1(3): pp. 115-138.

Cosmopolitanism in normative theory of transnational justice is often characterized by the thesis that the moral and legal status of states must be entirely derived from the moral status of the individuals who constitute them. Although the thesis itself is rather indeterminate in substantive and analytical content, it is generally understood as the claim that states should not be granted the status of moral and legal agents *sui generis*. This article argues that such a view is analytically and

methodologically misleading, and that any fruitful approach towards a liberal theory of transnational justice must face the challenge of coming up with a more complex concept of statehood, and acknowledge that in international relations and international law states are collective moral agents in their own right that can be addressees of genuinely collective forms responsibility. The argument starts with a critical examination of two common interpretations of the cosmopolitan thesis, a reductivist reading, which suggests that we can reduce the moral and legal status of states to the rights and duties of the individuals (section I), and a methodological reading, which suggests that the moral status of individuals must be based on the acknowledgment of “universal” individual rights (section II). For different reasons, both readings are argued to fail. Section III then presents an outline of how to conceive of states as agents that possess moral and legal status *sui generis* and be addressees of collective responsibility.

**Book Chapter:** “Game Theory.”

Published in *Approaches and Methodology in the Social Sciences. A Pluralist Perspective*, edited by Donatella della Porta and Michael Keating. Cambridge University Press.

The chapter clarifies basic concepts of classical utility theory and game theory, such as *preference*, *expected utility*, *Nash equilibrium*, *zero-sum* and *mixed motive games*, *iterated games* and *evolutionary games*, as well as more recent tools employed in evolutionary game theory, such as the concept of an *evolutionary stable strategy* and *replicator dynamics*. Presenting the widely discussed insights and puzzles that followed from the discussion of the model of 2-person and multiple-person Prisoner’s Dilemma Game, the Assurance Game or Stag Hunt and the modeling of coordination problems more generally, the chapter ends by indicating how recent developments in evolutionary theory have reshaped the logical structure of analysis as well as the original assumptions of modern utility theory and game theory.

**Donatella della Porta** is a professor in the SPS department.

**Book:** *Approaches and Methodologies in the Social Sciences. A Pluralist Perspective*, edited with Michael Keating.

Published by Cambridge University Press.

A textbook introducing masters and doctoral students to the major research approaches and methodologies in the social sciences. Derived from previous experiences with course teaching, the edited volume aims at empowering researchers to choose their own approach to research, to justify it and to situate it within the discipline. It addresses questions of ontology, epistemology and philosophy of social science, and proceeds to issues of methodology and research design. It also introduces researchers to the main issues of debate and contention in the methodology of social sciences, identifying commonalities, historical continuities and genuine differences.

**Book:** *Introduzione alla scienza politica*.

Published by Il Mulino (new expanded edition).

This is an updated and expanded edition of a textbook introducing main concepts and research in political science and political sociologies. Translated in several languages, this text is aimed at undergraduate students.

**Journal Article:** *The Contentious Politics of Unemployment: The Italian Case in Comparative Perspective*, with Simone Baglioni and Paolo Graziano.

Published in *European Journal of Political Research* 47: 6.

This article discusses the evolution of the public debate in Italy about unemployment over a period of almost 10 years (1995-2002) that was particularly crucial for the Italian labour and political systems. From the early 1980s and through the 1990s, the country experienced a major process of industrial change that dramatically restructured its labour landscape. Moreover, this industrial earthquake occurred within internal (a deep

political party system re-assessment and the fluctuating importance of unions) and external (EU driven state budgetary limits) political constraints that have heavily influenced the debate itself. The analysis of the public policy debates allows us to portray the agendas, concepts and strategies introduced and discussed by experts, politicians and interest groups as pillars of a new edifice of public policies. Although other sources are more complete in presenting the policy-making process on unemployment issues, our focus on the public debate in the mass media reflects a specific interest in the discursive interactions between the symbolic images promoted by different actors. To this end, we have combined claims analysis and semi-structured interviews. Through their combined use, we describe the selective field of contentious politics as far as main actors are concerned: its effect on the policy issues addressed, and the repertoire used for making claims and influencing policies. We also single out the role of the European Union and its potential impact on Italian public debates. In particular, we are interested in learning how inclusive these public debates are with reference to weakly-represented interests and precariously organised groups (in particular, the unemployed).

**Journal Article:** *L'altermondialisme et la recherche sur les mouvements sociaux.*

Published in *Cultures & Conflicts*, no. 70: pp. 13-32.

This article has two main aims: to present, on the basis of empirical research, some of the characteristics of the so called alterglobalist movement, and to reflect upon the Southern dimension of this movement. Although many transnational campaigns had developed in the 1990s, the explosion of protest in the recent years had not been anticipated by social movement studies, which tended to focus on more institutional forms of protest and on the national level. After having looked at how the different dimensions of globalization provided challenges but also opportunities for transnational mobilization, the author identifies some open questions referring to the presence of a global social movement, and discusses the cleavages existing inside the movement as well as its multilevel nature. Addressing the movement in the global South, relevant

research issues are discussed—such as its different social bases, the multiple political opportunities, and the complex structure of political cleavages.

**Journal Article:** *Research on Social Movements and Political Violence.*

Published in *Qualitative Sociology*.

Attention to extreme forms of political violence in the social sciences has been episodic, with some peaks in periods of high visibility of terrorist attacks, but little accumulation of results. Some of the studies on extreme forms of political violence that have developed within the social movement tradition have nevertheless been able to trace processes of conflict escalation through the detailed examination of historical cases. In what follows, I briefly assess some of the knowledge acquired in previous research as well as the challenges coming from new waves of debate on terrorist and counterterrorist action and discourses.

**Journal Article:** *The emergence of European Movements? Civil Society and the EU.*

Published in *European journal of Legal studies*, 1 (3): pp. 1-37.

Europeanization processes are more and more politicized and the EU is the target of protest campaigns. Focusing on the European Social Forum process, the article uses surveys with activists and focus groups in order to conceptualize these actors' attitudes towards the European Union, conceptualizing them as "critical Europeanists".

**Journal Article:** *Eventful Protests, Global Conflicts, in Distinktion.*

Published in the *Scandinavian Journal of Social theory*, no. 17: pp. 27-26.

Social movement studies have traditionally stressed *conflict* as a dynamic element in our societies. Social movements are "conflictual" not only because of their stakes, but also because of their forms as protest has been in fact considered as their main repertoire of action. In social movement studies, protest has been studied mainly as aggregate of events. In

the 1990s, an instrumental view of protest has been linked to the spread of an image of a “protest society”, with a sort of “conventionalization” of once unconventional forms of action, with their spreading to the most various groups of the society as well as a routinization by the authorities and large acceptance among the public. There is however also another part of the picture, which started to become more focused in 1999, with the protest in Seattle against the WTO Millennium Round and spread after the attack at the twin towers in 2001. This is an image of renewed political conflicts expressed on the street through mass rallies or direct action in what can be considered as a new cycle of protest. Beyond describing some forms of action that (as countersummits and social forums) emerged in the new cycle of protest, this contribution shall address the more general issue of conflict in nowadays society by considering the emergent character of protest itself. The concept of “eventful protest” is developed in order to look at the effects of protest on social movements themselves. Protest events—especially, some of them—constitute processes during which collective experiences develop in the interactions of different individual and collective actors with different roles and aims. Research on the global justice movement is used to illustrate the relational, cognitive and affective impacts of eventful protest on the very movements that carry them out.

**Journal Article:** *La partecipazione nelle istituzioni: concettualizzare gli esperimenti di democrazia deliberativa e partecipativa.*

Published in *Partecipazione e conflitto*, No 0: pp. 15-42.

Responding to the perceived crisis of representative democracy, various types of experiments with deliberative and participatory public institutions have developed. The article starts by conceptualizing experiments of deliberative and participatory democracy, focusing in particular on quality of discourse, degree of inclusiveness and forms of empowerment. It then develops hypotheses about the institutional and contextual characteristics that might affect the democratic qualities of these arenas. Far from looking for

the ‘ideal’ institutional format, it builds upon existing theoretical and empirical literature in order to develop hypotheses about the trade-offs among different institutional designs, as well as their causes and consequences.

**Book Chapter:** “Comparative Analysis.”

Published in *Approaches and Methodology in the Social Sciences. A Pluralist Perspective*, edited by Donatella della Porta and Michael Keating. Cambridge University Press.

This chapter focuses on case selection, discussing the choices of the relevant unit of analysis; the number of cases to be covered; the trade-off between most-similar and most-different designs; the use of the time dimension. In particular, the chapter discusses how these various choices are to be addressed in variable-oriented versus case-oriented strategies. It warns against considering variable-oriented research as setting the standard to which all social science research has to conform. The main message of the chapter is that the choice on the matrix of data (number of cases and number of variables) has important trade-offs, with both advantages and disadvantages. Shared standards does not mean the same rules. After recalling the way in which the debate on methodology developed within comparative politics, della Porta presents the different logics of research in the work of Durkheim and Weber, focusing on the methodological assumptions underlying variable-oriented and case-oriented strategies. The chapter then discusses the concepts of case and casing, the strategies for case selection, and the different uses of time in periodization, diachronic research design, temporal sequences and eventful temporality.

**Book Chapter:** “Das andere Europa: Soziale Bewegungen und europäische Institutionen.”

Published in Christina Benninghaus, Sven Oliver Mueller, Joerg Requate, Charlotte Tacke (Hg.) *Unterwegs in Europa. Beiträge zu einer vergleichenden Sozial- und Kulturgeschichte*, Frankfurt, Campus, pp. 137-161.

Europeanization processes are more and more politicized and the EU is the target of protest

campaigns. With a focus on the European Social Forums, this chapter uses data from empirical research using various methods and sources (claims making, based upon press analysis; interviews with experts, surveys with activists) in order to conceptualize different patterns of Europeanization from below, as well as the specific organizational forms and framing of social movement mobilizations for “another Europe”.

**Book Chapter:** “Another Europe. Social Movements and European Institutions.”

Published in Stefania Baroncelli, Carlo Spagnolo and Leila Simona Talami (eds.), *Back to Maastricht. Obstacles to Constitutional Reform within the EU Treaty*, Cambridge, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, pp. 383-408.

Europeanization processes are more and more politicized and the EU is the target of protest campaigns. This chapter uses data from empirical research using various methods and sources (claims making, based upon press analysis; interviews with experts, surveys with activists) in order to conceptualize different patterns of Europeanization from below, as well as the specific organizational forms and framing of social movement mobilizations for “another Europe”.

**Book Chapter:** “Local Contention Global Framing,” with Gianni Piazza.

Published in Ch. Rootes (ed.), *Acting Locally, Local Environmental Mobilizations and campaigns*, London, Routledge, pp. 144-165.

The chapter reports on the results of research based upon the binary comparison of two protest campaigns that have the common objective of mobilising against large-scale public works, and share a similar historical timeframe, coinciding with the development of a movement for globalisation from below. In particular the article focuses on the development of the framing of the protest from local into global issues, the development of a sense of community through participation into protest events, as well as the networked structure of the protest actors. Three principal sources are used: the daily press; documents (flyers, petitions, press notices, manifestos, camera footage) obtained from the websites of

organisations opposed to the Tav and the Bridge, and, especially, in depth interviews with activists.

**Elias Dinas** is a 3<sup>rd</sup> year PhD researcher in the SPS department.

**Journal Article:** *Big expectations, small outcomes: The impact of leaders' personal appeal in the 2004 Greek election*

Published in *Electoral Studies*, 27 (3): pp. 505-517.

The 2004 Greek election provides an interesting case study for examining the impact of party leaders on the vote. A change in governing party leadership a few months before polling day had two important implications. First, it generated a highly favourable context for the emergence of decisive leadership effects. Second, it made it feasible to grasp empirically how voters form their evaluations of new leaders. Regarding the first question, the findings indicate that even in the most favourable environment the impact of leadership evaluations on the overall electoral outcome is only slight. Regarding the second, it seems that the change of leader at the start of an election campaign can be a mixed blessing. Whereas it can help a party to divert media and public focus from other less favourable issues, the party pays a corresponding price when its new leader has to learn the job in the full glare of an election campaign.

**Journal Article:** *The Greek general election of 2007: you cannot lose if your opponent cannot win*

Published in *West European Politics* 31: pp. 600-607.

**Jaap Dronkers** is a professor in the SPS department.

**Journal Article:** *Immigrant Children's Educational Achievement in Western Countries: Origin, Destination, and Community Effects on Mathematical Performance,*” with Levels, M. & G. Kraaykamp.

Published in the *American Sociological Review* 73:835-853.

This paper explores the extent to which macro-level characteristics of destination countries, origin countries and immigrant communities can explain differences in the educational achievement of immigrant children. Using data from the 2003 PISA survey, we performed analyses on the mathematical performance of 7403 pupils with a background of immigration from 35 different origin countries in 13 Western countries of destination. Our cross-classified multilevel analyses show that cross-national and cross-group variance cannot be fully explained by compositional differences. Contextual properties of host countries, origin countries and communities also affect the educational performance of immigrant children. We show that the better educational performance of immigrant children in traditional immigrant receiving countries can be explained by strict immigration laws. We further find that the level of economic development of origin countries negatively affects immigrant children's educational performance, and that children who have a background in more politically stable countries, perform better at school. Finally, we find that socioeconomic differences between immigrant communities and the native population and relative community size negatively affect immigrant children's scholastic achievement.

**Journal Article:** *School Choice in the Light of the Effectiveness Differences of Various Types of Public and Private Schools in 19 OECD Countries*, with P. Robert.

Published in *Journal of School Choice* 2:260-301.

The paper approaches the issue of school choice in an indirect manner by investigating the effectiveness of public, private government-dependent and private independent schools in 19 OECD countries selected from the PISA 2000 survey for this purpose. In a multi-level approach we estimate these sector-effects, controlling for sociological characteristics of students and parents, school composition, teaching and learning conditions of schools and students' and principals' perception of the climate of

their schools. The main explanation of the gross differences in mathematical achievement is the better social composition of private schools, both government-dependent and independent, which is a clear consequence of school choice. But our analysis also reveals that private independent schools are less effective than public schools with the same students, parents and social composition, while that private dependent schools are more effective than comparable public schools. The explanation of these remaining net differences in mathematical achievement seems to be the better school climate of private dependent schools. The comparison concludes that these net differences in mathematical achievement between public and private school-sectors are equal across nations, despite the historical and legal variations in their educational systems and school choice approaches

**Journal Article:** *Leesvaardigheid van allochtone leerlingen in westerse landen. Een vergelijkende studie met macrohypothesen* [Reading abilities of immigrant pupils in western societies. A comparative study with macro-hypotheses], with Levels, M. and G. Kraaykamp.

Published in *Migrantenstudies* 24 (2008): 94-112.

This paper explores the extent to which the macro-level characteristics of destination and origin countries and immigrant communities explain cross-national and inter-group differences in immigrant children's reading ability. Using data from the 2003 PISA survey, analyses on the reading ability of 6,966 immigrant children originating in 35 different countries and 65 communities, in 12 countries of destination are performed. Cross-classified multilevel analyses show that the better reading ability of immigrant children in traditional immigrant receiving countries cannot be reduced to compositional effects caused by strict immigration laws. We also find that the religious composition of origin countries affects the reading abilities of immigrant children, but that most of this influence can be explained by taking into account compositional differences of origin groups. Furthermore, it is found that children from immigrant communities that have a relatively low average socio-economic status compared to the native population achieve

relatively low levels of reading ability. On the whole, results indicate that the characteristics of countries of destination, countries of origin and immigrant communities are important in explaining differences in the reading ability of immigrant children.

**Book Chapter:** Sociale ongelijkheid in het onderwijs" [Social inequality in education]

Published in *Wat is goed onderwijs? Bijdragen uit de onderwijssociologie*, edited by R. Klarus & A. Dieleman. Den Haag: LEMMA.

This chapter discusses the factors and processes that influence the development of education inequality, based on an overview of the empirical literature. These factors and processes can be categorized into seven key concepts: ability, social background, segregation between schools and neighbourhoods, teaching conditions in schools, public and hidden differentiation, the relationship between the highest level of education and the labour market and the relationship between education and other social sectors. They are discussed in order of their contribution to educational inequality; the most important concepts are discussed first, followed by those that are less important.

**Mark Franklin** is a professor in the SPS department.

**Book Chapter:** "Quantitative Analysis."

Published in *Approaches and Methodology in the Social Sciences. A Pluralist Perspective*, edited by Donatella della Porta and Michael Keating. Cambridge University Press.

This chapter seeks to place quantitative methods in context of other approaches to research in the social sciences, especially case study methods. The chapter steps the reader through the logic, vocabulary and practice of quantitative analysis, starting with data sources and how these data can be organized in a dataset. Interval, ordinal, nominal and dummy variables are defined as well as units and levels of analysis, and the common problems posed by these, and significance of findings and how this is assessed. Finally the chapter takes

readers through the logic and practice of multivariate regression analysis, warning of some common traps and errors in quantitative research.

**Book Chapter:** "Voter Participation in the United States Versus Other Democracies."

Published in Morgan E. Felchner, ed., *Voting in America* Volume 1, Praeger: pp. 161-172.

This chapter addresses the problem of low voter turnout in the United States, taking issue with the common assumption among American scholars that this is due to "something about citizens" (lack of civic-mindedness, alienation, or whatever). Instead the chapter proposes that low US turnout is due to "something about elections" in particular the large number of safe and uncontested districts at congressional elections, in which there is little point in voting. The average margin of victory in congressional districts is shown to have had a spectacular relationship with turnout over the past 160 years.

**Adrienne Heritier** is a professor in the SPS department.

**Book Chapter:** "Causal Explanation."

Published in *Approaches and Methodologies in the Social Sciences: A Pluralist Perspective*, edited by Donatella della Porta and Michael Keating. Cambridge University Press.

'Causal Explanation' presents a set of approaches to systematic explanation of specific empirical political and social phenomena, that all strive to create theoretical, generalizable knowledge with respect to the empirical phenomena in question. This type of analysis aims at providing answers to 'why' questions by seeking to identify an antecedent factor (explanans) or several antecedent factors which is/are responsible for the occurrence of the event or behaviour in question (explanandum).

In the chapter, deductive and inductive approaches are first discussed. The problem of multi-factor explanation and comparative statics is then introduced. The second and third paragraphs present different approaches to the

identification of causal mechanisms and the need for modular explanations. Finally, Adrienne Héritier examines possible approaches to the process of causal reconstruction

**Rasmus Hoffman** is a Max Weber fellow in the SPS department.

**Book Chapter:** “Entstehungsgründe sozialer Ungleichheiten in Gesundheit und Altersmortalität.“

Published in *Health Inequalities – Erklärungsansätze gesundheitlicher Ungleichheit*, U. Bauer, U. Bittlingmayer, M. Richter (eds.), VS-Verlag.

Social differences in health and mortality constitute a persistent finding in epidemiological, demographic, and sociological research. Firstly, this article discusses the notion of social health inequalities from a theoretical perspective including a classification of factors leading to health inequalities in general. Then the two countries chosen for the empirical analysis, Denmark and the USA, are described in terms of social inequality. The datasets for the two countries are Danish register data covering the whole Danish population above age 59 observed from 1980 to 2002 and the US Health and Retirement Study (HRS) including 10.000 people observed from 1992 to 2000. The variables for the event-history-models are education, children, occupational status, marital status, wealth, income and different kinds of health measures. Results show that mortality differences between educational groups get much smaller if controlled for income. Surprisingly, social differences in old age mortality seem to be much larger in Denmark than in the USA. These differences do not diminish after controlling for health behavior, but they are substantially smaller among unhealthy persons. Finally, social mortality differences are substantial for all 10 major groups of causes of death (ICD). The results are discussed, reflecting the empirical research in social epidemiology and related fields.

**Journal Article:** *Arm oder reich? – erst bei Krankheit bedeutungslos.*

Published in *Demografische Forschung aus erster Hand* 5 (3).

This article compares socio-economic mortality differences between people of different age-groups and health status. The best available data (Danish Register data) was used, covering the whole Danish population aged over 59 from 1980 to 2002. Social mortality differences do not converge with age, as proposed by the “Aging as leveler” hypothesis, but they converge with worsening health (“illness as leveler”). The transition from good health to bad health is highly influenced by social status (SES), the transition from bad health to death is not.

**Michael Keating** is a professor in the SPS department.

**Book:** *Approaches and Methodologies in the Social Sciences. A Pluralist Perspective*, edited with Donatella della Porta.

Published by Cambridge University Press.

This collection, written by members of the SPS department, is based on our First Year Core Methods Seminar. Presented as a pluralist approach, it encourages doctoral researchers to choose approaches and methodologies appropriate to their topic and urges a cross-fertilization among the various schools. It addresses questions of ontology, epistemology and philosophy of social science and proceeds to issues of methodology and research design. It introduces researchers to the main issues of debate and contention in the methodology of social sciences, identifying commonalities, continuities and differences.

**Michiel Korthals** is a Professoral Fellow in the SPS department.

**Journal Article:** *Ethical Rooms for Maneuver and their Prospects vis-à-vis the Current Ethical Food Policies in Europe.*

Published in the *Journal of Agricultural and Environmental Ethics* 21: pp. 249-273

In this paper I want to show that consumer concerns can be implemented in food chains by organizing ethical discussions of conflicting values that include them as participators. Changing food chains more in accordance with consumer concerns should at least take into account the multi-interpretable, dynamic, and pluralist features of consumer concerns, for example, in traceability schemes. In discussing usual approaches such as codes, stakeholder analysis, and assurance schemes, I conclude that these traditional approaches can be helpful. However, in cases of dynamic, pluralistic, and uncertain developments, maintaining some pre-existing evaluating scheme or some clear cut normative hierarchy, such as codes or assurance schemes, can be disastrous in undermining new ethical desirable initiatives. Instead of considering ethical standards and targets as fixed, which is done with codes and schemes, it is more fruitful to emphasize the structure of the processes in which ethical weighing of relevant consumer concerns get shaped. The concept of ‘Ethical Room for Maneuver’ (ERM) is constructed to specify the ethical desirable conditions under which identification and weighing of paramount values and their dilemmas can be processed.

**Journal Article:** *Ethics and Politics of Food; toward a deliberative perspective.*

Published in the *Journal of Social Philosophy*, vol 39, 3, 445-463.

This article starts with the opposition between a liberal perspective on food that emphasizes general rules for safety and health from the viewpoint of individual autonomy and a communitarian perspective that would regard the orientation on general rules strictly as only one of many orientations, and make them dependent on cultural communities. After analyzing the liberal perspective in more detail, I discussed the theory of Habermas in the light of its implications for the need for peaceful coexistence and fruitful dialogue between the various quality-related views about food styles. I argued for a deliberative ethics and politics of food that recognize the significance of cultural lifestyles, including food styles, maintaining orientation on universally applicable rules at the same time (keeping in mind that those rules are also determined by culture). The potentialities of

deliberation should be fully explored instead of restricted to moral discourses, as is the case in the theory of Habermas.

**Journal Article:** *Trading “ethical preferences” in the market: outline of a politically liberal framework for the ethical characterization of foods*, with Michalopoulos, T. and Henk Hogeveen,

Published in the *Journal of Agricultural and Environmental Ethics*, 21-3, 3-27

**Journal Article:** *The Birth of Philosophy and the Contempt of Food.*

Published in *Gastronomica*, vol 8. 3. pp. 62-69.

Would that the one-liner “It is not possible to dip into the same sauce twice” had come from Heraclitus, or that Nietzsche had titled his famous book *Thus Spoke Zarathustra!* And what if we could turn to Kant’s *Critique of Culinary Reason? Or Heidegger’s “The Food feeds?”* Alas, Western philosophers and food are not at all congruent. Heraclitus said, “It is not possible to step into the same river twice”; Nietzsche’s book is, of course, titled *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*; Kant wrote *Critique of Pure Reason*; and Heidegger stated in *What Is Metaphysics?* that “The Nothing nothings.” It would seem that philosophers do not eat food and think about it only in a Rodin-statue-sortof- way—melancholically. In fact, according to Galen’s theory of the four humors, philosophers are said to be dominated by black bile and are therefore cold and dry (indeed, *melan cholerus*). However, as living beings they are torn between being creatures who need and might perhaps even enjoy food and being philosophers who officially deny food’s significance.

**Book:** *Ethical Traceability and Communicating Food*, edited with Coff, Ch., D. Barling. M. Korthals, Th. Nielsen.

Published in the series: *The International Library of Environmental, Agricultural and Food Ethics*, Vol. 14 2008, XVI, Dordrecht: Springer.

The theme of this book evolved from the idea of linking three concepts around food:

traceability, ethics and informed choice. We believe that the current development and implementation of traceability in the agri-food sector offers an interesting way not only of handling food safety but also of addressing and communicating ethical issues arising from current food production practices. Practices in the agri-food sector worry food consumers (as we all are, since we need to eat and drink to stay alive). But how can consumers act upon their concerns? Paradoxically, although consumers are bombarded with information on food – from the media, the food industry, food authorities, NGOs and interest groups – details about how foods are actually produced is often hard to find. Much of the information available is superficial, conflicting or partial, and it is hard for consumers seeking to make informed food choices to know which information to trust. The consumers we interviewed for this project felt that information about food products was withheld and manipulated.

#### **Book Chapters:**

Coff, C., M. Korthals and D. Barling, Ethical traceability and informed food choice, in: Coff, Ch., D. Barling. M. Korthals (eds.), 2008, *Ethical Traceability and Communicating Food*, Springer Chapter 1, p.1-18

Nicolosi, G., and M. Korthals, Narrative strategies in food advertising, in: Coff, Ch., D. Barling. M. Korthals (eds.), 2008, *Ethical Traceability and Communicating Food*, Springer Chapter 4, pp.63-78

Korthals, M., Ethical traceability and ethical room for manoeuvre, in: Coff, Ch., D. Barling. M. Korthals (eds.), 2008, *Ethical Traceability and Communicating Food*, Springer, Chapter 11, 251-265

Coff, C., D. Barling, M. Korthals, Conclusions and Policy Options. In: Coff, Ch., D. Barling. M. Korthals (eds.), 2008, *Ethical Traceability and Communicating Food*, Springer Chapter 14, pp. 293-301

Coff, Ch, Beekman, M. Korthals, L. Schipper, Communicating Ethical Traceability, Chapter 13, in: Coff, Ch., D. Barling. M. Korthals (eds.), 2008, *Ethical Traceability and Communicating Food*, Springer, pp. 277-291

Korthals, M, 2008, 'The Naked Emperor. Bioethics today and tomorrow'. In: Marcus Düwell (ed), *The Contingent Nature of Life*, Springer, 221-232

Korthals, M., 2008, Are Conflicts of Nature Distributive Conflicts? In Jozef Keulartz Leistra, Gilbert (Eds.) *Legitimacy in European Nature Conservation Policy, Case Studies in Multilevel Governance*. Series: The International Library of Environmental, Agricultural and Food Ethics , Vol. 14 2008, XVI, Springer, 251-255

Korthals, M., Two Battles in the History of Agriculture: Against Hunger and Against Alternatives. Comments on John Perkins' and Rachael Jamison' History, Ethics and Intensification in Agriculture, Chapter 5, in: P. Thompson, (ed.), *The Ethics of Intensification*, Springer, pp. 63-71.

**Peter Mair** is a professor in, and currently head of, the SPS department.

**Journal article:** *Electoral Volatility and the Dutch Party System: A Comparative Perspective*.

Published in *Acta Politica* 43: 2-3, 2008, 235-53.

This paper places the current wave of Dutch electoral volatility within a comparative European context, and emphasises its exceptional character. Evidence of Dutch exceptionalism in terms of the broad patterns of electoral change that have developed across the postwar years is reviewed, and the focus is then narrowed to the evidence from very recent elections. One of the major factors accounting for the current high levels of volatility is the relative openness of the party system. Evidence of the patterns of government alternation shows that the Dutch party system is relatively unstructured, but that the real effect of this openness kicked in only when depillarisation was more or less complete.

**Book chapter:** "Concepts and Concept Formation."

Published in Donatella della Porta and Michael Keating (eds), *Approaches and Methodologies in the Social Sciences*. Cambridge University Press.

This chapter focuses on the crucial stage in the research process in which initial ideas and hypotheses are translated into an operational research design and into real research practice: the stage at which the concepts are defined. It works mainly with Sartori's classic rules of concept formation, and with particular reference to his so-called ladder of abstraction. Having outlined these various rules, the chapter goes on to offer examples from recent research in comparative politics of how concepts travel and of how they are sometimes stretched. From this we will learn that getting the concepts right is difficult, but also essential. Since Sartori's approach is sometimes difficult and demanding, the chapter also looks at some of the alternatives, focusing in particular on Collier and Mahon's valuable adaptation of Wittgenstein's notions of family resemblance, as well as their discussion of so-called 'radial' concepts.

**Diego Muro** is a Max Weber fellow in the SPS department.

**Book:** *Ethnicity and Violence: the case of radical Basque nationalism*.

Published by Routledge.

This book provides a genealogy of radical Basque nationalism and the means by which this complex, often violent, political movement has reinforced Basque identity. Radical nationalists are mobilized by a shared frame of reference where ethnicity and violence are intertwined in a nostalgic recreation of a golden age and a quasi-religious imperative to restore that distant past. Muro critically examines the origins of the ethno-nationalist conflict and provides a comprehensive examination of Euskadi Ta Askatusana's (ETA) violent campaign. The book analyzes the interplay of ethnicity and violence and stresses the role of inherited myths, memories, and cultural symbols to explain the ability of radical Basque nationalism to endure.

**Tim Peace** is a 3rd PhD researcher in the SPS department.

**Journal article:** *L'impact de la « participation musulmane » sur le mouvement altermondialiste en Grande-Bretagne et en France*.

Published in *Cultures & Conflits*, N° 70: pp. 109-128.

This article examines the participation of European Muslims in the global justice/alter-globalisation movement in France and Britain. It focuses specifically on the European Social Forums (ESFs) that took place in those respective countries in 2003 and 2004 and presents an overview of the mobilisation of Muslims and their interaction with the existing movement and seeks to elaborate on the impact of this participation. It is argued that what is most significant is the effect it has had on the various groups involved in the movement and how it has challenged their own self-interpretation as open and tolerant. The most obvious result has been the series of debates, disagreements, fallouts and splits Muslim participation has caused in both countries. However, activists in the UK have appeared more willing to work with Muslim interest organisations. The differing reactions to this phenomenon in the two countries can be explained by the 'discursive opportunity structures' found in each context. In France in particular, the notions of *laïcité* and *communautarisme* force social movement actors to adopt ambivalent attitudes towards Muslim groups even though these groups often agree upon the importance of the former and danger of the latter.

**Catherine Spieser** is PhD candidate in the SPS department and a Lecturer at the University of Strasbourg

**Journal article:** *Les fonds structurels européens : quels outils pour faire face aux restructurations ?*

Published in French in *Revue internationale de droit économique* t. XXII, 2 , pp.213-230.

The article investigates whether and in what way regional and cohesion policies defined at the European level provide resources to alleviate the impact of company restructuring and processes of large-scale structural adjustment on workers and territories. It also looks into the capacity of regional and local authorities to anticipate such developments. Going back to the origin of EU regional policy, we find that it was precisely designed for the purpose of accompanying the completion of the single European market and fostering adaptation to externally-driven change as competition became fiercer. Since then, EU structural funds have played a double role. On one hand, they have been an embryo of a European policy for economic development, relying on public expenditure representing a sizeable share of the EU budget. On the other hand, they have led to implement a new governance system aiming to integrate a large number of actors in the definition of developmental strategies and reinforcing the regional level. The article acknowledges the great variety of situations across regions and draws some lessons from a few empirical cases. It concludes by identifying a number of necessary conditions to be fulfilled for an active utilisation of the structural funds, in particular when facing large-scale restructuring.

**Sven Steinmo** is a professor in the SPS department.

**Journal Article:** *Do Libraries Matter? On the Creation of Social Capital*, with Andreas Vårheim and Eisaku Ide.

Published in *Journal of Documentation*, 64(6).

**Book Chapter:** “Historical Institutionalism.”

Published in *Approaches and Methodology in the Social Sciences. A Pluralist Perspective*, edited by Donatella della Porta and Michael Keating. Cambridge University Press.

This chapter charts the rise of the new institutionalism as a corrective to the universalizing, behavioural accounts of the 1960s. While ‘old’ institutionalists (including many European social scientists) took institutions as sets of binding rules, new institutionalists have a more sociological conception. There are three varieties of new institutionalism. For rational choice institutionalists, institutions shape the patterns of incentives and sanctions available to individuals making decisions. Sociological institutionalists see people as being socialized by institutions, so that their behaviour is shaped by what they have learnt to see as appropriate. Historical institutionalists can accept both of these accounts, but emphasize the importance of context and of the historical order of events. History is not a chain of independent events but a sequence in which one happening influences the next. In this way, these scholars seek to account for both continuity and change over time. Although they use various methodologies, historical institutionalists share the methodological challenge of bringing history back into the social sciences. They are sceptical of the idea of independent variables that can be isolated to measure the effect of each, since factors constantly interact with each other. If there is a scientific analogy, it is with biology rather than physics. Historical institutionalists are interested in specific cases and the comparison of a small number of cases rather than generalizations over large numbers of cases.

**Book Chapter:** “Changes in the Modern State and Tax Policy: Globalization, Aging and Reliance on Government, (translated into Japanese by Takehido Ikegami and Andrew DeWit)”

Published in *The Fiscal Sociology of Taxation*, Tokyo: Zeimu Keiri Dyokai Publishing Co., (2008).

**Book Chapter:** “What Should the State Do? A Political Economy of Ideas and Institutions.”

Published in John Campbell and Peter Naargard, *Institutions and Politics*, Copenhagen: DJOF Press, pages 195-226.

**Michaël Tatham** is a 3<sup>rd</sup> year PhD researcher in the SPS department.

**Journal Article:** *Going Solo: Direct Regional Representation in the European Union.*

Published in *Regional & Federal Studies*, 18:5, pp. 493-515.

This article seeks to map out routes of direct regional interest representation in the European Union. It identifies six main opportunity structures available to regions: the Committee of the Regions, the Council of Ministers, the Commission, the European Parliament, regional Brussels offices and European networks and associations. Using original interview material, the article analyses how and under what conditions each route can be most efficient for regional interest representation. It concludes that though these opportunity structures have not triggered the emergence of a 'Europe of the Regions' as some of the literature in the 1990s had predicted, they do represent important channels of access that regions can use in an attempt to influence the EU policy process. These regional para-diplomatic activities bypass EU member states and consequently challenge liberal intergovernmentalist assumptions regarding the nature of EU politics.

**Olga Wysocka** is a PhD researcher in the SPS department.

**Journal article:** *Populism i Radio Maryja*, by Olga Wysocka

Published in *Znak* Vol. 640, No. 9, pp. 61-74

This issue of the Polish monthly magazine *Znak* focuses on the phenomenon of the ultra catholic radio station *Radio Maryja* and its leader Father Rydzyk. Scholars, mainly sociologists and political scientists, attempt to explain the Radio Maryja movement from different perspectives. One who speaks in the defence of Catholic values and in the name of the people is not necessarily a populist. However, one becomes a populist when one, in the name of the Catholic values, creates an enemy and, in the defence of the people,

manipulates their fears and uses them as political instruments.

**Book chapter:** *Poland*, with Jacek Kucharczyk.

Published in Grigorij Mesežnikov, Oľga Gyárfášová, and Daniel Smilov (eds.): *Populist Politics and Liberal Democracy in Central and Eastern Europe*, Institute for Public Affairs, Bratislava, 2008.

The publication is an output of the one-year project *Populism and Liberal Democracy in Central and Eastern Europe*, supported by Trust for Civil Society in Central Eastern Europe. The main objective was to assess the consequences of and the dangers related to the rise of populism in Central Eastern Europe in the pre- and especially in post-accession period in new EU member states. In 2007 scholars from four countries Bulgaria, Slovakia, Poland, Hungary elaborated national case studies in which they analyzed various factors of populist politics. They did not deal with populism as a societal and political phenomenon or debate the definition and typology of populism, but rather focused on wider societal conditions for populist politics in four mentioned countries, putting them into the context of whole transition period after the collapse of communist regimes.

