

SPS *in press*

This bi-monthly newsletter lists abstracts of recent publications by faculty, fellows, and researchers currently associated with the Department of the Political and Social Sciences of the European University Institute. The complete bibliographic details of these and all other publications stemming from the EUI are listed at <http://cadmus.iue.it/dspace/>. All publication dates are 2009, unless otherwise noted.

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Bahar Baser, researcher.

Journal article

Bahar Baser and Ashok Swain. "Diaspora Design versus Homeland Realities: Case Study of Armenian Diaspora" *Caucasian Review of International Affairs*, Vol.3 (1) Winter.

Recently the concept of "diaspora" has become a popular subject and two polarized views dominate the study on diaspora behavior: the categorization of the diaspora as good or bad, conflict or peace promoter, spoiler or peace-maker. The majority of the research on diaspora politics emphasizes its conflict-promoting character. Researchers argue that a diaspora may even act against its homeland's interests. This paper aims to further explore this behavior of diaspora groups and try to locate the reasons behind this phenomenon. The focus is the Armenian diaspora and its policies, particularly those targeting the foreign policy of the host country. Some of the critical issues are the conflict in Nagorno Karabakh and Turkish-Armenian relations, which include the issues of "genocide"

recognition, normalization of diplomatic relations and opening of the borders.

Rainer Bauböck, professor.

Journal article

"Citizens on the Move: Democratic Standards for Migrants' Membership, Canadian Diversity/Diversité Canadienne, vol. 6, no. 4, fall 2008: 7-12. Also published in: Bertelsmann Stiftung, European Policy Centre, Migration Policy Institute (eds.) *Delivering Citizenship*, Verlag Bertelsmann Stiftung, Gütersloh: 31-48.

This article explains how a stakeholder principle for allocating membership in self-governing polities can be applied to citizenship legislation. It proposes that liberal democracies should offer optional naturalisation to immigrants and optional renunciation of citizenship to emigration, automatic acquisition by *ius soli* for 2nd generations born in the country and acquisition by *ius sanguinis* for those born abroad of emigrant parents but not to third generations of immigrant ancestry. The article also suggests that multiple stakeholder justifies multiple citizenship, that the European Union ought to develop

common standards for acquisition of Union citizenship through access to nationality of a member state, and that a legal status of denizenship for long-term residents can only complement, but not replace access to full citizenship.

Book chapter

“Stakeholder Citizenship and Democratic Participation in Migration Contexts” in: John Erik Fossum, Paul Magnette and Johanne Poirier (eds.) *The Ties That Bind: Accommodating Diversity in Europe and in Canada / Ces liens qui unissent: accommoder la diversité en Europe et au Canada*, Peter Lang, Brussels-Bern. 105-128.

In countries open for emigration and immigration, large numbers of citizens live outside the state territory and large numbers of non-citizens reside permanently in this territory. In many democracies, both groups will be excluded from democratic participation and representation. Yet more and more states are revising their conceptions of citizenship to grant voting rights and political participation to non-citizen residents or non-resident citizens. This poses a considerable challenge to democratic theory. Under certain conceptions only one of these groups, but not the other, has a claim to inclusion. Starting from a comparative examination of political participation rights, this book chapter discusses arguments for and against expanding political citizenship beyond territory and formal nationality.

Encyclopedia article

“Migration”, in: Stefan Gosepath, Wilfried Hinsch, Beate RöSSLer (eds.) *Handbuch der Sozialphilosophie und Politischen Philosophie (Encyclopedia of Social and Political Philosophy)*, de Gruyter, Berlin, 2008: 818-823.

This encyclopedia article provides an overview of political philosophy perspectives on migration and argues that the specific contribution of liberal political theory is to relate the political legitimation of coercive government to freedom of movement across political boundaries. It discusses the moral asymmetry between exit and entry, the distinction between colonial settlement and immigration and the tension between arguments for free movement as a negative liberty and as a duty of global distributive justice. The article concludes that even if liberal democracies have legitimate reasons to control immigration, they must be committed to creating the conditions for global freedom of movement through reducing global discrepancies of welfare as well as through expanding supranational spaces of free movement.

Mabel Berezin, Braudel fellow.

Book

Illiberal Politics in Neoliberal Times: Culture, Security and Populism in the New Europe. Cambridge University Press.

The rise of rightwing populism has brought into question prevailing assumptions in social science about multicultural Europe. In this compelling study of populist politics, Mabel Berezin argues that the emergence of the movement in the 1990s was a historical surprise rather than an expected event. She questions whether rightwing populism would exist in the absence of the Maastricht Treaty and the subsequent intensification of cultural and economic Europeanization. Using an innovative methodology, Berezin analyzes the French National Front in relation to the broader context of Europeanization and globalization. She unpacks the political and cultural processes that evoke the thin commitments characterizing citizen support, and shows that we cannot make sense of rightwing populism without

considering the historical legacies and practices, both national and international, within which it arises. This book makes a novel argument about the relationship between democracy and political and social security.

Dorothee Bohle, Braudel fellow.

Journal Articles

“East European Capitalism – What Went Wrong?” *Intervention. European Journal of Economics and Economic Policies*, Issue 1.

The article discusses the particular vulnerabilities of East-Central European capitalisms, as revealed in the current crisis. It takes as its starting point the worry expressed by many students of the region in the early 1990s that the double transformation to capitalism and democracy constitutes a challenging agenda. In a democratic setting, the crucial question was whether East European societies could mobilize resources to increase tolerance for the economic costs of transformation. Comparing the Hungarian and Latvian experiences, I argue that both countries relied on a number of methods to make the pains of economic transformation tolerable. While Hungary mitigated the costs through social policies, Latvia – a newly independent state – used identity politics to instill tolerance for social hardship in its society. These domestic resources were however insufficient to create solid support for capitalism, and already showed signs of exhaustion during the 1990s. Increasingly, international actors and markets came to the rescue of the fragile capitalist democracies. The tolerance of international markets and institutions for great economic imbalances allowed governments in both countries to grant their population a broader share of the new system’s wealth. The global financial crisis has however pulled the rug out from under such solutions. With popular dissatisfaction

growing, and governments at loss for resources to mitigate the pains to come, the future of democratic capitalism in the region is once again uncertain

(Together with Bela Greskovits):

“Manufacturing miracles, welfare pathologies and the accumulation of national debt. On the political economy of east central Europe.” *Osteurop, Issue 2-3*.

Twenty years of democracy and market economics in east central Europe have been a great success. This distinguishes Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, and Hungary from almost all of the other post-Socialist states. Their model of success has two components. First, these four states succeeded in becoming the manufacturing site for trans-national companies. That creates jobs and brings capital into the region. Second, the governments softened the social hardships of the transformation by means of welfare state policies. The price is an enormous national debt. Since EU accession, it has been necessary to take action against this. Dissatisfaction is growing, and populist forces are increasing in strength.

Book chapter

“Race to the Bottom? Transnational Companies and Reinforced Competition in the enlarged European Union” In: Van Apeldoorn, Bastiaan, Jan Drahekoupil and Laura Horn (eds): *Neoliberal European Governance and Beyond – The Contradictions and Limits of a Political Project*. Palgrave; MacMillan, 2008.

The contribution seeks to evaluate the dynamics, limits and contradictions of the increasing locational competition in the enlarged EU. It argues that that eastern enlargement has reinforced the room for manoeuvre for Transnational Companies and strengthened the competitive pressure in the European economic area. At the

same time, it cautions against a too simplistic understanding of European countries being engaged in a 'race to the bottom' where those countries closest to the neoliberal ideal outperform the rest in terms of attracting investment. Such a view is inadequate for two reasons. First, it underestimates the capitalist diversity in Eastern Europe, and cannot explain why it is not the most neoliberal regimes of the region that exert the strongest competitive pressures on Western Europe. Second, the simplistic race to the bottom thesis underestimates the contradictions of further deregulation.

Simon Bornschier, visiting fellow.

Journal article

Simon Bornschier and Romain Lachat. "The Evolution of the French Political Space and Party System." *West European Politics*, Vol. 32, No. 2, 360-383.

New structural potentials related to the processes of globalisation and European integration have produced far-reaching changes in the structure of opposition in the French party system. Whereas the newly designed institutions of the Fifth Republic progressively brought about a 'bipolar multipartism' in the first two decades of their existence, the rising prominence of new cultural conflicts and of the issue of European integration have led to an increasing disunity of the parties within the left and right, to the emergence of the Front National as a powerful new actor, as well as to a general process of party system fragmentation. On the basis of four electoral campaigns between 1978 and 2002, this article analyses the transformation of the ideological dimensions underlying party competition and the positions of parties within this space, and assesses the implications for the electoral success of parties and for the general make-up of the party system.

Christine Chwaszcza, professor.

Journal article

"Review symposium: The theory and practice of multicultural theorizing", *Ethnicities* 8, 2008, 261-265.

A review article on the theory and practice of multicultural theorizing.

Book chapter

"Game Theory." in Donatella Della Porta/Michael Keating (eds.): *Approaches and Methodologies in the Social Sciences*, Cambridge University Press, 2008. pp. 139-161.

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.

Angelos-Stylianos Chryssogelos, researcher.

Book review

Review of: A. Rigos, S.I. Seferiadis and E. Chatzivassileiou (eds.), *The Short Decade*, Athens: Kastaniotis, 2008 (in Greek). In: 'Liberal Emphasis', October-November-December 2008: 141-149.

The 1960s in Greece was a time of rapid social changes, political unrest and general upheaval. Coupled with an unparalleled amount of artistic production, the era still remains contentious. Nevertheless, or perhaps because of this, the mainstream political analysis of the era has been decidedly affected by the ideological orthodoxy of the post-dictatorship regime of 1974, emphasizing the social and political authoritarianism of the pre-dictatorship constitutional monarchy. The recent collective volume of the Greek Political Science Association, for all the inclusion of alternative and interesting contributions, reproduces the main tenets of this ideological orthodoxy. In this critical book review, Angelos Chrysosgelos tries to highlight subtle features of the reality of the 1960s regime, pointing to the gradual opening up of the institutional set-up, rehabilitating the era's artistic achievements as something *belonging* to, and not being *against*, the wider realities of the 1960s and showing how the autistic refusal of everything related to the 'imperfect democracy' inhibits a much needed self-reflection upon the shortcomings of today's republic: partitocrazia, erosion of institutional checks and a general lack of vision.

Donatella della Porta, professor.

Book

Della Porta, Donatella, *I partiti politici*, Bologna, Il Mulino, 2nd updated and expanded edition.

This is an updated and expanded edition of an introduction to social science research on political parties. The volume addresses the functions of political parties, the organizational evolution from the party of the notables to the mass ideological parties, the relations between social cleavages and parties, party bureaucratization, the characteristics of activists and electors, party financing, party government and alliances and

tensions between parties and social movements.

Journal article

Grandi opere e protesta: sindrome Nimby o riappropriazione della politica? (Intervista a cura di Cesare Panizza), in "Quaderno di Storia Contemporanea", no. 44, 2008, pp. 89-104.

In this interview, the author discusses some topics addressed in her volume (with Gianni Piazza), *Le ragioni del No* (Milano, Feltrinelli, 2008). The interview addresses the conditions for the development of local conflicts as well as their evolutionary trends. It addresses the organizational networks involved in these protests, the framing of social problems and collective identities, the repertoire of actions and structures of alliances.

Book chapters

Making the new polis. The Practice of Deliberative Democracy in Social Forums, in Hank Johnston (ed.), *Culture Social Movements, and Protest*, Farnham Ashgate, pp. 181-208.

Social movements present criticism of representative democracy, developing and experimenting with alternative models of democracy. Using group interviews, triangulated with survey data, the chapter discusses to what extent recent normative debates on deliberative democracy might help our understanding of contemporary social movements.

Leaving underground organizations: A sociological analysis of the Italian case, in Tore Bjorgo and John Horgan (eds.), *Leaving Terrorism Behind. Individual and Collective Disengagement*, London, Routledge, pp. 49-65.

Research on political violence has focused on processes of radicalization, paying little attention to the inverse processes of de-

radicalization. Based on life histories as well as a large-N data base on former militants of Italian underground organizations, this chapters singles out some explanations about the exit processes, linking macro-environmental, meso-organizational, and micro-individual conditions.

Rossi, Federico and Donatella della Porta, *Social Movements, Civil Society and Advocacy Networks*, in Christian W. Haerpfer, Patrick Berbhagen, Ronald F. Inglehart and Christian Welzel (ed.), *Democratization*, Oxford University Press, pp. 172-195.

This chapter looks at the relationship between social movements, cycles of protest, waves of strikes and transnational advocacy networks of resistance to non-democratic regimes in the third wave of democratization. The chapter presents: a) views of social movements within the democratization literature; b) views of democratization within the social movement literature; c) illustrations on the diverse roles played by movements, depending on the type of democratization process, as well as the stage in which mobilizations emerge (resistance, liberalization, transition, consolidation, expansion).

Della Porta, Donatella, *Corruzione*, in *Sinistra senza sinistra. Idee plurali per uscire dall'angolo*, Milano, Feltrinelli, 2008, 185-192.

This entry focuses on the transformation of political corruption in Italy, with a comparison of pre-1992 and post-1992 types of corruption. It also discusses the political reactions of left-wing and center-leftwing parties on corruption.

Matthias Delori, Max Weber fellow.

Book

Delori Mathias, Delphine Deschaux-Beaume et Sabine Saurugger, *Le choix rationnel en science politique. Débats critiques*, Presses Universitaires de Rennes.

Cet ouvrage est issu d'un constat relativement simple : il existe un décalage majeur, en science politique, entre les orientations théoriques des deux côtés de l'Atlantique : alors que le choix rationnel constitue le point de référence de nombreuses publications en langue anglaise, ce paradigme est clairement marginalisé en France, en Allemagne et plus généralement dans l'Europe continentale. Ce décalage pose problème car il remet en question notre conception unitaire de la science. Comme l'écrit Richard Balme : « *C'est tout le projet d'une compréhension réflexive du social qui est en jeu dans la capacité à formuler des propositions relativement indépendantes de la culture, et rejeter le choix rationnel à ce motif revient à renoncer à l'ambition scientifique de la pensée sociale* ». De ce constat on peut logiquement inférer une proposition : dans l'ère culturelle qui est la nôtre, un progrès vers cette « *compréhension réflexive [globale] du social* » passe par un débat sur les apports et les limites du choix rationnel. Divers spécialistes européens de science politique (notamment Mark D Aspinwall, Pieter Bots, Christophe Bouillaud, Olivier Giraud, Raul Magni-Berton, Yves Schemeil, Gerald Schneider ou encore Yves Surel) ont accepté de contribuer à ce débat. L'argument central développé dans le livre est qu'un certain choix rationnel est soluble dans l'épistémologie sociologique et historique sur laquelle nos sciences politiques se sont construites.

Journal article

« Les pères fondateurs de l'OFAJ croyaient-ils en leurs mythes ? », In : *Allemagne d'Aujourd'hui*, n°188, mars-avril.

Pendant les dix premières années de son existence, l'Office franco-allemand pour la jeunesse pratiqua une politique d'échanges de masse. Cet article s'interroge sur le sous-bassement intellectuel de cette politique. Un point mérite une attention particulière. Le principe des échanges de masse impliquait des séjours de courte durée (quelques jours au maximum). Les structures de socialisation de l'Allemagne nazie n'avaient visiblement pas réussi, en plus de 10 ans, à imprimer une marque durable sur une génération d'Allemands. Les pères fondateurs de l'OFAJ croyaient-ils vraiment que la multiplication des rencontres de courte durée permettraient un changement des mentalités ? L'article mobilise les outils théoriques de l'approche dite « cognitive » des politiques publiques pour répondre de manière positive à cette question.

Book review

“Thomas Hörber, *The Foundations of Europe. European Integration Ideas in France, Germany and Britain in the 1950's*. Wiesbaden VS, Verl. für Sozialwiss., 2006.” reviewed in: *Politique Européenne*, 26, pp 225-230

Comme son titre l'indique, *The Foundations of Europe. European Integration Ideas in France, Germany and Britain in the 1950's*. explore les débats idéologiques sur l'Europe, au lendemain de la Seconde guerre mondiale, dans trois pays clefs de la construction européenne. L'enquête repose sur l'analyse systématique d'un corpus impressionnant et peu étudié : l'ensemble des discours et des débats menés au cours des années 1950 autour de la question européenne dans les parlements français, allemands et britanniques . Ce prisme méthodologique permet à l'auteur d'apporter un éclairage sur deux grands points aveugles de l'historiographie sur la construction européenne : le poids des opinions publiques marquées par la guerre et

l'ensemble des options débattues dans les parlements et finalement rejetées.

Nicole Doer, researcher.

Journal article:

“Deliberative Discussion, Language, and Efficiency in the World Social Forum Process.” *Mobilization* 13, 4 (December 2008): 395-410.

The World Social Forum (WSF) and European Social Forum (ESF) processes represent a new platform for experimenting with multilingual practices of "deliberative talk." Activists come together in meetings that take place at the regional level between these larger social forum events. The "European Social Forum Preparatory Assemblies" (EPA), for instance, allow activists in the ESF process to hold regular meetings in a multilingual format using simultaneous translation. I will explore how activists in such transnational meetings deal with the tension between time consuming, multilingual discussion processes and efficiency. Comparing meetings of European and South African groups within the umbrella of the ESF and WSF processes, I found the "politics of language" to be a very fragile aspect of the practice of deliberative discussion. However, some groups have developed innovative tactics or have made creative use of cognitive resources to tackle the challenge of linguistic exclusion.

Jaap Dronkers, professor.

Journal articles

Albertini, M. & J. Dronkers. "Effects of Divorce on Children's Educational Attainment in a Mediterranean and Catholic Country. Evidence from Italy." *European Societies* 11:137-159.

Previous research has found parental divorce to have negative effects on children's educational attainment; in addition, it has been noted that the effects of divorce are not the same in all western societies. However, research on Catholic and southern European countries is missing. The aim of this paper is to add to the research on the relation between parental divorce and the educational attainment of children in Catholic and southern European societies. Italian society differs from other western societies with respect to many characteristics of its family structure, its cultural and religious systems, its social welfare system, and also with respect to the legislation, frequency and characteristics of divorce. Based on data of the Bank of Italy Survey of Households' Income and Wealth, we find that the educational level of children with divorced parents is lower than the educational level of children with married parents. The analysis indicates that the education of children born to the least educated divorced mothers lags significantly behind children of the least educated married mothers, while the educational level of children of highly educated mothers does not deviate from that of children of highly educated mothers who remain married. Next, contrary to what has been found in other European societies, this research shows that widowhood has a significant negative effect on children's educational attainment as well. Finally, the study also demonstrates that the negative effect of divorce cannot be explained by the negative impact of the religious climate of the region of residence.

Lancee, B. & J. Dronkers, 2008. "Etnische diversiteit, sociaal vertrouwen in de buurt en contact van allochtonen en autochtonen met burens." [Ethnic diversity, social trust in the neighbourhood and contact of migrants and natives with neighbours] *Migrantenstudies* 24:224-249.

Putnam (2007) claims that in the short run ethnic diversity tends to reduce solidarity and social capital: in ethnically diverse neighborhoods, residents of all ethnicities tend to 'hunker down'. Trust (even in one's own ethnic group) is lower, altruism and community cooperation is more rare, friends fewer. This study replicates Putnam's analysis for a West-European country. Furthermore, by including the ethnicity of the respondent's neighbors, a sub-neighborhood level measure of ethnic diversity is added to the analyses. With data from the Netherlands (N=5,757), using multi-level regression, we confirm Putnam's claim and find that the neighborhoods' ethnic diversity as well as having neighbors of a different ethnicity, reduces trust in the neighborhood and lowers the quality of contact with the neighbors. However, we do not find these negative effects of neighborhoods' or neighbors ethnic diversity on inter-ethnic trust. This holds for both for immigrants and native residents. A substantial part of the effect of neighborhoods' ethnic diversity on trust can be explained by the higher propensity of having neighbors of a different ethnicity. We conclude that ethnic diversity can have a negative effect on trust in the neighborhood.

Dronkers, J. & A. Need, 2008. "Het voortbestaan van religieuze scholen." [The survival of religious schools] pp. 380-387 in *Handboek Religie in Nederland*, edited by M. ter Borg, E. Borgman, M. Buitelaar, Y. Kuiper & R. Plum. Zoetermeer: Meinema.

The authors review the arguments and the empirical evidence surrounding the survival of religious schools in secularized societies.

Book chapter

Dronkers, J. *L'Educació com a pilar de la desigualtat. La política educativa europea: limitacions i possibilitats*. Barcelona: Fundació Rafael Campalans.

This paper provides a review of three subjects. First, I discuss a number of processes that influence inequality in and around education, describing current research in this area to the best of my ability. This discussion is based on my own interpretation of the 'state of the art' in empirical research on education and inequality. In the light of the processes outlined, I then discuss what I consider the mistakes that have been made in educational policy. I pay particular attention to mistakes made by the social-democrats, as they have been a driving force behind educational policy in most European countries for the last 50 years. Finally, bearing in mind these processes and the mistakes that have been made, I provide a rough outline of possible policies that could successfully reduce educational inequalities. In this article, educational inequality refers to the wide-ranging chances of students from various strata of society to achieve high levels of education

Isabelle Engeli, Max Weber fellow.

Book

Engeli, Isabelle, Ballmer-Cao, Thanh-Huyen and Pierre Muller (eds). *Les Politiques du Genre* (2008). Paris : L'Harmattan, collection Logiques Politiques.

The main goal of this book is to further develop the dialogue between gender and public policy studies. The so-called politics of gender, which often regulate the intimate sphere, constitute a promising opportunity to better understand why and how gender roles are regulated through public policies. The book includes chapters

on the gender dynamics in various policy sectors such as education, security, reproduction and same-sex couples.

Journal articles

"The Challenges of Abortion and ART Policies in Europe", *Comparative European Politics* 7(1).

Most European countries face regulatory challenges in the reproduction field that were triggered by feminist claims for reproductive rights and by the technological development of Assisted Reproductive Technologies. State responses to these reproductive challenges strongly differ in terms of regulatory scope and content. By reviewing the explanations offered in the literature, this article concludes that if institutional arrangements at the national level do not tend to exert a clearly systematic and direct impact on abortion and assisted reproductive technologies policy outputs, strong coherence within the medical community explains a great deal of the variation among policies as Varone et al. (2006) argue. However, it shows that physicians, when confronted to strong public controversy, have been forced to accept compromises with their challengers by forging alliance either with women's movement or with pro-life actors.

"La problématisation de la procréation médicalement assistée en France et en Suisse. Les aléas de la mobilisation féministe", *Revue Française de Science Politique* 59(2).

Feminist movements played different roles in the development of the controversial public debate on the regulations regarding the assisted reproductive technology sector in France and Switzerland. In France, feminist movements were faced with a public controversy mainly focused on the legitimacy of the desire for children. This left the feminist movements with its own internal contradiction on women's

mothering vocation and thus, strongly weakened their capacity to influence the debate. In Switzerland, on the contrary, the feminist alarmist discourse on reproductive technology coincided with the critical stance adopted by left-wing parties and, to some extent, pro-life movements. This discursive resonance allowed the feminist movements to foster more successfully the public debate.

Sarah, Bütikofer, Engeli, Isabelle and Thanh-Huyen Ballmer-Cao "The Effect of the Electoral System on Women's election to the Swiss Federal Assembly", *Swiss Political Science Review* 14(4) : 631-61.

This article analyses the effect of the electoral system on the election of women to the Swiss Federal Assembly (1995–2003). The respective literature has often emphasised how important proportional representation is for a better representation of women in parliament. Most contributions to this debate concentrate on the percentage of female deputies. We argue that all candidates and their careers must be considered in order to understand the election of women. We show that, in the Swiss National Council, the women-friendly effect of proportional representation operates not so much during the elections, but during the process of candidate nomination. This is especially true for centre and right-wing parties.

Mark Franklin, professor.

Journal article

"One Electorate or many? Differences in party preference formation between new and established European democracies" with Wouter van der Brug and Gabor Toka, *Electoral Studies*, 27 (December 2008): 589-600.

We investigate differences in the factors influencing citizens' votes between elections conducted in established and new

democracies using data collected at the 2004 European Parliament elections, comparing 7 former communist countries with 13 established democracies. Despite contrary expectations in some of the extant literature, voters in 'new' democracies make their political choices in ways that are very similar to the decision processes found in more established democracies. The only systematic difference is that voters in post-communist countries are somewhat less likely to make use of ideological location as a cue to the policy orientations of political parties. Perhaps in compensation, somewhat greater relative use in those countries is made of cues from social structure (particularly religion) and from issues.

Book chapters

"Voter Participation in the United States Versus Other Democracies" in Morgan E. Felchner (ed.) *How America Votes: Law Process and Voter Participation - Volume 1 of Voting in America* (Westport Conn: Praeger), 2008. pp. 161-172.

The reasons for low voter turnout in the United States are not well established in the US literature, but comparative studies of voter turnout provide potential explanations that are assessed in this chapter. The chapter argues that determinants of turnout should be divided into short-term and long-term factors, where long-term factors are primarily responsible for the overall low level of US voter turnout. The most important of these factors is the separation of powers, which sets a ceiling to voter turnout at about the level found empirically in 19th Century US elections. The lower turnout seen in the US since the start of the 20th Century can be ascribed to increased margins of victory in Congressional races which have served to make the outcomes of such races into foregone conclusions exciting little interest. This lack of interest in congressional elections spills over into presidential races also.

"What Voters Teach Us About Europe-Wide Elections; What Europe-Wide Elections Teach Us About Voters" with Cees van der Eijk and Michael Marsh in Jocelyn Evans and David Mainwaring (eds.) *Handbook of Electoral Behavior*. London: Sage. 2008. (Reprint of a 1996 article).

With four sets of European parliamentary elections now behind us, it is appropriate to review the prevailing interpretation of such elections as second-order national elections, a view first put forward by Reif and Schmitt in 1980. While the second-order model has yielded important insights into the way European elections can be understood as manifesting national political processes, more recent research has fruitfully turned the model on its head, and focused on what European elections can tell us about national elections and the nature of the voting act. Indeed, the use of individual-level survey data to study elections to the European Parliament has for the first time truly shown us the importance of institutional and political context in conditioning turnout and party choice. Findings of recent research suggest that the second-order features of European elections should be thought of as contextual variables that can affect other elections as well.

Jeff Goodwin, Braudel fellow.

Book

Jeff Goodwin and James M. Jasper, editors, *The Social Movements Reader: Cases and Concepts*, 2nd edition (New York: Wiley-Blackwell).

A collection of readings on contentious collective action, including the U.S. civil rights movement, the women's movement, the gay and lesbian movement, and the environmental movement.

Journal articles

Jeff Goodwin, "The Relational Approach to Terrorism." *Swiss Political Science Review*, Vol. 15, No. 2.

An analysis and critique of Charles Tilly's writings on terrorism.

Jeff Goodwin, "On Terrorism", *European Journal of Sociology* (2008), Vol. 49, No. 3, pp. 444-54.

An extended review of Mike Davis, *Buda's Wagon: A Brief History of the Car Bomb* (Verso, 2007), and Neil J. Smelser, *The Faces of Terrorism: Social and Psychological Dimensions* (Princeton University Press, 2007).

Encyclopedia articles

Jeff Goodwin and Gabriel Hetland, "Liberation Movements." In the *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* (Volume 4), 2nd ed., edited by William Darity, Jr. (Detroit: Macmillan Reference, 2008), pp. 431-434.

Jeff Goodwin and Adam Isaiah Green, "Revolutions." In the *Encyclopedia of Violence, Peace, and Conflict* (Volume 3), 2nd edition, edited by Lester Kurtz (Oxford: Elsevier, 2008), pp. 1870-80.

Book chapter

Jeff Goodwin, "Which Side Are We On? NYU's Full-Time Faculty and the GSOC Strike." In *The University Against Itself: The NYU Strike and the Future of the Academic Workplace*, edited by Monika Krause, Mary Nolan, Michael Palm, and Andrew Ross (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2008), pp. 162-73.

Examines the attitudes and actions of the full-time faculty at New York University during a strike by graduate-student assistants for union recognition.

Adrienne Héritier, professor.

Journal article

Héritier, Adrienne and Sandra Eckert. “Self-Regulation by Associations: Collective Active Problems in European Environmental Regulation.” *Business and Politics* (April).

How and to what effect do firms coordinate their actions to deal with the negative external effects of productive activity? Under which conditions do associations engage in self-regulation and how do they tackle the specific regulatory challenges at stake? When developing hypotheses, we first vary attributes of the information environment in which private actors interact; and, secondly, actors’ preferences as function of the problem type at hand. With respect to the environmental conditions, our findings show that a regulatory threat matters when developing associative action, whilst the evidence is less clear as regards NGO campaigns. In terms of the problem type, it turns out that redistributive issues and prisoner’s dilemma situations are much more conflict prone than coordination/win-win type of problems. Industry actors recur to various governance devices such as flexible contract design and compensation mechanisms to solve redistributive problems. Prisoner’s dilemma (PD) problems may only partially be addressed by governance devices to the extent that free-riding is controlled and sanctioned within an association. We conclude that private actors engaging in self-regulation will not successfully manage all types of conflicts. They lack powerful sanctioning tools to deal with PD situations, but prove to be able to flexibly handle redistributive problems.

Book chapter

Adrienne Héritier and Henry Farrell. “The Invisible Transformation of Codecision: Problems of Democratic Legitimacy.” in C.Moury and L. De Sousa, *Institutional Challenges in Post-Constitutional Europe*, Routledge.

The chapter will start with a brief overview of codecision, concentrating less on the formalities of the process—which are reasonably well understood—than on the informal practices and institutions that have sprung up around it. It then goes on to highlight the problems that have arisen from the codecision process, for both Parliament and Council, and will end with some possible solutions to the problems addressed.

Stephanie Hoffman, RSCAS fellow.

Journal article

“Overlapping Institutions in the Realm of International Security: The Case of NATO and ESDP.” *Perspective on Politics* 7,1: 45-52

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the European Union’s (EU) European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP) both occupy the policy space of crisis management. This overlap has two effects. First, overlap has generated “chessboard politics” shaping member state strategies. Second, institutional overlap has generated a number of feedback effects. The prior existence of NATO shaped the conceptualization and organization of ESDP at its creation, and the existence of two alternative security institutions continues to influence the ways that the institutions evolve—how each institution defines security interests and how member states adjust the mandate of each institution to address changes in the security environment. Because both institutions are intergovernmentally organized and consensus-based, the actions and decisions of both institutions reflect

the agreements of members. Chessboard politics and feedback effects are consequently interrelated—states strategize to affect outcomes in one venue or another, and decisions in one institution can affect decisions and behaviors in the other institution.

Rasmus Hoffmann, Max Weber fellow.

Journal articles

Gabriele Doblhammer, Rasmus Hoffmann, Elena Muth, Christina Westphal, Anne Kruse. “A systematic literature review of studies analyzing the effects of sex, age, education, marital status, obesity, and smoking on health transitions.” *Demographic Research* 20,5: 37-64.

Sex, age, education, marital status, obesity, and smoking have been found to affect health transitions between non-disabled, disabled, and death. Our aim is to review the research literature on this topic and provide structured information, first on the availability of results for each risk factor and transition, and then on detailed study characteristics and disability measures. We use expert recommendations and the electronic databases Medline, PsycINFO, and SOCA. The search is confined to the years 1985–2005, and produced a total of 7,778 articles. Sixty-three articles met the selection criteria regarding study population, longitudinal design, risk factors, transition, and outcome measures.

Andreev, Evgueni; Hoffmann, Rasmus; Carlson, Elwood; Shkolnikov, Vladimir and Kharkova, Tatiana. “Concentration of Working-Age Male Mortality Among Manual Workers in Urban Latvia and Russia, 1970-1989.” *European Societies* 11,1: 161-185.

[Until recently data on mortality by socioeconomic status were not available for the initial period of mortality increase in the former Soviet Union from 1965 to](#)

[1979. Newly discovered data from the Russian State Archive of Economics allow us to close this gap and to compare mortality trends in urban Latvia and several urban areas of Russia with the concentration of rising male mortality among manual workers already found in several eastern European countries. A similar trend appears in these data for rising mortality to concentrate among manual workers over time. Unfavorable trends in the life expectancy of the total population were largely driven by mortality increase among manual workers. Possible determinants of the pattern include a special type of economic growth in the USSR in the 1970s and 1980s associated with dominance of heavy industries and military sector, and low consumer goods’ production, high prevalence of hard manual labor, massive rural-urban migrations and poor living conditions of new coming industrial workers, growing psychosocial stress and high prevalence of adverse health behaviors. These characteristics are discussed in the framework of an incomplete modernization and distinct health life styles in state socialist countries.](#)

Franca van Hooren, researcher.

Journal article

“Welfare Provision beyond National Boundaries: The Politics of Migration and Elderly Care in Italy.” *Rivista Italiana di Politiche Pubbliche* 3 (2008): 87-113.

In reaction to a growing need for elderly care services, Italian families have engaged migrant workers to care for their dependent family member. Italian social and migration policies have favoured and reinforced this practice, which is puzzling given the strong anti-immigrant sentiments currently present in Italy. While institutional factors can partly explain policy outcomes, we need to look at the interconnectedness of welfare regimes and

migration to better understand Italian developments. The presence of migrant care workers allowed Italy not to reform its elderly care system. At the same time the familistic Italian welfare regime helps to explain the broadly shared positive attitude towards migrant care workers, which has contributed to expansive immigration policies.

Wade Jacoby, Braudel fellow.

Journal articles

Wade Jacoby, Gabriel Lataianu, and Camelia Manuela Lataianu. "Success in Slow Motion: The Europeanization of Romanian Child Protection Policy." *The Review of International Organizations*. Print version forthcoming. Online version published February 10, 2009.

This paper analyzes the influence of the European Union through a qualitative case study of child protection policy in Romania. This is a particularly tough case for the growing "Europeanization" literature. Prior research has called attention to several factors that promote Europeanization, including the presence of a pro-reform domestic coalition, the clarity and consistency of the EU's own legislative targets, a state's own prior involvement in the setting of European standards, a strong consensus among EU member states backing the European position, and strong non-European support for EU initiatives. According to these propositions, Romanian child protection seemed to provide a worst case scenario for Europeanization, as initially none of these conditions held. And yet the paper shows that substantial Europeanization occurred anyway. We argue that the EU experienced a very slow start with Romania but that it cultivated an opposition that responded to EU initiatives when that opposition took power. Moreover, the EU found three "workarounds" to the obstacles just noted: it asserted legislative targets it did not possess itself, invented new

policy tools, and drew protection for its most controversial policy from another international organization, the ECHR. Our central theoretical claim is that external pressure requires internal accommodation in order to have lasting effects. The claim has important implications for the diffusion and conditionality debates.

Wade Jacoby, (2008), "Side Payments over Solidarity: Financing the Poor Cousins in Germany and the EU. In *German Politics* 17(4): 470-487.

What happens when governments that have benefited from "solidarity" programs to redistribute money from richer to poorer states are faced with the prospect of being redefined as a 'richer state' themselves? After communism, such a situation has confronted the traditionally poorer states of Western Germany and the traditionally poorer nations of the European Union. Yet funding was far more generous in the East German case than in the Central and Eastern European case. Why? The strong institutional positions of the traditionally poorer states meant, in both cases, that the key factors shaping the outcomes were the electoral exposure of the respective central governments and the presence or absence of hard budget constraints on that political centre. High exposure and low constraint marked the German case while low exposure and high constraint characterized the EU case.

Wade Jacoby and Christopher Jones (2008), "The EU Battle Groups in Sweden and the Czech Republic: What National Defense Reforms Tell Us about European Rapid Reaction Capabilities." In *European Security* 17:2/3, pp. 315-338.

This article fills an important empirical gap concerning a key building block of the EU's Headline Goal 2010, the EU Battlegroups. It asks whether the Battlegroup concept has been robust enough to drive significant changes in two smaller EU member state militaries. We

find that it has, though with important qualifications, in the Swedish case, but much less in the Czech case. We stress the importance of linkages between the Battlegroup concept and the prevailing defense reform ideas in each state. We argue that Battlegroup deployment would lead to even greater transformation but that European leaders currently have not faced powerful incentives to deploy the kinds of precise assets the Battlegroups provide. The article also addresses both the fiscal priorities that hamper military readiness and delay deployments and the substantial and enduring gap between word and deed for which EU military efforts have become known.

Scott Cooper, Darren Hawkins, Wade Jacoby, and Daniel Nielson (2008). "Yielding Sovereignty to International Institutions: Bringing System Structure Back In." In *International Studies Review* 10, pp. 501–524.

In this paper, we identify authority as an important dimension of variance among international institutions. Essentially, the greater the authority of international institutions, the more sovereignty states have yielded to them. Highly authoritative institutions can make decisions that legally bind domestic governments on specified issues even without those governments' consent. Over the past 20 years, scholars have viewed the evolution of international institutions largely through the lens of state motives. We argue that it is time to think more systematically about the role of the structure of the international system. Two factors that impact international structure—previously existing institutions and the presence of systemic shocks—can complement theories of actor motives to better account for the level of sovereignty yielded to authoritative international institutions. We illustrate the potential importance of including structural variables by applying the argument to sets of cases in currency cooperation and human rights. We

find that structural factors increase the probability of states yielding sovereignty to international institutions, though structural factors are only a permissive cause of institution formation.

Darren Hawkins and Wade Jacoby, (2008), "Agent Permeability, Principal Delegation and the European Court of Human Rights." In *The Review of International Organizations* 3, pp.1–28.

A growing body of international relations literature examines the delegation of state authority to international organizations. Delegation is a conditional grant of authority from a principal to an agent in which the latter is empowered to act on behalf of the former. This paper explores the effect of agent permeability to interested third parties on the efficacy of control mechanisms established by principals. Our central argument is that higher levels of agent permeability are likely to lead to higher levels of agent autonomy. Because of this, principals who face a potentially permeable agent are likely to delegate more cautiously—partially, in stages, or with clear limits. We illustrate our argument with a case study of the European Convention of Human Rights and its two principal institutions, the Commission and the Court. We find that principals (contracting states) historically delegated quite cautiously to the Court, clearly concerned about the Court's autonomy. Court behavior in its first two decades reassured principals while increasing the Court's permeability. Over time, that increased permeability increased Court autonomy in conjunction with the Court's growing visibility and experience.

Charlie Jeffery, Braudel fellow.

Book

Charlie Jeffery and James Mitchell (eds), *The Scottish Parliament 1999-2009: The First Decade*. Edinburgh: Luath Press.

A collection of analyses of the first decade of the Scottish Parliament which both charts the development of the parliament and evaluates how far it has met the - perhaps unrealistic - ambitions for a 'new politics' that accompanies its launch.

Michael Keating, professor.

Book

Noul Regionalism în Europa Occidentala, Bucharest: Institutul European, 2008. (This is a Romanian translation of *The New Regionalism in Western Europe*, first published in 1998.)

Journal articles

Michael Keating and Alex Wilson. "Renegotiating the State of Autonomies: Statute Reform and Multi-level Politics in Spain." *West European Politics* 32,3: 534-556.

The regional/national question is central to Spanish politics, where different conceptions of the state co-exist. The 1978 Constitution sets out different paths to autonomy, although the end point is similar. State-wide parties have sought to contain autonomy and to make regional statutes uniform. Territorial parties in the historic nationalities have sought to maintain a differential status, while other regions have sought to catch up, creating a competitive dynamic. The recent round of statute reform involved more parties and more complex politics than previous rounds, with an active role for regional governments. Regional political elites used statute reform to make symbolic assertions and resource claims, as well as to demand more competences. Competition among regional elites to gain more symbolic status and substantive powers creates centrifugal dynamics. On the other hand, the normalisation of territorial politics at centre and periphery may be an integrative factor. The dominance of parties is also a reflection of the weak institutionalisation

of territorial relations and intergovernmental conflict.

Michael Keating, Paul Cairney and Eve Hepburn, 'Territorial Policy Communities and Devolution in the United Kingdom', *Cambridge Journal of Regions, Economy and Society*, 1.2 (2008); 1-16.

Devolution in the United Kingdom forms part of a wider process of spatial re-scaling across Europe. Little work has been done on its effect on interest articulation. The literature on policy communities treats them as sectoral in scope. We propose the concept of 'territorial policy communities' to designate territorially-bounded constellations of actors within and across policy sectors, emerging in response to the rescaling of government. Devolution may leave existing systems of interest articulation unchanged, leaving 'regions without regionalism'; it may confine some groups within territorial boundaries while allowing others freedom to choose between levels of government; or it might promote a general territorialization of interest representation and the emergence of territorial policy communities. The UK's four models of devolution help test the effects of stronger and weaker forms of devolution on the territorialization of groups.

Michael Keating, 'Spatial Rescaling, Devolution and the Future of Social Welfare', *Social Policy Review*: 269-84.

The European welfare state has rested on an explicit or implicit model of the bounded nation-state. Common nationality underpins social solidarity and provides a rationale for redistribution. State boundaries lock in actors, notably capital and labour, bind their fate together, and encourage them to engage in social dialogue. Similarly, rich and poor regions are bound together, and inter-territorial redistribution is part of a national circulation of wealth, which benefits all. A

strong and centralized state can mobilize resources for welfare programmes and redistribute both among individuals and across territories. These features are being transformed in the process of spatial rescaling, which is creating new levels of action above and below the state. Some have argued that the demise of the nation-state mean that the welfare state is also in peril as wealthy actors and territories can desolidarize with their poorer compatriots. A closer analysis shows that rescaling may allow the re-emergence of solidarity at new levels. New policy instruments may also be appropriate in the new conditions

Michael Keating, 'Rescaling Europe', *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, 10.1:32-48.

The European nation-state as an ideal-type was a polity bounded by fixed borders, which enclosed an economy, a society, a system of representation and a demos. Normatively, it was supported as essential to democracy and social solidarity. In practice, states had to engage in strategies of territorial management in order to maintain their spatial integrity. From the late twentieth century, spatial rescaling at supranational and substate levels has produced a disjuncture of systems that previously coincided in the nation-state. This poses a series of questions about democracy, efficacy in government and social solidarity.

Book chapter

Michael Keating, 'Social Citizenship, Devolution and Policy Divergence', in Scott Greer (ed.), *Citizenship Rights in the United Kingdom*, Policy Press: 97-116.

Marshall's concept of social citizenship was predicated upon a unitary nation-state although, ironically, he as a citizen of a multinational state. Since 1999 social citizenship has taken a distinct form in Scotland. On the one hand, this emphasizes traditional social democratic conceptions

of public services, distinct from the competitive, consumerist model emerging in England. There has, however, been a failure to articulate this as a distinct form of social citizenship embedded in Scottish nationality. On the other hand, devolution has opened the way for a populist strategy on law and order, targeted at specific forms of deviance and breaking with older welfarist conceptions of penal policy rooted in Scottish policy communities.

Martin Kohli, professor.

Journal articles

"Altersgruppen und Generationen: Konfliktlinien und Integrationspotenziale." *Journal für Generationengerechtigkeit* 8, no. 3 (2008): 34-38.

Während die alte Klassenfrage zu Beginn des 21. Jahrhunderts gelöst zu sein scheint, tauchen neue Bruchlinien auf, zum Beispiel zwischen den Generationen. Diese ergeben sich durch Umbrüche politischer, kultureller oder ökonomischer Natur. Der Grund, wieso Alterskonflikte nicht deutlicher hervortreten, liegt in der vermittelnden Funktion von politischen Parteien, Verbänden und der Familie. Obwohl immer wieder anders behauptet wird, begünstigt das Sozialsystem nicht einseitig die Älteren. Auch in politischen Entscheidungsprozessen gibt es keinen Beweis für eine vermeintliche Entwicklung hin zur Gerontokratie.

Litwin, Howard, Claudia Vogel, Harald Künemund, and Martin Kohli. 2008. "The balance of intergenerational exchange: Correlates of net transfers in Germany and Israel." *European Journal of Ageing* 5, 92-102.

The aim of this study was to examine the net balance of transfers between persons aged 50 and older and their family, taking into account both the exchange of money and the exchange of practical assistance

(time). Toward this end, a unique net balance outcome measure was computed by costing the value of time transfers into wage equivalents. The study made use of data from the first wave of the Survey of Health, Ageing and Retirement in Europe (SHARE), and focused upon intergenerational exchange in two specific countries: Germany and Israel. The descriptive findings show that – up to an age of about 80 years – the elderly are net providers of help. The outcome variable was next regressed on a set of relevant predictors identified in the literature on intergenerational transfers and support – among them, sociodemographic background, health, social policy, social network and motivation variables. Holding these variables constant, the balance pattern by age remains valid: respondents aged 50-79 in both settings contributed to their family more than they received. These trends in net transfer exchanges were largely similar across both countries and across regions or population groups within both countries. Women were more likely to have a positive net exchange balance and poorer health was associated with net receiving. However, differences also emerged: social capital was more clearly associated with a positive exchange balance in Israel, transfer motivations shaped transfer behaviors in Germany but not in Israel, and socioeconomic variables seemed to work in opposite directions in the two countries. In sum, the results underscore the generally positive contribution of older people to intergenerational exchange in the family. This outcome holds for both Germany and Israel despite their very different conditions of context.

Book chapters

Kohli, Martin, and Marco Albertini. 2008. "The family as a source of support for adult children's own family projects: European varieties." Pp. 38-58 in *Families, ageing and social policy: Generational*

solidarity in European welfare states, edited by Chiara Saraceno. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.

This chapter examines how children in young adulthood and middle age are supported by their elderly parents in two potentially critical situations of their attempts to construct a family life of their own: parenthood and marital break-up. In traditional life course terms, the first situation is normative (with regard to occurrence as well as timing), the second non-normative. Today, the norm of parenthood is losing its mandatory character, as witnessed by the growing proportion of couples voluntarily remaining childless, while divorce rates are reaching record levels where the non-normative exception is almost turning into the normative rule. In the first situation, family support becomes critical not only for coping with parenthood when it has occurred but already for making it happen. In the second situation, family support becomes critical for mitigating the adverse consequences of an event which is increasingly frequent but still not adequately dealt with by the public framework of social protection.

Kohli, Martin, Harald Künemund, and Claudia Vogel. 2008. "Staying or moving? Housing and residential mobility." Pp. 108-113 in *Health, ageing and retirement in Europe (2004-2007): Starting the longitudinal dimension*, edited by Axel Börsch-Supan et al. Mannheim: Mannheim Research Institute for the Economics of Aging.

Housing and living arrangements provide action spaces and dimensions of meaning all through the life course, but with varying emphasis in the different stages of life. The transition to retirement greatly increases the importance of one's home because the references and daily routines of the world of employment disappear. This is even more the case in advanced age when

restrained physical mobility increasingly makes for a concentration of daily activities in and around the home. Everyday life in old age is above all life at home. Housing thus becomes a primordial concern for the elderly.

At present there exist only very few cross-national studies that allow for a comprehensive assessment of these issues. The Survey of Health, Ageing and Retirement in Europe (SHARE) presents a unique opportunity for studying housing and its most important correlates in a strictly comparative frame across Europe. The task of this chapter is to give some basic information on housing and living arrangements of the elderly European population, in terms of both commonalities and differences among countries.

Kohli, Martin, Harald Künemund, and Claudia Vogel. 2008. "Shrinking families? Marital status, childlessness, and intergenerational relationships." Pp. 164-171 in *Health, ageing and retirement in Europe (2004-2007): Starting the longitudinal dimension*, edited by Axel Börsch-Supan et al. Mannheim: Mannheim Research Institute for the Economics of Aging.

Conducting research on the family is sometimes like fighting against windmills: raising empirical arguments against myths that seem to remain untouched by them. It is, for example, widely assumed that the modern welfare state has undermined family solidarity and the family itself. Increasing childlessness and fewer births, decreasing marriage and increasing divorce rates, increasing numbers of singles and the decrease of multigenerational co-residence – to name just a few widely known facts – may indeed indicate a weakening of the family and its functions. But despite the high intuitive plausibility of such interpretations in which large parts of the social sciences meet with common sense, it turns out that the family has in fact changed but not diminished its role,

and that the purported causal link from welfare state expansion to family contraction is a modern myth.

Bram Lancee, researcher.

Journal article

Lancee, B. & J. Dronkers, 2008. "Etnische diversiteit, sociaal vertrouwen in de buurt en contact van allochtonen en autochtonen met burens." [Ethnic diversity, social trust in the neighbourhood and contact of migrants and natives with neighbours] *Migrantenstudies* 24:224-249.

Putnam (2007) claims that in the short run ethnic diversity tends to reduce solidarity and social capital: in ethnically diverse neighborhoods, residents of all ethnicities tend to 'hunker down'. Trust (even in one's own ethnic group) is lower, altruism and community cooperation is more rare, friends fewer. This study replicates Putnam's analysis for a West-European country. Furthermore, by including the ethnicity of the respondent's neighbors, a sub-neighborhood level measure of ethnic diversity is added to the analyses. With data from the Netherlands (N=5,757), using multi-level regression, we confirm Putnam's claim and find that the neighborhoods' ethnic diversity as well as having neighbors of a different ethnicity, reduces trust in the neighborhood and lowers the quality of contact with the neighbors. However, we do not find these negative effects of neighborhoods' or neighbors ethnic diversity on inter-ethnic trust. This holds for both for immigrants and native residents. A substantial part of the effect of neighborhoods' ethnic diversity on trust can be explained by the higher propensity of having neighbors of a different ethnicity. We conclude that ethnic diversity can have a negative effect on trust in the neighborhood.

Dennis-Jonathan Mann, researcher.

Book Chapter

“Ein Gebilde sui generis? Die Debatte um das Wesen der EU im Spiegel der „*Nature of the Union*“-Kontroverse in den USA.” Published in *Die Verfassung Europas. Perspektiven des Integrationsprojekts*, edited by Frank Decker and Marcus Höreth. VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.

This chapter goes back to one of the oldest questions of European Integration, which is the ongoing search for the “nature of the beast”. By revisiting the “nature of the Union debate” in the USA, it argues that the EU might often be too hastily labeled a *unprecedented system / system sui generis*. Because the EU is thereby often regarded as incomparable, not enough attention is paid to the fact that a lot of the theoretical implications brought about by European Integration might not be singular at all.

Georgia Mavrodi, researcher.

Book chapter

“A matter of experience? Sources, institutions and processes of immigration policy making in Greece (1990-2005)”, in: Jenny Cavounidis, Antonis Kontis, Theodoros Lianos & Rossetos Fakiolas (Eds.), *Migration in Greece: Experiences – Policies – Prospects*, Athens: IMEPO Publications, pp. 264 – 281 [in Greek]

This contribution examines the diversification of frames and structures in Greek immigration policy making, and it juxtaposes them to the role of EU membership. Up to this day, the prevailing argument in Greece is that the country was lacking the necessary experience, legislation, and institutions of immigration management when it unexpectedly became a host to significant immigration flows after 1990. However, this claim runs contrary to actual policy developments. Measures aiming at the reception,

residence and integration of co-ethnic immigrants were quickly devised and implemented whereas a differential policy of “zero immigration” was endorsed in the case of immigrants of foreign descent well until the late 1990s. The analysis of Greek parliamentary debates reveals the importance of the *dual* Greek experience of emigration and immigration in informing these differential policy choices. Whereas the treatment of co-ethnic immigrants from eastern Europe was shaped by consolidated national institutions of dealing with the Greek Diaspora, the policy on immigrants of foreign descent has made use of the wider policy framework of EU membership. In the latter case, somewhat paradoxically, Greek policy makers have sought to learn from European immigration experiences under their prevailing assumption that immigration to Greece has been a new and unknown phenomenon.

Stefania Milan, researcher.

Journal article

“Movimenti sociali e governance della comunicazione globale: la sfida della partecipazione nei processi decisionali transnazionali”, co-authored with Arne Hintz. *Partecipazione e conflitto*, no. 2. pp. 111-134

New modes of governance increasingly go beyond the traditional inter-governmental approach to include business actors and sections of civil society. Multi-stakeholder processes claim to involve all relevant parties in decision-making. However, a closer look reveals that opportunities for participation are often limited to (semi) professionalized NGOs, while grassroots movements are missing.

This paper seeks to identify the challenges and obstacles for these actors to get further involved, but also the opportunities that have emerged in recent policy processes. It will suggest changes in governance systems to allow wider participation. The

paper looks at two multi-stakeholder processes: the UN World Summit on the Information Society (WSIS) and the Council of Europe 7th Ministerial Conference on Mass Media Policy. Both processes provide interesting case studies as they attracted a diversity of civil society actors, leading to different layers of intervention. We look specifically at activist media projects and community radio stations that usually do not focus on policy, do not have the financial and structural background of a professionalized organisation, and chose to intervene in those processes outside the remit of larger advocacy organisations and coalitions. Drawing from the two cases, we identify internal challenges, relations with other civil society actors, and structural changes in governance systems, in order to enable activist and grassroots networks to participate.

Mayo Fuster Morell, researcher.

Journal article

“Action research: mapping the nexus of research and political action”. *Interface Journey*. Issue one: Movements knowledge.” Article available at <http://www.interfacejournal.net>.

This paper aims to capture the richness and diversity of action research on the global justice movement. It starts by proposing a typology of five tendencies (participative-collective method; producing alternative content; strategic thinking for political processes; building relationships and networking connections; and opening knowledge). It goes on to present clusters of different experiences, illustrated by examples. Having provided an orientation map of action research on the global justice movement, the author concludes by presenting what in her view should characterize action research. The paper is based on interviews, participant

observation, review of the literature and personal experience.

Nikolas Rajkovic, researcher.

Journal Article

“On ‘Bad Law’ and ‘Good Politics’: The Politics of the ICJ *Genocide* Case and Its Interpretation,” *Leiden Journal of International Law* 21: 885-910

The discontent within legal ranks over the recent judgment of the International Court of Justice in *Bosnia and Herzegovina v. Serbia and Montenegro* can be described as nothing other than poignant. The stylized characterization voiced privately by many critics is that the judgment amounted to ‘bad law’ and ‘good politics’. This article takes direct issue with axiomatic interpretations of what constitutes ‘bad law’ and ‘good politics’ in the *Genocide* case, and argues instead that the judgment should invoke critical reflection within the academic discipline and professional practice on the problems of politics which constitute cases that emerge from calamitous failures of international politics.

Richard Swedberg, Braudel fellow.

Book

Tocqueville's Political Economy. Princeton University Press.

This book traces Tocqueville's analysis of economic topics, from "Democracy in America" (1835-1840) to "The Old Regime and the French Revolution" (1856). In the former work we find the first sophisticated social science study of an entrepreneurial economy; and in "The Old Regime" an ingenious analysis of a blocked economy. It is argued that Tocqueville produced a type of economic analysis that differed on important points from those of his contemporaries, such as

John Stuart Mill (a friend and the inventor of "homo economicus") and Marx (an ideological enemy and the inventor of an anti-capitalistic type of analysis). For an economy to thrive, Tocqueville argued, it has to have laws ("institutions") that harmonize with its norms and customs ("moeurs"). Throughout the book there is an argument that social theory should focus more on thinking than on what is written. The focus of the book is consequently on how Tocqueville attempted to think about the economy and what we can learn from this. "Thinking well", Tocqueville once said, "is like being in love."

Dorota Szelewa, researcher.

Journal article

‘Zasilki dla osob bezrobotnych w Europie Srodkowo-Wschodniej - analiza konfiguracyjna’ [A comparative study of unemployment compensation in Central and Eastern Europe.], with Michal Polakowski, in: *Problemy Polityki Spolecznej* no 11.

This article investigates trends in unemployment compensation in eight countries, which joined the EU in 2004, in the period 1989-2004. By focusing on eligibility criteria, generosity and duration of benefits on the one hand and obligations of unemployed on the other, the paper identifies different policy mixes. Based on the ideal-type fuzzy sets approach, the article finds a great variety of unemployment compensation models. There is no consolidation of this policy across the region, therefore it is hard to cluster the countries. The most stable cases were the ones that already provided compensation before the transition started. Changes in the ideal types of unemployment compensation were rather more incremental than revolutionary. The direction of these changes can be observed by identifying new dominant combinations of policies that have led to the convergence of existing institutional solutions.

Michaël Tatham, researcher.

Journal articles

“Conceptualisation, Operationalisation, Cumulation? Exploring the Federalism variable in European politics research.” [Il Politico, Rivista Italiana di Scienze Politiche](#), 73 (3), December 2008, pp. 61-96.

The relevance of federalism, as an explanatory variable as well as an analytical canvas enhancing our understanding of the European Union and its member states, begs the question of defining and identifying what federalism actually is. The objective of this article is twofold. First it draws attention to the difficulty of conceptualisation and operationalisation of latent variables such as federalism. Second, it pleads for the use of transparent and replicable research methods in order to allow for the cumulation of knowledge through the amelioration of extant analytical tools. To this end, this article starts by underlining the challenges of variable operationalisation in research dealing with federalism. It then proceeds to an in-depth analysis of a federalism typology developed by Keman . Through constructive criticism of this typology, its enhancement is sought. Thanks to its unusually transparent and replicable design, a more consistent and parsimonious typology is proposed, highlighting the benefits of clear, explicit and replicable research designs (as exemplified by Keman’s work in this instance) for the furthering and improvement of social and political enquiry. Overall, this article seeks to highlight that transparent operationalisation and explicit sources allow for the amelioration of research tools and the cumulation of knowledge: two fundamental objectives in social science investigation.

"La dernière nation sans Etat du Royaume? L'épineuse question de la dévolution au pays de la Rose", in *La dynamique de la dévolution au Royaume-Uni* (ed. Gilles Leydier), *Revue Babel*, n°17, December 2008, pp. 45-92.

La question des nations sans Etat a pris une nouvelle tournure au Royaume-Uni. En effet, depuis la mise en route du processus de dévolution en Ecosse, au pays de Galles et en Irlande du Nord par les lois de 1998, il ne reste au Royaume-Uni plus qu'une nation sans Etat au sens premier du terme : l'Angleterre elle-même.

L'accélération de la dévolution dans la frange dite celtique du Royaume-Uni contraste largement avec le peu de changements réalisés en Angleterre. En effet, d'une part l'échec du référendum consultatif de novembre 2004 sur la création d'une Assemblée régionale directement élue a sonné le glas des projets de dévolution régionale et, d'autre part, le modèle alternatif des City-Regions, basé sur le modèle de gouvernance mayorale de Londres, ne s'est que peu répandu.

Cet article traite de la « question anglaise » en trois temps. Il retrace tout d'abord les réformes mises en œuvre afin d'adapter le Royaume-Uni à l'émancipation croissante de sa périphérie, que ce soit par la création des Government Offices, des Regional Development Agencies, des Regional Chambers (rebaptisées Regional Assemblies), ou encore la création du Greater London Assembly. Dans un deuxième temps, les trois modèles expérimentaux de dévolution pour l'Angleterre sont comparés : celui des assemblées régionales directement élues, celui des pôles urbains régionaux, et enfin celui des ministres dits « régionaux » au sein du gouvernement du Royaume-Uni. Dans un troisième temps, les cinq principales options visant à résoudre la « question anglaise » sont discutées. L'article conclut en demandant combien de temps encore l'Object Politique Non-

Identifié qu'est l'Angleterre post dévolution pourra subsister dans sa forme actuelle. En effet, en dépit du « begning neglect » dont bénéficie cette nation sans Etat, son système de « gouvernance sans gouvernement » menacera de s'effondrer lorsque les majorités politiques en Angleterre et au Royaume-Uni ne seront plus congruentes.

Arpad Todor, researcher.

Books

Civil Europe - Civil Romania. Published by European House (Hungary), in partnership with The World of NGOs (Austria) and Asociația Pro Democratia (Romania).

This book analyzes the evolution of the Romanian civil society, from its origins to the current situation and the expectations and challenges that follow Romania's integration in the European Union. The book also presents the structure of the representative organizations of the Romanian civil society, their profile, and their activities.

Decentralization and State Capacity. Pathways for State in reform in Post-communist societies Editura Lumen, Romania, 2008.

This book raises three main questions: 1) What are the common patterns of decentralization in the post-communist world? 2) To what extent do the standard indicators used in literature on comparative decentralization manage to catch the real meaning of decentralization? 3) What was the influence of decentralization on the evolution of state capacity in the post communist states?

Working papers

Constitutional Reform in Romania. Theoretical and Historic Facts Related to the Evolution of Constitutions, by Todor Arpad and Cristian Pîrvulescu. Published by Asociația Pro Democrația

This paper presents the evolution and the history of the Romanian constitutional process and analyses the debate that led to the constitutional reform in 2003. The authors also present similar reforms from other EU member states: France, Great Britain, Finland, Greece, as well as the failure of this process in Italy.

Constitutional Reform in Romania - Topics, Debates and Proposals. Published by Asociația Pro Democrația

This paper analyzes the main topics of the constitutional reform in Romania: reforming representative democracy, reforming democracy at the local level, and reforming participatory democracy. It also presents the conclusions of the 12 national public debates organized by Asociația Pro Democratia in 2008, within the "Debates of the Constitutional Reform" project. The participants discussed several topics and problems regarding the reform of Romania's Constitution.

Jordanka Tomkova, researcher.

Journal article

"E-consultations: New tools for civic engagement or facades for political correctness? *European Journal of E-Practice* (March).

This paper critically evaluates how and to what effect political institutions employ e-consultations to bring about deliberative and participatory capital. Existing evidence suggests that e-consultations provide new opportunities for the formation of new interactive spaces between citizens and political actors and promote cost effectiveness. However, their impact on

the quality of deliberation and policies, has been less conclusive (Margolis and Resnick 2000; Coleman and Götze 2001). Observers note that outcomes of e-consultation initiatives are arbitrarily integrated in the respective policies they intended to inform. Their inclusion has remained contingent on the political will and discretion of the political actors. In this context, the author questions what new participatory benefits e-consultations in fact offer or whether they merely serve as facades for political correctness in a new space.

Mineko Usui, Visiting fellow.

Journal article

"Article 296 of the Treaty in the History of European Armaments Cooperation," *The Faculty Journal of Komazawa Women's University* No.15., pp.31-43.

Article 296 of the Treaty of European Union allows EU member states to deviate from the rules of the common market if their essential security interests are concerned. Though such derogations are subject to certain conditions by the Treaty, most governments have regarded it as their rights. In consequence, European defense industry has been inefficient and less competitive. In 2004, the European Commission issued Green paper on Defense Procurement and European Defense Agency was established. They are important developments in European armaments cooperation. In this article I outline the past, present and future of European armaments cooperation, focusing on Article 296 of TEU.

Alex Wilson, researcher.

Journal articles

Michael Keating and Alex Wilson. 'Renegotiating the State of Autonomies:

Statute Reform and Multi-level Politics in Spain' *West European Politics* 32 (3), 534-556.

The regional/national question is central to Spanish politics, where different conceptions of the state co-exist. The 1978 Constitution sets out different paths to autonomy, although the end point is similar. State-wide parties have sought to contain autonomy and to make regional statutes uniform. Territorial parties in the historic nationalities have sought to maintain a differential status, while other regions have sought to catch up, creating a competitive dynamic. The recent round of statute reform involved more parties and more complex politics than previous rounds, with an active role for regional governments. Regional political elites used statute reform to make symbolic assertions and resource claims, as well as to demand more competences. Competition among regional elites to gain more symbolic status and substantive powers creates centrifugal dynamics. On the other hand, the normalisation of territorial politics at centre and periphery may be an integrative factor. The dominance of parties is also a reflection of the weak institutionalisation of territorial relations and intergovernmental conflict.

“Coalition Formation and Party Systems in the Italian Regions.” *Regional and Federal Studies* 19 (1), 57-72.

Few studies have focused on coalition formation in the Italian Ordinary Status (OS) regions. Studies that implicitly considered this issue have tended to highlight its nationalized features, particularly the congruence of pre-electoral coalitions and the absence of region-specific parties. Yet existing studies have overlooked the intra-coalitional dynamics of regional party systems, ignored the post-electoral dimension of coalition formation, and failed to explain regional variations in the intensity of inter-coalitional party

competition. This article incorporates these dimensions of analysis to argue that coalition formation in the Italian OS regions displays strong territorial features, which are directly linked to the “format” and “structures of competition” (Sartori, 1976) in regional party systems. These dual structures of regional party competition are heavily affected by the heterogeneous distribution of electoral support for state-wide parties, the presence or absence of non-state-wide parties (Northern League, Udeur), the diverse coalitional behaviour of Italian parties, and the distinctive patterns of electoral hierarchy in regional governing coalitions. The introduction of a new regional electoral system (proportional representation with majoritarian bonus) has also produced distinct coalitional incentives, leading to ‘perfect’ patterns of inter-coalitional bipolarism. Regional elections in Italy are confirmed as vital processes of national coalition testing.

“The Italian election of April 2008: A Political Earthquake?” *West European Politics*, 32 (1), 215-225.

The Italian election of April 2008 was held soon after the collapse of the centre-left government led by Romano Prodi. During its brief existence the Prodi government was characterised by a fractious governing coalition, unpopular government policies, and a fragile parliamentary majority in the Senate. As a result the centre-right coalition, once again led by Silvio Berlusconi, was universally expected to win the 2008 election. Yet it faced a new and unpredictable challenge from the Democratic Party, led by Walter Veltroni. The ensuing electoral campaign was bipolar and personalised around these competing leaders. The centre-right coalition won by a convincing margin; secured a comfortable governing majority in both chambers; and swiftly formed a new government. The 2008 election produced a huge simplification in the

Italian party system. Only seven parties were elected in the new legislature, in sharp contrast to the 20+ parties present at the end of the 2006–08 legislature. This striking development can be primarily attributed to the Democratic Party's decision to form an exclusive electoral alliance with Italy of Values, excluding all other parties in the former centre-left coalition. This obliged the radical left parties to form an electoral coalition (Rainbow Left), whose disastrous performance led to the unexpected disappearance of their parliamentary contingent for the first time in post-war history. Conversely the Democratic Party and Italy of Values increased their vote share and parliamentary representation. The main centre-right parties, Forza Italia and National Alliance, formed a more successful electoral coalition for this election (People of Liberty), and repeated their electoral alliance with the autonomist Northern League, whose support doubled.

Working paper

“Party Competition in the Spanish Regions”, *EUI Working Paper*, SPS.

Party politics in multi-level systems has become a growing research field in political science (see Hough et al, 2003; Hough and Jeffery, 2006), but has rarely focused on comparing structures of multi-level party competition. Regional party competition is particularly important in political systems where state decentralisation has significantly shifted the electoral and coalitional incentives available to party actors, whether statewide or nonstatewide. This paper will compare structures of party competition in the Spanish regions, using three principal dimensions of analysis: electoral support for statewide parties in regional elections; patterns of coalition formation at regional level; and patterns of alternation in regional government. The paper finds that multi-level party competition in Spain displays ‘vertical’ (central-regional) and

‘horizontal’ (inter-regional) incongruence (Thorlakson, 2006; 2007). This incongruence has never undermined party competition at central level, due partly to the weakness of systemic linkages between regional and central party systems. The main exception is Catalonia, where systemic linkages with Spanish politics are so strong that all parties (statewide and non-statewide) have sought to pursue a strategy of coalitional congruence. Divergent patterns of regional party competition have encouraged some regional branches of statewide parties to become more autonomous from the central leadership, both in their electoral strategies and coalitional choices, while others have remained closely integrated with the central leadership. This has significantly reinforced the degree of internal asymmetry in the multi-level organisation of statewide parties in Spain.

Nikoleta Yordanova, researcher.

Journal article

“The Rationale behind Committee Assignment in the European Parliament: Distributive, Informational and Partisan Perspectives.” *European Union Politics* 10(2): 263:290.

Although most of the legislative tasks of the European Parliament (EP) are performed in its committees, it is controversial how representative they are of the overall plenary. Distributive, informational and partisan theories suggest respectively that the committee assignments system is designed to 1) serve special interests outside the EP, 2) bring informational benefits to the plenary or 3) promote partisan interests. These propositions are examined via a representative sample of committees using an original data set of MEPs' profiles in the 6th European Parliament. The results show that while information-driven committees attract mainly MEPs with

relevant expertise, homogeneous special interests influence assignments to interest-driven and mixed committees, turning them into preference outlying committees. However, partisan considerations do not appear to strategically influence individual assignments.