

# SPS *in press*

This bi-monthly newsletter lists details of recent publications by faculty, fellows, and researchers currently associated with the Department of the Political and Social Sciences of the European University Institute. Full bibliographic details of these and all other publications stemming from the EUI are listed at <http://cadmus.iue.it/dspace/>. All publication dates are 2008.

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**Javier Alcade** is a researcher in the SPS department.

**Journal Article:** "The Mine Ban Treaty, New Diplomacy and Human Security Ten Years Later." *European Political Science* (2008) 7, 519–529.

Building from a recently published book (Banning Landmines: Disarmament, Citizen Diplomacy, and Human Security, edited by Jody Williams, Mary Wareham and Stephen Goose, New York, Rowman and Littlefield, 2008), this review article traces the synergies of different literatures, including transnational activism, human security and new diplomacy in international negotiations, particularly when it comes to treaty implementation and specifically in the fields of disarmament and human rights. The impact of the International Campaign to Ban Landmines (ICBL) is analyzed ten years after the signature of the mine ban treaty and it is compared to the role of the cluster munitions coalition in the bargaining process that has led to the treaty signed in Oslo in early December 2008. It is argued that this movement has evolved since 1998, when it was somehow overwhelmed by its own success. The article ends up emphasizing the idea that international treaties matter and encourages scholars to produce similar accounts in other cases, not only regarding disarmament treaties and campaigns,

but also in other fields of transnational activism, such as the International Criminal Court or the Kyoto Protocol, as ten years seem a reasonable period to be able to assess effectively the implementation of an international treaty."

**Bahar Baser** is a researcher in the SPS department.

**Journal Article:** "Third Party Mediation in Nagorno-Karabakh." *Journal of Central Asian & Caucasian Studies* Vol.3, No.5, 2008 p: 86-114.

The dissolution of the Soviet Union has caused conflicts of many 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 such as Iran, Russia, Kazakhstan, Turkey and OSCE, initiated third party mediation efforts 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. Thus this case is important as it allows testing whether mediators are always beneficial to negotiations.

**Simon Bornschier** is a visiting fellow in the Max Weber Program.

**Book Chapter:** “France: the model case of party system transformation”, in: Hanspeter Kriesi, Edgar Grande, Romain Lachat, Martin Dolezal, Simon Bornschier, Timotheos Frey, *West European Politics in the Age of Globalization*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 77-104.

France is an especially interesting case of party system transformation due to the early rise of a right-wing populist party in the 1980s, and because of the continuing presence of parties off the mainstream left. While economic conflicts remain fairly vibrant in this country, the nature of cultural divisions has undergone a transformation under the impact of structural changes related to the processes of modernization, globalization, and European integration. While this antagonism was still strongly determined by religion in the 1970s, it now opposes citizens with culturally liberal values to citizens favouring cultural protectionism and an exclusionist conception of community. The chapter first assesses the context conditions that have led to the transformation of the French party system and the success of the Front National. It then proceeds to an analysis of the political potentials on the demand side of politics in terms of the dimensionality of voter orientations. In a further step, using data from the newspaper coverage of election campaigns, it traces the way parties have adapted their programmatic offer in order to mobilize these potentials. The strategies of the established parties regarding new political issues turn out to be crucial with respect to the success of challenging parties of the radical left and the populist right.

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

**Journal Article:** “Multi-level Governance—the Eastern Versions: Emerging Patterns of Regional Developmental Governance in the New Member States.” *Regional and Federal*

*Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 5. (October 2008), pp. 607-627.

This article deals with emerging configurations of developmental regionalism and different patterns of multi-level governance in the Central and East European countries, using examples from the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland. EU conditionality and pre-accession programmes linked to the idea of a Europe of the Regions played a considerable role in the changing—and in the case of some of the aspiring member countries, in the creation—of regional institutional landscapes. While later the same programmes became instigators of (re-)centralization and re-nationalization, the interaction between uniform EU conditionality and diverse domestic conditions resulted in various emerging versions of multi-level governance and different configurations of regionalism.

**Working Paper:** “Transnational Integration Regimes as Development Programs,” with Gerald A. McDermott. Central & Eastern Europe Working Papers Series N 67 (2008) The Minda de Gunzburg Center for European Studies at Harvard University.

Drawing on recent advances in international and comparative political economy, this paper argues that diverging paths of institutional development among emerging market democracies are driven by the Transnational Integration Regimes (TIRs), in which a country is embedded. TIRs are more than trade agreements, aid projects, or harmonization systems and should be viewed as development programs. To date, research on the role of international factors shaping local institutional development has done little to move beyond references to markets and hegemonic hierarchies as the main mechanisms of change, compliance, and commitment. This work is largely based on a depoliticized view of institutional change, and overlooks the growing literature on the evolution of regulative capitalism and the diverse patterns of transnationalizing the modern state. By integrating this latter work into our analysis, we show how TIRs differ less in terms of their incentives and largess and more in terms of their emphasis on building institutional capacities and ability to merge monitoring and learning at both the national and supranational

levels. We develop a comparative framework to show these systematic differences through an analysis of the impact of the EU Accession Process on postcommunist countries and NAFTA on Mexico.

**Christian Büger** is a researcher in the SPS department.

**Journal Article:** “Praktisch Gedacht! Praxistheoretischer Konstruktivismus in den Internationalen Beziehungen.“ (Think Practical! Practice-theoretical Constructivism(s) in International Relations), with Frank Gadinger. *Zeitschrift für Internationale Beziehungen* 15(2): 273-302

Practice as an analytical category has received re-renewed attention in the discipline of International Relations (IR). We discuss the shared assumptions and disagreements among theories of practice in IR and the challenges these pose. Practice theory is identified as an expression of cultural theorizing, differing from rational-interest based or norm-oriented theories of action. Yet, the locus of meaning is not seen in internal mental stances, or in external textual structures, but in the in-between of practice. Four crucial challenges are discussed: first, the repetitive character of practice, and the degree of stability reached in social orders, second, materiality and the quest of material agency, third, a moderate reflexive understanding of scientific practice highlighting the social consequences of scientific reasoning, and, fourth, a reconsideration of the spectrum of methods in IR. The contribution provides an analytical summary of the turn to practice in IR, and an identification of the key challenges associated with it.

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

**Book:** *Voices of the Valleys: Voices of the Straits: How Protest Creates Communities*, with Gianni Piazza. Berghan Books (2008).

Protest usually takes place within a local context. However, since the 1990s new forms of protest have been emerging. This book analyses two cases from Italy that illustrate this development: the environmentalist protest

campaigns against the TAV (the building of a new high-speed railway in Val de Susa, close to the border with France), and the construction of the Bridge on the Messina Straits (between Calabria and Sicily). Such mobilizations emerge from local conflicts but develop as part of a global justice movement, often resulting in the production of new identities. They are promoted through multiple networks of different social and political groups that share common claims and adopt various forms of protest action. It is during the protest campaigns that a sense of community is created.

**Journal Article:** “The Protest on Unemployment: Forms and Opportunities.” *Mobilization: The International Quarterly Review* Vol 13, no. 3 (September 2008) pp. 279-296.

The “return” of poor people movements pushes towards more reflection on the impact of changes in the social structure, the availability of organizational resources, and political and discursive opportunities for collective action. Based on a quantitative and qualitative claim analysis in six European countries, this article focused on the existence, but also heterogeneity of protest on unemployment, from the more sporadic and disruptive outbursts of long-time unemployed to the better structured protest against dismissals and the intertwining of protest on unemployment with that on other issues during cycles of protest. It first maps different forms of protest on unemployment: a) protest action on long-term unemployment; b) protest actions against massive dismissals; c) protest actions on unemployment (and labour policies) within more general cycle of protest. Then, it discusses the actors, the forms and claims of the protests, and the political opportunities for their development. *Organizationally*, protest on unemployment involves often loose local alliances of unemployed organizations, with either unions, left-wing political groups and social movement organizations, or various type of voluntary associations. As for their *repertoires*, protest on unemployment tends to assume some typical forms: occupations of working places, occupations of welfare institutions dealing with unemployment, long marches, hunger strikes and other forms of action with high symbolic impact, oriented to stress the “absolute injustice” of the position of

the unemployed. Additionally, the *framing* of the issues of labour changes, together with the evolution of the labour market, restate the importance of social dynamics for political protest. Opportunities for protest on unemployment are influenced by some political characteristics. In general, the status of unions as well as the traditional assets of industrial relations will affect the chances of protest. If left-wing actors are important allies for unemployed, with left-wing parties moving decisively to the center-right, unemployed turned to the public opinion as a potential ally for their cause. Other allies emerge however, especially during cycles of protest.

**Book Charter:** “La democrazia dei movimenti,” in Duccio Zola (ed.), *Dopo la politica. Democrazia, società civile e crisi dei partiti*, Roma, Edizioni dell’asino, 2008, pp. 121-144.

How do social movement activists perceive democracy? After developing a typology based upon the dimensions of participation versus representation and consensual versus majoritarian decision making, the chapter presents some empirical results from surveys with social movement activists.

**Luís De Sousa** is a Gulbenkian Fellow at the Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies.

**Working Paper:** “Clientelism and the Quality(ies) of Democracy: Public and Policy Aspects.” DISC WP/2008/2, Budapest: Central European University.

Although there is fairly general agreement that clientelism is a trans-systemic phenomenon common in different forms and degree to all societies, regimes, and countries, and salient in different periods of the history of mankind, the study of clientelism reveals a weaker consensus as to its measurement, explanation and policy implications. Before we address these three cognitive dimensions, fundamental to any comparative study or policy analysis, it is recommendable to start by defining what clientelism actually means. This may seem a straightforward task, but a roundtrip to the mainstream literature immediately gives us the

impression that clientelism, like many other concepts in social sciences lacks a precise definition or agreement upon its meaning. Clientelism is subject to historical, social, and cultural connotations and susceptible to variations across time and space, which make the empirical testing of derived hypotheses bound to show rather limited or disputed results.

**Journal Article:** ‘As agências anti-corrupção como peças centrais de um sistema nacional de integridade’, *Revista da CGU/Presidência da República, Controladoria-Geral da União*. - Ano 2, n. 4, 2008. Brasília: CGU, 2008: pp. 20-45.

O controle da corrupção, enquanto política pública, busca tanto a implementação de medidas preventivas e educacionais que visem a redução das estruturas de oportunidade para a corrupção, quanto a repressão de práticas e comportamentos desviantes dos dispostos legais vigentes. O paradigma reformista tem incidido sobretudo em dois tipos de resposta para o fenômeno: medidas legislativas e revisões penais por um lado, respostas institucionais, por outro. A maioria dos países tidos como problemáticos em matéria de corrupção por organismos internacionais, ONGs e agências de desenvolvimento, dispõe hoje de uma panóplia de leis anticorrupção igual ou superior a algumas democracias consolidadas e países ricos do hemisfério norte. As respostas institucionais são também bastante apelativas do ponto de vista simbólico. A criação de uma agência especializada de combate à corrupção concentra a atenção das elites e da opinião pública em geral. As agências anticorrupção são o elemento inovador do pacote “uniformizado” de medidas recomendadas pela comunidade internacional a países em transição para a democracia e uma economia de mercado, onde a corrupção se faz sentir de modo mais permanente e endêmico. Não são a panacéia do combate à corrupção, nem as únicas responsáveis pelo seu sucesso ou insucesso.

**Journal Article:** DE SOUSA, Luís and TRIÃES, João (eds.) *A Corrupção e os*

Portugueses - Atitudes, Práticas e Valores.  
Lisbon: Edições Rui Costa Pinto.

As Democracias têm vivido transformações importantes no que respeita aos princípios de ética sob os quais assentam as suas próprias instituições e o seu desempenho. A corrupção exposta durante as últimas duas décadas tem afectado, directa ou indirectamente, a percepção dos cidadãos face ao desempenho da Democracia e constitui um factor explicativo do actual declínio dos níveis de confiança institucional. Isto poderá ser entendido como um sintoma, e não como a causa, de um mal-estar mais profundo das Democracias de matriz ocidental, nas quais se inscreve a Democracia portuguesa. O optimismo das teorias de modernização, que defendiam uma gradual redução do fenómeno da corrupção à medida que as instituições do Estado de Direito se vão consolidando e os detentores de cargos públicos/eleitos, assim como os cidadãos em geral, vão interiorizando standards de ética que definem e regulam o exercício de funções públicas, não parece ter correspondência com a realidade observável na Europa. Não existe automaticidade neste processo. A apropriação de standards de ética na vida pública não é um processo linear e progressivo. De facto, as teorias da Democracia parecem indicar que à medida que os regimes democráticos se consolidam e as práticas e procedimentos se tornam rotineiros, os cidadãos podem finalmente seguir com as suas vidas, tornando-se mais confiantes na actuação das suas instituições. Até que ponto essa confiança desinteressada não se torna disfuncional para o próprio desempenho das instituições, tornando os cidadãos demasiado permissivos e pouco responsáveis, é algo que nos compete analisar. Através de um inquérito nacional, aplicado a uma amostra representativa da população, procurou-se indagar sobre os dilemas éticos que afectam o entendimento, a adesão e a percepção dos cidadãos em relação a estes princípios de ética em Democracia. O objectivo principal do estudo é a apreensão do ambiente ético em que a Democracia portuguesa funciona, com especial enfoque na análise da percepção e das práticas dos cidadãos: Quais os standards de ética que os cidadãos esperam dos seus eleitos em particular e do Estado democrático em geral? O que pensam os cidadãos sobre corrupção? Que tipo de comportamentos no exercício de funções suscitam condenação

pública e qual a definição social de corrupção? Em que medida as suas expectativas correspondem ou contradizem as noções escolásticas de Democracia e de cidadania? Qual o grau de importância da corrupção vis-à-vis outros temas da agenda pública? Como julgam os comportamentos relacionados com o desempenho de cargos públicos e políticos (definição social de corrupção)? Que avaliação fazem do combate à corrupção e que medidas/reformas consideram fundamentais para o seu combate?

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

**Journal Article** "Educational performance of native and immigrant children from various countries of origin." with M. Levels. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 31:1404-1425.

Mostly due to the lack of suitable data, cross-national research on the integration of migrant pupils is still scarce. We aim to fill this gap, by addressing the question of the extent to which native and first and second-generation migrants from various regions of origin, living in thirteen different countries of destination, differ in their scholastic ability. Using the PISA 2003 data, we focus primarily on the impact of origin and destination effects on the scholastic achievement of migrants. The results indicate that family characteristics and origin and destination effects can offer a significant contribution to the explanation of difference in scholastic knowledge between natives and first and second-generation migrants. However, certain primary origin and destination effects, as well as interactions between these and family characteristics, remain significant and substantive after controlling for family characteristics, suggesting serious integration problems in the case of migrants from a few regions of origin in some European countries of destination.

**Rasmus Hoffmann** is a Max Weber fellow.

**Book:** *Socioeconomic Differences in Old Age Mortality*, published in The Springer Series on

Demographic Methods and Population Analysis; edited by Kenneth Land 25, Springer, Dordrecht.

Social differences in health and mortality constitute a persistent finding in epidemiological, demographic, and sociological research. This topic is increasingly discussed in the political debate and is among the most urgent public health issues. However, it is still unknown if socioeconomic mortality differences increase or decrease with age.

This book provides a comprehensive, thoughtful and critical discussion of all aspects involved in the relationship between socioeconomic status, health and mortality. It synthesizes the sociological theory of social inequality and an empirical study of mortality differences performed at the Max Planck Institute for Demographic Research (Rostock, Germany). The best available datasets from Denmark and the USA, as two very different countries, are used to analyze the age pattern of social mortality differences, the Danish register data covering the whole Danish population between 1980 and 2002. This study is the most comprehensive analysis of socioeconomic mortality differences in the literature, in terms of data quantity, quality, and the statistical method of event-history modeling. It makes important new theoretical and empirical contributions. With a new method it also addresses the question whether the measurement of social mortality differences in old age so far has been biased by mortality selection due to unobserved heterogeneity.

**Christel Koop** is a researcher in the SPS department.

**Journal article:** “Burke leeft en woont in Nederland: Over volksvertegenwoordiging en de invloed van de publieke opinie [Burke is alive and lives in the Netherlands: On elected representatives and the impact of public opinion],” with Joop van Holsteyn. *Res Publica*, Vol. 50, No 3 (2008) pp. 275-299.

According to many observers, contemporary politicians too often are being swayed by the issues of the day. Elected representatives are supposed to permanently monitor public opinion in general and opinion polls in

particular and to act accordingly. An analysis of in-depth interviews with Dutch MPs and a content analysis of an important, long-lasting debate in Dutch Parliament indicates, however, that this popular claim is a misconception. Elected representatives disagree on the content and manifestations of ‘public opinion’ and seldom take it into consideration in their role as representatives. Moreover, public opinion is taken seriously only if it is well-considered and based on substantive knowledge and conclusive arguments.

**Phillip Korom** is a researcher in the SPS Department.

**Book:** *Öffentliche Intellektuelle in der österreichischen Presse. Eine empirische Auseinandersetzung mit der Soziologie der Intellektuellen (Public Intellectuals in the Austrian Press. An Empirical Test of the Sociological Theory of Intellectuals)*. Grazer Universitätsverlag/Leykam

The book aims at establishing a universal phenomenology of intellectuals by bringing the conceptualizations of key writers such as Berger & Luckmann, Mannheim, Benda, Bourdieu, Foucault and Gramsci on a common denominator. The author points out that given the phenomenology there are important variations within some limits. The following types are discussed: the synthesizing intellectual, the universal intellectual, the specific intellectual and the organic intellectual. In order to see which type is dominating the public scene in Austria more than a thousand newspaper articles from the years 2005 and 2006 were coded along dimensions that are differently associated with each type. The results are revealing: In general intellectuals are not advocates of underprivileged social groups (organic intellectuals virtually don't exist). The universal intellectual prevails in Austria. He/she is more to the left, whereas synthesizing intellectuals are more conservative. The synthesizing intellectual has to be seen as a distinct category. He/she does not criticize concrete persons, politics or institutions, but only explains social and other phenomena to a broad audience. Even though universal intellectuals wrote most articles,

public interventions of synthesizing intellectuals were far more influential.

**Michiel Korthals** is a visiting fellow in the SPS department.

**Journal Article:** “The good life: living for health and a life without risks? On a prominent script of nutrigenomics.” with Rixt H. Komduur, and Hedwig te Molder. *British Journal of Nutrition*, doi:10.1017/S0007114508076253

Like all scientific innovations, nutrigenomics develops through a constant interplay with society. Normative assumptions, embedded in the way researchers formulate strands of nutrigenomics research, affect this interplay. These assumptions may influence norms and values on food and health in our society. To discuss the possible pros and cons of a society with nutrigenomics, we need to reflect ethically on assumptions rooted in nutrigenomics research. To begin with, we analysed a set of scientific journal articles and explicated three normative assumptions embedded in the present nutrigenomics research. First, values regarding food are exclusively explained in terms of disease prevention. Health is therefore a state preceding a sum of possible diseases. Second, it is assumed that health should be explained as an interaction between food and genes. Health is minimised to quantifiable health risks and disease prevention through food–gene interactions. The third assumption is that disease prevention by minimisation of risks is in the hands of the individual and that personal risks, revealed either through tests or belonging to a risk group, will play a large role in disease prevention. Together, these assumptions suggest that the good life (a life worth living, with the means to flourish and thrive) is equated with a healthy life. Our thesis is that these three normative assumptions of nutrigenomics may strengthen the concerns related to healthism, health anxiety, time frames and individual responsibilities for health. We reflect on these ethical issues by confronting them in a thought experiment with alternative, philosophical, views of the good life.

**Hanspeter Kriesi** is a visiting fellow in the SPS department.

**Book:** *Vergleichende Politikwissenschaft. Teil II: Institutionen und Länderbeispiele. Eine Einführung.* Baden-Baden: nomos.

This is part II of an introduction into comparative politics for German-speaking students in political science. The volume introduces the political institutions of democratic systems and presents five selected examples of Western democracies (UK, France, Italy, Germany, and Sweden). Each example is illustrating a specific type of the typology of the political networks presented in part I.

**Book:** *West European Politics in the Age of Globalization.* with, Edgar Grande, Romain Lachat, Martin Dolezal, Simon Borschier, Timotheos Frey. Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Over the past three decades the effects of globalisation and denationalisation have created a division between ‘winners’ and ‘losers’ in western Europe. This study examines the transformation of party political systems in six countries (Austria, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Switzerland, and the UK) using opinion surveys, as well as newly collected data on election campaigns. The authors argue that as a result of structural transformations and the strategic repositioning of political parties, Europe has observed the emergence of a tripolar configuration of political power, comprising the left, the moderate right, and the new populist right. They suggest that through an emphasis on cultural issues such as mass immigration and resistance against European integration, the traditional focus of political debate, the economy, has been downplayed, or reinterpreted in terms of this new political cleavage. This new analysis of Western European politics will interest all students of European politics and political sociology.

**Research Note:** “Rejoinder to Liesbet Hooghe and Gary Marks, ‘A Postfunctional Theory of European Integration: From Permissive Consensus to Constraining Dissensus’”, *British Journal of Political Science* 39: 221-224.

A supportive comment to Liesbet Hooghe and Gary Marks’ notion that ‘integration by

stealth' has ceased to be a viable strategy, and identity politics moves to centre stage, that builds on our own research on the transformation of West European party systems.

**Peter Mair** is professor of Comparative Politics and head of the SPS department.

**Book Chapter:** "Tesen om kartelpartier og den implikationer," with Richard Katz. In Karina Kosiara-Pedersen and Peter Kurrild-Klitgaard (eds.), *Partier og Partisystemer I Forandring: Festskrift til Lars Bille*. Odense: Syddansk Universitetsforlag, 2008, 33-56.

This paper re-evaluates the notion of the 'cartel party', a thesis originally advanced in a paper published in 1995, and one that has since been subject to varied empirical testing and theoretical evaluation and criticism. In this paper, we revisit the cartel party thesis and seek to clarify ambiguities in the original argument and suggest our own refinements and extensions. We unpack the original thesis into its various components, and then clarify the reasons why it makes sense to speak of the cartelisation of ostensibly competitive political parties. We also look at some of the implications of the thesis for the understanding of contemporary democracies and patterns of party organization and party competition.

**Alice Mattoni** is a researcher in the SPS department.

**Journal article:** "Tra consenso e conflitto. Pratiche mediatiche nei movimenti italiani contro la precarietà del lavoro", in *Partecipazione e Conflitto*, 1:97-122.

This paper aims to explore the relationship between social movements and the media during the recent Italian cycle of struggle against precarity. Starting from two significant protest events related to the contentious issue at stake, the paper takes into consideration activists' media practices developed in a complex mediascape. From such a perspective, the paper examines

empirically the "quadruple A" model proposed by Dieter Rucht (2004), partially revisiting its four main dimensions: abstention, adaptation, alternative and attack attitudes towards the mainstream media. The paper suggests that in a complex mediascape different kind of media practices intertwine and that: 1) a certain degree of abstention is also possible with regard to the more established independent media; 2) face-to-face interactions frequently mix with temporary, protest-related media; 3) activists could use the same media texts to communicate with disperse and different audiences. The main data sources consist of primary documents produced by activists and in-depth interviews.

**Gail McElroy** is a Jean Monnet fellow.

**Journal Article:** "Committees and Party Cohesion in the European Parliament." *Osterreichische Zeitschrift fuer Politikwissenschaft*, 37, (3), 2008.

How do political parties enforce party discipline and promote cohesiveness in newly emerging legislatures? Political parties in established parliamentary democracies typically exhibit such high levels of unity that the question of how and why such discipline arises has, until recently, received little attention. But in emerging legislatures the process of transforming rudimentary party organisations into disciplined parties is not inevitable. This article examines if the political groups in the European Parliament (EP) attempt to enforce party discipline. More specifically, the article asks the question if MEPs who consistently vote against the party are punished in terms of their committee assignments.

**Book Chapter:** "Intra-Party Politics at the Trans-national Level: Party Switching in the European Parliament" in, editor(s) Giannetti, Daniela and Kenneth Benoit, , *Intra-Party Politics and Coalition Governments in Parliamentary Democracies*, London, Routledge, 2008

Current research suggests that party switching is not an uncommon occurrence in many political systems. This chapter contributes to

the emerging literature on this topic by analysing patterns of party switching in the European Parliament (EP). What motivates so many deputies to switch political group in the EP? Studies of party switching in Japan, Italy, Brazil and Ecuador have suggested that the prospect of electoral advantage is significant in creating incentives for switching. The EP is a particularly interesting arena in which to study the phenomenon of party switching, as 1) the electoral incentives to defect are not obvious and 2) theories of switching which suggest that members defect to increase their access to pork have limited application. This chapter tests the hypothesis that factors internal to the parliament are key in accounting for switches. Using an original dataset of party switchers and party, parliamentary and committee posts (covering the period 1989-1994) this chapter uses a discrete choice model to test the hypothesis that MEPs switch political groups to advance their political careers within the Parliament itself.

**Mayo Fuster Morell** is a researcher in the SPS department.

**Working Paper:** "Hypothesis on why online communities promoted by Social Forums don't easily scale up," In the seminar reader "Networked Politics and Technology". School of Information UC Berkeley.

Mayo Fuster Morell examines why Social Forums have been slow to adopt collaborative, participative, and online community models of web interaction. The paper provides an introduction to the social forum process and gives an overview and chronological evolution of the links between the social forums and the new information technologies. Then it focuses on the case-study of the Openesf, a collaborative platform built for the European Social Forum in 2008. She examines both the support and questioning of the platform, and concludes that one of the main obstacles to generating a large online community around the platforms provided by the Social Forums are divisions in organizational approaches within social movements (individual participation vs collective representation, open vs control, offline vs online).

**Anja Röcke** is a researcher in the SPS department.

**Book:** *Démocratie participative et modernisation des services publics : les affinités électives ?*, with Yves Sintomer and Carsten Herzberg.

Inventé à Porto Alegre, au Brésil, le budget participatif, qui consiste à associer des citoyens non élus à l'allocation des finances publiques, s'est répandu rapidement dans le reste du monde. Il est désormais préconisé par le mouvement altermondialiste et la Banque mondiale, des ONG radicales et des partis de tout bord. S'agit-il d'une mode passagère ou d'un mouvement de fond amené à bouleverser les pratiques administratives et politiques ? Cet ouvrage constitue la synthèse de la première recherche comparative à l'échelle continentale menée à partir de la centaine de budgets participatifs existant en Europe. La première partie explique l'émergence des budgets participatifs et prend la mesure de leur diversité. La seconde partie analyse dans le détail une vingtaine d'expériences participatives. La troisième partie s'interroge de façon transversale sur les effets, dynamiques et enjeux de ces démarches. Elle décrit les différents modèles de participation et analyse comment ils s'articulent aux mutations à l'œuvre dans le domaine social, dans l'action publique et dans le système politique. Pour que les services publics puissent s'affirmer face aux logiques marchandes, ils doivent se mettre véritablement au service du public. C'est pourquoi le couplage de la modernisation et de la participation représente un enjeu crucial.

**Miriam Ronzoni** is a Max Weber fellow.

**Journal article:** "What makes a Basic Structure Just?" *Res Publica* 4/3, September 2008, pp. 203-218

In his multi-faceted attack on Rawls's account of justice, G.A. Cohen has argued that the notion of basic structure is necessarily insensitive to the importance of informal social norms to social justice. The paper argues that the most plausible account of the basic structure is not blind to informal social norms

in any meaningful sense. Whereas informal, non-legally coercive institutions are not part of the basic structure as such, their careful consideration is necessary for the assessment of whether the basic structure itself is indeed just. This claim is based on an account of what it means for normative principle to apply to institutions, which I expound in detail throughout the paper. Principles apply to institutions, I argue, not in that they restrain their conduct, but in that they indicate which social conditions they should bring about.

**Journal Article:** “On the meta-ethical status of constructivism: reflections on G.A. Cohen's ‘Facts and Principles,’” with Laura Valentini. *Politics, Philosophy, and Economics* 7/4 (November 2008), pp. 403-422

In his piece ‘Facts and Principles’, G.A. Cohen attempts to refute constructivist approaches to justification by showing that, contrary to what their proponents claim, fundamental normative principles are fact-*insensitive*. We argue that Cohen's ‘fact-insensitivity thesis’ does not provide a successful refutation of constructivism because it pertains to an area of meta-ethics which differs from the one tackled by constructivists. While Cohen's thesis concerns the *logical structure* of normative principles, constructivists ask how normative principles should be *justified*. In particular, their claim that justified fundamental normative principles are fact-sensitive follows from a commitment to agnosticism about the existence of objective moral facts. We therefore conclude that, in order to refute constructivism, Cohen would have to address questions of justification, and take a stand on those long-standing meta-ethical debates about the ontological status of moral notions (for example, realism versus anti-realism) with respect to which he himself wants to remain agnostic

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**Book Chapters:** “The EU citizenship. History and present state of art” and “Diplomatic and consular protection of EU citizens.” Both in

*Persona e Famiglia*, ed. By De Cesari and Giappichelli.

Both chapters are related to citizenship rights of nationals of the EU Member States. They are a contribution to a collective book: its title is “*persona e famiglia*” (On person and family) focusing on the rights of the person as an individual and as a member of a partnership. The research was conducted by searching in official documents of EU institutions from 1970 until 2008. Models of analysis on citizenship (and denizenship) were inspired by relevant theories of Shaw, Habermas, Heilbrunner and Hammar. The book also considers the development of “civic” rights of non-EU nationals living in the EU.

Another subject is the perception of the European identity among Europeans versus municipal identity and State identity.

The protection of the distressed EU citizen is the main subject of the other chapter. The neglected field of studies on the protection of the EU citizen abroad (often confused and merged inside intergovernmental theories on Law of Nations) needs to acquire its dignity as an autonomous subject of studies, detached from Mavrommatis case-law: this special protection of EU citizens enshrined in the EC Treaty, as well as in the EU Charter of fundamental rights, is an original creation of the Community legal order

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**Journal Article:** “The Impact of the Europeanization Process on the Cooperation between Local Institutions in the EU.” *Zarządzanie Publiczne* (Public Management). Nr 2008/2.

This paper analyses various forms of cooperation between local institutions in European cities, which emerge from the impact of European regulations laying down general provisions on structural funds, mostly in the programming period 2000-2006. Cities are an important focus because they bring together various actors and institutions which benefit from EU funds. The main question of the paper is: how do European regulations on structural funds affect cooperation among local actors in

European cities? More specifically, the paper addresses the issue of whether mobilization around EU funded projects contributes to the emergence of new forms of cooperation or whether actors benefiting from EU funds are based on pre-existing local networks and relationships. The research design involves the analysis of formal vertical and horizontal interactions among local and regional authorities and other local institutions in the city, around EU funded projects.

Cooperation among the actors and institutions is analysed from two perspectives: 'top down' and 'bottom up'. Top down cooperation concentrates on decision making processes involving the evaluation of project applications for EU funds. Bottom up cooperation focuses on the mobilization of local actors which benefit directly from EU funded projects. Specifically, this paper analyses existing forms of interaction between actors within two European cities: Krakow (from a new member state) and Glasgow (from an old member state). The comparative analysis aims to find similarities and differences in mobilization of actors and interactions among them around EU funded projects.

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**Book Chapter:** "Managing mass dismissals and high unemployment. Employment policies and unemployment compensation in Poland after 1989," In Marie-Ange Moreau and María Esther Blas Lopez (eds), *Restructuring in the New EU Member States. Social Dialogue, Firms Relocation and Social Treatment of Restructuring*, Brussels, Peter Lang, 2008, 189-220.

The chapter focuses on the public policy response to rising unemployment, seen as a group of measures and policies primarily aiming to accompanying labour market adjustment in a context of deep socio-economic transformations in Poland (1989-2004). Restructuring of previously state-owned enterprises into viable private firms triggered large-scale workforce reductions, causing unemployment to rise from quasi nil prior to 1989 to a peak 20% in 2002. Facing this 'new'

social problem, governments were under pressure to act to alleviate the effects of unemployment and counter its expansion. Adopted measures can be mapped according to their degree of coverage or selectivity, and their focus on compensation or return to employment. A newly created universal unemployment benefit initially prevailed, before a number of particularistic schemes allowed to compensate certain categories of dismissed workers at a more advantageous level. From the end of the 1990s by contrast, labour market policies were redirected towards return to employment and activation measures, but with limited impact in effect. Two distinct, and for long, mutually exclusive worlds of adjustment co-exist, concerning radically different categories of people: a fading, backward-looking one relying on compensation and a developing, forward-looking one relying on active labour market policies.

**Laurentiu Geani Stinga** is a researcher in the SPS department.

**Working Paper:** "Political Accountability as a Radial Concept." Series/Report No: 2008/08, ISSN 1725-6755. EUI SPS Working Paper.

The Working Paper attempts to conceptualize political accountability in a disciplined fashion by proposing a strategy of conceptualization based on the internal radial structure of this difficult social science concept. Furthermore, it argues that accountability is still an under-explored concept. Its meanings are used interchangeably in the literature, which is fraught with definitions based on specific empirical cases. A disciplined conceptualization of political accountability can bring resolution to long-drawn scholarly arguments of what accountability is and what it is not.

**Dorota Szelawa** is a researcher in the SPS department.

**Book chapter:** Passen die mittel- und osteropäischen Länder in das 'westliche' Bild? Das Besispiel der Familienpolitik in Ungarn und Polen' [Do CEE countries fit the "Western" welfare picture? The example of

family policy in Hungary and Poland', with Dorottya Szikra. In Christinna Klenner and Simone Leiber eds. *Wohlfahrtsstaaten und Geschlechterungleichheit in Mittel- und Osteuropa. Kontinuität und postsozialistische Transformation in den EU-Mitgliedsstaaten* [Welfare States and Gender in Central-Eastern Europe. Continuity and post-socialist Transformation in the New EU Member States], VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, GWV Fachverlage GmbH, Wiesbaden 2009. Pages: 85-120.

The main goal of this chapter is to demonstrate, how different familialist regimes developed throughout the 20th century in Hungary and Poland and how they crystallised during the period of transformation and recently. We focussed on parental leave schemes, different kinds of family benefits and child care services. First, we can observe that the two countries, though coming from the same, state-socialist path, are very different with regard to their family policies. For making the analysis systematic and after the theoretical considerations we decided to put two labels for these two versions of familialism: 'optional familialism' in the 'richer' Hungarian version of family policies, and 'implicit familialism' for characterising the implicit nexus of responsibility for care within family in Poland. Second, we argue that the roots of these differences should be traced in the history of welfare policies of these two countries. Therefore, the sources of 'implicit familialism' in Poland and 'optional familialism' in Hungary can be observed throughout the history of welfare institutions in these countries already before World War II. Third, this study touches on the possible effects of particular types of policies. The most general conclusion is that both in Hungary and in Poland most families cannot afford having only one breadwinner, so resignation from having a child would prevail over giving up employment.

**Alex Trechsel** is a professor of political science and holds the Swiss chair in Federalism and Democracy in the SPS department.

**Book:** *The Politics of Switzerland. Continuity and Chance in a Consensus Democracy*, with Hanspeter Kriesi. Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Despite Switzerland's small size, its political system is one of the most complex and fascinating among contemporary democracies. The rich, complex mixture of centuries-old institutions and the refined political arrangements that exist today constitute a veritable laboratory for social scientists and their students. Often presented as the paradigmatic case of political integration, consensus democracy and multinational federalism, the Swiss model has become a benchmark case for analyses in comparative politics, political behaviour and other related fields. Written by two leading experts on Swiss politics, this book presents a definitive overview for scholars and students interested in Switzerland's political system at the beginning of the twenty-first century. By focusing on its intricacies but also taking in larger issues of general interest, the broad scope of this study will appeal to all those interested in contemporary European politics and democratic systems.

**Antoine Vauchez** is a Marie Curie fellow in the RSCAS general programme.

**Journal Article:** "Democratic Empowerment Through Euro-Law ? A Review Article", *European Political Science*, 7, 2008, pp. 444-452.

This paper takes advantage of Rachel Cichowski's latest book on *The European Court and Civil Society* (Cambridge UP, 2007) to delineate the strengths and limits of the neo-functional account of legalization processes.

**Book Chapter:** "How to Become a Transnational Elite. Lawyers' Politics at the Genesis of the European Communities (1950-1970)", in Hanne Patersen et alii (eds.) *Paradoxes of European Legal Integration*, Ashgate, 2008, pp. 129-148.

In his well-known study of US « power elite » (1956), Wright Mills put great emphasis on the role of professional go-betweens such as lawyers and investment bankers, « agents of the various elites rather than elite themselves », whose daily practice of brokering in between the various segments of American elites effectively contributed to the functioning of a « field of power ». Strangely enough, European lawyers have not so far been studied under this perspective but rather, if not exclusively, for the legal work and the juridical debates they engage in. Instead of focusing exclusively on the technical expertise jurists (be they judges, lawyers, law professors, legal consultants, etc...) deploy, this presentation will consider their professional know-how as a specific social skill enabling them to stand at the crossing of a variety European social universes –bureaucratic, political, economic, non-profit... Based on an analysis of the trajectories of a the most prominent EU lawyers in the initial period (1960-1980) of the European construction, this paper tries and exemplifies why studying lawyers is not just a matter of legal sociology (autonomization of European legal *métiers*) but also a matter of political sociology in enabling to seize their contribution to the building of a European “field of power”.

**Book Chapter:** « Droit et Politique », in Cécile Bélot, Paul Magnette, Sabine Saurugger (eds.), *Science politique de l'Union européenne*, Paris : Economica, 2008.

Rather than considering legal and judicial arenas as the mere surface of the heavy social processes that shape European integration, this article contends that they are actually one the essential spaces where the *government* of Europe is being produced. To account for this paramount role played by law in EU polity, two rather unexplored research paths are undertaken. First of all, a socio-historical perspective focuses on the critical junctures in which case-law and judicial governance have been formalized as the *locus* of European integration and as the most legitimate model for EU government. Second, a more sociological look is taken at the functioning of the “European legal field”. Pointing at the intense circulation of Euro-lawyers in-between the various (national or supranational) academic, bureaucratic, political and economic poles that make up Europe, it exemplifies how

this field is located at the crossroads of European elites and sectors, a critical position in a EU polity deprived of a State organizing in a perennial way the mediation between social interests.

**Working Paper:** “Back to the ‘Future of Europe’. A Political Sociology of EU Constitutional Saga”, with Antonin Cohen. EUI RSCAS 2008/33.

Looking back at eight years of controversies over Europe’s future, this paper develops a new research agenda towards a political sociology of EU constitutional politics. As a preliminary step, we make the case for reflexivity, that is, for a critical appraisal of intellectual practice in the constitutional debate. Two research directions are then explored: an analysis of the changing forms of the “European public sphere”; a study of the “field of EU constitutional reform”. As a polity, Europe is not a social continuum, but a mosaic of fragmented public spheres and social fields that, albeit undoubtedly interdependent, are largely autonomous from one another. In this configuration, informal scenes of power are as much important as institutional centres of command to set the agenda, promote new ideas and mediate contending interests. We therefore argue that a better understanding of both the European public sphere and the field of EU constitutional reform implies moving the research agenda from analyzing institutions to studying informal cross-sectorial arenas and trans-national networks, as well as the social and professional profiles of the agents making up these institutions, arenas and networks.