

SPS in press

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

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Stan van Alphen Researcher

‘The educational quality of early school leavers and the cross-national variation of their income disadvantage’, *Educational Research and Evaluation*, 2009, 15(6), 543–60.

The average quality of available educational resources varies significantly across Europe. This not only affects school success and failure but also subsequent labour market outcomes. The main research question in this paper is to what extent this compositional variation among early school leavers (ESLs) in particular can account for the cross-national variation of their income disadvantage relative to higher educated individuals. Findings from 3 consecutive years of cross-sectional data (EU-SILC, 2005–2007) show that, controlling for the influence of other important country-level indicators, both educational expenditure and a country’s mean PISA achievement test score interact with the effect of early school leaving on gross personal income. The income disadvantage of ESLs is smaller in countries where the average quality of

available educational resources is higher. Furthermore, this also applies to educational resources currently available to ESLs, with the prevalence of lifelong learning yielding the same moderating effect on the income disadvantage of ESLs.

Bahar Baser Researcher

‘Diasporas and Their Links to Political Violence and Terrorism’, *The Journal of Turkish Weekly*, November 2009.

This article aims to contribute to the studies on diaspora, by focusing on the hostland dimension. The hostland’s opportunity structures and current challenges will be analyzed in order to understand why host countries are becoming a nest for political violence and terrorism by diasporic extremism. There is still so much to discover about the activities of the diaspora groups which engage in armed struggles back home or about their affiliations with terrorism and political violence. A perception agreed by a majority of experts and scholars is that in today’s world, the survival of a terrorist

group depends not only on the strength of the nucleus of terrorist groups, but also on their transnational support networks which provide mainly financial support. At this point, the hostlands get involved in a duty to control and if necessary prevent extremism among those transnational groups.

Lorenzo Bosi

Marie Curie Fellow

‘The Outcomes of Social Movement’, *Mobilization*, 2009, 14(4): 405-41 (with K. Uba).

In the last decade there has been increasing focus on the outcomes of social movements. But there also are numerous calls to improve our theoretical and conceptual arguments, to employ methodological tools in a more effective way and to provide more empirical examples from a broader and comparative set of issues and contexts. With this special issue of *Mobilization* our aim is to take some steps towards meeting these calls. Each of the contributors in this issue adds some important aspect to the current literature and introduces themes that we hope will be developed further in future research. We have included papers that emphasize the issues of incremental outcomes, novel empirical factors for studying the contextual dependence of the outcomes of mobilization, the use of different methods for strengthening and testing the robustness of our theoretical arguments, and show that some previously stated claims regarding the role of public opinion do not hold well.

This introduction develops a foundation for the contributions contained in this special issue by stressing the connections between the five articles included, on the one hand, and a few important achievements and problems in studying the outcomes of social movements, on the other. Finally we briefly suggest some directions, where we believe significant research on the topic remains to be done.

‘Writing the Sixties into Northern Ireland and Northern Ireland into the Sixties’, *The Sixties*, 2009, 2(2): 145-61 (with S. Prince).

The overarching purpose of the special section as a whole is to move away from parochial perspectives by studying the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Movement within an international context and by drawing upon theoretical and methodological approaches that have been developed by Sixties scholars to study experiences elsewhere. It is our intention that this exchange should be a two-way process – that Northern Ireland and the global Sixties should be put into dialogue with each other. As the two have generally been regarded as unrelated, this introductory essay has more work to do than a conventional introduction. It lays the foundations for the dialogue by setting out the story of Northern Ireland’s Sixties and how it fits into established narratives of the global Sixties. Northern Ireland has echoes of other experiences without being a mere echo of any of them. This is explored in the next part of the introductory essay, which also sketches out what placing Northern Ireland in its broader context adds to our understanding of the global Sixties. The introductory essay then examines how and why the existing literature has stuck to a much more insular reading of the civil rights era. The global and the local threads are then weaved together to offer a primer on post-war Northern Irish history, touching on both structural and subjective processes. This background sets up the essays that follow. The conclusion to the introduction outlines how they develop the dialogue and provides a set of concluding remarks on where research remains to be done on the topic of the special section.

Andrea Calderaro

Researcher

E-Politics in a Global Context. Special issue of the *International Journal of E-Politics*, 2010, 1(1) (edited with C. Livermore Romm).

‘Empirical Analysis of Political Spaces on the Internet: The Role of E-Mailing Lists in the Organization of Alter-Globalization Movements’, *International Journal of E-Politics*, 2010, 1 (1), 73-87.

The Internet has largely been greeted as a technology able to create new spaces of political debate. In order to investigate the issue, scholars have paid attention to how transnational social movements use new information technologies. This has been done mainly exploring the use of the World Wide Web (WWW). However, new political spaces do not take place just on the WWW, and by consequence, research in this field cannot solely carry out Web analysis to explore the role played by the Internet in creating political debate. In looking at other areas of the Internet to understand the creation of new political space, other analytical approaches need to be adopted. The Internet also includes tools other than the WWW, such as E-Mailing Lists, collaborative on-line software, Peer-to-Peer Networks, Instant Messaging tools, and so forth. This paper explores the role that E-Mailing Lists play in creating new political spaces. To explore if and how this happens, I illustrate this crucial point with an analysis of the use of E-Mailing Lists by social movements. The case I will use is that of the organization of the protest during the G8 Summit held in Genoa in July 2001.

Christine Chwaszcza

Professor

‘Politische Philosophie und Staatsverstaendnis in David Humes *Essays*,’ in O. Asbach (ed.), *Vom Nutzen des Staates. Staatsverstaendnisse im klassischen Utilitarismus Hume - Bentham - Mill*. Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlag, 2009, pp. 63-86.

David Hume’s *Essays* are landmarks in the development of a science of politics and economics. Written against the background of Scotland’s accession to the United

Kingdom, Hume’s main interests are various macrophenomena or, more precisely, the mechanisms of socio-economic change, general patterns of evolution, and the distinction between genuinely causal relations and contingent correlations. Despite their fragmentary style, the *Essays* give a quite different picture of Hume the social and political philosopher from the skeptical texts of the *Treatise* and *Enquiries*. During his lifetime Hume was most famous for his essays, which had a strong impact on the authors of the *Federalist Papers* and, later, John Stuart Mill.

Alexi Gugushvili

Researcher

‘Political Economy of Old-age Pension Reforms in Georgia’, *Caucasian Review of International Affairs*, 2009, 3(4), 371-86.

The paper examines the factors that played a major role in development of the old-age pension system in Georgia. Based on data collected from 1991–2009, this analysis centers on the system’s patterns of development and identifies four main attempts to reform the old-age pension system. Economic performance, demographic aging, domestic political constellations, and external influence are traditionally thought to be responsible for the pension system reforms. Qualitative data analyses and in-depth interviews have been used to test these explanations. This analysis did not confirm the hypotheses, but it revealed that fiscal constraints and international technical assistance were the main factors behind reforms during the first two chronological attempts to change the system. Political factors and liberal economic ideology influenced the patterns of old-age pension policy development from 2004–2008, while the negative outcomes of the Russian-Georgian War and World Financial Crisis are currently the major obstacles for comprehensive pension reforms. The limitations of this study suggest that in order to clarify the exact nature of old-age pension

system, shorter time periods and separate reform initiatives should be investigated.

Pension Systems in the First Years of Post-communist Transition: The Development of Public Pension Schemes from 1989 to 1997 in the Countries of CEE and the NIS/FSU (Paperback). Saarbrücken: LAP Lambert Academic Publishing, 2010.

The study seeks to answer what factors played a major role in development of public pension systems in the economies of Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) and the Newly Independent States of the Former Soviet Union (NIS/FSU). Our analysis, based on data from 1989 to 1997 in 23 transition economies, investigates five main components of public pension system and identifies three groups of countries with different patterns of development. The existing explanations assume that economic performance, demographic ageing, domestic political constellations, external influence and the path dependency are responsible for the variation in pension system development patterns. Multivariate regressions have been used to test these explanations. We found that economic decline explains changes in the qualifying conditions for full pension benefits, the political variables influence patterns of employees' and employers' contributions, while the share of government's revenues in GDP is the best explanation for the variation in pension expenditure. The limitations of the study suggest that longer time periods and a small number of countries should be investigated.

Armèn Hakhverdian

Max Weber Fellow

'Capturing Government Policy on the Left-Right Scale: Evidence from the United Kingdom, 1956-2006', *Political Studies*, 2009, 57(4), 720-45.

The left-right scheme is the most widely used and parsimonious representation of political competition. Yet, long time series of

the left-right position of governments are sparse. Existing methods are of limited use in dynamic settings due to insufficient time points which hinders the proper specification of time-series regressions. This article analyses legislative speeches in order to construct an annual left-right policy variable for Britain from 1956 to 2006. Using a recently developed content analysis tool, known as Wordscores, it is shown that speeches yield valid and reliable estimates for the left-right position of British government policy. Long time series such as the one proposed in this article are vital to building dynamic macro-level models of politics. This measure is cross-validated with four independent sources: (1) it compares well to expert surveys; (2) a rightward trend is found in post-war British government policy; (3) Conservative governments are found to be more right wing in their policy outputs than Labour governments; (4) conventional accounts of British post-war politics support the pattern of government policy movement on the left-right scale.

Chris Hanretty

Researcher

'Partisan self-interest and electoral reform: The new Italian electoral law of 2005', *Electoral Studies*, 2009, 28(3), 437-47. (with A. Renwick and D. Hine).

In December 2005, Italy's mixed-member electoral system was replaced with a system of bonus-adjusted proportional representation. The reform conformed with rational-choice models in that it was imposed by the ruling coalition, which sought to bolster its own power interests. But the case illustrates the impossibility of reducing such power-based motivation to a single goal, such as seat maximization. Power is shaped by many factors, and electoral systems influence many of these. This article develops a theoretical frame-work for understanding the various power-oriented considerations that may operate in electoral reform. It then analyses the role these played

in Italy. It argues, in particular, for the need to take account of coalition dynamics when studying such processes.

‘Explaining the De Facto Independence of Public Broadcasters’, *British Journal of Political Science*, 2010, 40(1), 75-89.

Institutions operating beyond direct control of government, such as central banks, constitutional courts and public broadcasters, enjoy guarantees of de jure independence, but de jure independence is no guarantee of de facto independence. This is especially so for public broadcasting, where cultural variables are often assumed to be decisive. In this article, the de jure and de facto independence of thirty-six public service broadcasters world-wide are operationalized, and de jure independence is found to explain a high degree of de facto independence when account is taken of the size of the market for news. Other variables considered in previous literature – such as bureaucratic partisanship and the polarization of the party system – are not found to be significant.

Adrienne Heritier

Professor

‘The Firm as Inspector: Private Ordering and Political Rules’, *Business and Politics*, 2009, 11(4), Article 2 (with A. Mueller-Debus and C. Thauer).

With increasing fragmentation of worldwide production chains and the corresponding contracting relations between companies, the “firm as an inspector” has become a frequent phenomenon. Buyer firms deploy supervising activities over their suppliers' products and production processes in order to ensure their compliance with regulatory standards, thereby taking on tasks commonly performed by public authorities. Why would a firm engage in such activities? In this article we will analyze the conditions under which firms play the role of an inspector vis-à-vis their sub-contractor firms to guarantee compliance with quality and environmental

regulations. We develop a theoretical argument based on transaction cost economics and institutionalism to offer hypothetical answers to this question and provide an empirical assessment of our hypotheses.

Alessandro Ianniello Saliceti,

Visiting Fellow, RSCAS.

‘L'arrêt "Metock": fin du voyage des frères siamois?’, *Revue de droit de l'Union européenne*, Bruxelles, 3/2009.

This article analyzes relevant parts of the judgment of the EC Court of Justice in the "Metock" case (C-127/08) with a special focus on some aspects related to the free movement of third country spouses, who are married to EU citizens. In particular, it highlights on the question whether the situation in which a non EU spouse is "accompanying" an EU citizen, as shaped in the EC Directive 2004/38, needs to turn into a permanent "travel of Siamese twins".

‘Italiani in Cina (1866-1948)’, *Rivista Gli Stranieri*, Rome, 1/2009.

This research was written in joint cooperation with Mrs. Guoqiong Sun (who majored both in Literature in Shanghai, East China University, and in Genoa University, Law Faculty) after analyzing several sources in Italian and Chinese languages. This essay focuses on the presence of Italians in China from the end of the 19th century until the collapse of the Italian military forces in 1943. This is a field of study that has so far been neglected by the existing canon of literature in this area. Moreover, there is no relevant Chinese monograph on the subject.

‘Riflessioni sulla sentenza "Baheten Metock e altri"’, *Rivista Gli Stranieri*, Rome 6/2009.

This essay conducts an accurate analysis on the "Metock" case and on other recent leading-cases related to residence rights of non-EU nationals married to EU citizens.

This essay was written before the EC Court of Justice published the "prise de position" of the Advocate General, Prof. Poiares Maduro.

‘Professions réglementées dans le domaine médical et le droit fondamental à vivre en bonne santé dans l’UE’, *Opinio Juris*, 7/2009, Sant’Anna School, International and Comparative Law Research Laboratory, Pise.

The essay is a part of the key-note delivered at the international workshop held in Pisa in June 2009 on medical malpractice. It particularly describes the two countervailing positions of the "protection of the human health", on one side, and of the "freedom to practice the medical protection", on the other side, in the framework of free movement of services in the European Union. Relevant case-law of the EC Court of Justice can lead to the conclusion that the protection of the health of individuals would prevail on the protection of the freedom of medical services in the EU.

‘La protezione dei dati personali nell’ordine pubblico europeo: tutela della sfera privata e ingerenza dello Stato’, *Informatica e diritto*, Naples, special issue in honour of Isabella Ciampi, 1/2008 (released in Summer 2009).

The article describes the evolution of Strasbourg case-law related to data protection with reference to several matters, namely foreign bank accounts (Funke), intelligence and national security (Klass, Segersted-Wiberg), porn-spams sent via email (Muscio). After showing the permanent fighting at the HR European Court between the individuals (claiming more respect for their private life) and the State (claiming the need to enhance protection of the "ordre public" in the society) the conclusions of the essay are in favour of strictly defining the contents of the "ordre public" (public policy) and of clarifying the contents of the concept of "national security", as this vague wording can become a comfortable tool allowing the

State to use a discretionary power when trespassing the sphere of private life.

Andrey Kazantsev
Jean Monnet Fellow

Expansion of Security Agenda in Russian Policy: Securitization, Biopolitics and New Administrative Practices. Moscow: Prospekt Publishing House, 2009.

This monograph studies combination of specific patterns of securitization in contemporary Russia (mostly, enormous expansion of security agenda) and growing control of different governmental security structures. It demonstrates a huge influence that this combination has on Russian domestic and foreign policy.

Network Aspects of Education in Social Sciences. Moscow: Prospekt Publishing House, 2009 (in Russian, with V. Sergeyev and K. Koktysh).

This collective book analyzes how different networking technologies and new analytical instruments of network analysis can be used in the education of future social scientists.

International Security Organizations in Eurasia: Rivalry and Cooperation. Moscow: MGIMO Publishing House, 2009 (edited with A. Nikitin).

The book is the result of a series of workshops with participation of experts from Europe, USA, Russia and the New Independent States organized by the Center of Euro-Atlantic security of MGIMO. It analyzes strategic interactions of such organizations as NATO, EU, Shanghai Cooperation Organization and Collective Security Treaty Organization in the Euro-Atlantic area and Eurasia.

Bram Lancee

Researcher

‘Self-rated health and sickness-related absence: the modifying role of civic participation’, *Social Science & Medicine*, 2010, 70(4), 570-74 (with C. Ter Hoeven).

In this study, we examined civic participation as an effect modifier between self-rated health and absence from work. Building on the theoretical framework of social exchange, we use German data to test a conceptual model relating self-rated health to sickness-related absence, as well as the interaction between self-rated health and civic participation. We used the 1996 wave of the German Socio-Economic Panel Study. Since sickness-related absence is a censored variable, we used a tobit regression model. The results confirmed the hypotheses; the effect between self-rated health and sickness-related absence was modified by civic participation, indicating that the effect of self-rated health on sickness-related absence is less pronounced for people who participate more as opposed to those who report less civic participation. In other words, those unhealthy who participate more, are fewer days absent from work. We argue that civic participation buffers the relationship between self-rated health and sickness-related absence because those who participate more have more resources to fulfill self-regulatory needs. Our findings emphasize the importance of civic participation outside the workplace for people at work when they do not feel physically well.

Peter Mair

Professor

Political Representation and EU Governance. Special issue of the *Journal of European Public Policy*, 2010, 17(1), 1-136 (edited with and J. Thomassen).

This special issue is designed to confront and discuss different conceptions of political representation with respect to their

application to the system of multi-level governance in the European Union. Political representation is an essentially contested concept. Its meaning has evolved with the development of representative democracy at the level of the nation state, and normative theories of political representation often evolved as a reflection on developing practices rather than the other way around. Since the EU is not a conventional nation state, and since the effectiveness and legitimacy of classic notions of political representation at the level of the national state has also become a matter of dispute, the EU has become a playground for the development of alternative or additional conceptions of democracy. The contributions to this volume evaluate these alternative conceptions with regard to both their effectiveness and their legitimacy, and combine both conceptual and empirical analyses. Contributors to the special issue include Richard Bellamy; Peter Mair; Jacques Thomassen; David Farrell; Roger Scully; Robert Rohrschneider; Stephen Whitefield; Michäel Tatham; Beate Kohler-Koch; Christopher Lord, and Johannes Pollak.

‘Political Representation and Government in the European Union’, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 2010, 17(1), 20-35 (with J. Thomassen).

This paper addresses two particular aspects of the much debated democratic deficit in EU governance – the absence of a system of party government at the European level, whereby parties in the parliament lack the capacity to effectively control the governing bodies of the EU, and the apparent failings in the capacity of parties at the European level to represent the will of the citizens of Europe. We question the self-evidence of the recommendation that the Union adapt to conventional party government models at the national level and argue that since many of the conditions facilitating the effective fusion of the functions of representation and of control of the government no longer pertain,

it might actually prove unwise to seek to replicate this process at the European level. We go on to take issue with the traditional view that the European process of political representation fails mainly because political parties do not compete on so called European issues. Despite a poor process of political representation at the European level, European elections and political parties appear to serve quite effectively as instruments of political representation. We conclude by suggesting that the effectiveness of political representation at the European level owes much to the absence of party government, such that, paradoxically, one of the most commonly cited aspects of the democratic deficit thereby appears to alleviate the other.

‘The Cartel Party Thesis: A Restatement’, *Perspectives on Politics*, 2009, 7 (4), 2009, 753-66 (with R. Katz).

This paper restates and clarifies the idea of the ‘cartel party’, a thesis that has found considerable traction in studies of parties throughout the democratic world, including those far from the original research site and data on which the cartel model was based. The cartel party thesis has also been subject to varied empirical testing and to substantial theoretical evaluation and criticism. Against this background, we look again at the cartel party thesis in order to clarify ambiguities in and misinterpretations of the original argument. We also suggest further refinements, specifications and extensions of the argument. Following a review of the background to the original thesis, we break the thesis down into its core components, and then clarify the terms in which it makes sense to speak of cartelization and collusion. We then go on to explore some of the implications of the thesis for our understanding of contemporary democracies and patterns of party organization and party competition and we identify a possible agenda for future research in party scholarship.

‘When Parties (also) Position Themselves: an Introduction to the EU Profiler’, *EUI Working Paper RSCAS*, 2009, 2009/65. Florence: EUI (with A. Trechsel).

This paper is intended to frame and describe a novel method of political party positioning within the European Union and beyond. Ever since the groundbreaking work by Downs in the 1950s, political scientists have derived a variety of methods to empirically determine the position of parties on dimensions measuring differences in policies or ideologies. Today, two sets of techniques dominate this research domain: expert surveys and manifesto/programme coding. What is common to both techniques is that the positioning is done by qualified scholars and other experts outside the parties, and that it is not always possible to trace the grounds on which a party was coded in one way rather than another. The EU Profiler project, a large-scale, interdisciplinary and pan-European research endeavour, takes a step beyond these established methods. In the first place, and in additions to conventional expert coding, some 300 political parties in Europe have been invited to place themselves on 30 issue dimensions. Second, in so far as it proved possible, each coded position for each party is fully documented with extracts from party manifestos, party leaders’ speeches, or relevant press or policy statements. The resulting data offer unique opportunities for comparing the accuracy and efficiency among party positioning techniques, exploring for the first time and in a systematic way the auto-positioning of political parties throughout Europe, and offering close textual documentation for the positions taken on each issue dimension.

Dennis-Jonathan Mann
Researcher

‘Les dispositions finales du Traité’, in C. Demesmay and A. Marchetti (eds), *Le Traité de Lisbonne en discussion : quels fondements pour l'Europe?* Les notes de l'Ifri, 2009, 60, pp. 45-51.

This chapter examines and evaluates the “final provisions” of the so-called Lisbon treaty. It is part of a booklet that is a condensed, French version of an interdisciplinary *Kommentar* on the Lisbon treaty (forthcoming in spring 2010). The most important change identified in the “final provisions” is the unilateral right of any member state “to decide to withdraw from the Union” (Art. 50). Other important changes to the hitherto existing provisions can be found in the Unions legal personality (Art. 47) and the new “revision procedure” (Art. 48ff) which is mostly based on that of the failed “Constitutional Treaty”. The chapter closes with a *political* evaluation of the changes and finds the new provisions to be only partly convincing.

Raya Muttarak

Marie Curie Fellow

‘Explaining trends and patterns of immigrants’ partner choice in Britain’ *Zeitschrift für Familienforschung (Journal of Family Research)*, 1/2010.

Based on the 1988–2006 General Household Survey (N=121,934), this paper investigates trends and patterns of partnership formation of immigrants in Britain and explains underlying factors influencing partner choice. The key questions are: 1) whom do the immigrants of different gender, generation and ethnic groups form partnerships with: (a White British partner, a British-born coethnic partner or a coethnic partner from overseas); and 2) what the factors are explaining such a choice. Immigrants socialised in Britain, the second generation and those who migrated to Britain at a young age, are more likely to have a White British partner and less likely to be in a transnational partnership. Age at union, marital status, educational qualification, area ethnic composition, sex ratio and educational homogeneity are significant predictors of one’s partner choice. Yet, ethnic origin remains a crucial determinant of patterns of partnership formation. The statistical analysis suggests

that the rates of interethnic union with a White British partner will continue to increase for Black Caribbean, Black Africans and also gradually for highly educated Indians. The proportion of Pakistanis and Bangladeshis having a White British partner will remain low and simultaneously transnational marriage with a coethnic partner from overseas will still be commonly practiced. Overall, interethnic partnerships between the White British population and the population with an immigrant background are increasing in Britain.

Patryk Pawlak

Researcher

‘Made in the USA? The Influence of the US on the EU’s Data Protection Regime’, *Liberty and Security in Europe*, November 2009. Brussels: Centre for European Policy Studies.

Recent developments have shown that the EU’s border security policy is greatly influenced by the US. This influence simultaneously has implications for other EU policies, including those on data protection. This paper highlights that policy-making at the transatlantic level is increasingly taking place through informal networks, such as the High-Level Political Dialogue on Border and Transportation Security and the High-Level Contact Group on data protection, which allow US involvement in EU policy-making. This tendency stems from the growing personal relationships among policy-makers, the gradual substitution of formal instruments with less formal contracts and informal understandings shaping the content of formal agreements. Drawing from empirical examples of EU–US cooperation on data protection in the context of homeland security, the paper analyses the repercussions of these developments and the issues that remain unresolved, and offers policy recommendations.

‘Introduction: The Politics of European Security Policies’, Special issue of *Perspectives on European Politics and Society ‘The Politics of European Security Policies: Actors, Dynamics and Contentious Outcomes’*, 2009, 10(4), 474-85 (with X. Kurowska).

This article sketches the theoretical framework that informs the analyses in the Special Issue. Two issues drive the inquiries. First, the bottom-up approach to EU security that tracks contingent security practices and their performers. Various EU actors engage in intense political struggles which bring out the contentious character of security policy and nuance the claim of its extraordinary and thus apolitical nature. Analytically, this shows that the meaning of EU security needs to be empirically investigated rather than solved by definitions which may have a limited heuristic value against the EU's multifaceted security field. Secondly, the analyses bring to bear the blurring of the divide between the external and internal security in EU policy, both in the sense of the consolidation of the EU project as such and regarding the EU's policy towards its neighbours. The externalisation of security concerns and the EU's state-building activities in its neighbourhood are examples thereof.

‘Network politics in Transatlantic Homeland Security Cooperation’, Special issue of *Perspectives on European Politics and Society ‘The Politics of European Security Policies: Actors, Dynamics and Contentious Outcomes’*, 2009, 10(4), 560-81.

This article explores the development of the EU border security policies through the prism of the EU-US homeland security cooperation in the aftermath of the September 11 terrorist attacks. As the case of the EU-US homeland security illustrates, international developments provide the context for the European policies to take shape. The case of the Passenger Name Record negotiations elucidates the evolution

of the transatlantic networks universe - from the one based on geographical and political criteria (i.e. EU versus US, European institutions versus US institutions) towards functionally based networks (i.e. 'transatlantic diplomats' versus 'transatlantic security specialists', 'transatlantic executives' versus 'transatlantic legislatives'). It also shows that this shift takes place within a highly political process whereby actions and decisions evolve around network membership, centrality of actors and a particular role of bureaucrats. Finally, this article shows how the European approach to the use of personal data for security purposes emerges from interactions between the geographical and functional networks and allegiances that membership in those networks imply. This allows for certain ambivalence and ambiguity in the interpretation of actors' position. The article demonstrates that the European security debate is developing beyond the control of any single actor.

José Santana Pereira
Researcher

‘Voto Estratégico: Magnitude e motivações em sistemas eleitorais maioritários, de representação proporcional e mistos (Strategic Voting: Magnitude and motivation in majoritarian, proportional and mixed electoral systems)’, in Maria Antonieta Cruz (ed.), *Eleições e Sistemas Eleitorais: Perspectivas Históricas e Políticas*. Porto: Universidade do Porto Editorial, 2009, pp. 319-48 (with J. Monteiro Bourdain).

In this chapter, the authors present a quite comprehensive theoretical analysis of the phenomenon of strategic voting in the context of different institutional settings, namely in different types of electoral systems – majoritarian, PR and mixed. The incentives present those different institutional settings are discussed. Moreover, the magnitude of this psycho-political phenomenon, draw upon the results of the most relevant statistical works on strategic voting, is

examined in detail. The chapter continues with the presentation of the most interesting results uncovered by the empirical analysis of strategic voting in the Portuguese 2005 legislative elections, conducted and published by Bourdain (2007). With this analysis, which used survey data collected by the Portuguese Electoral Behaviour Project right after the elections, it was possible to identify a substantial share of strategic voters (around 6 per cent) and assess the relative impact of demographic, attitudinal and contextual variables on the decision of voting strategically vs. sincerely.

Donatella della Porta

Professor

Ruchy Społeczne, Wydawnictwo, Uniwersytet Jagielloński, 2009 (with M. Diani).

This is the Polish translation of *Social Movements: An Introduction* (Oxford, Blackwell, 2006). The volume addresses some main themes in social movement studies, analyzing the social basis and political opportunities for protest, the emergence of collective identities, framing processes, organizational dynamics and repertoires of action.

‘Participacio political, moviments de les dones o drets de les dones al sud d’Europa’, in M. de la Fuente Vazquez and M. Freixanet Mateu (eds.) *Politiques de genere i participacio ciutadana al mon local*. Barcelona, ICSP, 2009, pp. 13-32.

The chapter looks at the gender dimension in research on political participation, both conventional and unconventional ones. It then addresses the women’s movement as a specific form of political participation, analyzing its evolution in South European countries as well as its political allies and institutional effects.

‘Social Movements’, in C. Rumford (ed.) *The Sage Handbook of European Studies*. London, Sage, 2009, pp. 365-84.

The chapter reviews some main trends in European approaches to social movements, selectively developing some main dimensions of cross-national comparison and, finally, addressing the issue of the Europeanization of social movements.

‘Social Movements and civil society: How emerging social conflicts challenge social science approaches’, In P. Baert, S.M. Koniordos, G. Procacci and C. Ruzza (eds.) *Conflict, Citizenship and Civil Society*. London, Routledge, 2010, pp. 51-68.

This chapter is based upon the opening speech at the general conference of the European Sociological Association in Edinburgh in 2007. It discusses conceptions of civil society and social movements, pleading for a more interdisciplinary dialogue in addressing new conflicts. In particular, it stresses that new conflicts are characterized by a bridging of traditional social questions and new differential rights, the transnationalization of social movement organizational structures, the emergence of global issues and transnational institutions, as well as networks. It suggests that these new elements push for a re-examination of notions of social movements and citizenship.

‘Southern European Environmental Movements’, *American Behavioral Scientist*, 2009, 51, 1627-47 (with M. Kousis and M. Jimenez).

On the basis of an empirical research combining protest events and organizational surveys, the article compares the environmental movements in Greece, Italy, and Spain. The existence of a Southern European syndrome is discussed.

Lucia Quaglia

Visiting Fellow, RSCAS

Governing Financial Services in the European Union: Banking, Securities and Posttrading. London: Routledge.

The global financial crisis that reached its peak in late 2008 has brought the importance of financial services regulation and supervision into the spotlight. This book examines the governance of financial services in the EU and explains where the power lies in the policy-making process. It covers the main financial services – banking, securities, payments systems, clearing and settlement. Addressing the politics and public policy aspects of financial market integration, regulation and supervision, it conducts a theoretically informed and empirically grounded analysis of financial services governance from the establishment of Economic and Monetary Union and the launch of the Financial Services Action Plan in 1999 to the present day. It also assesses the EU responses to the global financial crisis. Providing a reliable and unique insight into the politics of financial services regulation in the EU based on an extensive programme of elite interviews with policy-makers and stakeholders across Europe, the book will be of great topical interest to students and scholars of European Union Studies, political science and political economy.

The Global Financial Turmoil: European Perspectives and Lessons. Special issue of the *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 2009, 47(5), (edited with D. Hodson).

‘European Perspectives on the Global Financial crisis: Introduction’, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 2009, 47(5), 939-52 (with D. Hodson).

‘The ‘British plan’ as a pace-setter: the Europeanisation of banking rescue plans in the EU?’, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 2009, 47(5), 1059-79.

This article examines to what extent the British banking rescue plan announced in late 2008 set the pace for the adoption of similar banking rescue plans across the European Union. This case study can be seen a

‘horizontal’ type of Europeanisation, whereby a (perceived successful) policy template adopted in one country is subsequently implicitly endorsed (hence, ‘uploaded’) at the EU level and then adopted (hence, ‘downloaded’) in other countries, albeit with considerable national variations. The two main caveats are that the British plan was not particularly innovative – it provided a functional solution to the problem at hand - and the adoption of similar measures across Europe was politically feasible because this did not envisage any substantial EU level intervention as it proposed parallel *national* solutions to a *common* problem

‘The financial turmoil and EU policy cooperation 2007-8’, *Journal of Common Market Studies Annual Review*, 2009, 47(1), 1-25 (with R. Eastwood and P. Holmes).

This article analyses the response of the European Union (EU) to the financial crisis in 2008 under the headings of liquidity, recapitalization and ownership of banks, macroeconomic policies and regulatory policy. It is argued that although at the onset of the crisis governments tended to focus on national-level responses, they quickly realized that international co-ordination would be required. This proved difficult to achieve in many areas, although monetary policy was an exception. Here co-ordination was rapid, not only in the euro area but also between the European Central Bank and other EU national central banks. Even so, within the euro area, the lender of last resort function was carried out by national central banks. Fiscal policy and bank recapitalization were similar across countries, but independently agreed. Competition rules were the one supranational EU regime, but did not act as a significant constraint on Member States.

Furio Stamati
Researcher

‘Italy and Denmark from Early Retirement to Active Ageing. Problems and Solutions for Structural Unemployment and Pension

Funding', *European Papers on the New Welfare*, 2009, 13/2009, 117-36.

The article compares the sequences of labour market and pension reforms enacted in Denmark and Italy between 1992 and 2007. In both countries, a common focus on the link between old age insurance and labour market policies fostered a shift from a paradigm based on early retirement and generous benefits to a new one based on active ageing and fairer entitlements within a multi-pillar pension system. What might account for these commonalities?

Following the logic of a most-different systems design, the article looks at the institutional and political mechanisms at work in both cases and suggests three main claims. First, efficiency-enhancing reforms may find a political starter in the interaction between the cleavage structure prevailing in the country and the ability of some political actors to exploit issue ownership on the policies in question. Second, labour market reforms with positive effects on economic output may be more beneficial to the pension system than a major institutional reengineering. Third, the institutional tension between the goals of status maintenance and redistribution may trigger multi-pillarization in systems where occupational fragmentation is strong. Occupationalism, while producing increasing electoral returns, also generates inconsistencies that require a more articulated distribution of tasks among different pillars.

Laurentiu Stinga

Researcher

'Still Elected Dictators? A study of Executive accountability in multi-party democracies - the issuing of Executive decrees and their treatment in the Legislature in different institutional settings across time: Italy (1947-2006), Argentina (1983-2006) and Romania (1992-2007), *EUI Working Paper SPS*, 2009, 2009/04. Florence: EUI.

The Working Paper explores the capacity of the Argentine, Italian and Romanian Legislatures to hold the Executive branch of government accountable for its policy initiatives issued by emergency Executive decree, rather than normal legislative proposals (NPL). The major questions the paper attempts to answer are: what makes Executives prefer to promote their policy views extensively by Decree, rather than NPL, even when the situation is not of emergency and necessity? What explains the capacity and/or willingness of the Legislatures to hold the Executive accountable by amending or rejecting the Executive decrees that infringe with their primary legislative function? I argue that the issuing of Executive decrees is a rational policy promotion strategy when the Executive faces bargaining problems in Legislature, while the level of Executive accountability to Legislature function of amending and rejection rates of Decrees is determined by the constitutional definition of these acts in favour of either one of the two branches of government. Furthermore, when the Decree is constitutionally defined to enable to the Executive to prevail over the Legislature, the former will issue them excessively, namely at a rate that is higher than required by the bargaining problems that it confronts in Legislature.

Pascal Vennesson

Professor

'Coping With Insecurity in Fragile Situation', *European Report on Development*, EUI Working Paper RSCAS, 2009 (with Christian Büger).

In this paper, we explore the security dimension of development in fragile situations, and address how the EU can better focus on the security dimension of its policies towards countries facing fragility. We stress development sequences in which economic, political and security factors interact, pointing to the linkages, and, at times, the trade-offs, between these problem-

solving activities. Our guiding hypothesis is that societies facing fragile situations can begin to change in the security and development domains “as they are, in spite of what they are, and because of what they are” (Hirschman), and that the EU, both as it is, and in spite of what it is, can help them to do so. First, we identify the security dimension of fragility situations and emphasise the wide range of instruments that the EU, as a global civilian power, has at its disposal to address these situations. Second, we present and discuss the four major ways to approach the security-development nexus from a policy standpoint: state-building, peace-building, human security, and the responsibility to protect. We argue that these frameworks should not be seen as competing with each other, but as making valuable points to be considered in any development strategy. Third, focusing upon problem-solving dynamics from a qualitative perspective, we explore the twists and turns of the relationship between security and development, highlighting, along the way, some of the unsuspected and unorthodox opportunities for change and reform in dire circumstances.

‘Competing Visions for the European Union Grand Strategy’, *European Foreign Affairs Review*, 2010, 15, 57-76.

What should be the grand strategy of the European Union (EU)? What are the main arguments about the EU’s role in the world which compete in public discourses in Europe? What are their sources and characteristics? The objective of this paper is to identify, clarify and discuss critically four alternative grand strategies for the EU that can be termed: Euro-isolationism, Superpower EU, Euro-Atlanticism, and Civilian power EU. These four grand strategic conceptions underline the policy debates regarding the EU security strategy as well as its implementation. First, I define the notion of grand strategy and I explain its significance for foreign policy-making.

Second, I uncover and discuss the four competing visions for the EU grand strategy.