

SPS in press

This occasional newsletter lists abstracts of recent publications by faculty, fellows, and researchers currently associated with the Department of the Political and Social Sciences of the European University Institute. 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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Alexandre Afonso
Max Weber Fellow

‘The More it Changes, the More it Stays the Same? Liberalisation and Regulatory Reforms in Comparative Perspective’ in Trampusch, Christine and André Mach (eds), *Switzerland in Europe: Continuity and Change in the Swiss Political Economy*, London: Routledge, 2011, 205-223 (with Martino Maggetti and Marie-Christine Fontana).

The wave of liberalization of the last thirty years has implied a shift in states’ functions in the economy from direct interventionism to stronger public supervision and regulation of markets, or to a so-called "regulatory state". This chapter shows how this general trend has taken place in Switzerland. A comparison of different economic sectors – telecom and electricity, banking and finance, labour market opening in the construction sector – shows that despite the opening of markets, traditional patterns of auto-regulation by private actors have been

particularly resilient. Self-organization remains an important characteristic of the Swiss economy, even in era of “regulatory capitalism”.

Lorenzo Bosi
Marie Curie Fellow

‘From "British Rights for British Citizens" to "British Out". Dynamic Social Movement Development in the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Movement, 1960s to 1972’, in Kouki, Hara and Eduardo Romanos (eds), *Protest Beyond Borders*. New York: Berghahn, 2011, 125-139.

The Northern Ireland Civil Rights Movement (hereafter, CRM) between the 1960s and early 1970s shifted from an inclusive, reformist movement to an exclusivist, ethnonationalist one. What is the explanation for such a significant transformation? This chapter seeks to answer the question by looking at the complex interactions of political opportunities/threats and the internal dynamics and competitiveness between

different organizations and groups within the movement. What I am suggesting in this work is that much of the process of social movement development is understandable only by looking at the broader political environment as well as by looking within the movement itself. Seeing social movements as heterogeneous networks that develop interactively over time and through different stages of mobilization, I will then show how shifting political opportunities influence the process of social movement development and how this process is led by the congruence of those mobilizing messages, which best align with the dominant representation of the political environment present at a given stage.

Angelos-Stylianos Chrissyogelos

Researcher

‘Old Ghost in New Sheets: European Populist Parties and Foreign Policy’, *Research Paper*, 2011, Brussels: Centre for European Studies, available online at:

<http://www.thinkingeurope.eu/content.php?hmID=20&smID=34&ssmID=210>

This research paper is about the foreign policy positions of five populist parties of the Right and Left in Western Europe. It focuses on foreign policy, an often ignored dimension of their ideas, classifies Far Left and Far Right parties together and emphasises their common character. Here I assume that radical parties of the Right and Left express similar anxieties about and critiques of modern society, that they use populism in similar ways to advance their otherwise discredited philosophies and that those similarities are reflected in their foreign policy positions. This paper

aims to fill a hole in policy debates by showing that European populism poses a coherent threat to mainstream politics, that foreign policy can be instrumental to the challenge mounted by populist parties against centrist politics and that the impact of those positions is practical and real for European states and the European Union.

Lorenzo De Sio

Jean Monnet Fellow

Competizione e spazio politico. Le elezioni si vincono davvero al centro?, Bologna: Il Mulino, 2011.

The mainstream model for explaining voter behaviour and party strategy is based on the *median voter theorem*, which predicts that parties - in order to win elections - will increasingly advocate more moderate policy choices, so as to eventually become virtually indistinguishable. Yet the model has little predictive power in empirical terms: should it really be empirically adequate, we should always observe centrist parties winning elections, while often elections are won by candidates that have policy positions that are far from those of the median voter, and thus spatially disadvantaged. An alternative model is presented, hypothesizing that voters can systematically make choices in contradiction with their ideological stance, especially when they have a low level of political sophistication, and that this behaviour can be framed in terms of theoretically sound, non-spatial factors. The model, which allows the understanding of apparently counterintuitive results, is tested on survey data concerning twenty elections in Italy, France and the United States, across a thirty-year time span.

Willem Martijn Dekker

Max Weber Fellow

‘The Complexity of Compellence: Revisiting the Causal Logic of Denial’, *Comparative Strategy*, 2010, 29(5), 450-468.

Robert A. Pape’s denial theory forms the best corroborated theory to guide coercive strategy. Denial theory, however, provides a fundamentally flawed causal model because it neglects the complexity of the causal dynamics of compellence on two accounts: it fails to address strategic interaction between opponents and it seeks to provide a univariate explanation for a multicausal phenomenon. To address these two weaknesses, a new theory of grand strategic denial is developed. The implication of this new theory is that it is the target’s grand strategy that must be undermined, not its military strategy per se.

Tamirace Fakhoury

Jean Monnet Fellow

‘Lebanon against the Backdrop of the 2011 Arab Uprisings: Which Revolution in Sight?’, *New Global Studies*, 2011, 5(1), Article 4, DOI: 10.2202/1940-0004.1136, available online at: <http://www.bepress.com/ngs/vol5/iss1/art4>

Lebanon, one of the most highly politicized and divided societies in the Middle East, has watched the 2011 Arab Uprising nervously. Yet its own intricate legacy cross-communal compromise and the porous nature of its society have left it relatively unscathed. However, this could easily change.

Marta Fraile

Jean Monnet Fellow

‘Widening or reducing the knowledge gap? Testing the media effects on political knowledge in Spain (2004-2006)’, *International Journal of Press/Politics*, 2011, 16, 163-184.

This article analyzes the media effects on political knowledge after controlling for the most common factors (motivation, ability, and opportunities) in Spain. In addition, it explores whether the media contribute to increasing the existent knowledge gap in the Spanish polity. The results show that only one medium appears to have significant effects on knowledge: newspapers. An additional finding is that exposure to political information in newspapers does not reinforce the knowledge gap between different socioeconomic groups. Moreover, the relationship between education and knowledge appears to be weaker among heavy newspaper users than among light newspaper users. Interestingly, this result runs contrary to that predicted by the knowledge gap hypothesis and suggests that political institutions should promote increased access to the press for poorly educated citizens, particularly in countries where there is an extremely polarized media system, with a clear political alignment of the main media holdings, such as the case of Spain.

Mark N. Franklin

Professor

‘The legacy of lethargy: How elections to the European Parliament depress turnout’, *Electoral Studies*, 2011, 30(1), 67–76 (with Sara B. Hobolt).

Why has turnout in European Parliament (EP) elections remained so low, despite attempts to expand the Parliament's powers? One possible answer is that because little is at stake in these second-order elections only those with an established habit of voting, acquired in previous national elections, can be counted on to vote. Others argue that low turnout is an indication of apathy or even scepticism towards Europe. This article conducts a critical test of the "little at stake" hypothesis by focusing on a testable implication: that turnout at these elections will be particularly low on the part of voters not yet socialized into habitual voting. This proposition is examined using both time-series cross-section analyses and a regression discontinuity design. Our findings show that EP elections depress turnout as they inculcate habits of non-voting, with long-term implications for political participation in EU member states.

Raul Gomez

Researcher

'Factionalism in Multi-level contexts: When party organization becomes a device', *Party Politics*, 2011 (with Tania Verge), currently available online at: <http://ppq.sagepub.com/content/early/2011/03/19/1354068810389636>

This article provides a dynamic framework through which factionalism can be examined and the circumstances of individual parties compared in multi-level contexts. We discuss the interaction between factionalism and party structure by setting out a model of factional organization dependent on the tolerance of host parties to dissent and

their degree of vertical integration, their combination yielding four possible strategies for opposition factions: centralized, inter-layered, multi-layered and decentralized. We also consider what implications there are for the party's dominant coalition in episodes of high factionalism. These act as a catalyst for the modification of party rules that regulate dissent and vertical distribution of power. The hypotheses developed are tested on four Spanish political parties that differ on the autonomy of regional branches and factions, the competitive position in the party system and factionalism type – more policy or more patronage-oriented.

Adrienne Héritier

Professor

'The New Institutions of Transatlantic Aviation', *Global Policy*, 2011, 2(2), 152-162 (with Yannis Karagiannis).

This article focuses on the institutions of transatlantic aviation since 1945, and aims at extracting from this historical process topical policy implications. Using the methodology of an analytic narrative, we describe and explain the creation of the international cartel institutions in the 1940s, their operation throughout the 1950s and 1960s, their increasing vulnerability in the 1970s and then the progressive liberalisation of the whole system. Our analytic narrative has a natural end, marked by the signing of an Open Skies Agreement between the US and the EU in 2007. We place particular explanatory power on (a) the progressive liberalisation of the US domestic market, and (b) the active role of the European Commission in Europe. More specifically, we explain these developments using two frameworks:

first, a 'political limit pricing' model, which seemed promising, then failed, and then seemed promising again because it failed; second, a strategic bargaining model inspired by Susanne Schmidt's analysis of how the European Commission uses the threat of infringement proceedings to force member governments into line and obtain the sole negotiating power in transatlantic aviation.

Costanza Hermanin

Researcher

'Introduction: how does race 'count' in fighting discrimination in Europe?', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 2011 (with Michele Grigolo and Mathias Möschel), currently available online at:

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/content~db=all~content=a936134888~frm=abslink>

As opposed to the American and British reality, most European countries have adopted a position towards ethno-racial discrimination which could be summarized as attempting to fight 'racism without races'. This piece outlines the consequences of such a position from the normative, legal and political sciences points of view against the backdrop of an increasingly multi-ethnic continental Europe. Using the US as a comparator, the special issue summarizes a range of specific problems that race and ethnicity raise in the European context, such as categorization and discrimination against the Roma. In particular, we analyse whether and how race and ethnicity 'count' in legislation, jurisprudence and policies from the supranational to the local, and in the work of agencies entrusted with

implementing anti-discrimination provisions.

'Counts' in the Italian 'nomad camps': and incautious ethnic census of Roma', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 2011, currently available online at:

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/content~db=all~content=a935881262~frm=abslink>

While in France the possibility of collecting ethnic data led to long-lasting debates, in Italy the government enacted an emergency decree to carry out a census of so-called 'nomad camps' populated mainly by Roma. Starting from this case, this article examines the question of ethnic data collection in Italy. The contribution highlights that in Italy legislative provisions have established a 'promotional framework' for minorities. In contrast with France and its official colour-blindness, the Italian approach also allows for ethnic data collection whenever this is needed for policies in favour of minorities. However, the recent emergency measures applied to the 'nomad camps' in Italy, including a census, were not framed in the context of such positive measures and are thus not easily compatible with anti-discrimination and privacy law. Hence, the Nomad Emergency Decree opened the way for Italy's first experiences of civil rights litigation based on the 'discrimination frame'.

'Nominalization as racialization in the Italian press', *Bulletin of Italian Politics*, 2010, 2(2), 75-94 (with Chris Hanretty).

In this article we discuss the language used by the Italian media to refer to immigrant and other minority groups.

In particular, we focus on one linguistic device commonly used when referring to minorities, namely, the use of nominalised forms of ethnic, nationality or religious-based adjectives, which leads to talk of ‘the Romanian’, ‘the Muslim’, and so on. We show that such nominalisation has recently become the subject of criticism both from courts and from journalists’ associations. We consequently examine a corpus of articles drawn from the two main Italian dailies, *La Repubblica* and *Il Corriere della Sera*, from 1992 onwards. Whilst we find no global trends, we find that some references – to Romanians, Albanians, and ‘islamici’ – have become more nominalised over time, at least in *La Repubblica*. Trends in nominalisation for *Il Corriere* are stable or declining, but start from a higher rate. Based on these results, we argue that *la Repubblica* is catching up with a pattern of prejudicial coverage which is likely to date back to before 1992.

Martin Kohli
Professor

Pension reform in Europe: Politics, policies and outcomes, London: Routledge, New paperback edition, 2011 (co-edited with Camila Arza).

Pension reform has been a top policy priority for European governments in the last decade. Ageing populations, changing labour market patterns and the process of European integration are the ‘irresistible forces’ pushing for reform throughout the region.

The Political Economy of Pension Reform evaluates the political forces that make pension reform viable in different national and institutional contexts and the nature of political

bargains, actors and cleavages surrounding policy change. The volume also examines the nature and outcomes of pension reform experiences in Europe, searching for a solution to the financial challenge posed by growing pension budgets. By addressing the nature of change, the pathways of reform, and the outcomes of the new pension mix in the region, the authors conclude with an analysis of people’s perceptions and attitudes towards pension policy and their acceptance or otherwise of different reform options.

Fertility in the history of the 20th century: Trends, theories, policies, discourses, Special issue of *Historical Social Research*, 2011, 36(2), 1-296 (co-edited with Josef Ehmer and Jens Ehrhardt).

In this special issue, a pluridisciplinary group of scholars discuss the complex interrelationship among fertility trends, population theories, policies and public discourses. Whereas the three former fields have been intensely studied in demography and its neighbouring disciplines, there is still little work on population discourses, and even less that link them to the trends, theories and policies of population. The editors hope to stimulate the scientific debate on this topic, to raise awareness of these interconnections, and to contribute to more theoretical integration. The special issue is organized in three sections: The first one discusses approaches to the study of fertility across historical periods. The second section focuses on discourses and politics and their practical impact on reproductive behaviour. The third section concentrates on recent trends in fertility, mainly in Europe and East Asia.

‘Individualisation and fertility’, in Josef Ehmer, Jens Ehrhardt and Martin Kohli, *Fertility in the history of the 20th century: Trends, theories, policies, discourses*, Special issue of *Historical Social Research*, 2011, 36(2), 35-64 (with Jens Ehrhardt).

In this paper, we discuss individualisation theory as a parsimonious framework concept to describe and explain core points of fertility change in Western societies since the end of the 19th century. We emphasise two dimensions of individualisation: firstly, the increase in status of the individual in cultural, social, economic and legal respects (human dignity); secondly, the increase in autonomy and freedom of choice. In contrast to other approaches based on individualisation theory, we do not use the concept of self-realisation in the sense of an increased orientation towards purely individual interests, not least because this concept has failed before the renewed rise in fertility that has recently been observed in some advanced societies.

Whereas the first demographic transition can be mainly explained by the rising status of children, which increased the costs of parenting and thus changed the interests of (potential) parents to have children, the transition in the 1960s resulted mainly from the rising status of women in education and the labour market. An important but hitherto neglected change was the increasing divorce rates, as the possibility to dissolve a marriage devalued the traditional gender contract of the breadwinner/housewife model and decreased the willingness of women and men to invest in marriage and children.

The contrast between the recently growing fertility rates in Sweden, France and the US with the continuously low fertility in the German-speaking countries can partly be seen as a result of different divorce regimes. Whereas the first group of countries has limited the entitlements to child and spousal support through alimonies, the second group has institutionalised extensive entitlements for mother and child.

Peter Mair
Professor

Representative Government in Modern Europe, London: McGraw-Hill, 5th ed., 2011, xix + 507pp (with Michael Gallagher and Michael Laver).

The countries of modern Europe constitute the world's largest collection of successful capitalist democracies. Yet within Europe, there are distinct clusters of states, each with its own characteristics, historical allegiances and political processes. The fifth edition of this leading textbook on comparative European politics reflects key events and changes in modern Europe including the impact of the world financial and economic crisis, the EU's adoption of the Lisbon Treaty, and the election of centre-right governments in Germany and the UK. Retaining its comprehensive thematic approach to Europe as an integrated whole, while reflecting the continued importance of individual politics, the new edition explores the key themes that now emerge in European politics.

‘Democracies’, in Caramani, Daniele (ed.), *Comparative Politics*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2nd. ed., 2011, 84-101.

Since the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, scholars and institutional designers have become much more interested in understanding how democracies differ from one another. This chapter reviews the reasons for this new concern with comparing democracies, and also looks at the different definitions of democracy, paying particular attention to procedural definitions. Following a brief assessment of the different milestones that were reached on the path towards developing democracy, the chapter reviews the various attempts to model democracies as holistic systems and argues that most efforts in this direction are almost bound to be frustrated. The chapter concludes by looking at the notion of audience democracy as well as at the growing levels of popular dissatisfaction with democracy.

‘Bini Smaghi vs. the Parties: Representative Government and Institutional Constraints.’ *EUI Working Papers*, RSCAS 2011/22, 2011, available online at: <http://hdl.handle.net/1814/16354>

Although it is generally seen as desirable that parties in government are both responsive and responsible, these two characteristics are now in increasing tension with one another. Prudence and consistency in government, as well as accountability, requires that governments conform to external constraints and past legacies, and not just answer to public opinion, and while these external constraints and legacies have grown in weight in recent years, public opinion, in its turn, has become harder and harder for governments to read and process. Meanwhile, because of changes in their organizations and in

their relationship with civil society, parties in government are no longer in a position to bridge or ‘manage’ this gap, or even to persuade voters to accept it as a necessary element in political life. This problem is illustrated by extensive reference to the current fiscal crisis in Ireland, and is also used to question some of the assumptions that are involved in principal-agent treatments of the parliamentary chain of delegation.

Stéphanie Novak

Max Weber Fellow

La prise de décision au Conseil de l’Union européenne. Pratiques du vote et du consensus, Paris: Dalloz, 2011.

The EU Council of ministers, the main legislative institution in the EU, is a notoriously opaque institution. The starting point of this book is the fact that in the Council, when qualified majority voting is the legal rule, ministers seldom actually vote. Instead, according to most studies, they decide “by consensus”. This book addresses two questions: Why do ministers vote so rarely? What does the ambiguous notion of consensus actually refer to? On the basis of interviews with Council members, I attempted to show that the principle of qualified majority is in fact the driving factor in the decision-making process. Each semester, a different member state is in charge of the Presidency and there is an intense competition between member states. In this context, the Presidency does not aim at unanimity because its goal is to get adopted as many laws as possible. Yet the combination of qualified majority, asymmetric information and social norms discourages the minority from expressing its disagreement at several

stages of decision-making. Consequently, most decisions seem to be made without opposition. This method enhances the legislative productivity of the Council but it raises problems of democratic accountability.

Umut Ozkirimli

Fernand Braudel Fellow

‘Pater familias and homo nationalis: Understanding nationalism in the case of Turkey’, *Ethnicities*, 2011, 11, 59-79 (with Pinar Uyan-Semerçi).

The aim of this article is to question, on the basis of the findings of a public opinion survey conducted by the authors in February 2006, the commonsense belief in the recent rise of nationalism in Turkey. Building on a conceptual and theoretical framework that rejects the view of nationalism as a conjunctural force that waxes and wanes in particular historical moments, the article will explore how nationalism is understood by the ‘people on the street’ in order to make sense of what we would describe as the ‘continual’ appeal of nationalism in Turkey. In this context, we will argue that the ‘tidal wave approach’ to nationalism, which treats it as a force hitting on particular occasions, or as a temporary aberration, does scant justice to the pervasiveness of nationalism in contemporary societies, western or non-western, including Turkey. Drawing on Hannah Arendt’s concept of ‘family man’, we will explore the role of family in the production and reproduction of nationalism in Turkey with a view to showing the extent to which nationalism is embedded in the fabric of society, delimiting the boundaries of responsibility and providing a template that lays down the standards of morality.

‘The Changing Nature of Nationalism in Turkey: Actors, Discourses and the Struggle for Hegemony’, in Ayse Kadioglu and E. Fuat Keyman (eds), *Symbiotic Antagonisms: Competing Nationalisms in Turkey*, Salt Lake City: The University of Utah Press, 2010, 82-100.

The aim of this article is to deconstruct the myth of the ‘homogeneous nation’ with particular reference to the case of Turkey. It will do this by drawing together a Gramscian reading of nationalism and the topographical approach of Jean Pierre Faye, and integrating this with the broader debates on nationalism in Turkey. In this context, it will first propose a conceptual and theoretical framework which takes the plural and heterogeneous character of nationalism into account. It will then provide a topography of nationalist discourses in Turkey with a view to throwing light on the dynamics of the ongoing struggle for hegemony over the nation by various social and political forces at the turn of the twenty-first century. This particular reading will place the emphasis on the protean nature of nationalism, and present it as a field of positions in which different and often competing narratives circulate.

Christian Reus-Smit

Professor

‘Struggles for Individual Rights and the Expansion of the International System’, *International Organization*, 2011, 65, 207-242.

We live today in the world’s first universal, multicultural, and multiregional system of sovereign states.

Five centuries ago, emergent sovereign states were confined to Europe and contained within the bounds of Latin Christendom. Through five great waves of expansion this nascent European system globalized. The Westphalian settlement, the independence of Latin America, the Versailles settlement, post-1945 decolonization, and the collapse of the Soviet Union each brought a host of new states into the system. How can we explain these great waves of expansion, each of which saw imperial systems of rule displaced by the now universal form of the sovereign state? After detailing the limits of existing explanations, this article presents a new account of the principal waves of systemic expansion that stresses the importance of subject peoples' struggles for the recognition of individual rights. Empires are hierarchies, the legitimacy of which has been sustained historically by traditional regimes of unequal entitlements—institutional frameworks that allocate individuals of different social status different social powers and entitlements. In the Westphalian, Latin American, and post 1945 waves of expansion, which together produced most of today's sovereign states and gave the system its principal regions, subject peoples embraced local interpretations of new, distinctly modern ideas about individual rights and challenged the traditional distribution of entitlements that undergirded imperial hierarchy. Each wave differed, not the least because different rights were at work: liberty of religious conscience, the right to equal political representation, and after 1945, a compendium of civil and political rights. But in each case a “tipping point” was reached when the imperial system in question proved incapable of accommodating the new rights claims

and subject peoples turned from “voice” to “exit,” and each time the sovereign state was seen as the institutional alternative to empire.

Julian Siegl
Researcher

‘Internal Security Policy’, in Heinelt, Hubert and Michèle Knodt (eds), *Policies within the EU Multi-Level System. Instruments and Strategies of European Governance*, Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2011, 349-369.

The field of EU internal security policy, defined as policies that seek to support member states in the maintenance of law and order and the safeguarding of internal security, has experienced increased dynamics over the last ten years. The book chapter analyses the past developments of the policy area in the former third pillar and examines the new institutional setting under the Treaty of Lisbon. It starts with an overview of the policy instruments applied in EU internal security policy, which is followed by an analysis of the policy process. Sections on agenda-setting, policy formulation and implementation are supplemented by a section on operational cooperation as an important feature in the area of police cooperation. The chapter concludes with an analysis of changes over time in this important field of the EU multi-level system.

Gaby Umbach
Jean Monnet Fellow

Europe Reloaded. Differentiation or Fusion?, Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2011 (co-edited with Udo Diedrichs, Anne Faber and Funda Tekin), available online at:

<http://www.nomos-shop.de/productview.aspx?isbn=9783832961954>

The European Union (EU) has come under pressure from different sides: First, it is undergoing a period of institutional and political reforms which are, however, progressing only slowly. Secondly, its shape is being influenced decisively by the inclusion of new member states. The guiding question of the volume is: In how far may the development of the EU be described and explained in relation to the two competing terms "differentiation" and "fusion"? The term "fusion", coined by Wolfgang Wessels, describes European integration as the dynamic process of more and more political tasks being exercised by the EC/EU as a result of the insufficiency of national capacities to act independently in a time of interdependent problems and structures. However, this development is accompanied by a process of growing institutional and procedural differentiation and complexity of the EU system. Each chapter of the volume analyses the interrelation between the two central dynamics "fusion" and "differentiation" in the EU system. The key terms "differentiation" and "fusion" are thus applied by high-ranking academics from across Europe with regard to European politics, policies and the evolution of the European polity.

Milla Vaha
Researcher

‘Child Soldiers and Killing in Self-Defence: Challenging the "Moral View" on Killing in War’, *Journal of Military Ethics*, 2011, 1(10), 36-51.

According to the so-called Moral View on justified killing in war, mere status as a soldier is not a sufficient condition for a combatant to lose his immunity against not being killed in war. While the traditional theory of war maintains that all soldiers are morally equally liable to be killed, the Moral View stresses that it is moral culpability, not a mere combatant status, that makes one eligible to be killed and hence one must differentiate between morally innocent and non-innocent combatants - from which only the latter category are justifiably killed in war, even in self-defence. In this paper I will challenge the Moral View and its plausibility to the hard cases and will explore if, according to this view, child soldiers are eligible targets in war. Intuitively, children as morally innocent persons should belong to the category of innocent combatants. And yet, an armed child may be as brutal soldier as is his adult colleague. By using an example of child soldiers this paper aims to show certain difficulties of the Moral View compared to the traditional moral symmetry thesis on combatant equality.

Guilherme Vasconcelos Vilaça
Researcher

‘Revisão Constitucional: Ideologia & Vouchers Políticos’, [Constitutional Amendment: Ideology & Political Vouchers] in Nuno Garoupa, Miguel Maduro, José Tavares and Pedro Magalhães (eds), *A Constituição Revista*, Lisboa: Fundação Francisco Manuel dos Santos, 2011, 19-22.

In this article I briefly sketch two ideas regarding a future constitutional amendment in Portugal. First, I propose that we abandon the belief according to

which amending the Constitution (the text) solves all national problems. Instead, I propose we focus our attention on constitutional practice so as to create an “open society of constitutional interpreters”. Second, in order to address some the lack of social trust and the corruption scandals political parties are associated with, I suggest changing the funding system of political life. More precisely, I propose that a voucher system is introduced and political parties compete with civil society associations for public funding. This proposal should also intensify citizens’ control and intervention in political life.

‘The Ashes of Law - Book Review; Franz von Benda-Beckmann, Keebet von Benda-Beckmann and Julia Eckert, Rules of Law and Laws of Ruling: On the Governance of Law, Burlington, Ashgate, 2009’, *European Journal of Legal Studies*, 2010, 3(1), 169-180.

This review essay discusses in detail a recent volume of theoretically informed legal anthropological articles dealing with the intrinsic relationship between law, power and violence in the exercise of governance. The book offers a step forward in legal research by attempting to bridge the gap between legal and social theory. However, the volume is also tributary of the methodological problems that arise with this approach. I focus on several issues. First, and persistently, the lack of an analytical distinction between law/non law makes difficult to understand exactly through which medium is power exercised. Second, in most contributions the normative assumptions underpinning them are not spelled out and/or discussed. Thirdly, most case studies work with insufficiently complex

conceptualizations of society. Fourthly, few essays manage to distinguish between first and second-order problems associated to law. Due to these four methodological shortcomings, the purchase of critical legal anthropology, namely to offer a better understanding of the case studies, is seriously restricted.

Till Weber
Researcher

‘Regierungskoalitionen: Bildung und Dauerhaftigkeit’, [Government Coalitions: Formation and Durability], in Grotz, Florian and Ferdinand Müller-Rommel (eds), *Regierungssysteme in Mittel- und Osteuropa: Die Neuen EU-Staaten im Vergleich*, Wiesbaden: VS, 2011, 194-216 (with Florian Grotz).

The consolidation of representative democracy in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) has advanced considerably since the collapse of the communist regimes two decades ago. But the achievements are still far from satisfactory. One important deficiency concerns the formation of instable government coalitions in the region. Some CEE countries show a record of relatively durable party coalitions in power, but most of them have seen many governments fall before the end of their regular term. To explain the variance in formation and durability, we focus on properties of government coalitions themselves and of the parliamentary party systems. These variables are well known from the Western European literature, and they also explain a good deal of the variance in CEE. However, proper model specification requires several interactions of coalition and party system features, and many of the effects show threshold values that

reward deviations from theoretically “optimal” constellations.

Ina Wiesner

Researcher

‘Budgeting for Defense’, *IP-Global Edition*, March/April 2011, 30-36

(with Anthony Seaboyer).

Germany’s recently resigned defense minister has demanded more efficiency and effectiveness from the Bundeswehr. His sense of urgency, however, comes not from casualties in Afghanistan but from budget pressures. The military can benefit from serious reform, but resources alone should not define the Bundeswehr’s structure and mission.