

SPS in press

This bi-monthly newsletter lists abstracts of recent publications by faculty, fellows, and researchers currently associated with the Department of the Political and Social Sciences of the European University Institute. 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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January 2011

Laura Block
Researcher

‘Mädchen, weißt du, was du da tust? Geschlechtsspezifischer Umgang mit dem Ehegattennachzug’, *WZB Mitteilungen* 129, Berlin: Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung, 2010.

In recent years, more and more academic attention has been devoted to exploring the nexus between gender and migration. One specific migration flow that is heavily imbued with gendered implications is spousal migration: As (changing) gender dynamisms are of paramount importance to structures and norms regarding family and marriage, gender can be assumed to play a crucial role in the context of family and spousal migration policies as well.

Edoardo Bressanelli
Researcher

‘I partiti politici e le elezioni del Parlamento europeo. Un’analisi comparata dei programmi elettorali nell’Europa allargata’, *Polena: Rivista*

Italiana di Analisi Elettorale, 3/2010, 25-46.

While several studies have focused upon voting behaviour and party performance in the context of the European Parliament elections, our knowledge of the party programmatic supply remains limited. According to a widespread perception, given the “second-order” nature of the European Parliament elections, the party manifestos and agendas should reflect national issues and priorities. Historically, due to the limited legislative powers of the European Parliament, the mobilization of the electorate could not but take place upon national issues. Based on the Euromanifestos collected and codified by the Euromanifesto Project, this work seeks to systematically study the saliency of the European Union in the EP election manifestos. In particular, it will address the following questions: what is the relevance of the European issue in party manifestos? Which factors account for the variance in the saliency of Europe? Empirical results indicate that Europe is an important issue in party manifestos and, in particular, for those

parties placed at the right-hand side of the political spectrum, i.e. conservatives and neo-populists.

Laszlo Bruszt
Professor

‘La promozione dello sviluppo dall'esterno. Le agenzie per lo sviluppo locale nell'Europa centrale e orientale’, *Stato e Mercato*, Agosto 2010, Numero 2, 189-218 (with Balazs Vedres).

Decades of increase in external aid programs sparked a wide range of criticisms pointing to misaligned interests, lack of accountability, and the reproduction of developmental traps. The success of development from without is more likely if it generates domestic developmental agency. In this article, we contribute by conceptualizing and measuring dimensions of developmental agency. Our research analyzes the strategic case of European Union regional development programs in Eastern Europe, where this external organization spent nearly a decade on establishing local developmental agency. We collected survey data of 1200 local organizations from two regions in each of Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland. We examine the post-accession position of organizations that participated in pre-accession assistance programs. We test a hypothesis of marginalization in the framework of recentralized developmental governance, and we examine links between patterns of pre-accession involvement and post-accession developmental agency. We identify factors that might make external developmental programs more likely to foster local developmental agency.

Didier Chabanet
Marie Curie Fellow

‘When the Unemployed Challenge the European Union: The European Marches as a Mode of Externalization of Protest’, in Giugni, Marco (ed.), *The Contentious Politics of Unemployment in Europe. Welfare States and Political Opportunities*, Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, England: Palgrave Macmillan, November 2010.

The movement widely known as the European marches against unemployment, job insecurity and social exclusion—first demonstrated its mobilization capacity in Amsterdam on June 14, 1997, when almost 50,000 people turned out against the holding of the European Summit. What made the event even more remarkable was the presence of demonstrators from many countries. Nor was the event’s impact short-lived: in June 1999 marches took place involving some 30,000 people in protests against the European Summit in Cologne. This chapter will first examine the conditions for the emergence of a most unexpected movement. It attempts to show how a small number of entrepreneurs, despite the weak support of the institutional representative frameworks, gave collective and political meaning to the dissatisfaction of the unemployed. We will also show that the movement was able, by means of the “march” format, to make itself visible to the media and, more generally, to public opinion, both of which were then used as resources. We will then identify the strategic duality that permeates the movement, leading to a new mode of Europeanization of action: “the externalization of protest.”

'Transcending Marginalization: The Mobilization of the Unemployed in France, Germany, and Italy in a Comparative Perspective' in Giugni, Marco (ed.), *The Contentious Politics of Unemployment in Europe. Welfare States and Political Opportunities*, Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, England: Palgrave Macmillan, November 2010 (with Simone Baglioni, Britta Baumgarten, and Christian Lahusen).

Mobilization by the unemployed was long considered highly improbable. The obstacles have been abundantly outlined in the literature and related to powerful forces of social and political atomization. However, at least in the light of the recent rise of collective action by the unemployed in Europe, such analyses require substantial qualification. For this reason, we want to engage in a more timely and differentiated analysis of unemployed mobilization, its conditions, structures, and dynamics. For this purpose, we aim to study comparatively the protest waves since the late 1990s in three European countries—France, Germany, and Italy—where the unemployed succeeded in organizing themselves and acting on their own behalf for a significant period of time. Our study is geared primarily to developing explanatory hypotheses and presenting comparative empirical data for a subject that remains understudied in social movement analysis.

Angelos-Stylianos Chryssogelos
Researcher

'Undermining the West from within: European populists, the US and Russia', *European View*, 2010, 9(2), 267-77, available online at

<http://www.springerlink.com/content/81602345m326v617/>

Populist parties of the Right and Left are on the rise in Western Europe, but little has been said about their foreign policy positions. This article outlines the basic elements of the positions of some important radical Right and Left populist parties on transatlantic relations, NATO, European security and EU–Russia relations. An examination of these positions reveals that European populist parties of the Right and Left are united by a common aversion to the ongoing modernisation and liberalisation of society and the economy—and that this aversion is reflected in foreign policies that conceptually and practically challenge the notion of the West.

Pepper D. Culpepper
Professor

Quiet Politics and Business Power: Corporate Control in Europe and Japan. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

Does democracy control business, or does business control democracy? This study of two central areas of corporate governance politics -- how companies are traded and how much managers are paid -- examines this fundamental question. The public rarely pays attention to issues of corporate control, such as the rules governing hostile takeovers. As a result, political parties are largely absent from this domain. Instead, organized managers get to make the rules, quietly drawing on their superior lobbying capacity and the deference of legislators. This "quiet politics," however, gives way to a more conventionally recognizable "noisy

politics" once the public evinces sustained concern about an issue, as the book shows through the changing politics of executive remuneration in France and the US. The answer as to whether or not democracy controls business thus depends on how much attention the voting public pays to political questions.

Eugenio Cusumano
Researcher

'Policy prospects on the regulation of private military and security companies', in Francioni, Francesco and Ronzitti Natalino (eds), *War by Contract: Human Rights, Humanitarian Law, and Private Contractors*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011, 11-36.

Although the private military and security industry (PMSI) does not operate in a complete legal vacuum, its inherently transnational nature makes traditional state regulation insufficient. The governance of private military and security companies (PMSCs) is thus a complex endeavour involving a broader network of actors alongside states, such as international and non-governmental organizations, the industry and its private customers. To unravel the challenges posed by the PMSI, this chapter focuses on three questions. First, it analyzes what to regulate, exploring the activities of PMSCs and the dynamics of the market where they operate. It then concentrates on why the market should be regulated by drawing on the literature on civil-military relations and democratic control over the use of force. Finally, it focuses on how to regulate, analyzing the potential of a combined approach based on legal regulation, market incentives and

strengthened self-regulation, and looking at the challenges and opportunities for regulation at the national, international and EU level.

Lorenzo De Sio
Jean Monnet Fellow

'Quanto sono «scientifiche» le scienze sociali? Una discussione intorno a «Making Social Sciences More Scientific» di Rein Taagepera', *Rivista Italiana di Scienza Politica*, 2010, 40(3), 449-472 (with Maurizio Pisati).

The paper is dedicated to the innovative approach to quantitative modeling - known as "quantitatively predictive logical modeling" - recently introduced by Rein Taagepera in his book *Making Social Sciences More Scientific*. The originality of the approach is first discussed through a comparison with the three main methodological perspectives of contemporary political science: qualitative research; rational-choice modeling; empirically-oriented quantitative research. Secondly, the potential of Taagepera's approach is evaluated with respect to the gnoseological problem of the relationship between concepts and signs. In this regard, the non-linear, theoretically-driven construction of mathematical models advocated by Taagepera could provide a far more accurate operationalization of the conceptual models developed in the social sciences, which often feature non-linear relationships. Finally, the possibility of integrating Taagepera's suggestion with the traditional quantitative approach - based on the generalized linear model - is discussed, by pointing out potential problems and possible solutions.

‘Economic crisis and European elections: an alteration of the electoral cycle?’, *Quaderni di Scienza Politica*, 2010, 17(3), 447-489 (with Guido Legnante).

Based on aggregate election data at the national level, the article explores how the 2009 EP elections - held in the aftermath of a large economic downturn - differ from previous EP elections. Research questions include on the one hand the presence of EU delegitimation effects (lower turnout, protest voting, fragmentation, success of anti-EU parties) and on the other hand the performance of governing parties at the national level. In analytical terms, we consider the "second-order" model by contextualizing the results concerning eight countries in their previous voting history. In the relationship with the closest national elections, the data don't show strong evidence of a substantial increase of abstention nor of protest voting, compared to previous electoral cycles. Although, the 2009 elections confirm long-term trends in instability and fragmentation, and - maybe as an effect of the economic crisis - highlight specific problems for governing parties, including those closer to the end of the national electoral cycle. This appears as an unexpected effect of the 2009 elections, which is also confirmed by survey data.

‘Beyond "position" and "valence". A unified framework for the analysis of political issues’, EUDO (European Union Democracy Observatory) – Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, 83/2010, available online at <http://cadmus.eui.eu/handle/1814/14814>

Starting from a review of models of positional and valence issues, the paper – by tapping into the original definition of valence issue – introduces a classification of issues based on their level of overall, dichotomic agreement. This allows the placement of both positional and valence issues on a same continuum. A second dimension is then introduced, which identifies how much specific issues are over- or under supported within a specific party. A visual classification of issues based on these two dimensions (the AP diagram) is then introduced, highlighting risks and opportunities for a party in campaigning on specific issues. Specific indicators (namely, issue yield) and hypotheses derived from the AP model are tested on survey data from the EU Profiler project, which collected issue profiles of Internet users from the 27 EU Countries before the EP 2009 Elections. The results show that the suggested dimensions and indicators identify a wide cross-country and cross-issue variance. Also, indicators generated by the AP model are powerful predictors of issue saliency, even subsuming traditional Downsian indicators.

Donatella Della Porta

Professor

L'intervista qualitativa, Bari-Roma: Laterza, 2010, ISBN 978-88-420-9469-2.

This is an introduction to main choices to address in different steps of a research that makes use of qualitative interviews. The various chapters address theories and concepts, types of interviews, the interview scheme, the sampling strategies, entering the field, the analysis

of interviews and the writing of the research results.

‘Democrazia: Sfide e opportunità’, *Rivista Italiana di Scienza Politica*, 2010, 40(2), 175-194.

The article reports the opening keynote speech (prolusione) at the Annual Congress of the Società Italiana di Scienza Politica in 2009. It discusses recent challenges and opportunities for democracy, stressing that the empirical scientific analyses on this topic have to address the various existing conceptions and practices of democracy, promoted by different collective actors.

‘Reinventing Europe. Social Movement Activists as Critical Europeanists’, in Teune, Simon (ed.), *The Transnational Condition. Protest Dynamics in an Entangled Europe*, New York: Berghahn, 2010, 113-128.

This chapter reports on results of surveys with activists participating in different editions of the European social forum. It argues that, even though they tend to express strong criticism of the EU political and policy choices, they however elaborate an alternative vision of a "social Europe", or a "Europe from below".

‘Movimenti sociali, terrorismo, istituzioni’, in Lazar, Marc and Marie Anne Matard-Bonucci (eds), *Il libro degli anni di piombo. Storia e memoria del terrorismo italiano*, Milano: Rizzoli, 2010, 175-190.

This chapter presents an analysis of the evolution of left-wing political violence in Italy. It points at the relevance of a relational analysis, that takes into

account the interactions of different actors as well as their construction of the external reality.

Adrienne Héritier
Professor

‘Contested Delegation: The Impact of Co-decision on Comitology’, *West European Politics*, January 2011, 34(1), 145-166 (with Catharine Moury).

This article shows that, for the area of environmental policy, the Commission and the Council have been more willing to rely on extensive delegation after the introduction of co-decision. It also shows that the tendency of these two actors to delegate has followed the ratification of the Amsterdam Treaty - which indicates that the Council and Commission had anticipated their relative loss of power to the EP and rushed to delegate as much as possible before the effective introduction of co-decision. However, the Council was only willing to delegate more to the Commission on condition that it could exert as much control as possible over the procedure by using regulatory committees. These empirical findings confirm a distributive institutionalist argument according to which the Council and the Commission, seeking to maximise their institutional power, would try to circumvent the EP through delegation when the latter's competences in legislation increase. The expectation, also based on this argument, that the EP would react to this behaviour by opposing delegation altogether was not confirmed: the EP, rather than opposing delegation as such, has systematically tried to restrict its scope.

New Modes of Governance in Europe: Governing in the Shadow of Hierarchy, Houndsmill, Basingstoke, Hampshire, Great Britain: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011 (co-edited with Martin Rhodes).

The contributors to this volume define governance as a specific mode of production of norms and public goods created via co-production; where the co-producers transcend different levels in Europe's multi-level polity. These 'new' forms of governance reflect the growing importance of public-private decision networks involving different levels and types of public authority. Such forms incorporate a new style of decision making that is heavily dependent on non-hierarchical and mutually-interdependent relationships along with a novel problem-solving style aimed at building consensus. Based on the research of the EU-6th framework funded research consortium on 'New Modes of Governance in the European Union', this volume explores the roots, execution and applications of the new forms of governance and evaluates their success. It also examines the possible structural consequences of the application of these modes at European and national levels, and their implications for democratic accountability.

'Governing in the Shadow of Hierarchy: New Modes of Governance in Regulation' in Héritier, Adrienne and Martin Rhodes (eds), *New Modes of Governance in Europe: Governing in the Shadow of Hierarchy*, Houndsmill, Basingstoke, Hampshire, Great Britain: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011, 48-73 (with Dirk Lehmkuhl).

In analysing the new modes of governance in regulation in accordance with the guiding questions of the book, the authors first focus on the proximate causes that gave rise to the emergence of new modes (emergence), and second the instruments that are applied and their link to government (execution). They then focus on the development of the new modes of governance over time (evolution). Finally, they turn to the effects of the new modes and evaluate the conditions under which policy is effective with a particular emphasis on the influence of governmental intervention or 'the shadow of hierarchy' (evaluation/effectiveness). Lastly, they consider the structural impact of the new modes on democratic accountability.

'Conclusion: New Modes of Governance: Emergence, Execution, Evolution and Evaluation', in Héritier, Adrienne and Martin Rhodes (eds), *New Modes of Governance in Europe: Governing in the Shadow of Hierarchy*, Houndsmill, Basingstoke, Hampshire, Great Britain: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011, 163-171 (with Martin Rhodes).

The co-authors highlight and compare the most important findings in the book based on the research of the EU-6th framework funded research consortium on 'New Modes of Governance in the European Union'. They summarize them under the four analytic themes of emergence, execution, evolution and evaluation, as set out in the preface.

'New Modes of Governance and Democratic Accountability', *Government and Opposition*, 2011, 46(1), 126-144, ISSN 1477-7053 (with Dirk Lehmkuhl).

This article raises the question of the link between new modes of governance and democratic accountability. Our definition of new modes of governance as modes refers to public policy-making that includes private actors and/or public policy-making by public actors that takes place outside legislative arenas, and which focuses on delimited sectoral or functional areas. We identify three different ways in which new modes of governance can be subjected to democratic control: parliamentary control, multi-stakeholder involvement and control through the public sphere and civil society at large. Building on a number of the illustrative insights from various empirical projects, we find that, in our cases at least, new modes of governance did not have a negative effect on existing patterns of democratic accountability. At the same time, neither multi-stakeholder policies nor the participation of civil society guarantee democratic accountability in the strict sense. We provide some evidence to the effect that, if institutionally linked to democratically elected governmental bodies – meaning, in this context, the European Parliament – it is more likely that negative externalities deriving from public policy-making in functionally segmented arenas of the European Union's multilevel polity will be dealt with in a more systematic way.

Teije Hidde Donker

Researcher

‘Enduring Ambiguity: Sunni Community–Syrian Regime Dynamics’, *Mediterranean Politics*, 2010, 15(3), 435-452.

The paper's central thesis is that authoritarian regimes can benefit from

the presence of domestic (Sunni) civil activism; through a social dynamic that creates an incentive for Sunni activists to actively approach regime actors. The article poses that they thereby imply a subservience to the regime and ascribe authority to it. This dynamic is a result of a social convention that outlines how bargaining, accommodation and coalition management between regime and Sunni actors should evolve. This convention emerges as reaction to the ambiguous nature of state repression vis-à-vis Sunni civil activism.

Henio Hoyo

Researcher

‘Posting nationalism: Postage stamps as carriers of nationalist messages’, in Glass, William and Joan Burbick (eds), *Beyond imagined uniqueness: Nationalisms in contemporary perspectives*, Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars, 2010, 67-92.

Items like coins, banknotes and political posters have been regarded as useful sources for research on the diffusion of nationalist messages. In contrast, postage stamps have been largely ignored for such purpose. My hypothesis is, stamps are “carriers” of an official national imaginary about the history, features, composition and development of the issuing nation. A first section of the paper develops this argument by presenting some key features and paradoxes of stamps, explaining how states manage and intervene in stamp design, and presenting a typology of messages about the nation that can be found on them. A second section will test my arguments by means of both a synchronic and a diachronic comparison. The first uses a sample of stamps issued

by Germany on two contrasting periods (Nazi vs. Federal Republic) to find how the political and ideological changes were presented. The second comparison utilizes a sample of stamps issued by Spain and Mexico to commemorate 500 years of the arrival of Columbus to the American continent. It analyzes if, and how, those stamps offer contrasting visions regarding an episode that is so crucial for the national narratives of each.

Martin Kohli
Professor

‘Social networks’, in Bovenberg, Lans, Arthur Van Soest, and Asghar Zaidi (eds), *Ageing, health and pensions in Europe: An economic and social policy perspective*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010, 141-167 (with Harald Künemund).

Maintaining social connectedness through the transitions of later life (fraught with the potential for isolation) is an important prerequisite for ‘successful ageing’. Despite frequently raised concerns about a lack of social integration of the elderly in modern societies, there is now a broad body of literature that emphasises the ongoing integration of the elderly into family networks and into networks of more general social participation. These networks are crucial for the well being of elderly individuals. They also offer a range of benefits for ageing societies: providing a source of support for persons in need, acting as a focal point for productive activities of the elderly, and serving as catalysts for social participation in community affairs. In this respect, they also contribute to a reduction in public expenditure. Social

networks are thus a key issue for policies that address ageing at both the individual and the societal level.

Autumn Lockwood Payton
Jean Monnet Fellow

‘Dynamics of influence in international politics: The ICC, BIAs, and economic sanctions’, *Journal of Peace Research*, November 2010, 47, 711-721 (with Irfan Nooruddin).

In 2002, the USA asked all countries to sign agreements exempting US citizens from prosecution by the International Criminal Court (ICC) and threatened economic sanctions if they refused. Some countries yielded to this pressure even after ratifying the ICC Statute, while others chose to honor their original commitments. Why were some countries more responsive to US influence than others? This article provides an explanation of state vulnerability to attempts of influence through the lens of economic sanctions. Assessing the success of sanctions is difficult because of the selection bias in the instances of the use of such strategies observed by the researcher. Since all countries were asked to sign such agreements, one can observe exactly which signed, whether sanctions were enforced, and how quickly countries responded to such pressure. Arguments about sources of influence — shared interests, economic and security dependence, and domestic politics — are tested using an original dataset collected on country decisions to sign bilateral immunity agreements (BIAs). The authors find support for some existing explanations, including relative power and the relationship of dependency, while previously held beliefs about alliance and security

relationships appear to be less influential on decisions to ratify BIAs. These findings have implications for existing research programs on economic sanctions, international organizations, and power politics.

Peter Mair
Professor

‘Is Governing Becoming More Contentious?’ in Rosema, Martin et al (eds), *How Democracy Works: Political Representation and Policy Congruence in Modern Societies*, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, Pallas Publications, 2011, 77-86.

For a variety of reasons, political parties in European democracies are now more likely to be judged on how they govern rather than on the substantive policy programmes that they advocate. This is likely to have a number of systemic consequences. First, party competition is now more likely to be bipolar, with voters more likely to be offered a clear choice between Ins and Outs. Second, more votes will be exchanged across the government and opposition divide, with the result that levels of incumbency volatility will be likely to rise. Third, because of its increasing relative importance, the government-opposition dimension will also account for a growing share of the total votes that are in competition. These hypotheses are tested with simple aggregate data on electoral volatility.

Mathieu Petithomme
Researcher

Les Européens face au miroir turc. Les représentations sociales de l’adhésion de la Turquie à l’Union Européenne en perspective comparée, Paris: Michel Houdiard éditeur, décembre 2010.

Les Européens font aujourd’hui face au miroir turc. Taxée par certains de cheval de Troie de l’islam en Europe ou au triomphe d’une « Europe à l’anglaise », l’adhésion de la Turquie à l’UE suscite des controverses sans précédent. Sa volonté d’adhérer à la Communauté européenne remonte pourtant à 1959, se voyant officiellement reconnaître le statut de pays candidat en 1999. Au-delà du processus formel de négociations, l’adhésion turque cristallise tant de stéréotypes à son égard, qu’il semble que le débat réel porte plus sur l’identité de l’Europe, sur ses frontières, sa culture et sur son projet politique que sur la Turquie en elle-même. Cet ouvrage se démarque des travaux se focalisant sur les logiques institutionnelles, en se centrant sur ce qui se joue dans le jeu de miroir entre les Turcs et les Européens. L’étude des attitudes individuelles et des principales figures de discours associées à cette adhésion au sein des presses nationales en France, en Belgique francophone et en Grande-Bretagne, permet de réfuter le présupposé suivant lequel il existerait des arguments objectifs en faveur ou en défaveur de cette adhésion en soulignant la réversibilité des arguments et la centralité de cadrages différenciés en fonction de déterminants sociopolitiques et des configurations nationales du rapport à l’Europe.

‘Framing European Integration in mediated public spheres. An increasing nationalization and contestation of European issues in party political communication?’, *Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science Research*, September 2010, 23(2), 153-168.

This article proposes a claims-making analysis of party political communication over Europe in mediated public spheres in France, Ireland, Great-Britain and Spain between 1993 and 2006. It demonstrates that office-seeking parties and especially the representatives of the executive power generally dominate Europeanized debates. In contrast, peripheral parties and other party actors such as party MPs and extra-parliamentary politicians face significant difficulties to obtain visibility and resonance for their Europeanized frames. The empirical and longitudinal analysis also shows the prevalence of claims directed towards the EU level and of nationalized debates over Europe. Overall, even though critical engagements with Europe have progressed over time, the domination of mainstream parties and party actors in framing European integration and the pro-European consensus between office-seeking parties, nevertheless limit the potential for contestation on European matters.

‘Contestare le politiche europee senza essere (apertamente) euroscettici? La comunicazione politica delle associazioni ATTAC sull’integrazione europea’, *Partecipazione e Conflitto*, August 2010, n° 11, 75-96.

This article uses claims-making analysis to delineate the main features of the

political communication of four Attac associations in France, Switzerland, Italy and Spain. Attac associations are more prompt to address demands towards the European level, than to mediate and present the claims of European actors to their respective national publics. The European Central Bank and the Commission constitute privileged targets, viewed as non-majoritarian institutions far away from citizens’ democratic control. The nature of the discourse of contestation promoted by Attac associations is essentially related to the European policy-making process, but not necessarily to the EU polity in itself, showing that if the “sleeping giant” were to be awakened, if a left/right dimension of competition were to emerge over European politics, social movements inspired by alter-globalization principles might actively be involved in this process of politicisation of European issues at the national level.

‘Le mouvement d’étatisation promu par la minorité arménienne du Haut-Karabagh: la souveraineté imparfaite comme instrument politique de ‘dégel’ du conflit’, *Politique et Sociétés*, août 2010, 29(1), 203-230.

The empirical study of the construction of an autonomous structure of governance by the Armenian minority in Azerbaijan enables to bypass several conventional arguments. Beyond a “frozen” diplomatic conflict, the state-building dynamic of the Nagorno-Karabakh transforms internal equilibriums, which contributes to modify the conditions of conflict resolution. The continuity of the diplomatic status quo leads to widen the gap between the political agreements

negotiated by the protagonists and the actual capacity to implement them on the ground, which opens a favourable structure of opportunity to the emergence of a de facto state. The aim of the autonomous political entity is not to negotiate the division of state powers within the Azerbaijani state, but to exit this state. Conflict resolution does not only depend on external factors, which are combined with internal issues and reinforce the prevalence of the status quo. Thus, the conflict is not “frozen,” the situation on the ground being quite different today from that of the 1994 ceasefire. The force of inertia is first and foremost a political strategy aimed at favouring in practice a policy of the accomplished fact though diplomatically unacceptable, and imposing de jure a sovereignty de facto imperfect.

‘L’État de facto du Kosovo sous tension: Vers la persistance d’une souveraineté imparfaite?’, *Balkanologie. Revue d’études pluridisciplinaires*, août 2010, 12(1), 1-37.

Does the independence of Kosovo imply its sovereignty? By considering how the different constitutive elements of sovereignty are declined in the case of Kosovo, this article proposes to conceptualize it as a de facto state, independent in practice but only benefiting from a partial legitimacy which is as much contested from the inside than from the outside. The territorial control as well as the exercise of the political authority of the new entity remains internally contested given the predominance of an interethnic cleavage, of an objective and subjective partition between communities. The internal denial of moral legitimacy is also supplemented by the absence of

consensual international recognition, which leads Kosovo to be a juridical non identified political object, an independent de facto state without complete sovereignty.

Richard Rose FBA

Visiting Fellow

‘Is there a demand for referendums on Europe?’, Centre for the Study of Public Policy, University of Aberdeen, , SPP 478, 2010 (with Gabriela Borz), available online at www.abdn.ac.uk/cspp/enlargeeurope.shtml

While the desirability of referendums is contested, national referendums on EU issues are a recurring fact. Moreover, the 2009 European Election Study, shows a big majority throughout Europe of those in favour of referendums on EU treaties. This is little related to satisfaction or dissatisfaction with first-order national politics and/or EU politics; civic competence; or national context. Because pro-referendum views are pervasive, a majority favouring the EU integration as well as opponents endorse EU referendums. The conclusion compares the risks of the status quo, with national governments selectively calling referendums, and introducing a pan-European referendum.

‘Inequality in the representation of citizens in the European parliament’, Centre for the Study of Public Policy, University of Aberdeen, SPP 472, 2010 (with Patrick Bernhagen), available online at www.abdn.ac.uk/cspp/enlargeeurope.shtml

Although the European Union is formally committed to the equal representation of its citizens, the Lisbon Treaty commits the European Parliament to allocating seats to member-states by a formula of degressive proportionality that rejects the principle of one person, one vote, one value. The first object here is to evaluate the extent of inequality in representation according to the national residence of EP voters. Secondly, it explains the institutionalization and evolution of institutionalized inequality as a result of path dependence. The third section tests the consequences of degressive proportionality for the number of MEPs of each European Parliament party group and for the allocation of EU funds. Since path-dependent constraints are now under pressure to adapt, the concluding section compares the effect that different alternatives for reform representation would have on inequality in representing European voters and their potential for mobilizing resistance because of deviations from Pareto optimality.

‘Mapping parties across Europe with EU profiler data’, Centre for the Study of Public Policy, University of Aberdeen, SPP 470, 2010 (with Gabriela Borz), available online at www.abdn.ac.uk/cspp/enlargeeurope.shtml

This paper presents a detailed analysis of the positions taken by 156 political parties winning seats in the European Parliament election of 2009. In doing so it makes use of the EU Profiler database, in which parties have been assigned policy positions by researchers at the Robert Schuman Centre of the European University Institute, in dialogue with the parties themselves. Positions on 23

issues differentiate parties on five underlying dimensions: European integration; socio-economic welfare; permissive behaviour; the environment; and immigration. Successive chapters report how parties competing within a country position themselves on these five dimensions and the extent to which national parties in the same European Parliament party group agree on issues.

Jordanka Tomkova

Researcher

‘Toward a “Direct Dialogue”? Evaluation of Public (E)Consultations in the EU Context’, in Valentini, C. and Nesti, G., *Public Communication in the European Union. History, Perspectives and Challenges*. Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2010, 269 -292.

The chapter critically evaluates the participatory utility of public consultations and their more recent e-versions by looking at how the European Commission (EC) and the European Parliament (EP) employ them in practice. The author's findings observe that both European institutions implement various forms of public consultations but tend to favour an editorial style and technical consultations limited to organised expert groups online while more deliberative forms of face-to-face citizen consultations aimed at civic education offline. At the same time, while the EC tends to delegate the implementation of its (in)direct citizen/ public interface to third party intermediaries (NGOs, civic organisations, professional e-networks), the EP offers a more direct interface for ordinary citizens via the petitions instrument. It is less clear, however, the

extent to which citizens' inputs emerging from public consultations initiated by both institutions are effectively internalised to influence EU policy outcomes. The chapter concludes with some thoughts on how to evaluate the participatory utility of public consultations more effectively.

Pascal Vennesson

Professor

'The Future of Political Science', *European Political Science*, 2010, 9, 22-29 (with Jean Blondel).

Political science has developed rapidly in the last half-century, but this has posed at least three serious problems. First, almost no attention has been given to political activity in private bodies: the scope of political analysis is narrowed as a result. Second, the connection between political science and "policy analysis" is wholly unclear which raises the danger that political science may want to cover too much or too little. Third, political science has always been concerned with norms, yet aims to be a science: this is no easy relationship.

Till Weber

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'Cross-Cutting Issues and Party Strategy in the European Union', *Comparative Political Studies*, 2011 (with Craig Parsons), currently available online at <http://cps.sagepub.com/content/early/2011/01/04/0010414010393474>

Has European integration affected national electoral politics beyond the margins? Experts describe its main impact as empowerment of radical voices. Mainstream parties avoid

European Union (EU) issues that divide their left- or right-based organizations; extreme parties attack the EU and the center's silence. But EU issues also generate important dynamics inside mainstream parties. The authors theorize cross-cutting EU issues as an example of a general model of cross-issue interference. Two mechanisms of interference alter party strategizing. When electoral victories have strengthened leaders, cross-cutting issues produce muffling of more recently emerged issues. Divided parties cling to left-right issues and suppress fights over integration. But interference also runs the other way. When leadership is weak, muffling fails and challengers aggravate dissent. Internal fights on newer (EU) issues affect the selection of leadership on older (left-right) issues, generating displacement from electorally competitive positions. The authors document these mechanisms and their generality with mixed methods: pan-European panel analysis and interview-based accounts.