

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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Alexandre Afonso
Max Weber Fellow

‘Policy Concertation, Europeanization and New Political Cleavages: The Case of Switzerland’, *European Journal of Industrial Relations*, 2010, 16(1), 57–72.

This article investigates the impact of Europeanization on corporatist policy concertation by emphasising the mediation of political cleavages. The analysis shows that in Switzerland, Europeanization has tended to strengthen policy concertation on labour market issues related to the EU, whereas this type of policy-making has weakened over strictly domestic social and economic issues. European integration creates divisions within the political right, prompting employers to collaborate with trade unions in order to gather sufficient political support. By contrast, the right is more united over domestic issues, and employers do not need to cooperate with trade unions.

Bahar Baser
Researcher

‘İsveç Dışişleri Bakanı Carl Bildt, Sudan ve Diğerleri...’, [The Swedish Foreign

Minister Carl Bildt, the Sudan Affair and the Others], *ATAUM Bulten*, Ankara University European Union Research Centre, July 2010, 2(22).

The article is about a report that is framed by an umbrella group named the European Coalition on Oil in Sudan (ECOS) which argues that Sudanese troops, attacked and drove away the civilian population in areas where a Swedish oil company could drill for oil. The report claims that the Swedish company, Lundin Oil, was also responsible for the war crimes in Sudan. Swedish Foreign Minister Carl Bildt, who started his role in 2006, was on Lundin's board at the time. The article refers to the debates in Swedish media and political circles that the report caused about Carl Bildt's involvement.

‘Portekiz’de bir tabunun çöküşü’, [The end of a taboo in Portugal: The same-sex marriage law], *ATAUM Bulten*, Ankara University European Union Research Centre, June 2010, 2(21).

This article is about the ratification of same-sex marriage law in Portugal. It analyzes the processes before and after the ratification of the bill by referring to the stances of the

main political parties in Portugal. It also puts emphasis on the public opinion, including the protests and opposition movements.

‘İsveç’te Bile’, [Even in Sweden], *ATAUM Bulten*, Ankara University European Union Research Centre, May 2010, 2(20).

This article is about the rise of an extreme-right wing political party in Sweden. The surveys show that the political party, which is called Swedish Democrats, will have more than 4% of the votes in September 2010 Elections. It caused a big debate in Sweden since a party, which is defined as xenophobic and racist by many, will make it to the parliament. The case is analyzed in the context of Swedish multiculturalism.

‘Stateless Diaspora Groups and their Repertoires of Nationalist Activism in Host Countries’ *Journal of International Relations*, 2010, 8(1) (with Ashok Swain)

This paper examines the trends of long-distance nationalism of the stateless diaspora groups in their homeland politics. The focus is on activism, protest and propaganda repertoires of two stateless diaspora groups: Kurds from Turkey and Sri Lankan Tamils. Both of these diaspora groups come from homelands affected by protracted high- or low scale armed conflict and they show considerable political activism in Europe. By analyzing actions of protest and propaganda ranging from the most extreme cases such as self immolation to simpler ones such as marches, the paper shows how stateless diaspora groups use repertoires of actions to garner attention to their cause by the host country government or public.

Rainer Bauböck
Professor

Diaspora and Transnationalism. Concepts, Theories and Methods, Amsterdam University Press, Amsterdam, July 2010, 352 pages (co-edited with Thomas Faist).

Diaspora and transnationalism are widely used concepts in academic as well as political discourses. Although originally referring to quite different phenomena, they increasingly overlap today. Such inflation of meanings goes hand in hand with a danger of essentialising collective identities. This book therefore analyses diaspora and transnationalism as research perspectives rather than as characteristics of particular social groups. Its contributions focus on conceptual uses, theoretical challenges and methodological innovations in the study of social ties that transcend nation and state boundaries. Bringing together authors from a wide range of fields and approaches in the social sciences, this volume is evidence that studying border-crossing affiliations also requires a crossing of disciplinary boundaries.

Fabrizio Bernardi
Professor

‘Falling at the bottom: Unskilled jobs at entry in the labor market in Spain over time and in a comparative perspective’, *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, 2010, 51(4), 289–307 (with Juan-Ignacio Martínez-Pastor).

This article analyses the risk of occupying an unskilled job for young people in Spain over the last 30 years. In order to study change over time, all of the quarters of the Spanish Labor Force Survey have been used, from the third quarter of 1976 to the third quarter of 2007. The results show that

the likelihood of having an unskilled job has decreased slightly. The main results are: 1) the continuing importance of education in helping avoidance of the worst jobs; 2) greater gender equality; and 3) nationality as a new and significant structuring factor of inequality. We have complemented the in-depth analysis for Spain with a comparative analysis for 24 countries using data from the European Labor Force Survey of 2005. Spain clearly stands out in comparison to the other South European countries in terms of the incidence of unskilled jobs among new entrants into the labour market. This finding brings further support to previous analyses that suggested that Spain might be on divergent trajectory towards post-industrial employment when compared to other Southern European Countries.

‘Female Education and Marriage Dissolution: Is it a Selection Effect?’, *European Sociological Review*, DOI:10.1093/esr/jcq031, available online at www.esr.oxfordjournals.org (with Juan-Ignacio Martínez-Pastor).

Various papers have shown that in countries and cohorts where the rate of divorce is low, women with higher education are more likely to get divorced. However, when divorce becomes more common, the relationship between female education and marriage dissolution changes from being positive to being negative. Our first aim is to investigate whether the reversal in the educational gradient in marital dissolution is also observed in Spain. It is, however, also well known that highly educated women tend to marry less frequently. Highly educated women who do marry are possibly a self-selected group with unobserved characteristics that might also make them less likely to divorce later on. Our second aim is to test whether the reverse in the

educational gradient in marriage dissolution is caused by the stronger self-selection of highly educated women into marriage. We estimate two simultaneous event history models, a continuous-time model for the risk of divorce and a discrete-time model for selection into marriage, allowing for correlation between the two error terms. The results of this novel event history models with sample selection show that the decline in the effect of education on marriage dissolution is a consistent finding, one that is not biased by the self-selection into marriage.

Lorenzo Bosi
Marie Curie Fellow

‘Territoriality And Mobilization: The Civil Rights Campaign In Northern Ireland’, *Mobilization: An International Journal*, 2010, 15(4), 405-424 (with Niall Ó Dochartaigh).

In this article we aim to advance the social movement literature by examining how the concept of territoriality can expand our understanding of the relationship between space and political mobilization. While spatial aspects of social movement mobilization have received increased attention over the last decade, the specifically territorial aspects have been less well explored. Drawing on, and elaborating on, Robert Sack’s (1986) characterization of territoriality as a means to exert power by delimiting area, this article analyses the role of territoriality in the civil rights campaign in Northern Ireland in the late 1960s. The empirical analysis indicates that the territorial boundaries and contexts which were deployed in the course of that mobilization were the source of much of its power. By introducing the concept of territoriality into our studies of collective action, our intent is first, to help explain

how mobilization is interwoven, through agency, with the context in which it takes place; second, to move further away from the a-spatial nature of much of the social movement literature; and third, to broaden the comparative range of case studies in the field of collective action by taking societies with weakly naturalized and actively contested outer boundaries into consideration in our analysis. The article concludes with a discussion of how the concept of territoriality enhances a new reading of our empirical case study and of the theoretical implications of our research for the understanding of mobilization in its relationship to boundaries, both formal and informal, at a variety of scales.

Donatella Della Porta

Professor

‘Paths to February 15 Protest: Social or Political Determinants?’ in Walgrave, Stefaan and Dieter Rucht, (eds), *The World Says No to War. Demonstrations against the War on Iraq*, Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 2010.

On the bases of empirical evidence from a survey on participants to the Global day of action against the war on Iraq (on February 15th 2003) in eight countries, the chapter explains paths of participation on the basis of individual socio-biographical background and ideological values.

‘Sulla sociologia italiana. Un dibattito,’ *Il Mulino*, LIX, 2010, n. 450, 659-662.

This short article comments upon a broad debate on the status of sociology in Italy, locating it in cross-national and cross-disciplinary perspective.

‘Movements sociaux et violence politique,’ Xavier Crettiez and Laurent Mucchielli, *Les*

Violence Politiques en Europe, 2010, Paris, La découverte, 271-292.

Social movement studies and political violence studies have grown quite apart from each other. The chapter summarizes existing research in the field and suggests potential use of concepts and hypotheses developed in social movement studies for the analysis of political violence.

Camilla Devitt

Researcher

‘The migrant worker factor in labour market policy reform’ *European Journal of Industrial Relations*, DOI:10.1177/0959680110375135, September 2010, 16(3), 259-275.

Research on labour market policy reform in Western Europe has given insufficient attention to the ‘migrant worker factor’. Concerns about reduced availability of migrant workers, as well as more traditional concerns regarding labour market competition and socio-cultural integration, can catalyze a shift in labour market policy. I present recent cases of reform in the vocational education and training arena in Ireland and the UK, which were partly stimulated by these concerns. It appears that the ‘migrant worker factor’ contributes to labour market policy reforms which increase the role of the state in the economy.

Costica Dumbrava

Researcher

‘How Illiberal are Citizenship Rules in European Union Countries?’ Working Paper, Series/Report no.: EUI RSCAS; 2010/50; EUDO Citizenship Observatory.

The paper proposes an assessment of citizenship rules in European Union

countries. First, it designs an analytical framework in order to evaluate the rules of political membership from a liberal-democratic perspective. Second, it develops a systematic comparative study of the citizenship rules of the 27 member states of the EU. I argue that a liberal-democratic conception of membership requires certain degrees of inclusiveness as well as exclusiveness. Moreover, liberal-democratic membership can be compatible with both major ideological views on membership – ethno-cultural and civic-territorial. It is not the ethnic or civic ideological conception of the polity that renders the rules of membership illiberal, but their unjustified scope.

Marta Fraile

Jean Monnet Fellow

‘Economic voting in Spain: A 2000 panel test’, *Electoral Studies*, 2010, 29, 210-220 (with Michael Lewis-Beck’).

Considerable research shows the economy matters for voters. But that view has come under attack, with revisionists arguing that it matters little. This dissenting view fits the Spanish case well, where reigning research finds virtually no economic voting exists. We argue against the revisionist view, suggesting that conclusion stems largely from methodological limitations in its supporting cross-sectional survey analyses. Given the causality question these analyses raise, particularly in the context of likely endogeneity, a panel analysis is called for. We examine the most recent available panel survey, from the 2000 general election, estimating fully specified multinomial logit models. We find strong economic effects. Spain appears, after all, to have an electorate capable of holding the government economically accountable, at least in this instance.

Mark N Franklin

Professor

‘Cleavage Research: A Critical Appraisal’ in Zsolt Enyedi and Kevin Deegan-Krause, *The Structure of Political Competition in Western Europe*. Special issue of *West European Politics*, 33(3), 648-58.

This article reviews the subfield of cleavage research – the subfield within which this Special Issue fits. It assesses the strengths and weaknesses of the subfield and characterizes it as (with some shining exceptions) being prone to “weak theorising, loose logic, and/or shaky methodology (sometimes all three at once)”. These three themes are pursued in three separate sections of the article, after which the contents of the Special Issue are themselves assessed in the same terms.

Alexi Gugushvili

Researcher

‘Labour market and poverty in Georgia: Household Budget Survey Analysis’ (in Georgian), *Sakartvelos Ekonomika*, 2010, 8-9 (153), 57-65.

Since 2004 employment and unemployment rates have been deteriorating in Georgia, whereas official figures on absolute poverty rates were not accessible. Therefore, it was not possible, based on existing data, to determine the links between employment and unemployment trends on the one hand and the risk of falling under the poverty line on the other. This paper, based on data from 2005 and 2008 Household Budget Surveys, analyses changes in employment and unemployment rates and their effects on absolute poverty level. The results of the study indicate that in 2005-2008 the drastic worsening of employment and unemployment figures did not have

significant effect on the poverty rate. This can be explained by the low productivity of vanished jobs which could not provide incomes higher than the poverty threshold. At the same time, our analysis suggests that the substantial share of employment reduction was determined by the decrease of working age population which was not reflected in poverty growth. The main implication of these findings is that an effective option to reduce poverty should not be the resurrection of the forgone jobs in unproductive sectors, but rather policies targeted at growth of incomes within the existing employment and measures which can reduce poverty risk among the unemployed.

Henio Hoyo
Researcher

‘Transplant or graft? Hroch and the Mexican patriotic movements’, *Nationalities Papers*, 2010, 38(6), 793 - 812.

In his highly influential work on the “small,” stateless European nations, Hroch seems to assume that patriotic movements have a homogeneous view about the core relations or “ties” that constitute and identify their nations. This assumption seems generally correct for the cases Hroch studies. However, is it correct if applied to the study of those patriotic movements developing in comparatively larger, heterogeneous and underdeveloped societies, comprising several ethnic groups bound together by the colonialist rule of an autocratic empire? I argue that, while the colonial experience can lead to the creation of some ties among the dominated populations, it also affects the way patriotic movements perceive their own nations. As a result, the phase of patriotic agitation can involve diverse movements addressing the

same nation, but each having a particular view on the features and history of it. Such contested patriotic doctrines can lead to very important variations in the political agendas and goals of those movements, especially when they reach the mass phase. To exemplify this, the nineteenth century movements in New Spain/Mexico will be used as an example.

Min-hyung Kim

Jean Monnet Fellow, 2009-2010

‘State Preferences and Institutional Feedback: CAP and European Integration’, *International Political Science Review*, June 2010, 31(3), 323–345.

Through the examination of the interplay between the deepening process of European integration and the domestic politics of EU member states, this article seeks to show how the former affects the latter and ultimately leads to the reshaping of EU members’ preferences over time. The two cases examined here (agricultural policy preference shifts in France and Germany during the MacSharry reform negotiations) illustrate that European integration over time generates institutional feedback in which European policies become not just outputs but also major inputs of the political process of EU member states. The critical factor in this preference change is the domestic policy coalition shift, which is provoked by positive expectations regarding the national benefits to be gained from deeper integration.

Martin Kohli

Professor

Family, kinship and state in contemporary Europe, Vol. 3: Perspectives on theory and policy, Frankfurt/M: Campus (co-edited with Patrick Heady), 2010.

Kinship is at the heart of European society, sharing with the state responsibility for welfare and social reproduction. But the workings of kinship and their connection to state policies remain controversial. Received theories have had to be revised in the light of social and demographic change and accumulating evidence of long-standing cultural differences. With *Family, Kinship and State in Contemporary Europe*, the editors and their collaborators have gathered a three-volume array of historical, sociological, and ethnographic data that examine these issues and introduce readers to the types of kin relationships found around contemporary Europe.

In this volume the authors use network data to measure the extent of mutual assistance between relatives and explore its connection to residence and marriage patterns, intergenerational relationships, gender roles and fertility. They go on to review the findings of the whole study – drawing critically on theories of altruism, reciprocity, cultural continuity and socio-economic change. The book closes with some recommendations for policy.

‘Introduction: Towards a political economy of kinship and welfare.’ in Heady, Patrick, and Martin Kohli (eds), *Family, kinship and state in contemporary Europe, Vol. 3: Perspectives on theory and policy*, Frankfurt/M: Campus, 2010, 15-30 (with Patrick Heady).

This is the third and final volume of our study of the interactions between family, kinship and state in contemporary Europe – based on the findings of KASS, the acronym for an EU-funded research project into Kinship and Social Security. In this volume we develop further some of the themes of the previous volumes before drawing together the threads of the study to derive conclusions that are addressed to

both policy makers and social theorists. In our introductory chapter we review the story of the role of the family in social support so far, describe the design of our study, and show what it contributes to these issues.

‘Linkages among adult family generations: Evidence from comparative survey research.’ in Heady, Patrick, and Martin Kohli (eds), *Family, kinship and state in contemporary Europe, Vol. 3: Perspectives on theory and policy*, Frankfurt/M: Campus, 2010, 195-220 (with Albertini, and Harald Künemund).

Intergenerational family linkages (financial transfers and social support) are one of the key meeting grounds of kinship and social security. Their contribution is important for three pervasive crises of contemporary developed societies. The first is the proliferation of life course risks due to the retrenchment of welfare states and the loss of stability of work and family careers (e.g., unemployment, divorce). Can intergenerational family support compensate for the retreat of the welfare state and act as an informal insurance for life course risks? The second crisis is that of fertility. Can intergenerational support from parents to their adult children help the latter in their parenting (e.g., through financial support or grandparenting), and thus promote the reconciliation of parenthood and employment? The third crisis is that of dependency in very old age. Can the family help bear the burden of eldercare?

‘Implications for policy.’ in Heady, Patrick, and Martin Kohli (eds), *Family, kinship and state in contemporary Europe, Vol. 3: Perspectives on theory and policy*, Frankfurt/M: Campus, 2010, 395-410 (with Patrick Heady).

Public policy with regard to families is partly a matter of doing what families fail to do adequately for themselves, and partly a

matter of setting rules and providing incentives so that families are better able to achieve their goals, or more likely to behave in what policy-makers believe to be a responsible way. Many of these tasks involve help between members of different generations – and so the first aspect of family life that is of concern to public policy is what can be called the generational contract. It refers to the links between generations (and age groups) both in the domain of social security and work as well as in that of the family. The second aspect of concern to public policy is the gender contract. As with the first one, it has a public side that refers to gender relations in work and the welfare state as well as a private one that refers to the partnership relations in the family. The third important aspect is the contract that links everyone, through their kin or in their own right, to the social life of the community as a whole. This is less obvious as an explicit target of public policies but is nevertheless closely associated with gender and generational patterns, and is therefore indirectly shaped by policies aimed at these targets in ways that need to be consciously attended to.

There are thus three implicit social contracts that each person is involved with as a reproduced, (potentially) reproductive and social being. We show that these three contracts are inter-dependent, that they are closely connected to questions of economic organisation and inheritance, that they are encoded in local cultures (including language), and that in modern societies, they are moreover embedded in legal regimes and in public welfare arrangements. Our research has confirmed that these general conclusions apply as much to contemporary European societies as to any others, and has at the same time highlighted the differences among these societies.

‘Age groups and generations: Lines of conflict and potentials for integration’ in Joerg Chet Tremmel (ed.) *A young generation under pressure? The financial*

situation and the "rush hour" of the cohorts 1970-1985 in a generational comparison, Berlin/Heidelberg: Springer, 2010, 169-185.

The ‘social question’ dominating the end of the 19th century was the integration of the industrial workers, in other words, the pacification of class conflict. This was achieved by giving workers some assurance of a stable life course, including the institutionalisation of retirement as a normal stage of life funded through public social security. At the beginning of the 21st century, class conflict seems to be defunct and its place taken over by generational conflict. It emerges from historical watersheds and from economic, demographic and cultural changes that create cleavages between generations.

However, it remains essential to assess the extent of the generational cleavage per se and the extent to which it masks the continued existence of the class cleavage between wealthy and poor (or owners and workers). There are moreover other cleavages that are usually categorized as “new” dimensions of inequality (in distinction to the “old” ones of class), such as those of gender and ethnicity (or “race”).

The extent of economic cleavages among generations or age groups is assessed here by examining relative income positions and poverty rates. How cleavages turn into conflicts depends on the potential for mobilization. Mobilization is assessed by examining political attitudes, participation and voting. The reason for the low salience of generational conflicts so far is the mediating function of political institutions (parties, unions) and of generational relations and transfers in families.

Class cleavages may be especially marked among the elderly, and may thus deepen in aging societies, but the potential for class mobilization seems to

fade away. Generational cleavages may also deepen, not least through the current trends towards welfare state retrenchment. The risk of generational mobilization depends on the continued viability of the mediating institutions in politics and the family.

Friedrich Kratochwil

Professor

The Puzzles of Politics. Inquiries into the Genesis and Transformation of International Relations, Abingdon & NY: Routledge, 2010.

The *Puzzles of Politics* brings together for the first time a collection of his key essays to explain his approach to international relations and how his thinking has developed over the last 30 years. It addresses topical themes and issues central to his work including sovereignty, law, epistemology, boundaries, global governance and world society. The book includes a framing introduction written for this volume in which Kratochwil provides an intellectual biography providing context as well as an introduction to his work. This important volume will be of very strong interest to students and scholars of international relation, political theory and law.

‘El fracaso de la ‘falla de mercado’, vuelta a pensar en bienes ‘públicos’ y ‘privados’ con base en La riqueza de las naciones de Adam Smith y el derecho romano’, *Foro Internacional*, Revista Trimestral Publicada por El Colegio de México, Abril-Junio, 2010, Vol I, núm 2, 422-445.

A la luz de conceptos del derecho romano y de La riqueza de las Naciones, se analiza la diferencia entre bienes “públicos” y “privados”. Se señala que tal dicotomía es errónea en muchos casos. Además, a partir

de una clasificación más amplia de tipos de bienes, se observan diferentes maneras de evitar la llamada “tragedia de los comunes”. Tomando en cuenta los avances tecnológicos y de información, se critica el régimen de derechos de autor en lo que se refiere a bienes intangibles. La razón es que en buena medida dicho régimen parte de conceptos y de premisas inexactas, y no provee de manera efectiva los incentivos para la producción de nuevo conocimiento.

Peter Mair

Professor

‘Two Decades On: How Institutionalized are the Post-Communist Party Systems?’ *EUI Working Paper*, SPS 2010/3 (with Fernando Casal Bértoa).

In a paper published soon after the transition to democracy in East Central Europe, it was suggested that post-communist party systems were expected to be characterized by an unstable and unpredictable structure of competition. Returning to that original hypothesis, this paper attempts to make a first systematic mapping of the patterns of inter-party competition which have characterised post-communist party systems over the past two decades. Because the main arena of inter-party competition (or cooperation) is the competition for government, we analyse here the way in which government is contested by the various political parties, and how such patterns of interaction vary both over time and across fifteen different post-communist polities. This allows us to derive a much clearer sense of the differences between party systems.

Accountability and European Governance. Special issue of *West European Politics*, 2010, 33(5), 929-1164 (co-edited

with Deirdre Curtin and Yannis Papadopoulos).

This special issue of *West European Politics* results from various conferences and workshops held under the auspices of the research programme of the Network of Excellence CONNEX ("Connecting Excellence on European Governance"), funded by the European Union as a core part of Sixth Framework Programme of Research. The problem of accountability in contemporary democracies and at the European level has been one of the major themes developed within the CONNEX research programme, and this special issue treats various ways and contexts in which accountability is seen to matter. Contributors include Mark Bovens, Deirdre Curtin, Christopher Hood, Mathias Koenig-Archibugi, Beate Kohler-Koch, Christopher Lord, Peter Mair, Thomas Meyer, Wolfgang C. Müller, Ed Page, Yannis Papadopoulos, Johannes Pollack, Alexander Trechsel and Anchrit Wille.

'Positioning Accountability in European Governance: an Introduction', *West European Politics*, 2010, 33(5), 929-945 (with Deirdre Curtin and Yannis Papadopoulos).

This paper attempts to position a broad understanding of the notion of accountability within the overall context of the evolving political system of governance in Europe and in particular of the European Union. With accountability at the centre, we consider its relationship to a fairly wide range of other themes in any given political system. This introduction first looks to the concept of accountability as it stands alongside and within other major themes of contemporary political systems. The issue of accountability beyond the national democratic state, is then considered, and in

particular within what Sbragia has termed the 'ecology' of governance. The introduction concludes with summaries of the papers included in the special issue.

Grzegorz Piotrowski

Researcher

'Between the Dissidents and the Regime: Young People by the End of the 1980s in Central and Eastern Europe', *Debatte: Journal of Contemporary Central and Eastern Europe*, 18(2), 145 – 162, available online at: <http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/content~db=all~content=a927353869~frm=titlelink>

The aim of this article is to show the development and the origins of identity-based youth groups in Central and Eastern Europe. The rise of these groups, closely related to subcultures, should be perceived not only as one of the ways of fighting the communist regimes in the region, but also as a criticism of pro-democratic dissidents. The opposition's shift towards neoliberal positions, as well as the elitism of the intellectuals forming the movement, left many people-including the young-aside. The cleavage can be seen not only on the discursive level, but also when speaking of tactics used during protest events.

Jonas Radl

Researcher

'Salida del mercado de trabajo y estratificación social. Los determinantes de la edad de jubilación en España', *Panorama Social*, 2010, vol. 11, 163-180.

El probable retraso de la edad legal de jubilación en España, de 65 a 67 años, plantea diferentes cuestiones, entre las cuales cabe destacar la de cómo afectará

semejante cambio a los diferentes grupos de empleados y asalariados. El análisis que se presenta en este artículo pone de manifiesto la existencia de grupos con diferentes grados de vulnerabilidad ante una reforma consistente en alargar el periodo de la vida laboral. Los profesionales, y en particular los que cuentan con niveles de cualificación más elevados (la 'clase de servicio alta'), se verá previsiblemente menos afectada por el retraso de la edad de jubilación, tanto porque afronta un menor riesgo de expulsión del mercado de trabajo, como porque encuentra en el sistema de pensiones incentivos para alargar su carrera de cotización.

Filipa Raimundo
Researcher

'Political decision-making in the Portuguese State (1933-39): The dictator, the council of ministers and the inner-circle' in Pinto, Antonio Costa (ed), *Ruling elites and decision-making in Fascist-Era Dictatorships*, Boulder and New York, SSM/ Columbia University Press, April 2010, 137-64 (with Estêvão, Nuno; Carvalho, Rita Almeida de).

The chapter analyses the strategies of political centralisation in Portugal during the dictatorship of Oliveira Salazar. It focuses on the council of ministers and its decision-making role, exploring the links between the dictator and his ministers (1933-39). The authors discuss the centralist strategy of the dictator based on a quantitative and qualitative study of António de Oliveira Salazar's diaries: detailed accounts of his routines, audiences, meetings and even telephone calls. The conclusions indicate that Salazar perceived his cabinet to a large extent as a crisis management committee. Meetings occurred irregularly and the agenda was considerably

focused on internal and external crises and major international political events. The study also provides a more accurate notion of the main features of decision-making during the regime's institutionalization, by exploring Salazar's individual relations with his ministers and inner circle. As Salazarism is often compared to its Iberian counterpart, Francoism, important differences between the two regimes in this domain are noted.

'National Report on Portugal', in Carlos Closa, *How the memory of crimes committed by totalitarian regimes is dealt with in the Member States*, European commission Directorate General of Justice, Freedom and Security, June 2010 (with Pinto, Antonio Costa), available at: http://ec.europa.eu/justice/doc_centre/rights/studies/doc_rights_studies_en.htm

This study provides a factual overview of the different measures used in EU Member States in order to deal with the issue of the crimes committed by repressive regimes in Europe. The study does not intend to be an assessment of these regimes nor does it intend to be an evaluation of the measures adopted. It rather aims at exposing a factual overview of the various methods, legislations and practices adopted and used in the Member States to deal with the issue of dealing with the crimes committed by totalitarian regimes. For this aim, the study revises all relevant issues under the following headings: justice for victims; justice for perpetrators, fact finding/truth seeking, archives, symbolic policies and international instruments

Julian Siegl
Researcher

'The Council in the Area of Freedom, Security and Justice' in: Jörg Monar (ed.), *The Institutional Dimension of the*

European Union's Area of Freedom, Security and Justice, Brussels, P.I.E. Peter Lang, 2010, 53-82 (with Hans G. Nilsson).

The Council of the European Union is a key institution for policy-making in the area of freedom, security and justice (AFSJ). In the justice and home affairs (JHA) Council formation, it represents the ambivalence which characterizes EU policy-making in this field. On the one hand, its actions are driven by the need for closer cooperation and integration in the JHA domain. On the other hand, it is in the Council where member states try to defend their competencies regarding core elements of national sovereignty in this sensitive area. This inherent tension between innovation and reluctance turns the JHA Council into the decisive venue for negotiations on the emerging AFSJ.

This chapter analyses the institutional features of the JHA Council, and the interplay of the main actors involved in policy-making within this framework. As this analysis demonstrates, efficient and coherent policy-making in the JHA Council is subject to several institutional challenges, and the changes brought about by the Treaty of Lisbon only partly overcome these challenges.

Nadia Steiber

Marie Curie Fellow

‘Begrenzte Wahl - Gelegenheitsstrukturen und Erwerbsmuster in Paarhaushalten im europäischen Vergleich’, [Limited choice - structures of opportunity and employment patterns in European couple households]. *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie*, 2010, 62(2), 247-276 (with Haas, Barbara).

This article investigates employment patterns in couple households—and in

particular their variability according to the presence and age of children. The aim of the comparative analysis of ten European countries, using data from the European Social Survey (2004/05 and 2006/07), is to explain the pronounced cross-country differences with regard to empirically relevant household employment patterns—focusing on their variability across an ideal-typical family life-cycle. Explanatory factors include the social policy framework (family and tax policies), socio-economic and labor market conditions (wage level, unemployment, the availability of part-time work), as well as national gender cultures (societal ideals regarding gender roles and childcare). The article discusses the relationship between these structural and cultural factors, on the one hand, and actual practices of gendered employment behaviour, on the other. It concludes that, in order to account for the complexity of causal relations, the explanation of gendered employment patterns ought to be country-specific.

‘State of the Art? Advances in Explaining Women's Employment Patterns’, *EUI Working Paper*, MWP 2010/08, 2010 (with Haas, Barbara).

This paper provides a multidisciplinary review of research aimed at explaining the substantial differences in women's employment trajectories that still exist within and across countries. It covers research that emphasises economic and/or normative rationalities in women's employment decisions and work that focuses more on the structural constraints to women's employment. It discusses recent research developments – conceptual and methodological advances – and based on the identification of central research gaps and methodological challenges, it indicates avenues for future research. Finally, the

paper casts a critical view on the ‘explanatory power’ of contemporary research on women’s employment and discusses appropriate research designs for the evaluation of policy effects on women’s employment.

Sven Steinmo

Professor

The Evolution of Modern States: Sweden, Japan and the United States, Cambridge University Press, New York, July 2010.

The Evolution of Modern States contributes to the literatures on political economy, globalization, historical institutionalism, and social science methodology. The book begins with a simple question: Why do rich capitalist democracies respond so differently to the common pressures they face in the early 21st century? Drawing on insights from evolutionary theory, the book challenges the common equilibrium view of politics and economics and argues that modern political economies are best understood as complex adaptive systems. The book examines the political, social and economic history of three different nations-- Sweden, Japan and the U.S. and explains how and why these countries have evolved along such different trajectories over the past century. Bringing together social and economic history, institutionalism, and evolutionary theory, it thus provides a comprehensive explanation for differing responses to globalization as well as a new way of analyzing institutional and social change.

Michaël Tatham

Researcher

‘The evolution of the UK political system in the first decade of the new millennium: comparative and temporal perspectives’, in K. Tournier-Sol (ed), *Le Royaume-Uni dans*

le monde depuis, Revue Babel, n°21, September 2010, 217-253.

This chapter seeks to evaluate the extent to which the UK political system has evolved since the double turning point of 1997 and 2001. Labour, under Blair and Brown, has ruled Britain for longer than any non-Conservative government in the past 100 years. An obvious research question is then to ask what the legacy of New Labour to the British political system is – beyond its domestic policy legacies or its Foreign Policy record. This analysis takes both stock of, and issue with, the literature addressing the question of the evolution of the UK political system. It takes stock by building on the theoretical foundations and findings of previous work. It takes issue by highlighting areas of further change or of disagreement. The first part of the article spells out a general but parsimonious definition of a political system and applies it to the UK. The second part identifies areas of continuity throughout the period under study, while the third part details seven areas of moderate to strong change. The article concludes with the necessary re-definition – and to some extent, indeed, re-invention – of the Westminster Model.

Alexander H. Trechsel

Professor

‘Reflexive Accountability and Direct Democracy’, *West European Politics*, 2010, 33(5), 1050–1064.

The concept of democratic accountability is almost exclusively discussed in the context of representative forms of democracy, and with a strong focus on the electoral realm. This means that a large part of the literature deals with the accountability relationship that exists between political authorities and the electorate, with the former having to

justify their acts to the latter. This paper attempts to shed light on potential connecting points between accountability and direct democracy. When the people have the last word, are the people responsible for the decision taken? And if so, to whom? Both questions are answered in the affirmative: when the people decide, the people are responsible for the decision. And they are responsible, as the highest organ of the state, to themselves. The accountability relationship created in such a situation departs from the classic, vertical vision and is best described as a form of 'reflexive accountability'. It is claimed that for reflexive accountability to fully deploy, provisions for popular initiatives should complement the set of direct democratic institutions.

Anna Triandafyllidou

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Η Μετανάστευση στην Ελλάδα του 21ου αιώνα, [Migration in 21st Century Greece], Athens: Kritiki, in Greek, May 2010 (co-edited with Maroukis, Thanos).

This book discusses in depth migration towards Greece during the last 20 years. It is aimed as both a textbook for undergraduate students but also as a book orienting graduate students and researchers into the study of migration in Greece. The book contextualises migration in Greece in its historical and European framework and discusses how migration policy has developed during the past two decades. The first part of the book presents the migrant population of Greece, its demographic and socio-economic features, discusses critically Greek policy on migration management and migrant integration and pays particular attention to the civic and political participation of migrants in Greek society including issues of naturalisation and

second generation. The second part of the book investigates the most important immigrant groups that live today in the country notably, Albanians (as the largest nationality), Romanians and Bulgarians (who have recently become EU citizens), Ukrainians, Georgians (largest groups after Albanians) and Bangladeshis and Pakistanis (lesser studied groups that have attracted attention in recent years). The above chapters are based on recent empirical research and offer new qualitative and quantitative data and new insights into the question of immigration in Greece.

Irregular Migration in Europe: Myths and Realities, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2010.

The aim of this book is to cast light on the hitherto under-researched albeit much discussed phenomenon of irregular migration in Europe. It seeks to make a contribution to our knowledge on the size and features of the phenomenon, improve our understanding of the dynamics of irregular migration and its links with European society and the European economy. This volume aims to be a general reader on irregular migration in Europe. For this reason, each chapter covering an EU country follows the same structure. In other words, each chapter introduces the general migration context of the country under study, presents the best available evidence on the size of irregular migration in that country and its demographic and socio-economic features (size, demographics, labour market situation, other issues), discusses the main paths in and out of irregular migration status (how policies and labour markets 'create' or 'efface' irregular migration), reviews briefly the political discourse on irregular migration in the country in question and, last but not least, assesses the key issues of the irregular migration phenomenon in that country and

the challenges that lie ahead at the national and European level.

The country-specific chapters are complemented by a chapter that presents and assesses critically the main EU policies on irregular migration. In the concluding chapter we present an overall estimate of the size of irregular migration in Europe and outline the main features of irregular migrant populations. The different pathways for becoming an irregular migrant in Europe are illuminated, as are the main policies dealing with irregular migration at the national level.

Muslims in 21st century Europe: Structural and Cultural Perspectives, London: Routledge, 2010.

This book explores the interaction and integration between native majorities and Muslim minorities in different European countries. Taking into account the internal diversity of both minority and majority populations, it critically analyses the political and institutional responses to the presence of Muslims and how national governments and other stakeholders promote commonality or difference.

It responds to the need for a deeper understanding of the causes of the perceived incompatibility between European liberal democratic societies and their Muslim members. We argue that in order to better understand Muslim minority and native non-Muslim majority claims and needs, we have to look at both structural and cultural factors within each group. We need to look beyond religious affinity to the national, cultural and socioeconomic features of different Muslim communities across Europe as well as their contexts of settlement in their current countries of residence. Furthermore, the book argues that in order to understand Muslim minority-native majority interaction we

need to investigate the discursive processes that organize their relations and positively or negatively highlight commonality and difference.

‘Crossing Over, Heading West and South: Mobility, Citizenship and Employment in the Enlarged Europe’ in G. Menz and A. Cavedes (eds) *The Changing Face of Labour Migration in Europe*, London: Palgrave, 2010 (with Recchi Ettore).

This chapter presents a statistical outline and a qualitative analysis of movements of Central-Eastern Europeans to Western and Southern EU member states in the last 20 years. We look at migrant numbers, duration of stay, and the motivations for relocating. We thus seek to outline the overall pattern of intra-EU mobility between new and old member states. We also investigate the more concrete experiences of those who moved, notably whether they moved legally or without documents, and how (and if) they managed to regularize their status. For this purpose we propose a distinction between three periods of East to West/South migration within the EU, notably the early period during the 1980s when movement was mainly politically motivated, the intermediate period during the 1990s until 2001, and the more recent period since 2001 (when visas began being waived for the citizens of Central-Eastern European countries) encapsulating the accessions of 2004 and 2007. This chapter focuses on the second and third period and discusses the migration status and employment experiences of new intra-European movers and how these have changed over the years. We also briefly discuss their understanding and experience of becoming EU citizens even if this is still a recent and less-studied phenomenon.

‘Controlling Migration in Southern Europe (Part 2) Gate-Keeping Strategies’ Real Instituto Elcano, Madrid, ARI Papers no. 8/2010, available at:

http://www.realinstitutoelcano.org/wps/port al/rielcano_eng/Content?WCM_GLOBAL_CONTEXT=/elcano/elcano_in/zonas_in/ari8-2010

‘Controlling Migration in Southern Europe (Part 1) Fencing Strategies’ Real Instituto Elcano, ARI papers no. 7/2010, available at:

http://www.realinstitutoelcano.org/wps/port al/rielcano_eng/Content?WCM_GLOBAL_CONTEXT=/elcano/Elcano_in/Zonas_in/ARI7-2010

These two papers discuss critically the policies adopted by different countries in southern Europe (Italy, Spain and Greece) for managing irregular migration, with a view to showing that reducing irregular migration cannot be achieved by tougher border controls only. Reducing irregular migration requires a comprehensive migration policy regime that brings together both border controls and lateral enforcement mechanisms, within a country and outside its borders. In order to better analyse regimes for the control of irregular migration, we can make two sets of distinctions that are useful for understanding policy choices (Vogel 2000). The first distinction is to be made between external and internal migration policies: external migration policies are those directed at potential migrants outside the regulating state and at the border, while internal migration policies are those which concern migrants who are already inside the nation’s borders.

‘Οι διακρίσεις στο χώρο της εργασίας και η πρόκληση της μετανάστευσης: η περίπτωση της Ελλάδας’ [Discrimination in the workplace and the challenge of migration;

the case of Greece], στο Χ. Κασίμης Α. Παπαδόπουλος (επ) *Μετανάστευση και Τοπικές Αγορές Εργασίας [Migration and Local Labour Markets]*, Athens: Papazisis, 2010 (with Gropas, Ruby).

This study discusses the Greek anti-discrimination policy and looks at whether and how the European RED Directives have been effectively implemented in Greece. The paper investigates which types of discrimination can be found in the Greek labour market. We also look at public opinion on discrimination in Greece. The paper studies the laws and institutions that are responsible for implementing equality and preventing discrimination in the labour market in particular and discusses their effectiveness so far. We seek to explain the apathy that actually prevails in Greek society despite the fact that discrimination is rife in the labour market. We argue that the reasons for this apathy are on the one hand the weakness of Greek civil society and on the other hand, the institutional framework of both anti discrimination policy implementation (inadequate, lacking funds and independence) and of migration policy (perpetuating the insecurity of status for migrants and their families).

Ina Wiesner

Researcher

‘NCO in Germany: Still a long way to go’, *RUSI Defence Systems*, June 2010, 82-84.

The article discusses how the German Armed Forces are developing network-centric operations (NCO). It explores the special characteristics of the German NCO approach. The article discusses further the multiple problems the German Armed Forces are facing in bringing NCO to life especially in the areas of equipment and military training. The article concludes that

apart from funding problems and a general uneasiness about military affairs in Germany it is the specific German culture of risk avoidance that delays the implementation of NCO.