

# SPS *in press*

This bi-monthly newsletter lists details of recent publications by faculty, fellows, and researchers currently associated with the Department of the Political and Social Sciences of the European University Institute. Full bibliographic details of these and all other publications stemming from the EUI are available at <http://cadmus.eui.eu/dspace/index.jsp>. All publication dates are 2009, unless otherwise noted.

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**Rainer Bauböck**  
Professor

‘Introduction: realignments of citizenship: reassessing rights in the age of plural memberships and multi-level governance’, *Citizenship Studies*, 13 (5): 439-50 (Special Issue: Realignments of Citizenship in Europe, edited by R. Bauböck and V. Guiraudon).

The contributions to this special issue of *Citizenship Studies* generally understand citizenship as referring to a status of equal membership in bounded political communities. This introduction sketches three realignments of citizenship that challenge the common equation between the community of citizens and territorial populations of independent states. First, the imagined co-extensionality of state, nation and people is increasingly challenged by processes of migration and globalization. However, as proposed in Chwaszcza’s contribution to this issue, the unity of the political people may still be needed as a necessary fiction in order to ensure the diachronic continuity of a democratic polity. Second, as discussed in Bauböck’s and Keating’s contributions, the territorial boundaries of citizenship are no longer identical with those of states for two

reasons. External citizens can claim status and rights from outside the territory and territorial devolution has created new spaces for sub-state models of social citizenship. De Witte’s and Guiraudon’s contributions, finally, discuss the tension between norms of equality derived from principles of citizenship and non-discrimination respectively. As we argue in this introduction, the European anti-discrimination legislation has produced complex realignments of the boundary between negative and positive conceptions of liberty and universal and particularistic norms of equality.

‘The Rights and Duties of External Citizenship’, *Citizenship Studies*, 13 (5): 475-99 (Special Issue: Realignments of Citizenship in Europe, edited by R. Bauböck and V. Guiraudon).

What are the rights and obligations of citizens who live outside their country? Political theory has so far focused on immigrants’ access to citizenship in countries of settlement and has had little to say about their relations to their countries of origin. External citizenship is, however, of growing importance for large numbers of migrants as well as for sending states, many of which have dramatically changed

their attitudes towards expatriates. I have proposed a stakeholder criterion for determining who should have claims to external citizenship status and rights. In this article I summarize how this argument applies to the acquisition and loss of citizenship outside a state's territory, to the right to return, to an external franchise, and to citizenship duties of military service, paying taxes and compulsory voting.

'Giustizia globale, libertà di circolazione e cittadinanza democratica', *Politica & Società*, October: 33-64 [Italian translation of 'Global Justice, Freedom of Movement and Democratic Citizenship', *European Journal of Sociology/Archives européennes de sociologie*, 50 (1): 1-31].

The article discusses three liberal arguments about freedom of movement: immigration as a remedy for global injustice in the distribution of opportunities, freedom of movement as an integral aspect of individual autonomy, and immigration control as implied in democratic self-determination and citizenship. The article shows how these apparently irreconcilable stances can be reconstructed as partially overlapping once we realize that liberal citizenship provides not only reasons for closure but entails a bundle of mobility rights and is open for access by migrant stakeholders.

### **Fabrizio Bernardi**

Professor

'Persistent Inequalities? Expansion of Education and Class Inequality in Italy and Spain', *European Sociological Review*, 25(1): 123-38 (with G. Ballarino, M. Requena and H. Schadee).

The paper analyses inequalities in educational outcomes (IEO) by class of family of origin in Italy and Spain for five 10-year cohorts born from 1920 to 1969, using the cumulative logit (ordinal regression) model. In both countries the question is whether, as education expanded, the class IEO's remained stable or

diminished. The dominant view in the 1990s was that, with the exception of a few countries, inequalities persisted. In the current decade the consensus on this is changing, and decreasing class IEO is now more often found. Italy has been given as an example of educational expansion while maintaining class IEO. Spain was not included in previous analyses. The results show clearly that class IEO diminished in Spain as well as in Italy; differences in the timing of expansion and change in IEO can be accounted for through the different institutional settings of the two countries. A more contained reduction of IEO is found in Spain than in Italy.

'Globalizzazione, individualizzazione e morte delle classi sociali: uno studio empirico su 18 paesi Europei' [Globalization, individualization and the death of social classes: an empirical assessment for 18 European countries], *Polis*, XXIII (2): 195-220.

This paper aims to contribute to the debate on the alleged «death» of social class in two ways. First, it critically examines the theoretical arguments that link the globalisation process to changes in patterns of social inequality and class decomposition in advanced Oecd countries. Second, it provides an empirical assessment of the claim of the death of social class for various dimensions of inequality and for a large number of Eu countries. More precisely, this articles focuses on class-based inequalities in self-assessed health, educational attainment, social mobility, risk of unemployment and of having a temporary contract, and on class effects on a non-traditional political behaviour such as political consumerism. The empirical analysis is based on data drawn from the European Social Survey and a recent comparative project on social mobility. The results consistently show that social class is still a powerful factor that affects individual life chances and consumption behaviour. The main conclusion of the article is that the claim that social classes are useless in

interpreting patterns of inequality in advanced societies is largely exaggerated.

### **Dorothee Bohle**

Visiting Fellow

‘Poverty, Inequality, Democracy: East-Central Europe’s Quandary’, *Journal of Democracy*, 20(4): 50-63 (with Béla Greskovits).

The essay analyzes the strategies the ex-socialist states—particularly the ten that belong to the European Union – have adopted to combat the social costs attached to their varied paths towards economic transformation and transnational integration. It summarizes the policies – from standard welfare provisions to public sector employment, education, and subsidized credit programs to boost middle class consumption – by which the ex-socialist states helped their populations cope with the social impact of economic restructuring, and argues that they produce several distinct worlds of post-socialist welfare capitalism. The general comparison is followed by a more detailed analysis of different strategies to maintain social cohesion in Hungary and Latvia. The essay stresses the fragility of the region’s new market-based order, in which attempts at providing social cohesion are recurrently being undermined by severe economic crises.

### **Clara Brandi**

Researcher

‘We the stakeholders: the power of representation beyond borders?’ *Global Justice: Theory Practice Rhetoric* 2/2009, 35-41

The review essay assesses Terry Macdonald’s book *Global Stakeholder Democracy. Power and Representation Beyond Liberal States* (Oxford University Press, 2008). The essay argues that the book contributes decisively to ongoing debates about democracy beyond borders but also poses a number of questions both

in terms of its theoretical dimension and in terms of its practicability. First, while it is in fact relevant to examine whether and how the autonomy of groups of individuals is constrained in the global arena, it is also pertinent to question whether and how the autonomy of states is subject to constraints that are in need of better democratic legitimization. Second, the essay argues that autonomy is not only constrained by the existence of institutional actors but also problematically limited by the very absence of certain institutional frameworks. Moreover, because of its limited practicability, global stakeholder democracy must be combined with aggregative procedures, which causes a significant part of the model to collapse back into indirect democracy via representation at the state level.

### **László Bruszt**

Professor

*The Transnationalization of Economies, States, and Civil Societies*. Springer: New York (edited with R. Holzhaecker).

Two decades after the fall of the Berlin Wall, we are witnessing an ever quickening dissolution of the boundaries between internal and external actors and the critical factors for understanding domestic institutional change. In the transnationalization of the economies of Western and Eastern Europe, international cross-ownership networks are playing a growing, and at times dominant role in domestic economies. These economies are governed by states that are increasingly sharing larger and larger parts of their regulative powers with non-domestic actors. These regulations are contested by civil societies that are increasingly based on networks of interlinked domestic and external NGOs. This is an emerging research agenda extending earlier research on transnationalization, which focused on the supra-national level, and it goes beyond the Europeanization literature that focused on externally induced or imposed change in domestic institutions. This book brings

together in one volume the study of transnationalization in three institutional fields: civil society, state and the economy and extends the research of processes of transnationalization to evolving new democracies and emerging market economies. This book should be of interest to scholars and students in the field of political science, public policy, European studies, and international relations.

‘Three Converging Literatures of Transnationalization and the Varieties of Transnationalization’, in L. Bruszt and R. Holzacker (eds) *The Transnationalization of Economies, States, and Civil Societies*. Springer: New York, pp. 1-23 (with R. Holzacker).

‘Transnational Integration Regimes as Development Programmes’, in L. Bruszt and R. Holzacker (eds) *The Transnationalization of Economies, States, and Civil Societies*. Springer: New York, pp. 23-61 (with G. McDermott)

Transnationalization, Social Integration, and Capitalist Diversity in the East and the South, *Studies in Comparative International Development*, 44 (4):411-434 (with B. Greskovits).

This article analyzes the deep and shallow modes of international integration, semicore, semiperipheral, and peripheral profiles of global insertion, and the presence and absence of transformative state capacity and social cohesion, as interacting dimensions of capitalist diversity in post-socialist Eastern Europe and Latin America. On these grounds, it is argued that Cardoso and Faletto's dependent development paradigm maintains validity. When adapted to the new conditions, their approach is able to capture the overlapping and divergent aspects of capitalist development in both regions. Recent patterns of development demonstrate that although dependency, stemming from the unequal distribution of resources, roles, and opportunities, continues to be an important aspect of the

international division of labor, it ceases to contradict even complex forms of industrialization.

Similarly, notwithstanding the asymmetrical power relationships characterizing them, the new transnational integration regimes allow and sometimes help formation of new nation states with improved regulatory capacities. Finally, dependency does not necessarily undermine domestic social inclusion. Rather, it is up to the democratic competition to strike a balance between the requirements of promising international and socially acceptable domestic integration.

**Andrea Calderaro**  
Researcher

‘The Digital Divide, framing and mapping the phenomenon’, in E. Ferro, Y. Dwivedi, J. Gil-Garcia, M. Williams (eds), *Handbook of Research on Overcoming Digital Divides*. Hershey: IGI Global, pp. 21-39.

This chapter explores the global dimension of the Digital Divide. It frames the concept and maps the status and the causes of the phenomenon today. The first part investigates how the Digital Divide can be measured, framing the question and some of the trends foreseen by scholars on the phenomenon. The second part provides the current status of the Digital Divide, mapping the distribution of the usage of the Internet worldwide with some national indicators and measuring how economic factors cause some of the digital inequalities. The chapter then maps the worldwide unequal distribution of some of the infrastructure of the Internet. By comparing the different measures of the Digital Divide, the chapter finally provides some conclusions on the expectations regarding the trend of the phenomenon.

## **Christine Chwaszcza**

Professor

‘The Unity of the People, and Immigration in Liberal Theory’, *Citizenship Studies*, 13(5): 451-73.

What unites political associations? And what are fair criteria for conceding or denying access to citizenship to potential immigrants? This article argues that the socio-political conditions for the unity of political associations should be distinguished from the merely institutional functions of statehood. Focusing on conditions for the unity of political associations, the article critically examines traditional and contemporary ideas about the unity of the people in liberal political theory. Starting with a brief historical sketch of Hobbes' (states make peoples) and Rousseau's (the people is the state) accounts of the unity of the people, the major argument examines the conditions of democratic unity and especially conditions for the acceptance of majority rule. It will be claimed that democratic unity requires neither cultural nor moral homogeneity but first and foremost compatibility of political attitudes and continuous political dependency. Criteria for access to citizenship, accordingly, should focus on residence requirements and political attitudes, unless preferential treatment of particular groups of immigrants is recommended for other reasons such as history of colonialism or past injustice.

## **Luis De La Calle**

Researcher

‘Domestic Terrorism: The Hidden Side of Political Violence’, *Annual Review of Political Science*, 12: 31-49 (with Ignacio Sánchez-Cuenca).

This article reviews the literature on the onset and dynamics of domestic terrorism, with special emphasis on the interactions between terrorist organizations, the state, and society. Because this literature has often been based on case studies, we seek to impose some structure to its findings.

We challenge the distinction between domestic and international terrorism, which truncates the sample of violence, and we show that the actor-sense of terrorism (violence carried out by underground organizations) is the most appropriate model for causal analysis. Terrorist organizations tend to emerge in developed countries in which the state is able to prevent the loss of control over any part of its territory. Terrorists take advantage of the state's mistakes (when, for example, it is over-repressive or makes ineffective concessions) in order to boost their support. Terrorists cannot survive without some degree of support. Consequently, levels of violence and targets are determined by social constraints.

‘The End of Three Decades of Nationalist Rule: The 2009 Regional Elections in the Basque Country’, *South European Society and Politics*, 14(2): 211-26 (with Ignacio Sánchez-Cuenca).

Regional elections in the Basque Country on 1 March 2009 put an end to three decades of nationalist rule by the PNV. Although the PNV won the elections, the nationalist forces did not get a majority of seats in the Basque Parliament. A new minority government, led by the Socialist party, has been formed with the parliamentary support of the Spanish conservative party. This article analyses these crucial elections, the electoral changes that have taken place with regard to previous ones, and the possible consequences for the vexed issue of terrorism in the near future.

## **Donatella Della Porta**

Professor

*Social Movements in a Globalizing World*. New York: Macmillan, second expanded edition (edited with H. Kriesi and D. Rucht).

The growing interdependence on a global scale constitutes a challenge for both social movements and social movement theory.

This volume, now available in paperback and expanded, aim at adjusting the political process approach to a world in which political opportunities, mobilizing structures, framing processes and collective actions of social movements are no longer confined to national political context. The contributors, leading scholars in social movement studies, discuss various implications of a globalizing world on the mobilization for collective action within national contexts (cross-national diffusion of protest, international opportunities and threats, engagement in two-level games) as well as the creation of transnational mobilizing structures, collective action on supranational issues and the mobilization of social movements in transnational arenas.

*Democracy in Social Movements.*  
Houndsmill: Palgrave (edited volume).

This is the third volume reporting the results of the DEMOS project (Democracy in Movements and the Mobilization of the Society), coordinated by the author. In the last few years, thousands of grass-roots groups, unions, parties, cooperatives, NGOs have converged in what came to be known as the global justice movements. The volume explores how principles and practices of democracy are elaborated and implemented in the global justice movement, both in their internal organization and in experiments of public decision-making. The issue of internal democracy practises is particularly relevant for a multifaceted and heterogeneous movement which, furthermore, has denounced the democratic deficits of decision making processes and stressed the need for radical democratic reforms. The various chapters address these issues within an empirical perspective, investigating the development of new conceptions and practices of democracy. In particular, the volume compares and integrates results of content analysis of documents of about 250 social movement organizations, research on their websites' structure and functioning, and interviews with their representatives.

'Searching the net: Websites' qualities in the Global Justice Movement', *Information, Communication and Society*, 12: 771-92 (with L. Mosca).

Notwithstanding a growing interest in online politics, the analysis of web sites' qualities by social movement organizations (SMOs) has received little attention in social research. In creating their sites, SMOs often underline the capacity of new technologies to involve members and sympathizers in organizational processes and internal decision-making. However, web site design and management implies many choices among various goals, often in reciprocal tension: stressing organizational identity versus opening to the outside; increasing transparency versus reserving some sections to members; informing users versus mobilizing them; widening the debate to people with different opinions versus deepening the discussion in homogeneous groups. In this article, we focus on how the web sites of SMOs are fulfilling Internet potentialities, considering various aspects of their online presence. The empirical research was based on the analysis of 261 web sites of Global Justice Movement (GJM) organizations in six different European countries and at the transnational level. Diverse qualities of SMOs' web sites can be explored empirically, focusing on a series of dimensions such as: information provision, identity building, transparency/accountability, mobilization, and intervention on the digital divide. In our analysis we will use contextual characteristics (level of Internet access, GJM features) and organizational characteristics (structural features, territorial level of action, year of foundation) to explain the different qualities of the web sites.

**Lorenzo De Sio**  
Jean Monnet Fellow

‘The World Crisis and the 2009 European Elections: Business as Usual? An Analysis of the Election Results’, URGE Working Paper 2009/02 (with Guido Legnante).

[http://www.urge.it/files/papers/2\\_wpurge2\\_2009.pdf](http://www.urge.it/files/papers/2_wpurge2_2009.pdf)

The 2009 EP elections took place shortly after the outbreak of an economic crisis. This created expectations for an increase in protest voting, for a success - given the reinforced role of national governments - of parties opposing a further EU integration, and for a decrease in the level of support for governments in office. The paper analyzes the 2009 results in eight EU countries, in comparative perspective with EP and national elections since 1992. The results show that the crisis did not trigger a significant increase of anti-EU voting, while it affected support for governments in office, as shown by an analysis referring to the dynamics of the electoral cycle.

**Jaap Dronkers**  
Professor

‘Introduction to this Special Issue’, *Educational Research and Evaluation*, 15 (4): 323-25 (Special Issue: Cross-national Studies in Student Performance with PISA and TIMSS Data, edited with G. Marks & J. Cresswell).

"Cross-Regional Divorce Risks in Belgium: Culture or Legislative System." *Journal of Divorce & Remarriage* 50 (8): 541-63 (with D. Mortelmans and L. Snoeckx).

This article uses a cross-national research perspective on divorce risks within a single country. We will argue that Belgium as such is an interesting test case in international perspective since it combines - in a quasi experimental setting - a mutual national divorce legislation with different regional cultural traditions. Belgium is divided into a rather catholic northern part

(Flanders) and a secular southern part (Wallonia), respectively referred to as a southern (Spain, Italy) and a northern (Scandinavian) cultural pattern. In this contribution we analyse the effects of different micro-, macro- and interaction-determinants to examine to what extent they can account for the difference in divorce proneness between Flanders and Wallonia. Our results show that the different regional divorce risks can partly be attributed to different regional characteristics concerning cultural and religious traditions.

**Colin Fleming**  
Max Weber Fellow

‘New or Old Wars? Debating a Clausewitzian Future’, *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 32 (2): 213-41.

Over the last eighteen years or so, much of the debate about modern warfare has been about whether it should be described as ‘old’ or ‘new’. However, there has not been a definitive answer as to which best reflects war in the modern world. Increasingly, the alternative arguments are polarized into opposing camps. Indeed, it would be fair to say that there is little in the way of debate at all. By reevaluating the strengths and weaknesses of each argument, this paper aims to reinvigorate that discussion by examining whether changes in the way we understand war are really required. Finding that the ideas are not in fact mutually exclusive, it suggests that future research could benefit from a combined approach.

**Mark Franklin**  
Professor

‘Turning Out or Turning Off: Do Mobilization and Attitudes Account for Turnout Differences Between New and Established Member States at the 2004 EP Elections?’ *European Integration*, 31 (5): 609-26 (with B. Wessels).

How can we understand the low turnout seen in the 2004 European Parliament

elections? One possibility would be that new member states were ‘just different’ either because of the post-communist legacy in some of them or because of an unexplicated ‘low propensity to vote’ in some of those. This article explicates the low propensity to vote in some post-communist countries by means of a general model of turnout that applies also to established EU member states. In this model low turnout is accounted for by party loyalties on the one hand, and affective and instrumental reasons for voting on the other. The latter factors are found to be lacking in European Parliament elections, which can nevertheless see high turnout due to party loyalty or compulsory voting. Where both of these are absent we see particularly low turnout, as we did in five of the new member countries in 2004.

*Elections and Voters.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan (with C. Van Der Eijk).

*Publisher’s note:* This major new text by two leading authorities in the field provides a state-of-the-art assessment of what we know about voting behaviour and the character, consequences and significance of elections in democratic states. It shows how patterns of electoral behaviour have evolved over time and vary across countries.

### **Mayo Fuster Morell**

Researcher

‘Governance of Online Creation Communities Around The Building of Digital Commons’, Readings for the Free Culture Research Workshop, Berkman Center of Internet and Society, Harvard Law School

<http://cyber.law.harvard.edu/fcrw>

In this paper, Mayo Fuster Morell argues that online creation communities (OCCs) are an interesting collective action form from two points of view. OCC are interesting from the point of view of constituting spaces for civic engagement in

the dissemination of alternative information and for participation in the public space which could contribute to enriching public discussion in a representative democracy. And, OCCs are also interesting from the point of view of citizen engagement in the provision of public goods and services based on a commons approach, that is provision of public goods not necessarily linked to the state or other conventional political institutions. Finally, the paper presents the organizational logic and the models of governance of OCCs resulting from a large-N web analysis of cases.

### **Raúl Gómez**

Researcher

‘Faccionalismo e integración vertical en contextos multinivel: El caso del Partido Nacionalista Vasco’ [Factionalism and Vertical Integration in Multilevel Contexts: The Case of the Basque Nationalist Party], *Revista de Sociología*, 92: 97-117 (with Santiago Pérez-Nievas).

So far, both the determinants of party vertical integration and its influence on internal factions are highly understudied. In this article, we focus on the latter, wondering whether and how party rules affect intra-party factions’ strategies. This research represents a first step in a larger research agenda that would imply a wider comparative study. Here, we develop some preliminary theoretical considerations as to the effect that internal rules, and particularly the vertical integration of regional branches, might have on the behaviour of factions. We theorise that in parties where regional branches enjoy high levels of autonomy, opposition factions will display a territorialised strategy, fighting for the control of regions and acting under their umbrella. That, however, might lead to undesirable effects, since the dominant faction could then eventually respond by tightening up vertical integration in order to counteract internal challengers. We therefore conclude that factionalism is an inherently endogenous process and should be studied in a dynamic

way, taking both the actions of the dominant and opposition factions into account. In order to illustrate it all, we show evidence on factional conflict within the Basque Nationalist Party, a case of particularly high levels of intra-party regional autonomy.

### **Takeshi Hieda**

Researcher

‘The Political Economy of Welfare Recalibration: What Determines the State’s Responses to the Emergence of New Social Risks?’, EUI SPS Working Papers, No. 2009/03, Department of Political and Social Sciences, European University Institute, Florence.

This study examines the conditions under which welfare states are likely to adapt their social policies to the transformation of social risk structures under post-industrialization. It argues that in the era of welfare retrenchment, while heterogeneous policy preferences among veto players impede the expansion of new social risk policies, the same institutional characteristics encourage the growth of old social risk policies. This study analyzes the time-series and cross-section data of advanced industrialized democracies from 1980 to 2001 with a fixed-effect model, and reveals that the composition of veto players structures the state’s ability to adjust its social policies to post-industrialization.

### **Henio Hoyo**

Researcher

‘Cuando las ideas se vuelven creencias útiles: el nacionalismo como instrumento político’ [When Ideas Become Useful Beliefs: Nationalism as a Political Instrument], *Foro Internacional*, 49(2): 370-402.

“Nation” and “nationalism” are terms in constant use in both academic literature and political discourse. Nevertheless, the debate on the nature and characteristics of nations

and on types of nationalism continues to the present day. The author suggests that nationalism’s importance and pervasiveness can be explained by distilling three traditions of political thinking –realism, romanticism and messianism, along with notions of popular sovereignty. As a result, nationalism becomes an extremely useful and adaptable political instrument that diverse political actors can use to gain support and legitimacy in pursuing their objectives and interests.

### **Erin Jenne**

Fernand Braudel Fellow

‘How Ethnic Partition Perpetuates Conflict: The Consequences of De Facto Partition in Bosnia and Kosovo’, *Regional and Federal Studies*, 18 (Special Issue - The Paradox of Federalism): 273-89.

This article argues that ethnic partition, rather than resolving ethnic security dilemmas endemic to ethnic civil wars, has the paradoxical effect of reproducing wartime ethnic cleavages in the post-war period. This is because segregating combatant groups into militarily defensible self-governing territories tends to undermine the central government, ensures successive electoral victories of ultra-nationalists, and puts state resources in the hands of ethnic militia leaders who have incentives to perpetuate the conflict. This argument is illustrated in the cases of post-war Bosnia and Kosovo, which show that the unwillingness of the international community to implement the integrationist elements of the peace arrangements has amplified the challenge of rebuilding peaceful state societies today.

‘The International Relations of Ethnic Conflict,’ in M. Midlarsky (ed) *Handbook of War Studies III: The Intrastate Dimension*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, pp. 260-79 (with S. Saideman).

This is a review essay of the recent academic literature on the international dimensions of ethnic conflict, including external intervention into sectarian ethnic war, trans-border diaspora mobilization, and the contagion and diffusion effects of ethnic conflict.

**Mads Jensen**  
Researcher

*Europa-Parlamentet.* Copenhagen: ThomsonReuters (with D. Willumsen and A. Rasmussen).

The increasing importance of the European Parliament within the EU has led to a substantial and growing academic literature on the institution. However, given the international nature of the beast, most of this literature has been written in English and other major European languages. This book is the first introductory text on the European Parliament written in Danish, and seeks to bridge the gap between high-level academic research and mere noting of facts. It looks at all the main functions of the EP, its members, including their backgrounds and their attitudes to their roles, its organisation, and its powers, as well as at the internal politics of the Parliamentary groups

The book was published two weeks before the election to the European-Parliament in Denmark where it feed into the public debate though newspaper articles and electronic information sources.

**Alexia Katsanidou**  
Max Weber Fellow

‘Political Discrimination in the Aftermath of Violence: The Case of the Greek Riots’, Working Paper, Hellenic Observatory, LSE (with D. Hugh-Jones and G. Riener).

We examine discrimination against outgroups in the context of the December 2008 riots in Greece after the killing of a 15-year-old student by a special police agent. We examine students’ allocations

between themselves and others, including police, in modified Dictator games, allowing us to test theories of discrimination on behavior with real payoff consequences. Treatments examined the effect of in-group norms and environmental cues on discrimination. We find that cues in the environment increase discrimination. However, contrary to existing research, in-group norms do not increase discrimination. We also correlate discrimination with attitudes towards the riots themselves, providing a laboratory test of the “frame alignment” theory of mobilization. Laboratory behaviour was correlated with self-reported participation in demonstrations, supporting the external validity of our measure.

**Michael Keating**  
Professor

*The Independence of Scotland: Self-Government and the Shifting Politics of Union.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

After three hundred years, the Anglo-Scottish Union is in serious difficulty. This is not because of a profound cultural divide between England and Scotland but because recent decades have seen the rebuilding of Scotland as a political community while the ideology and practices of the old unionism have atrophied. Yet while Britishness is in decline, it has not been replaced by a dominant ideology of Scottish independence. Rather Scots are looking to renegotiate union to find a new place in the Isles, in Europe and in the world. There are few legal, constitutional or political obstacles to Scottish independence, but an independent Scotland would need to forge a new social and economic project as a small nation in the global market-place, and there has been little serious thinking about the implications of this. Short of independence, there is a range of constitutional options for renegotiating the Union to allow more Scottish self-government on the lines that public opinion seems to favour. The limits are posed not by constitutional principles but by the

unwillingness of English opinion to abandon their unitary conception of the state. The end of the United Kingdom may be provoked, not by Scottish nationalism but by English unionism.

‘The Territorialisation of interest representation: The Response of Groups to Devolution’, in B. Seyd and J. Curtice (eds), *Has Devolution Worked? The Verdict from Policy Makers and the Public*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, pp. 44-67.

Devolution represents a change in the level of policy making. Whether interest representation and policy communities have also changed level is an empirical question. An examination of interest articulation in Scotland and North-East England shows that the stronger institutions of devolved government in Scotland have tied interest groups more closely into the emerging Scottish system. In North East England, the boundary is weaker, allowing key groups to opt out of the regional arena and by-pass regional institutions. The policy agenda in Scotland is broader, which both draws more interest groups into the policy process and encourages inter-sectoral compromises.

‘Devolution in the United Kingdom’ *Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern World*.

Devolution is a peculiarly British term for a particular form of political decentralization. It provides for a second level of government below the state corresponding to the component nations and regions. These are more than municipal governments in that they take powers down from the center; but devolution is less than federalism in that Parliament retains the right to take powers back and change the settlement unilaterally. It is also asymmetrical in providing for limited self-government for part of the state while keeping the rest under direct central rule. In this way, it is intended to reconcile the reality of a multinational and asymmetrical union (in which the demand for

decentralization comes only from the periphery) with the principle of parliamentary sovereignty. Opponents, from the nineteenth century (such as the academic A.V. Dicey) to the twentieth (such as the politician Tam Dalyell) have argued that this synthesis is contradictory and that both unitary government and secession are more logical, but by the early twentieth century it had come to command agreement across the political class.

‘Devolution’, *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography*.

Devolution is the decentralization of power to lower regional and local levels of government. It is a response to the needs of planning, state modernization, democratization and the management of national diversity. There are different models: administrative; functional; corporatist; and multifunctional and elected. Key issues are: the constitutional status of devolved governments; the division of competences; financial powers; intergovernmental relations; and the relationships with international and European politics. Devolved systems of government are in permanent evolution, with some moving towards federalism and others reverting to centralization.

‘Globalization, European Integration and the Nationalities Question’, in S. Bernstein and W. Coleman (eds), *Unsettled Legitimacy: Political Community, Power, and Authority in a Global Era*. University of British Columbia Press, pp. 230-49 (with J. McGarry and M. Moore).

This chapter examines the dynamic interrelationships between globalization, legitimacy, and a diverse set of struggles for political autonomy by nationalist movements without states. In particular, it focuses on the relationship between the process of European integration and the nationalities question. It shows that the opening of European political space encourages national self-expression but also provides a number of institutional,

policy and normative mechanisms to manage it.

‘European Devolution’, in M. Flinders et al. (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of British Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 423-40.

Devolution is a peculiarly British term introduced in the nineteenth century to resolve a problem that is characteristically (but not uniquely) British. This is how to reconcile national diversity with unity, and how to grant territorial autonomy while retaining a unitary state. It is this that chiefly distinguishes devolution from federalism, in which there are constitutional limitations on both levels of government and the centre cannot change the system without the consent of the constituent parts. Rather than drawing a sharp distinction among federalism, devolution and local government, it makes sense to see devolution as an intermediate form of territorial self-government, covering a fairly broad spectrum and overlapping with federalism at one end and municipal government at the other. The term devolution can be applied more widely in Europe to the emerging level of government between the centre and the municipal level, sometimes called the ‘meso’. Such a level of government has now emerged in all the large states of the European Union (France, Italy, Spain, the United Kingdom and Poland) as well as in Belgium and, in a rather attenuated form, Hungary and the Czech Republic.

### **Martin Kohli**

Professor

*Altern: Familie, Zivilgesellschaft, Politik (Altern in Deutschland, Bd. 8)*. Stuttgart: Wissenschaftliche Verlagsgesellschaft (edited with J. Kocka and W. Streeck).

Der vorliegende Band versammelt Beiträge, die die Konsequenzen des demographischen Wandels für Familie, Zivilgesellschaft und Politik behandeln. Sie fragen danach, was in diesen Bereichen an

Anpassungen notwendig und möglich ist, um die Chancen des längeren Lebens – der durch gestiegene Lebenserwartung gewonnenen Jahre – zu nutzen und den Herausforderungen des demographischen Alterns gewachsen zu sein. Die meisten der Beiträge wurden auf einer Tagung vorgelegt, die die „Akademiengruppe Altern in Deutschland“ unter Leitung der Herausgeber dieses Bandes vom 31. Januar bis zum 2. Februar 2008 in Dresden-Radebeul veranstaltet hat. Für die Veröffentlichung wurden sie überarbeitet und ergänzt.

Familie, Zivilgesellschaft und Politik werden in diesem Band auf dem Hintergrund der Fragestellungen und Hypothesen thematisiert, die die „Akademiengruppe Altern in Deutschland“ mit dem Ziel einer Empfehlung für die Öffentlichkeit in den Jahren 2006 bis 2008 bearbeitet hat. Die Akademiengruppe geht davon aus, dass der historisch präzedenzlose Zugewinn an durchschnittlicher Lebenszeit – mehr als dreißig Jahre im Laufe des 20. Jahrhunderts – ein großes Potential noch unausgeschöpfter Möglichkeiten darstellt. Er bietet für die Gestaltung der einzelnen Lebensläufe, für das Zusammenleben der Generationen und für die Zukunftsfähigkeit der Gesellschaft große Chancen, die aber derzeit nicht hinreichend realisiert werden können, weil wir uns in den dominanten Einstellungen zu Lebenslauf, Altern und Alter wie im praktischen Umgang mit ihnen von institutionellen, sozialen und kulturellen Ordnungen leiten lassen, die mittlerweile anachronistisch geworden sind. Sie entstanden in zurückliegenden Jahrzehnten und Jahrhunderten, als noch ganz andere demographische Bedingungen herrschten. Sie überleben als eingeschliffene Gewohnheiten, als Bilder in den Köpfen, auch als Regeln des Zusammenlebens, obwohl sie zu den heutigen demographischen Möglichkeiten nicht mehr passen und deren Realisierung erschweren.

‘Familiale Generationenbeziehungen im Wohlfahrtsstaat’, in J. Kocka, M. Kohli,

and W. Streeck (eds) *Altern: Familie, Zivilgesellschaft, Politik (Altern in Deutschland, Bd. 8)*. Stuttgart: Wissenschaftliche Verlagsgesellschaft, pp. 93-115.

Der Beitrag fragt nach der wechselseitigen Unterstützung zwischen den Generationen und nach den Interventionen, die für deren Förderung mit Rücksicht auf die modernisierten Familienverhältnisse erforderlich sind. Er kann auf breiter Datenbasis zeigen, dass notwendige Pflegeleistungen für Ältere in der Regel in der Familie geleistet werden, meistens von Gatten und (Schwieger-)Kindern. Diese und andere Unterstützungsleistungen sind in einem spezifischen wirtschaftlichen und sozialpolitischen Umfeld gewachsen. Jede Veränderung im Umfeld kann Auswirkungen auf das System des intergenerationellen Austausches insgesamt haben und demzufolge komplexe Wechselwirkungen auslösen, die bei Reformen zu antizipieren und in Rechnung zu stellen sind. Um potentielle Veränderungen in der Nutzung familiärer Ressourcen abzuschätzen, ist es erforderlich, wie hier eine gesellschaftsvergleichende Perspektive einzunehmen.

'Ungleichheit, Konflikt und Integration: Anmerkungen zur Bedeutung des Generationenkonzepts in der Soziologie', in H. Künemund and M. Szydlik (eds) *Generationen: Multidisziplinäre Perspektiven*. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, pp. 229-36.

'Age groups and generations: Lines of conflict and potentials for integration', *Intergenerational Justice Review* 9: 66-71.

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.

'The social connectedness of older Europeans: Patterns, dynamics and contexts', *Journal of European Social Policy* 19: 327-340 (with K. Hank, and H. Künemund).

Maintaining social connectedness through the transitions of later life, with their potential for isolation, is an important prerequisite for 'successful ageing'. Social relationships of various kinds have been shown to buffer the effects of spousal

bereavement, to reduce mortality risks, or to serve as a social protection mechanism. Despite frequently raised concerns about a lack of social integration of older people in modern societies, there is now a broad body of findings which emphasize the ongoing integration of elders into family relationships and into networks of social participation.

This article shows that the population aged 50 or older is socially connected in several ways. The various dimensions of social connectedness turn out to be complementary rather than substitutive. Our longitudinal analysis reveals that the dynamics of formal and informal social relations as well as family relations tend to be driven by individuals' resources and needs. While the associations between elders' social connectedness and individual characteristics are very similar across countries, we find significant variation regarding the levels and the dynamics of social connectedness.

**Sara Konoe**

Max Weber Fellow

'Financial Crises, Politics and Financial Sector Restructuring: A Comparison between Japan and the United States', *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 44 (5): 497–515.

This article analyzes and compares the financial sector restructuring process after the financial crises in Japan and the United States. As these financial crises deepened, countries shifted their policies away from postponing financial sector restructuring toward more thorough reforms. The impacts of different political structures are examined through the Small-N Case Study method. Cases include: the bursting of the financial bubble in the 1990s in Japan and the Savings and Loan crisis in the 1980s in the USA, both of which are analyzed through a review of academic literature, journalistic writings, and statistical data from the World Wide Web.

**Friedrich Kratochwil**

Professor

'Towards a post-secular political order?', *European Political Science Review* 1(3): 317-40 (with Mariano Barbato).

The 'return of religion' as a social phenomenon has aroused at least three different debates, with the first being the 'clash of civilizations', the second criticizing 'modernity', and the third focusing on the public/private distinction. This article uses Habermas' idea of a post-secular society as a prism through which we examine the return of religion and impact on secularization. In doing so, we attempt to understand the new role of religion as a challenger of the liberal projects following the decline of communism. Against this background, section four focuses on Habermas's central arguments in his proposal for a post-secular society. We claim that the *problematique* in Habermas's analysis must be placed within the wider framework of an emerging global public sphere. In this context we examine the problem of religion's place in political process and the two readings of Habermas as suggested by Simone Chambers.

**Peter Mair**

Professor

'The British Party System: A Comparative Perspective', in M. Flinders et al (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of British Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 283-301.

This paper deals with the nature and dynamic of the British party system and looks at how it shapes up when viewed from a comparative perspective. The British party system is one of the oldest in the world, and at a certain level it still remains one of the most stable and predictable party systems. At the same time, the two individual parties that lie at the core of this system have become substantially weaker in recent years, while the system itself faces challenges from the

alternative structures of competition in what is an increasingly multi-level polity. The British party system is in this sense increasingly vulnerable, and possibly stands at the cusp of a dramatic change. That said, in the British case perhaps more than in all others, any change at all is likely to be seen as dramatic, in that the system itself has now endured far beyond the normal life expectancy of most party systems.

'Representative versus Responsible Government', MPIfG Working Paper 09/8. Cologne: Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies.

<http://www.mpifg.de/pu/workpap/wp09-8.pdf>

The changing circumstances in which parties compete in contemporary democracies, coupled with the changing circumstances in which governments now govern, have led to a widening of the traditional gap between responsive and responsible government. Although it is generally seen as desirable that parties in government are both responsive and responsible, these two characteristics are now becoming increasingly incompatible. Prudence and consistency in government, as well as accountability, requires conforming to external constraints and legacies, and not just answering to public opinion, and while these external constraints and legacies have grown in weight in recent years, public opinion, in its turn, has become harder and harder for governments to read. Hence the growing incompatibility. Meanwhile, because of changes in their organizations and in their relationship with civil society, parties are no longer in a position to bridge or 'manage' this gap, or even to persuade voters to accept it as a necessary element in political life. This growing incompatibility has become one of the principal sources of the democratic malaise which confronts many western democracies today.

## **Jeppe Dørup Olese**

Researcher

'Policymaking without policy choice, *Journal of Public Policy*', 29 (3): 347-69.

Policymaking and policy outcomes are not necessarily the result of a carefully designed process but can result from intertwined political and institutional dynamics that are often difficult to predict from the outset. This article examines such a policy process, the dramatic rise in the uptake of private health insurance (PHI) in Denmark. In a comprehensive welfare state, founded on the principle of universalism, its success is puzzling. The explanation suggested here is that the rise in PHI is an example of policymaking without policy choice. The article reviews the intended and unintended effects concerning equality in health care and public finance. It also notes that the introduction of a private alternative to the universal health care system has not weakened the support for the public services.

## **Grzegorz Piotrowski**

Researcher

'Marginalizacja ruchu alterglobalistycznego na podstawie relacji prasowych z protestów w Pradze i Warszawie' [Marginalisation of the alterglobalist movement: analysis of press coverages of protests in Prague and Warsaw] *Przegląd Anarchistyczny* 9: 171-82.

The article analyses press coverages of the two main alterglobalist events in Central and Eastern Europe: street riots that accompanied the meeting of International Monetary Fund and World Bank in Prague in September 2000 and the counter-summit that was organised together with the European Economic Forum in Warsaw in April 2004. By looking at the way the movement is presented the questions that are asked are: how did the image of the movement changed over time, how it was

positioned within the public sphere (especially in contrast to the actors of the civil society) and what frames were used to picture the movement.

### **Pedro Riera**

Researcher

‘Non Bis in Idem: Split-Ticket Voting in Mixed Electoral Systems. The Cases of New Zealand in 1999 and 2002’, *Revista Española de Ciencia Política* 20: 97-123.

Campbell and Miller’s seminal paper in 1957 examines the causes of split-ticket voting for the first time. The increasing implementation of mixed-member electoral systems during the late nineties allows us to test the explanatory capacity of the theories that have traditionally sought to elucidate the determinants of this behaviour in a different institutional context. The article focuses on the 1999 and 2002 New Zealand general elections and takes as main independent variables the prospective and retrospective mechanisms of voting. The paper concludes that in countries with this kind of institutional arrangements bad feelings about the candidates (either in the constituency or in the party list), and bad judgements about the performance of national or local incumbents have an impact on the probability of casting a split-ticket vote.

‘Anexo II: Informe sobre la Reforma del Sistema Electoral’ [Appendix 2: Report on the Reform of the Electoral System], in F. Llorente and P. Campos (eds), *El informe del Consejo de Estado sobre la reforma electoral [The Report of the Council of State on the electoral reform]*. Madrid: Consejo de Estado y Centro de Estudios Políticos y Constitucionales (with José Ramón Montero)

After the 2008 election, the Spanish *Consejo de Estado* commissioned to the authors of the chapter to bring in a Report on the Electoral Reform in Spain. The conclusions of this Report were planned to help the Spanish Parliament to decide

whether the electoral system that has been used since the transition to democracy should be kept or not. First of all, Montero and Riera examine the different elements of the current electoral system in Spain, and its impact on the party system size during the last thirty years. They summarize then the proposals on the issue of electoral reform that have been formulated by the four main national parties. In third place, the authors run a long series of simulations where they show how the allocation of seats would change if parties passed a more permissive electoral system. One of the main conclusions in the chapter is that the Socialist Party and the Popular Party, whose consent is necessary in order to implement any kind of change of the electoral system, do not have incentives to do it. For this reason, electoral reform is highly unlikely in Spain.

### **Miriam Ronzoni**

Max Weber Visiting Fellow

The Global Order: A Case of Background Injustice? A Practice-dependent Approach’, *Philosophy & Public Affairs*, 37(3): 229-56.

The article argues that a case for the transfer of some sovereign powers from the national to the supranational (and possibly global) level can be made without challenging the political prominence of states, let alone their central role in the administration of socio-economic justice among their citizens. Drawing on Rawls’s concept of background justice, I make the case that what is relevant about states from the point of view of social justice is their problem-solving capacity in making sure that their citizens and residents interact and cooperate under terms that are fair and mutually acceptable. I then argue that some of the socio-economic and political phenomena that normally go under the label of globalization threaten the problem-solving capacity of states, and that only supranational institutions can re-establish it. Thus, a case for a moderate form of cosmopolitanism can be made out of

concern for, rather than disregard of, states; through supranational regulation of the relevant kind, states regain their problem-solving capacity, thus giving up some of their *formal* sovereignty in exchange for more *effective* sovereignty. The paper concludes by briefly analyzing three phenomena that threaten the problem-solving capacity of states and that can plausibly only be tackled by supranational regulatory institutions: international tax competition, escalating trade tariffs, and company relocations.

### **Nadia Steiber**

Max Weber Fellow

‘Ideals or Compromises? The Attitude-Behaviour Relationship in Mothers’ Employment’, *Socio-Economic Review*, 7 (4): 639-68 (with B. Haas).

This article addresses the marked variations in women's employment that exist within and across countries, with a specific focus on mothers of children below school-going age. Using comparative survey data for 26 countries, it investigates the determinants of maternal employment behaviour with women's attitudes as important predictors, alongside cost-benefit considerations and the influence of national context factors. Results show that mothers' personal care attitudes are significantly related to their paid work involvement. Yet, multilevel analyses reveal cross-country differences in the predictive power of such attitudes. Stressing that neither women's choices nor their attitudes can in fact be taken as expressions of what their personal ideals are, observed attitude-behaviour relations are interpreted as the result of two underlying processes—the selection of behaviours based on attitudes and the adaptation of attitudes to match the chosen behaviour.

‘Reported Levels of Time-Based and Strain-Based Conflict between Work and Family Roles in Europe: A Multilevel Approach’, *Social Indicators Research*, 93 (3): 469-488.

What are the determinants of the subjective experience of conflict between work and family roles among dual-earner couples in Europe? Taking a demands-and-resources approach, this study investigates the individual and macro-level factors that generate perceptions of negative spill-over from work to family. Comparative survey data for 23 countries come from Round 2 of the European Social Survey. The empirical results support theoretical arguments for a conceptual distinction between time- and strain-based work-family conflicts. The findings also reveal important sex differences in the ways that perceptions of conflict are generated. Moreover, the results from multilevel analyses suggest that the experience of work-family conflict among dual-earner couples is only weakly moderated by institutional or cultural effects.

‘In Search of Gender Differences in Access to Continuing Training: Is There a Gender Gap and If Yes, Why?’ WZB Discussion Paper No. SP I 2009-504, Social Science Research Center Berlin (WZB) (with M. Dieckhoff).

Gender differences in access to continuing training are often argued to be a central cause of persisting gender inequalities in occupational attainment. Yet, existing empirical work has presented rather mixed evidence regarding a potential gender gap. With the aim to gain a better understanding of the mechanisms underlying training participation, this paper carries out an empirical test of the central theoretical models commonly used to explain the (alleged) gender gap. Using data from the European Social Survey, we find that working men are more likely to train than working women, controlling for worker and job characteristics.

Moreover, common theoretical approaches to understanding gendered training behaviour show some explanatory power for male workers, while they largely fail to predict women's training incidence.

## **Sven Steinmo**

Professor

‘The End of the Strong State?’, in I. Martin, A. Mehrotra and M. Prasad (eds), *The New Fiscal Sociology: Taxation in Comparative and Historical Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 119-37 (with E. Ide).

In this chapter, we explain how and why did Japan went from being a country of remarkable fiscal discipline and balanced budgets to a country known for spiraling debt and skyrocketing public deficits? Why, indeed, is it so difficult to get Japanese taxpayers to consent to higher taxes? We submit that the answer to this question lies in the specific policy choices made by successive Japanese governments in the 1990s. During the so-called "Lost Decade," Japan faced both political and economic crises in the 1990s. During these years, the government made the budget situation significantly worse by pursuing neo-liberal fiscal policy that disproportionately benefited wealthy taxpayers. Much like the tax policies followed during the Reagan and George W. Bush administrations, these policies indirectly but significantly undermined citizens' confidence in their government. Consequently, the public has been deeply skeptical of the government's subsequent arguments that increases in taxes were necessary to balance the budget or fund the growing demands of Japan's nascent welfare state.

## **Maarit Ströbele**

Researcher

‘The Democratic Legitimacy of Urban Planning Procedures: Public Private Partnerships in Turin and Zurich’, CIS Working Paper No. 45/2009, the Center for Comparative and International Studies, ETH Zurich and University of Zurich.

Many European cities are faced with the task of transforming former industrial zones into new residential and commercial

neighbourhoods. Such urban planning processes frequently include both public and private sector actors in decision making. Furthermore, they often give way to controversial public debates about the design and uses of the urban environment as well as the planning procedures.

The paper examines democratic legitimacy of decision making in urban planning processes since the 1990s. Its aim is to contribute to the research on governance and democracy at the municipal level. The study consists of a qualitative comparison of two recent conversions of former industrial sites into new urban neighbourhoods in Zurich (Switzerland) and Turin (Italy), taking theoretical approaches from the fields of urban governance and democratic legitimisation of decision-making processes.

The two cases of so-called public private partnerships show similarities in decision-making procedures, notwithstanding different institutional contexts. The phases of planning and construction included citizen participation and deliberative instruments. However, neither the democratic legitimacy of the decision making processes nor of the actors involved was always assured. Consequently, non-classical means of civic political participation (petitions, lobbying) were applied to influence planning decisions, especially where no institutional means for citizen involvement in urban planning such as local referendums were possible.

The research shows that the increase in civic participation and the problems with democratic legitimacy in governance processes are not only typical of this rather common problem in urban policy making; the two phenomena are connected to a more general change in many fields of local policy making which involves the participation of private companies as well as citizens.

## Alexander Trechsel

Professor

‘Internet Voting in Comparative Perspective: The Case of Estonia, *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 42(3): 497-505 (with Michael Alvarez and Thad Hall).

Several countries have conducted Internet voting trials in binding public elections over the past decade, including Switzerland, the United Kingdom, and the United States. However, Estonia—a former Soviet republic and now a full member of the European Union—has advanced the farthest in deploying Internet voting. In this article, we focus on how the Estonians have systematically addressed the legal and technical considerations required to make Internet voting a functioning voting platform, as well as the political and cultural framework that promoted this innovation. Using data from our own qualitative and quantitative studies of the Estonian experience, we consider who voted over the Internet in these elections, and the political implications of the voting platform.

## Syuzanna Vasilyan

Visiting Researcher

‘The Integration Crisis in the Netherlands: the Causes and the New Policy Measures’, in D. Dolejsiova and M. A. García López (eds), *European Citizenship – in the Process of Construction: Challenges for Citizenship, Citizenship Education and Democratic Practice in Europe*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe Publishing, pp. 56-72.

The Netherlands has been known as the most open and tolerant European country where immigrants belonging to different ethnic groups, religious confession and sexual orientation could find a safe haven. However, over the past years, this image has been shattered. This chapter combines theory, practice and policy in order to reveal the reasons, nature and dynamics of the integration ‘crisis’ in the Netherlands,

which is closely tied to the ‘immigration’ issue. The study, firstly, retrieves the factors from political psychology, institutional political science and the micro-theory of securitization and tests them against the case-study – the Netherlands. While showing that each and every one of them are relevant, it claims that no complete understanding of the Dutch ‘crisis’ can be achieved unless the factors are combined. Secondly, it zooms out the newly devised/revised Dutch policy measures per public domain and assesses them by stipulating on their implications and trends. It suggests that if the Dutch government does not adopt an integrated approach the intended positive actions might become replete with negative consequences. Lastly, the chapter provides policy advice, which could be transferable to other European countries experiencing a similar integration ‘crisis’.

‘The EU's ambitious regionalization of the South Caucasus’, in P. De Lombaerde and M. Schulz (eds), *The EU and World Regionalism: The Makability of Regions in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*. Aldershot: Ashgate, pp. 205-21.

The South Caucasus, which comprises three states of Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia, represents a potential ‘region’, which has persisted mainly through political discourse. In the meantime, the European Union (EU), together with its member-states, governmental and non-governmental agencies, is one of the most active proponents of regionalizing the South Caucasus. This chapter scrutinizes the instruments that the EU has employed to make the South Caucasus a ‘region’. Retrospectively, on the EU side, it differentiates between the technical TACIS regional cooperation initiatives and the political Partnership and Cooperation Agreements (PCAs). The current state of regionalization in the face of the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) is scrutinized by distilling the nano, micro and macro levels. Regionalization - as an external policy endeavour - is juxtaposed with

regionalism – as an internal one - by looking at the region-making attempts on the part of the South Caucasian state and non-state actors and offering an insight into the flip-side of the policy. Ultimately, the chapter ponders prospective region-making. It proposes to the EU to sustain regionalization but include its own intra-regional actors in the policy and mainstream it. It is contended that this would ensure proportionality between regionalization and regionalism rendering the policy more effective.

‘Het Oostelijk Partnerschap van de EU: Oud Cadeau in Nieuwe Verpakking’ [The Eastern Partnership of the EU: An Old Gift in a New Package], *Internationale Spectator*, 63 (4): 192-6 (with F. De Ville and V. Reynaert).

The article examines the new external policy initiative of the European Union (EU) towards its eastern neighbors, i.e. the Eastern Partnership. The idea for the Partnership, which was launched in early May 2009 in Prague was put forward by Sweden and Poland as a trade-off for the upgrade of the EU’s relations with the southern Mediterranean neighbors within the framework of the Union for the Mediterranean.

It is suggested that the Eastern Partnership does not add much new to the existing framework of relations between the EU and its neighbors as already shaped in the European Neighborhood Policy, the new proposal may have serious consequences for relations with other neighbors, in particular, Russia. Since Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine lie within the Russian traditional sphere of influence, the launching of the Eastern Partnership can raise new tensions in the already strenuous relationship between the EU and Russia. Above all, it is still unclear what the ultimate objective of the relations between the Union and its eastern neighbors is: full membership or an alternative. The Eastern Partnership primarily reveals the lack of the EU’s internal coherence with respect to its

external policy and of the strategic thinking behind it.

**Till Weber**  
Researcher

‘When the cat is away the mice will play: Why elections to the European Parliament are about Europe after all’, *Politique Européenne*, 28: 53-71.

Elections to the European Parliament (EP) are only nominally about Europe. Domestic concerns, and not the future of the integration process, dominate the public agenda even in these EU-wide contests. This is at least the conclusion one could draw from 30 years of research on “second-order elections”. In recent years, however, scholars have begun to contest the second-order paradigm; voting behavior in EP elections seems to reflect a mixture of domestic and “European” concerns. Here I try to show that such a compromise solution misses the very point behind the second-order argument. Even if “Europe” often matters for voting behavior, the degree of this influence depends on the dynamics of domestic party competition. I provide evidence that approaching elections to national parliaments remove preferences on integration from the vote function. National governments as the decisive actors in the European Council are still elected in European vacuo. By contrast, attention to the integration process appears to be highest in midterm elections to the EP that is not entitled to intervene in matters of institutional design. Reasons for this apparent paradox are discussed.

‘Koalitionsstrukturen und Koalitionsstabilität in Mittel- und Osteuropa: Ein internationaler Vergleich’ [Coalition structures and coalition stability in Central and Eastern Europe: An international comparison], in K. Schrenk and M. Soldner (eds) *Analyse Demokratischer Regierungssysteme*, Wiesbaden: VS, pp. 525-43 (with F. Grotz).

The consolidation of representative democracy in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) has advanced considerably since the collapse of the communist regimes almost two decades ago. But the achievements are still far from satisfactory. One important deficiency concerns the instability of government coalitions in the region. Some CEE countries show a record of relatively durable party coalitions in power, but most of them have seen many governments fall before the end of their regular term. To explain this variance, we focus on the internal structures of party coalitions. Three independent variables are considered: format (the number of parties in government), type (minority, majority or surplus majority), and heterogeneity (the degree of ideological conflict between coalition partners). These variables are well known from the Western European literature, and they also explain a good deal of the variance in CEE. However, the standard hypothesis of stability in small, homogeneous coalitions is not supported. Instead, we find surplus majority status and internal complexity to increase the life expectancy of a government up to a certain threshold. While narrow alliances run a higher risk of being wiped out under the condition of ongoing party system change, broader coalitions dispose of a buffer against unpredictable events.

**Ina Wiesner**  
Researcher

‘Vernetzte Sicherheit und Knowledge Development’ [Comprehensive Approach and Knowledge Development], *Europäische Sicherheit*, 58 (8): 34-6.

This article describes 'knowledge development' (KD) - a new support tool for military operational planning that integrates military and non-military theatre information. KD has been developed mainly by the Transformation Centre of the German Armed Forces and will be introduced into NATO Headquarters in 2010. Yet despite this success at the alliance level KD in Germany is widely

unrecognized or neglected by ministries and state agencies at the national level. The article goes on to explain the reasons for this neglect and offers pragmatic solutions to finally allow for KD to become a success within the German state as well.

**David Munck Willemssen**  
Researcher

*Europa-Parlamentet*. Copenhagen: ThomsonReuters (with M. Jensen and A. Rasmussen).

The increasing importance of the European Parliament within the EU has led to a substantial and growing academic literature on the institution. However, given the international nature of the beast, most of this literature has been written in English and other major European languages. This book is the first introductory text on the European Parliament written in Danish, and seeks to bridge the gap between high-level academic research and mere noting of facts. It looks at all the main functions of the EP, its members, including their backgrounds and their attitudes to their roles, its organisation, and its powers, as well as at the internal politics of the Parliamentary groups.

The book was published two weeks before the election to the European-Parliament in Denmark where it feed into the public debate though newspaper articles and electronic information sources.