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.

Editor: Mihai Varga, Max Weber Fellow
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Birgit Apitzsch
Max Weber Fellow

Institutional actors at the regional or local level increasingly see the development of the creative industry sector as a means of improving local competitiveness. However, research on relations between institutions and local development barely considers the interaction between policies and a sectoral logic of work organization and labor-market functioning. On the basis of qualitative research on the locally clustered media sector in Cologne, Germany, we argue that a sectoral logic which relies strongly on the use of networks can hinder or ‘convert’ the course of policies aimed at improving the skill supply, and thereby produce unintended effects.

Bahar Baser
Researcher


Lorenzo Bosi
Research Fellow

(with Donatella della Porta) “Percorsi di micro-mobilitazione verso la lotta armata,

Johan Christensen
Researcher


New Zealand moved further in neo-liberal tax reform than most other advanced economies over the last three decades. The article investigates this extreme case to address the question of what explains major neo-liberal economic reform. Comparing tax policy-making in two periods, the 1980s and 2008–10, we argue that neo-liberal tax reform in New Zealand is best understood as the product of “autonomous bureaucratic action”. That is, bureaucratic organisations within the state independently formulated the goals and ideas for reform, took an activist role in policy-making and strongly influenced the policy preferences of ministers. Moreover, responding to a criticism often raised against state-centred theories, we offer an explicit explanation of bureaucratic preferences. We argue that bureaucratic goals and ideas were a product of how particular structural features of the bureaucracy – organisation and training – made ministries more or less receptive to new ideas within the economics discipline.

Luc Fransen
Jean Monnet Fellow


How effective are multinational companies at improving working conditions in their supply chains? This book focuses on a crucial dynamic in private efforts at regulating labor standards in international production chains. It addresses questions regarding the quality of rules (Are existing efforts to privately regulate labor standards credible?) as well as business demand for private regulation (To what extent are different types of regulation adopted by companies?). This volume seeks to understand the underlying issue of whether private regulation can be both stringent and popular with firms. The study analyzes the nature and origins of, the business demand for and the competition between all relevant private regulatory organizations focusing on clothing production. The argument of the book focuses on the interaction between activists and firms, in consensual (developing and governing private regulatory organizations) and in contentious forms (activists exerting pressure on firms). The book describes and explains an emerging divide in the effort to regulate working conditions in clothing production between a larger cluster of less stringent and a smaller cluster of more stringent private regulatory organizations and their supporters. The analysis is based on original data, adopting both comparative case study and inferential statistical methods to explain developments in apparel, retail and sportswear sectors.


A variety of innovative institutional forms have emerged within the context of voluntary attempts to address pressing
social and environmental issues. Among such institutions, the prevailing wisdom is that those characterized as encompassing multi-stakeholder governance are generally seen as having greater legitimacy than other forms of voluntary action, and such institutions have proliferated as a result. At the same time, business-driven programmes that exclude societal stakeholder groups are believed to be increasingly emerging as competitors to multi-stakeholder-governed programmes. This paper explores the relationship between these two trends and, in particular, highlights the potential for competition between multi-stakeholder and business-driven programmes to lead to a diverse range of outcomes which are shaped by legitimation politics. This perspective emphasizes the open-ended and contingent nature of voluntary programme interactions and the importance of strategy and choice of voluntary programmes and their participants in shaping the institutional design of programmes. Drawing upon a review of prior research and an in-depth case study of business-driven voluntary programmes within the European multi-product retail industry, the study shows that one key implication of legitimation politicking is a divergence between the surface appearance of the governance of programmes and the programmes’ actual institutional design.

Tina Freyburg
Max Weber Fellow


“When the Desert Blooms. A Reply to Thomas Bräuninger” In my article »Planting the Seeds of Change Inside?« (ZIB 18: 1, 5-46), I presented the findings of my study on the democratizing potential of transgovernmental policy networks that link sub-units of administrations from established democracies and authoritarian regimes to solve policy-specific problems. More precisely, I explored the extent to which and the way in which the European Union’s Twinning projects can positively shape the attitudes toward democratic governance of involved state officials in a stable authoritarian regime such as Morocco. The results of multiple cross-sectional regression analyses based on original survey data show that transgovernmental networks can, under the condition of a prior stay abroad in an established democracy, socialize state officials into democratic governance in authoritarian regimes. In his reply, Thomas Bräuninger rightly reminds us of some of the methodological challenges in research on socialization. After having reanalyzed my data in the light of his concerns and suggestions, I still do find sufficient empirical evidence for the democratizing potential of functional cooperation in transgovernmental networks.


Development cooperation exemplifies the conflict of foreign policy objectives between short-term political stability and long-term democratic change that international actors face in their relations with authoritarian regimes. Previous studies have found empirical evidence for two seemingly contradictory effects of functional cooperation: democratization and the stabilization of authoritarian regimes. Taking EU–Morocco cooperation on water management as an example, this article demonstrates that the effect of functional
cooperation depends on the level of policy-making examined. Although cooperation may stabilize an authoritarian regime at the macro-level of the overall polity by contributing to the effective handling of economic and social grievances (output legitimacy), it can also introduce democratic governance at the level of state administration (input legitimacy). Methodologically, the article applies both multivariate regression analyses and qualitative comparative case studies in order to explore data from diverse sources including an original survey of Moroccan state officials, interviews with governmental and non-governmental representatives, and legal texts. The article points to the complexity of the effects that external activities can have on governance in recipient countries, and highlights the importance of improving our knowledge of the more indirect effects of functional cooperation at levels below the overall polity.


Democracy promotion is often pursued under the umbrella of “All good things go together!” Positively evaluated items like peace, stability, prosperity, freedom, good governance and rule of law are expected to be strengthened by the implementation of democratic institutions. However, various problems arise if such an instrumental understanding of democracy support is applied. Firstly, international actors tend to overload their democracy promotion agendas. In doing so, they also raise expectations that can be hard to fulfill. In addition to this, unintended risky conflicts of objectives may evolve during the process of democracy promotion. Finally, policies to support democratisation might conflict with other interests and policies of actors involved. These setbacks urgently need an in-depth theoretical and empirical investigation. Vast amounts of literature have emerged in different sub-disciplines. For example, whilst peace researchers are interested in the compatibility of democracy promotion and peace building, development studies asks whether democracy is best suited to promote socio-economic development. Although individually these research results might be of equal importance to the understanding and effectiveness of democracy promotion policy, no major efforts have hitherto been made to bring them together. To fill out these research gaps, we ask in our special issue: What are conflicting objectives in democracy promotion? Under which conditions do they emerge? How do internal and external actors deal with these conflicting objectives? What are the effects of conflicting objectives on democratization?

Martin Kohli
Professor

(edited together with A. Kraler, E. Kofman, and C. Schmoll) Gender, Generations and the Family in International Migration, Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press.

Family-related migration is moving to the centre of political debates on migration, integration and multiculturalism in Europe. It is also more and more leading to lively academic interest in the family dimensions of international migration. At the same time, strands of research on family migrations and migrant families remain separate from – and sometimes ignorant of – each other. This volume seeks to bridge the disciplinary
divides. Fifteen chapters come up with a number of common themes. Collectively, the authors address the need to better understand the diversity of family-related migration and its resulting family forms and practices, to question, if not counter, simplistic assumptions about migrant families in public discourses, to study family migration from a mix of disciplinary perspectives at various levels and via different methodological approaches and to acknowledge the state’s role in shaping family-related migration, practices and lives.

(with E. Kofman, A. Kraler & C. Schmoll)

“Issues and debates on family-related migration and the migrant family: A European perspective”, in Gender, Generations and the Family in International Migration, Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press, 13-54
(Introduction to the above volume)


Die Beziehungen zwischen den Generationen bilden eine Spannungslinie, an der sich entscheidet, wie die alternde Gesellschaft mit ihrem Konfliktpotential umgeht. Die Konflikte können sich auf die wirtschaftliche Existenzsicherung und Ressourcenverteilung beziehen, aber auch auf politische Macht und kulturelle Deutungshoheit. Ist im Zuge der demographischen Entwicklung eine Verschärfung dieser Konflikte unvermeidbar, oder gibt es Möglichkeiten zu ihrer integrativen Bewältigung?

“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”). Emphasizing the generational conflict as the new basic cleavage in society tends to downplay other inequalities, and by this, risks being ideological: It may function as a way to divert attention from the still existing problems of poverty and exclusion within generations, e.g., those based on class or gender.

Adrienne Héritier
Professor

Formal and Informal Institutions in the EU’s Legislative Process”, in Thomas Christiansen and Christine Neuhold (eds), International Handbook on Informal Governance, Northampton, Edward Elgar Publishing


“Institutional Change in Europe: Co-decision and comitology transformed”, Journal of Common Market Studies, 50(1), 38-54

This article explains how institutional rules change after they have been established in two important areas of European decision-making: co-decision and comitology. It shows how legislation under co-decision was transformed into fast-track legislation and why the Parliament gradually – between treaty reforms – gained more institutional power in comitology. The rational choice institutionalist explanation applied here focuses on the efficiency increasing/transaction cost saving aspects of interstitial institutional change, but also on the question of who gains and who loses in power under specific rules and how power may subsequently be shifted. The hypotheses derived from the theoretical considerations are subject to empirical (dis)confirmation on the basis of quantitative and qualitative empirical data collected on co-decision and delegation over time. The conclusion summarizes the argument and explores the applicability of the explanations to two other polities of regional integration: North Atlantic Free Trade Association (Nafta) and Mercosur (the Common Southern Market).

Xabier Itçaina
Researcher


Le charivari est l’un des lieux où la politique informelle est à l’œuvre, au sens des formes, pratiques et expressions politiques se déployant aux marges du politique légitime tout en étant au cœur de la mise en scène symbolique des rapports de pouvoir. Le politique n’y a cependant acquis une dimension centrale que récemment, paradoxalement du fait même de l’affaiblissement de la coutume originelle. L’histoire du charivari basque est relue comme la succession et la superposition de trois dimensions du politique. Etudier les modalités de la sanction par la coutume revient d’abord à se pencher sur les mécanismes d’imposition des normes et de sanction de la déviance à
l’échelle du village. Les charivaris à visée politique, au sens partisan, sont alors rares, sauf sous la IIIe République. La sanction de la coutume renvoie ensuite à l’attitude des prescripteurs locaux (juge, préfet, maire, curé) à l’égard du charivari. Enfin, les oppositions institutionnelles et le changement social feront définitivement taire les charivaris nocturnes aux lendemains de la Seconde guerre mondiale. Les parades diurnes connaîtront une nouvelle jeunesse au prix d’une transformation radicale. Le politique effectue une intrusion forte dans ces nouvelles formes théâtralisées, au nom d’une mise en scène d’enjeux de société et non plus la sanction d’actes individuels jugés déviants.


The dairy sector is mostly concerned with market volatility and with the transformations of European regulations. In September, 2009, more than 60,000 European dairy farmers halted or reduced milk deliveries to protest falling prices and the European Commission’s plans to scrap production quotas. The strike was initiated by the European Milk Board (EMB), a new European association of milk producers’ associations and unions, promoting an alternative discourse on the European and national regulations of the dairy sector. In France, among the highest rates of strikers were to be found in the Basque Country. This paper argues that the 2009 milk strike testifies the emergence of a new kind of protest, being simultaneously transnational and local. In the Basque case, the milk strike sheds light on two dimensions. First, the strike informs on the local perception of the Common agricultural policy and of European integration. Second, the strike challenged the traditional equilibrium between the two local farmers’ unions (FDSEA and ELB-Confédération paysanne) by the birth of a new specialised association, the APLI (Association de producteurs de lait indépendants), related to the EMB. The protest gave birth to a public controversy where European and territorial issues appeared to be intrinsically interdependent.

Donatella della Porta
Professor
(with M. Caiani and C. Wagemann)
Mobilizing on the Extreme Right, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Research on the extreme right is rare, and the extreme right has even more rarely been analysed as a social movement. In this volume, the extreme right is compared in Italy, Germany, and the United States using concepts and methods developed in social movement studies. In particular, the book describes the discourse, action, and organizational structures of the extreme right, and explains these on the basis of the available discursive and political opportunities. Three main empirical methods are used in the research. Firstly, the frame analysis looks at the cognitive mechanisms that are relevant in influencing organizational and individual behaviour. Second, network analysis looks at the (inter-) organizational structural characteristics of right-wing organizations. Finally, protest event analysis allows for an empirical summary of the actions undertaken by right-wing extremists over the last decade. The substantive chapters address the organizational structure of the extreme right, their action repertoires, the framing of
protest events, the definition of ‘us’, the struggle against modernity, old and new forms of racism, opposition to globalization, and populism.

(with Alberto Vannucci) The Hidden Order of Corruption, Burlington: Ashgate.

The Hidden Order of Corruption investigates the hidden order of corruption, looking at the invisible codes and mechanisms that govern and stabilize the links between corrupters and corruptees. When corruption is exposed, unknown aspects are revealed which allow us to better understand its structures and informal norms. This book is theoretically informed and based on empirically sound research on a central challenge for democratic quality and as such presents an important study of corruption in democratic countries.

(with Mario Diani) Los movimientos sociales, Madrid: Editorial Computensa

Con un lenguaje claro, ameno y accesible, la obra de Donatella della Porta y Mario Diani sigue siendo, hoy por hoy, una referencia obligada para los investigadores, además de un estudio imprescindible para los que buscan acercarse por primera vez a la vertiginosa, compleja y multidimensional realidad de los movimientos sociales: desde las protestas de los años 60 hasta los movimientos feministas, pacifistas, ecologistas o antiglobalización más recientes. Sus autores presentan no sólo el estado de la cuestión, sino también la sistematización de todo un campo del conocimiento alrededor de cuatro conjuntos de preguntas que responden, a su vez, a cuatro niveles de análisis en la estructura interna de la obra: ¿podemos concebir los movimientos sociales como expresiones de un conflicto?, ¿cómo se transforman los problemas sociales en objetivos potenciales de la acción colectiva? y ¿cómo se llega a la movilización, haciendo frente a los riesgos y costes de la protesta? Por último, los autores se preguntan cómo afectan ciertos contextos culturales, sociales y/o políticos a la forma que adopta un movimiento social y a sus correspondientes posibilidades de éxito. Los movimientos sociales constituye sin duda un clásico en la aproximación al fenómeno de la acción colectiva desde una perspectiva integradora.

(with Sidney Tarrow, forthcoming) “Interactive Diffusion: The Coevolution of Police and Protest Behavior With an Application to Transnational Contention”, Comparative Political Studies.

The authors focus attention on a poorly understood aspect of contentious politics: the interaction between the transnational diffusion of new forms of protest behavior and police practices in response to them.

(with Gary LaFree) Guest Editor of “Processes of Radicalization and De-Radicalization”, International Journal of Conflict and Violence (IJCV), 6(1)

This special issues addresses mechanisms of radicalization and de-radicalization, looking at different types of political violence in various historical and geographic contexts.


The article looks at conceptions of democracy, with particular attention to participatory and deliberative models. It claims that the challenges to liberal democracy make reflections on alternative models all the more urgent.

This chapter addresses the developments of local social forums in Italy. It looks especially at their network structures, framing and repertoires of action, as well as their consequences on the Italian social movement sector.


Most social science concepts are contested—but some more so. This is the case for *riot*, that (as terrorism or Nimby), derives from everyday language, and is used in a stigmatizing way to single out irrational and deviant behavior. While people freely admit that they demonstrate, even in unconventional and sometime “disobedient”, forms, they usually deny that they are rioting, using different terms for defining what they are doing. Additionally, in the social sciences as well as in the political debate, the riot as a form of violence received only sporadic attention. As for other forms of violence, the interpretations about riots and rioting vary dramatically, being influenced by both the specific characteristics of the analyzed riots as well as the scientific or political background positions of the analysts. Focusing on the debate in the social science and historical research, and using as illustrations the analysis of the most recent “riots” in France in December 2005 and in Greece in 2008, this presentation addresses:

a) The causes for riots: the riots’ narratives;

b) The riots within: riots dynamics.


This entry reviews social science literature on political corruption, privileging an institutionalist approach. In doing so, it looks at resources and mechanisms of hidden exchange as well as at its governance.


This chapter analyses the relational, cognitive and affective mechanisms that are activated in action. While traditionally protest is considered as an outcome of contextual opportunities, this essay suggests that collective action itself reproduces the resources which are needed for mobilization to occur.


The chapter analyses, on the basis of life histories and other biographical materials, different paths of micromobilization into the armed struggle. Linking networks and motivations, the authors distinguish three such paths: an ideological one, an instrumental one and a subcultural one.

**Philipp Rehm**
Max Weber Fellow
Popular support for the welfare state varies greatly across nations and policy domains. We argue that these variations—vital to understanding the politics of the welfare state—reflect in part the degree to which economic disadvantage (low income) and economic insecurity (high risk) are correlated. When the disadvantaged and insecure are mostly one and the same, the base of popular support for the welfare state is narrow. When the disadvantaged and insecure represent two distinct groups, popular support is broader and opinion less polarized. We test these predictions both across nations within a single policy area (unemployment insurance) and across policy domains within a single polity (the United States, using a new survey). Results are consistent with our predictions and are robust to myriad controls and specifications. When disadvantage and insecurity are more correlated, the welfare state is more contested.

Christian Reus-Smit
Professor


“It is now commonplace to bemoan our field’s lack of practical relevance, and to blame this sorry situation on our penchant for ever-more abstract theorizing over the analysis of real-world phenomena. This article challenges this rendition of the problem. Not only is the theory versus relevance thesis difficult to sustain empirically, there are good reasons to believe that even the most abstract forms of metatheory are relevant to sound practical knowledge. More than this, though, the theory versus relevance thesis misconstrues the problem. The obstacle to practical relevance is not theoretical abstraction, but a series of other disciplinary problems: our lack of any real interest in the nature of politics as a distinctive form of human action (which so animated early scholars in the field); the loss of the field’s early practical intent; the sadly too common bifurcation of explanatory and normative inquiry; and the disappearance of the figure of the international public intellectual.


The language of special responsibilities is ubiquitous in world politics, with policymakers and commentators alike speaking and acting as though particular states have, or ought to have, unique obligations in managing global problems. Surprisingly, scholars are yet to provide any in-depth analysis of this fascinating aspect of world politics. This path-breaking study examines the nature of special responsibilities, the complex politics that surround them and how they condition international social power. The argument is illustrated with detailed case-studies of nuclear proliferation, climate change and
global finance. All three problems have been addressed by an allocation of special responsibilities, but while this has structured politics in these areas, it has also been the subject of ongoing contestation. With a focus on the United States, this book argues that power must be understood as a social phenomenon and that American power varies significantly across security, economic and environmental domains.

Richard Rose
Professor


In an established parliament any proposal for the allocation of seats will affect sitting members and their parties and is therefore likely to be evaluated by incumbents in terms of its effects on the seats that they hold. This paper evaluates the Cambridge Compromise’s formula in relation to compromises between big and small states that have characterized the EU since its foundation. It also evaluates the formula by the degree to which the Compromise departs from normative standards of equality among citizens and its distribution of seats creates more anxiety about the risks of losses as against hypothetical gains. These political criteria explain the objections to the Cambridge Compromise. However, the pressure to change the allocation of seats is continuing with EU enlargement and the arbitrary ceiling of 751 seats imposed by the Lisbon Treaty.


While there are many ways to define democratic representation, all include the need for a representative assembly elected by universal suffrage. EU member states divide almost evenly between those in which this assembly is the sole chamber in a unicameral parliament or one chamber in a bicameral parliament. The European Parliament is a deviant case because it is a unicameral parliament in which the principle of one European citizen, one vote, one value is explicitly rejected by the application of degressive proportionality in relating seats to national population. The first section of this paper sets out the different units and ways in which second chambers are constituted in European and major federal political systems. The extent of inequality in the EP is then compared with measures of inequality in first and second chambers in two major federal systems, the United States and Germany. The concluding section reviews proposals for institutional reform that might balance the EP's "federal" approach to representation with alternatives that might or might not give greater weight to the votes to individuals qua European citizens.


Corruption is important because it undermines bureaucratic predictability and is a potential threat to support for a political regime. The perception of corruption is the most commonly used measure of the actual incidence of corruption. This paper marshals survey data from the New Russia Barometer to challenge this assumption. It finds that even though most Russians perceive a variety of everyday public services as corrupt, this assessment is not based on firsthand experience. Only a
minority pays bribes. It tests four hypotheses about differences in individual perception and experience of paying bribes: the ability to pay, contact with public services, normative acceptability, and political awareness. It finds that contact is most important for paying bribes while political awareness is most important for the perception of corruption. It also tests how much the perception and experience of corruption, as against other forms of political and economic performance, affect support for the regime. It finds that support is driven by the substantive performance of government, and above all management of the economy, rather than by indicators of corruption.

Eric Sangar
Researcher


Scholars of military strategy draw heavily on the experience of past wars to explain why certain armies have developed different strategic traditions than others. Armies with a continuous experience of expeditionary operations, such as the British Army, are thus perceived to be better able to adapt to different strategic requirements and operational contexts. This paper will explore some of the ways in which the British and American armed forces actually use historical experience to shape and adapt their strategies for contemporary operations. In doing so, this paper does not aim at providing an answer to the recurrent debate over whether history can repeat itself and if valid lessons can be derived from the past for the future. Rather, this analysis tries to show that even if historical experience may not provide the universal key to success in today’s intervention operations, neglecting the intellectual study of that experience may in turn put limits on a military organization’s ability to adapt for contemporary operations.

Nadia Steiber
Marie Curie Fellow


This article examines how institutional change affects age-based labour market inequalities in Europe. We focus on the impact of labour regulation and of wage-setting institutions on the male population aged 25–54. Age-graded labour market inequalities within this group of prime-age individuals are hitherto under-researched. We estimate country panel regressions using data from the European Union Labour Force Survey and time-series data on institutional change for the years 1992–2007. The results present evidence that employment protection and the regulation of temporary work affect age-based inequality dynamics, while union strength has positive employment effects on all age-groups.

(with Barbara Haas) “State of the Art. Advances in Explaining Women’s Employment Patterns”, Socio-Economic Review, 10(2), 343-367
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 emphasizes economic and 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.

Simone Tholens
Researcher


The article focuses on the use of informal justice systems to support Community Based Policing with the aim to create legitimacy between state and society in post-conflict processes. It analyses the EU's involvement in reviving the customary justice system adat in Aceh, Indonesia in order to discern how the concept of authority is mediated from an international organization to local stakeholders via Security Sector Reform (SSR). The article operates with three conceptions of authority present in situations of security sector assistance: modern, postmodern and traditional. It explores the different faces of authority present in the case of Aceh, and unravels which and whose authority the EU propagates through its support to SSR. The article finds potentially contradictory processes at work, and highlights the need for more research on the use of informal justice systems within SSR.

Michio Umeda
Max Weber Fellow


Mihai Varga
Max Weber Fellow


The large dissatisfaction of citizens with post-communist democracy in Central and Eastern Europe favors populist and anti-systemic parties and movements. These accuse their rivals of various forms of corruption and prescribe anti-systemic cures, including the discretionary exclusion of their rivals from political life. Analyzing the situations in Poland, Romania, and Hungary more closely, we reveal a risk of the development of "selective democracy", in which key elites and their supporters redefine the borders of the polity in an exclusionary way, denying various groups
of ‘enemies’ legitimate access and representation and thereby undermining basic democratic principles.

**Ben Wagner**
Researcher


Internet censorship and control have been commonplace in Tunisia since the Internet became available to the public in 1996. It was not until the last days of the Jasmine revolution in January 2011 that the Tunisian government shut down the censorship regime, raising numerous questions about Internet censorship in Tunisia. This article will look at how former Tunisian president Ben Ali was able to shut down the Internet censorship regime within a matter of hours. In order to answer this question, it looks at the history of the Tunisian Internet and its Internet censorship regime, before analyzing Internet architecture, Internet institutions, functional differentiation between elements of the regime and the role of international technology markets. Each of these factors contributes to the overall censorship regime and helps understand how former President Ben Ali was able to shutdown Internet censorship within a matter of hours. In conclusion, tracing the genesis of the Tunisian censorship regime may contribute to understanding the role of institutional, architectural and market-based factors in enabling other censorship regimes across the world.