Lorenzo Bosi
Research Fellow


Jelena Dzankic
Jean Monnet Fellow


Two decades of power struggles between the Montenegrin political elites have overshadowed the consolidation of political parties. Consequently, social issues were ad hoc parts the political parties’ agendas, while social values took a detour due to the shadow economy created during the wartime years in the former Yugoslavia. The effect of such a general political environment essentially disallowed Montenegro to move towards a new model of welfare capitalism. Rather, the perpetual remoulding of Montenegrin social policies has generated a hybrid model that seeks to integrate the legacies of the socialist system into the new model of welfare capitalism. Although such models are not uncommon in the transitional countries, it is likely that Montenegro will soon need to recalibrate its welfare model. Thus, in order to be able to adjust to the endogenous and exogenous market forces in light of its aspiration to join the European Union (EU), Montenegro will have to abandon the inherent logic behind its social policy, which largely reflects short-term political interests.

(with Daliborka Uljarevic) “Civil Society: the driver of change?”, IDEE [special issue The Rule of Law: fundamental rights and shared values in South East Europe] 2011, 32(6), 36-40

At the time of the collapse of the communist system, the rise of civil society offered a universal remedy both for the ‘socialist virus’, and the ‘transition fever’. Representing a detachment from the state-dominated worldview, civil society became the key ingredient for the emergence of a participatory culture based on political pluralism. It is precisely the drive to be
independent of state power that could counterbalance the domination of the state in the day-to-day life of the people. In the Western Balkans, which have underwent a much more turbulent two decades of transition than their eastern neighbors, civil society organizations have yet another role, examined in this article. In addition to being the drivers of political and societal change, civil society is also a mechanism of reconciliation in the region that was torn by the bloodiest conflict that took part on the European soil after the Second World War.


The aim of this paper is to look at economic aspects of citizenship and compare states offering naturalisation to investors. By analysing different investor citizenship programs, the paper highlights the normative tension between those states that seek to maximize their economic utility and grant citizenship to investors by waiving all other naturalisation requirements, and those that uphold genuine ties with the polity as the core of citizenship by retaining them. The paper is developed as a two-level analysis of investor citizenship, starting from a global overview of facilitated access to citizenship, which is a common, yet seldom used discretionary tool of the governments. In the context of the global comparison, the paper highlights the distinction between the facilitated naturalisation for investors in countries that offer residence in the first instance (e.g., the UK, the U.S., Canada, Belgium, Australia, Singapore), and those that waive other regular naturalisation criteria (e.g., Commonwealth of Dominica and St. Christopher and Nevis). Following the global overview, the paper offers a more in-depth comparison of European countries that offer citizenship by investment while dropping other requirements, such as residence, language and knowledge of the country for these applicants.


Tina Freyburg
Max Weber Fellow


In the field of EU migration policies, a large number of legal, administrative, and institutional tightening measures have been established in the name of domestic security since the early 1990s. These measures have been criticized because they allegedly lower the democratic quality of EU migration governance. Yet, the EU seeks to export its rules and regulations beyond its borders to neighbouring third states through its association policies. This article argues that what may be seen as a step back in terms of democratic governance inside the EU may present a step forward in its authoritarian Southern neighbourhood. It explores whether the rules of EU migration can constitute a step toward democratization of migration governance in neighbouring countries, where provisions of transparent, participatory or accountable decision making cannot be taken for granted. Taking the example of the Moroccan 2003 law on migration, the paper demonstrates that the EU was fairly successful in inducing the
adoption of legislation in line with provisions of democratic governance. The contribution concludes with a discussion of the prospect of implementation of these provisions, in particular against the background of the EU’s extended external competences under the Lisbon Treaty.


Is functional cooperation with authoritarian regimes a blessing or a curse for democratization? Scholars predominantly view cooperation with authoritarian regimes as counterproductive in terms of democratization because it helps the incumbent government to remain in power by stabilizing the regime. This article presents evidence to suggest that functional cooperation can also be considered a promising way of yielding subtle processes of democratization that have hitherto been overlooked. It explores to what extent state officials become acquainted with democratic governance by participating in transgovernmental policy networks, notably the Twinning Program, set up by the European Union in order to implement functional cooperation with its Southern neighborhood. The study conducts regression analyses based on original survey data on Moroccan state officials’ attitudes toward democratic governance and complements these analyses with a qualitative comparison of different networks. The findings corroborate an optimistic reading of functional cooperation. By significantly shaping the attitudes toward democratic governance of involved state officials, cooperation appears to be able to plant seeds of change inside authoritarian regimes.


With the European Neighbourhood Policy, the European Union (EU) intensified functional cooperation in a wide range of sectors. This contribution investigates whether this kind of transnational exchange can trigger subtle processes of democratization. It argues that third state officials become acquainted with democratic governance by participating in transgovernmental policy networks implementing functional cooperation between state administrations of established democracies and authoritarian regimes. In this vein, it enriches the governance model of democracy promotion by adding a new level, the micro-level of democratic socialization. Empirically, the argument is tested taking two Twinning projects that the EU has set up in Morocco, that is, the projects on competition policy and on the environment. The conclusion is that in some non-politicized policy fields, such as the environment, EU transgovernmental policy networks can successfully yield processes of democratic socialization in the context of a stable authoritarian regime, like that in Morocco.


Ist funktionale Kooperation mit autoritären Regimen ein Segen oder ein Fluch für


This contribution explores whether and under what conditions functional sectoral cooperation between the EU and the countries of the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) promotes democratic governance. In an analysis of four countries (Jordan, Moldova, Morocco, and Ukraine) and three fields of cooperation (competition, environment, and migration policy), we show that country properties such as the degree of political liberalization, membership aspirations, and geographic region do not explain differences in democratic governance. Rather, sectoral conditions such as the codification of democratic governance rules, the institutionalization of functional cooperation, interdependence, and adoption costs matter most for the success of democratic governance promotion. We further reveal a notable discrepancy between adoption and application of democratic governance in the selected ENP countries that has not been remedied in the first five years of the ENP.

Henio Hoyo
Researcher


The year 2010 in Mexico marked both the 200th anniversary of the start of its independence movement and the 100th anniversary of its revolution. Besides several public events, a number of items including commemorative coins, banknotes, and stamps were produced to mark the occasion. This article analyses the postage stamps issued to commemorate the Mexican bicentennial. It does so by comparing these stamps with the ones issued for previous independence anniversaries, and then tracking changes and continuities in their messages. It is found that, on the one hand, the bicentennial postage stamps of Mexico promoted a particular narrative regarding
the historical, territorial, and ethnic features of the Mexican independence process, which in many ways departs from previous, long-established nationalist narratives. But on the other hand, bicentennial stamps also demonstrate the influence of traditional interpretations of the national past – particularly those related to the Partido Revolucionario Institucional’s (Institutional Revolutionary Party, PRI) revolutionary nationalism doctrine – which are still being reproduced even after the 2000 democratic transition.

**Saara Koikkalainen**
Visiting Researcher


Increased diversity in international migration is challenging our understanding of different migration paths across the globe. *Finns Abroad: New Forms of Mobility and Migration* aims at broadening the understanding of Finnish emigration and the multitude of different types of transnational mobility. As the articles of the edited volume demonstrate, the days when entire villages in the peripheries had to contemplate international migration to a single destination as a survival strategy are long gone. Current migration from this Scandinavian country is much more diverse, as people make individual mobility choices. For some the motivation is grounded in career aspirations, while for others it is linked to love, family or a personal lifestyle choice, such as wanting to experience life in a global city or retirement in sunny Thailand. The book takes the reader on a trip that spans over four continents and explores different types of mobility, such as marriage and family migration, company secondments and highly skilled migration. The articles discuss Finnish migrants in Ireland, Sweden, Switzerland, Australia, the United States and India, for example.

**Dennis-Jonathan Mann**
Researcher


The chapter contributes to a growing body literature that uses comparative federalism as a framework to analyze the European Union. The main argument put forward is that, by and large, most previous studies have adhered to an overly formalistic or “positivistic” concept of federalism. I argue that these studies’ narrow focus on, allegedly, “objective” features of federal systems (including the distribution/separation of competences) misses an important essence of the EU’s nature—its inherent contentedness and ambiguity. I suggest that shifting focus from the analysis of competences towards the study of discourses and disputes over competences allows for insightful comparisons of the EU with other federal systems.

**José Santana Pereira**
Researcher


Cet article analyse les élections parlementaires portugaises du 5 juin 2011.
Il en présente l’arrière-plan issu de la législature précédente, de la crise économique, du renflouement de la dette portugaise et de la campagne électorale. Il décrit ensuite les résultats électoraux en les comparant avec les élections nationales précédentes. Globalement, le scrutin se solde par une nette défaite de la gauche laissant place au gouvernement le plus néolibéral de l’histoire du Portugal. Les électeurs semblent également avoir primé la stabilité puisque les partis de droite affichèrent leur volonté de coopérer, formant rapidement une coalition gouvernementale, alors que les partis de gauche ont montré leur incapacité à coopérer entre eux.

The paper analyses the June 5th, 2011, parliamentary elections in Portugal, and begins by introducing the reader to the background of the 2011 national elections: the exercise of power in the XI Legislature, the economic crisis, the Bailout Agreement for Portugal, and the electoral campaign. Then, the 2011 electoral results are described and compared with previous national elections. Overall, the picture displays a strong defeat of the left that paved the way for the most neoliberal government in the Portuguese history. Voters also voted for stability: the right-wing parties declared that they were willing to cooperate (and in fact they formed a coalition government very quickly), whereas the left-wing parties have shown in several occasions that they are unable and unwilling to cooperate.

Furio Stamati
Researcher

(with Matteo Jessoula), "Pension System" in I. Hong (ed.), *A Study on Overseas Social Security Systems – the Case of Italy* (in Korean), Seoul: KIHASA Research Institute.

This chapter is conceived to give the non-European reader a synthetic but encompassing introduction to the Italian pension policy. Maintaining a strong empirical focus, it addresses the rules and the level of protection that characterize Italy's multi-pillar pension architecture, while also discussing the policy trajectory emerged as a result of the last twenty years of reforms. The text is composed by six parts. After a brief historical introduction and a summary of facts and figures, the chapter provides an outline of the interventions taken in response to the economic crisis. The following two sections analyze in depth the public pillar and the supplementary pension schemes, whereas the conclusions evaluate the overall policy trajectory of the system in the light of the social and fiscal challenges ahead.

Inés Valdez
Researcher


Can Kantian cosmopolitanism contribute to normative approaches to immigration? Kant developed the universal right to hospitality in the context of late eighteenth-century colonialism. He claimed that non-European countries had a sovereign right over their territory and the conditions of foreigners’ visits. This sovereign prerogative limited visitors’ right to hospitality. The interconnected and complementary system of right he devised is influential today, but this article argues that maintaining the complementarity of the three realms involves reconsidering its application to
contemporary immigration. It situates Kant’s Perpetual Peace within the context of debates about conquest and colonialism and argues that Kant’s strict conception of sovereignty is justified by his concern in maintaining a realm of sovereignty that is complementary with cosmopolitanism and his prioritization of mutual agreements in each of the realms, particularly in a context of international power asymmetry. In Kant’s time, European powers appropriated cosmopolitan discourses to defend their right to visit other countries and it was necessary to strengthen non-Europeans’ sovereign claims. The strength and hostility of the visitors made limited hospitality and strong sovereignty act in tandem to keep away conquerors, expanding cosmopolitanism. Today, individuals from poor countries migrate to wealthier ones where they are subject to a sovereign authority that excludes them. Sovereignty and cosmopolitanism no longer work complementarily, but rather strengthen powerful state actors vis-à-vis non-citizens subject to unilateral rule. Only through the creation of ‘cosmopolitan spaces’ of politics can we reproduce today the complementarity that Kant envisioned.

(with Desmond King) "From Workers to Enemies: National Security, State Building, and America’s War on ’Illegal’ Immigrants" in Michael Böss (ed.) Narrating Peoplehood Amidst Identity: Historical and Theoretical Perspectives, 2011, Aarhus: Aarhus University Press.

In this chapter we argue that since the mid-1980s immigration policy toward “illegal” immigrants has assumed the character of a war expressed in growing border militarization and fortification, expanded border manpower, and an enhanced internal program of enforcement. Militaristic aspects of US political culture accommodate the idea of a nation at war domestically and abroad. In addition to enhancing executive authority and resources, the war on “illegal” immigration legitimizes the process of state building through the definition of an "enemy." The importance of the transformation in the fight against “illegal” immigration exceeds the hard facts reflected in the resources and manpower devoted to it, which we survey. Our interest in this process turns on what it can say about the political process in which reified and exclusionary identities are utilized by the state to draw a frontier that marks a certain group as outsider and unable to participate politically. In other words, the branding of an enemy and the militarization of the state’s struggle against it underlie processes of exclusion that both feed and are fed by narratives of national identity that seeks to make all immigrants potentially deportable and their claim to inclusion an illegitimate one.

George Vasilev
Visiting Scholar

“Preaching to the Choir or Converting the Uninitiated? The Integrative Potential of In-group Deliberations” Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy, iFirst, 2012, 1-21.

Deliberative democrats responding to the challenge of fostering reciprocity and civic friendship discourage in-group deliberations, taking them to stoke hostilities and preclude the possibility of sociability between groups. In opposition to these views, I argue in-group deliberation presents itself as a promising, yet underappreciated, normative category for conflict transformation. I support this claim with reference to the observation that deliberative exchanges among like members are just as, if not more, consequential in the
facilitation of positive actor transformations than deliberations among unlike members, especially when antipathy defines group relations.