

Research in public policy, regulation and governance

My work in the Schuman Centre and SPS department covers three inter-related areas.

1 Institutional change:

This research focuses on change and development in political institutions in Europe. It investigates the link between intentional negotiated change at the Treaty Revision Conferences and the emergence of informal institutional rules arising from the everyday application of existing constitutional rules. These informal rules may lead to a transformation of the existing constitutional rules. It also has important implications for the power of the formal actors involved and for policy outcomes. This research is conducted jointly with Henry Farrell, University of Toronto, and Carl Fredrik Bergström, University of Stockholm, and is funded by the Swedish Institute for European Policy Research in Stockholm.

2 New Modes of Governance:

This research focuses on new modes of governance in Europe, defined as policy formulation with the inclusion of private actors and an only marginal implication of legislation. Instances of such new modes are the open method of coordination and voluntary accords. The project seeks to conceptualize and theorize the emergence, the operation and the impact of the new modes in terms of policy outcomes, but also in terms of the impact on existing more traditional forms of government and administrative structures, including patterns of democratic legitimation. This research is conducted in the context of the NewGov Integrated Project under Framework 6, funded by the Commission.

3 Regulation:

The research on regulation investigates the processes of liberalization of network utilities (energy, telecommunications and rail) at the European and Member State level. What were the underlying political processes and what role did Europe play in bringing them about in different Member States? New regulatory structures emerged at European and Member State level, showing similarities and dissimilarities across countries and sectors which are systematically described and explained. So are the modes in which the new regulatory structures operate, as is how regulators cooperate across countries. The regulatory regimes are subject to a continuous process of revision and fine-tuning in view

of the results obtained in the light of the defined policy goals, i.e. to introduce competition in sectors formerly dominated by public monopolies while at the same time securing the broad provision of public services. The research is conducted jointly with David Coen, University College London. It was funded by the Anglo-German Foundation and the Max Planck Society. It is also linked to the Project for the Deregulation of Transport Systems in the Mediterranean Countries (a Euromed-project) funded by the Commission.

ADRIENNE HÉRITIER



Adrienne Héritier

Protests and mobilisations for a better democracy

The new millennium opens in a paradoxical situation: democracy is formally more and more widespread, with the new waves of democratic transitions and consolidation, but at the same time it is under challenge. Citizens appear as more and more dissatisfied by the performance of their democratically elected governments, political parties loose members and trust, power shifts from the national parliaments to (more opaque and less accountable) supranational bodies and also from politics to the market. Not only the traditional model of representative democracy that appears under strains, but also the very conception of politics. After a decade characterized by a return to private concern and confidence in the market, in the beginning of the 21st century a new wave of protest testifies to a new shift. There is not only a return of values of solidarity vis-à-vis individual success, but also demands for democratic participation in non-conventional forms. Some main characteristics of this new wave of protest seems to be:

its global nature, with social movements and civil society groups developing in the North but also the South of the globe, and, even with some internal tensions, networking together;

its transgenerational basis, mobilizing together “sons and fathers; daughters and mothers”, as the press put it, and testifying therefore for a “return to politics” by the younger cohorts, so often defined as cynical and egotistic;

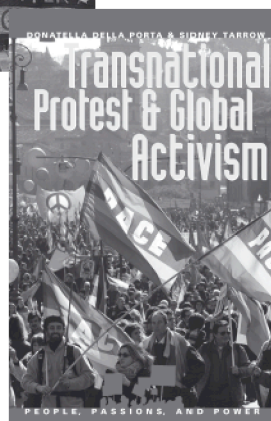
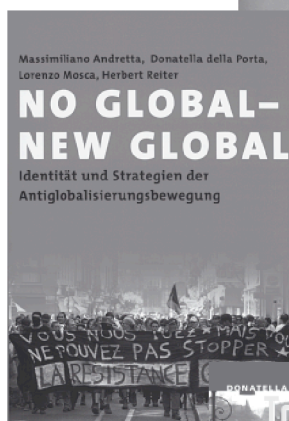
its tendency to bridge traditional concerns for social equality and the more “post-materialist” attention to individual freedom, disproving the expectation of more and more single-issue mobilizations.

For political sociologists, this is an interesting moment, since politics (which had become more and more professionalised) and society (that had preferred to reduce contacts with politics) seem to come together again. It is, however, also challenging, because the traditional concepts and hypotheses that had dominated the field require urgent updating. The very conception of democracy—representative, electoral, professionalized—appears as insufficient

to face changes in political communication and the weakening of parties, multilevel governance and fragmented identities. The normative search for a democratic model that could adapt to these changes interacts with the empirical research on new ex-



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periments in participatory practices and deliberative styles of decision-making. A conception of politics as the realm of

professional politicians and public managers is contrasted with “politics from below”, while venues for citizens’ participation beyond the conventional, electoral moment are opened. More generally, citizenship rights are again at the centre of political mobilization, both in terms of resistance to what is perceived as a reduction of social rights, that especially in Europe had been at the basis of the

legitimation of the nation-state, and a widening, beyond the territorially-bounded nationhood, of the conception of citizenship.

My research interests focus on these new instances of political participation and social conflicts, on their potential and their weaknesses. Social movements, civil society associations, non-governmental organizations are all groups that not only mobilise on the issue of (old and new) citizens’ rights, but also more or less openly raise a fundamental criticism of conventional means of political participation, so moving their challenges from politics to

metapolitics. Moreover, they experiment with these models of democracy both in their internal structure and in their interactions with the political institutions. Internally, social movements, civil society associations, non-governmental organizations have — with a greater or lesser degree of success — attempted to develop an organizational structure based on participation (rather than delegation), consensus building (rather than a majoritarian vote), and horizontal networks (rather than centralised hierarchies). This search has been particularly visible in the social movements mobilising transnationally for a “different” globalisation”, concerned in particular with the governance of market liberalisation, and demanding social justice (a “globalisation of citizens’ rights”) and participatory democracy (“globalisation from below”). As “challengers”, social movements nevertheless interact with “polity members” — with representative institutions and the public administration—experimenting with new arenas of participatory, deliberative, discursive democracy. They have demanded, and sometimes secured, decentralisation of political power, consultations of citizens involved in particular policies, and appeal procedures against administrative decisions. The search for new models of democracy is expressed in the participatory budgeting that, developed in Porto Alegre in Brazil, has recently been “imported” into Europe. On these issues focuses, in particular, the project I coordinate on Democracy in Europe and the Mobilisation of the Society: Demos, founded under the VI Framework Programme of the European Commission. This comparative project covers the movement on global issues in France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Spain, and Switzerland, with an additional look at the EU level.

Related to Demos are other two cross-national projects I am involved with. Social rights and democracy are also addressed in another cross-national research project on “The Contentious Politics of Unemployment in Europe: Political Claim-Making, Policy Deliberation and Exclusion from the Labor Market”, comparing France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Sweden and Switzerland. In this frame, the research focuses on the shifting conception of labour and “rights to work”, with particular attention to the difficult formation of collective identities and the mobilisation of protest among “powerless” groups, such as the unemployed and the workers in new, flexible forms of employment. The search for new arenas of deliberation, and its interactions with political communication, are a central focus of the project on The Transformation of Political Mobilisation and Communication in European Public Spheres, that addresses the formation of a public sphere at the European level by looking at the printed media and Internet in France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, the Netherlands, Spain, and Switzerland. The main theoretical

aim is to investigate to what extent the building of European institutions has been accompanied by the construction of a European public sphere.

New times represent a challenge also for the technical tool-kit of political sociologists—since empirical research on new forms of political participation cannot rely upon the well-tested methods of the past. To give just a few examples, electoral studies (whether “ecological” or via opinion polls) are certainly still important, but unfit for the analysis of the new forms of participation. If party archives were not always in good order, social movement organizations’ (almost) never are. Surveys often reflect, in the very wordings of many items, the “old” conception of politics, with difficulties in capturing new trends. Research on social movements has developed new techniques—such as protest events analysis—that are useful to analyse general trends in the use of unconventional repertoires, but insufficient to understand the emerging meaning and actual functioning of the so-called civil society. In my research projects I try to meet these challenges by combining various techniques both quantitative (with especially large data bases on protest events and surveys of activists and civil society organizations) and qualitative (with, in particular, the triangulation of in-depth interviews with life histories, focus groups and participant observation). All these methods are, in particular, combined in the Demos project, where they will be used in the research on the “new global” movement, with particular attention paid to their communication (often via Internet), their organizations structures, their activists’ motivations and identity.

DONATELLA DELLA PORTA

Research on Research and Innovation Systems and the 2004-2005 Forum

This research programme, which is led by Professor Rikard Stankiewicz, is based in the SPS Department and the Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies. It covers the study of research and innovation systems (RIS) in the knowledge-based economies – a critically important subject in today's Europe. RISs consist of the institutional and organizational structures supporting innovation. Their activities are centred on the creation, transfer and application of scientific and technological knowledge. RISs include public R&D and education institutions (primarily universities and national laboratories), firms and corporate R&D labs, industrial networks and a range of governmental agencies, as well as various other interest groups and organizations. Their structure and modes of functioning reflect on one hand the changing dynamics of science and technology and, on the other, the wider institutional environment in which they are situated.

The presence of well-developed, balanced RISs is one of the key determinants of the growth and competitiveness in contemporary economies. It also constitutes a precondition of the effective societal regulation of innovation. The emphasis on the systemic aspects of innovation reflects the great speed, complexity and pervasiveness of technological change. Indeed RISs are among the most dynamic institutional subsystems of the modern society.

The recent evolution of RISs has been driven by three factors: (i) the emergence of a range of new generic technologies (information technology, biotechnology, nanotechnology) with historically unique properties; (ii) the end of the Cold War, leading to a major realignment of priorities and institutions of S&T, and (iii) the new 'economic geography' in the wake of globalization. These factors call for rethinking of the rationale of science and technology policy. The need for such rethinking is particularly acute in the European Union in the light of the Lisbon strategy aimed at making Europe the world's leading knowledge economy.

The aim of the programme is to contribute to the theory of innovation processes and systems. We will focus on three closely interrelated areas:

- The changing dynamics of science and technology,
- The institutional structure of research and innovation systems, and
- S&T policy and governance.

The dynamics of science and technology

The rationale of the science and technology policy that emerged after WWII was based on the so called 'linear model of innovation', which assumed a simple causal chain running from fundamental science through applied research to development. Scant attention was paid to the economic and social ramifications of innovation. The model implied a relatively straightforward division of labour in research systems, particularly between their public and private components.

Today our view of innovation is based on a far more pluralistic and interactive model recognizing the existence of a large number of self-organizing, institutionally heterogeneous research and innovation networks. These networks complement and /or compete with each other. They vary greatly in their degree of stability, scope and institutionalization. There is no a priori hierarchy among them. Their boundaries shift constantly, as do their mutual relations. Underlying these networks are the processes of knowledge creation and accumulation that make possible an increasingly rapid recombination of technological and scientific capabilities.

The programme focuses on the emergence and evolution of the innovation networks at the frontiers of high technology, including biotechnology, information technologies and nanotechnologies. These technologies require a realignment of a broad range of scientific, technological and socio-economic competences. Each calls for specific organizational and institutional infrastructures. Having achieved a certain degree of maturity these technologies diffuse into other sectors, bringing them within the scope of the high-tech economy.

We shall pay particular attention to the cognitive dynamics of such technologies, including their interactions with science and the growing role they play in R&D organization ('techno-science'). Other focal areas are the emerging 'technological regimes' in the industries concerned and the economic properties of knowledge.

The institutional structure of RISs

The dynamics of RISs require constant adjustment of their institutional infrastructure. The general trend has been towards organizational models supporting flexible, self-organizing networks crossing traditional institutional boundaries. Against this background, the programme focuses on the following major areas:

- The emergence of the new private-public knowledge production complexes. These complexes are often based on regional concentrations of scientific and technological resources but tend to be globally networked. They usually consist of research universities and an associated R&D industry (start-ups, non-profits, corporate and government labs).
- The effects of intellectual property regimes on the dynamics of research and innovation systems. We shall examine the increasing privatization of knowledge production and the growing importance of knowledge and technology markets. Particularly important are the trends in the appropriation of generic capabilities, and the growing role of IP as the medium of knowledge transactions.
- The role of RISs in the shaping of industrial networks. To what extent is the division of innovative labour becoming the major determinant of economic structure? Here we focus on new forms of entrepreneurship and coordination in the knowledge-based economy.
- Network dynamics and the boundaries of the research and innovation systems. Given their dynamic character, how can we map the structure and boundaries of the research and innovation systems? Here RISs pose a range of theoretical challenges to organizational and institutional analysis.
- Institutional innovation and imitation in RISs. We shall examine the major institutional innovations in RISs: their origins, evolution and transfer between different national and sectoral systems.

S&T policy and governance

The creation and regulation of effective RISs poses a range of policy and governance problems. Firstly, there are the classical questions of science and technology policy which need to be asked again at each new stage in the evolution of RISs:

- How to balance long-term and short-term investment in S&T capabilities?
- How to reconcile creativity and self-organization of RISs with the need for societal regulation?
- How to assure democratic control of S&T policy in the face of extreme information asymmetries among the actors?

In recent years several other issues have come to the fore:

- While the national level continues to be very important, the increasing role of regional and international innovation systems makes it necessary to create new multi-level forms of governance. This is particularly obvious in the case of the European Union.
- Science and technology are playing an ever-greater role in international relations. The relevant issues include trade, intellectual property, security, and internationalization of regulatory regimes. These



Rikard Stankiewicz

issues are bound to become even more important as the original Triad (US, EU, Japan) that dominates the innovation agenda is joined by China, India and other rapidly modernizing countries.

The programme will pursue these and related policy and governance issues through comparative studies and analyses of international innovation networks. Special emphasis will be placed on the governance of the emerging European Research Area.

The current activities in the programme include projects on

- Patterns of technological accumulation and their impact on the research regimes of high-tech industries; and
- Innovation systems in biotechnology and biomedicine.

The 2004-2205 Forum

In autumn 2004 and spring 2005 the activities of the programme will be closely linked to the European Forum organized by the Schuman Centre (<http://www.iue.it/RSCAS/Research/EuropeanForum/Future.shtml>). The theme of the Forum is the Role of the European Research Universities in Innovation Systems. The activities of the Forum will be organized around the following research themes: (i) Universities and the changing dynamics of knowledge production; (ii) Patterns of the division of labour in research and innovation systems; (iii) The internal organization of academic systems: tensions and adaptations; and (iv) Diversity, innovativeness, and the governance of academic systems.

The programme draws on relevant expertise from across the EUI. It also has numerous cooperative links to other programmes and centres in the field of science and technology studies across Europe and globally. We are members of the Network of Excellence of the Sixth Framework Programme devoted to Policies for Research and Innovation in the Move towards the European Research Area (PRIME).

RIKARD STANKIEWICZ

News from the SPS Department

New Chairman

Michael Keating will be the next chair of the department, for three years from September this year, taking over from Colin Crouch. Michael Keating graduated from the University of Oxford in 1971 and gained his PhD in 1975 at Glasgow College of Technology (now Glasgow Caledonian University). He is on leave from the University of Aberdeen, Scotland, where he is Professor of Scottish Politics.

Currently he is working on regional development policies in Europe, on stateless nations in the changing international order, and on devolution in the United Kingdom, and is expert advisor to the Committee of the Regions for the European Constitutional Convention. He is co-director of the ECPR Standing Group on Regionalism and co-editor of *Regional and Federal Studies*.

Territorial Governance

The newly formed Working Group on Territorial Governance is a joint initiative of colleagues in the department and at the Dipartimento di Scienza della Politica e Sociologia (DISPO) at the University of Florence. It holds seminars, either at the Badia or at the DISPO, on issues relating to local economic and political development. It is co-ordinated by Luigi Burroni, a member of DISPO and currently an SPS Jean Monnet Fellow. Other members are Carlo Trigilia (professor of sociology at the University of Florence), Colin Crouch and Michael Keating (SPS professors), and SPS researcher Maarten Keune.

The initiative grew out of a research collaboration between Burroni, Crouch and Trigilia, with colleagues in other European countries, on local economic governance. This produced two books: *Local Production Systems in Europe: Rise or Demise?* (2001), and *Changing Governance of Local Economies: Responses of European Local Production Systems* (2004), both by Crouch, Le Galès, Trigilia and Voelzkow (Oxford University Press). More details from the Working Group's website: <http://www.iue.it/OnlineProjects/SPS/TerritorialGovernance>

Honours and Prizes

SPS professor and director of the Robert Schuman Centre, Helen Wallace, has been awarded an honorary chair by the European University Council in recognition of her significant contribution to the development and diffusion of knowledge about Europe.

Dr Hans-Joachim Knopf (SPS, 1997-2003) was awarded the Dissertation Prize of the German Association for the Study of British History and Politics (*Arbeitskreis Deutsche England-Forschung*,

ADEF) in May 2004 for his thesis "Britain and European Integration between 1950 and 1993: Towards a European Identity? Continuity and Change in the Constructions of British Nation-State Identity".



Michael Keating

with regard to European Unity and British Visions of European Political Order". The Dissertation Prize of the ADEF is given every second year for a distinguished dissertation in that period on topics relating to British History and Politics including the Commonwealth and the British-German relationship

Ingela Naumann, SPS researcher currently finishing off her thesis, has been awarded the "young researcher prize" of the *Journal of European Social Policy* for her article on "Childcare and Feminism", to be published in the February 2005 edition.

Latest publications

Colin Crouch, *Postdemocrazia*, Roma Laterza 2003
- with Le Galès, Trigilia and Voelzkow, *Changing Governance of Local Economies: Responses of European Local Production Systems*, Oxford University Press 2004

Donatella della Porta, with Mario Diani, *Movimenti senza protesta? L'ambientalismo in Italia*, Bologna, Il Mulino 2004

-, with Herbert Reiter, *Polizia e protesta. L'ordine pubblico dalla liberazione ai "no global"*, Bologna, Il Mulino, 2003

-, with M. Andretta, L. Mosca, H. Reiter, *Global, new global. Soziale Bewegungen und Globalisierung*, Frankfurt am Main, Campus 2003

-, *New Global*, Bologna, Bologna, Il Mulino, 2003
-, with Lorenzo Mosca (eds), *Movimenti sociali e globalizzazione*, Roma, Manifestolibri, 2003

Yves Mény and Yves Surel, *Populismo e Democrazia*, Bologna, Il Mulino, 2004

EUI Alumni Association

1) The EUI Alumni Association Prize for the best interdisciplinary Ph.D. thesis on relevant European issues (Alumni Prize) will be awarded in a ceremony to be held on 1 October, after the degree-conferring ceremony. The Executive Committee has asked an independent jury to select the winner. The Alumni Prize Jury consists of: Paul De Grauwe, University of Leuven, Chairman, alumnus Roberto Tamborini, ECO, Università di Trento, alumnus Renaud Dehousse, LAW, Sciences Po - Paris, alumnus Simon Hix, SPS, London School of Economics and Political Science, and alumnus Rolf Petri, HEC, Università Ca' Foscari - Venice. The prize includes an award of € 3,000.

The four EUI departments have pre-selected their respective theses in May for the Alumni Prize jury to take a final decision and communicate it to the President of the Alumni Association by the end of June. The Executive Committee will confer the Prize on the winner in the presence of the jury members, the Principal and all heads of department. The EUI community is invited to the ceremony.

2) **2nd EUI Alumni Conference:** The proceedings of the 1st Alumni Conference, edited by F. Torres, A. Verdun, C. Zilioli and H. Zimmermann, will be presented at the next alumni weekend on 1 October, on the occasion of a new conference / seminar. The conference venue will be the newly renovated Refettorio of the Badia. Please keep an eye on our website for further developments.

3) **Alumni Dinner on 1 October.** Following the 2nd EUI Alumni Conference, where the proceedings of last year's conference will be presented, another outdoor dinner will be held, on the Badia loggia (weather permitting). Please book it ASAP with Valérie Coppini (Valerie.coppini@iue.it).

4) **The annual General Assembly of the Alumni Association** will also take place on 1 October. Please keep an eye on the AA's website for its agenda and other details.

5) The **AA has reserved Villa Finaly** for EUI alumni wishing to stay there during the alumni weekend (31 Sep. to 2 Oct.). Please contact Valérie Coppini.

6) **New services** already available for EUI alumni (please get in touch with the EUI alumni officer, Valérie Coppini):

- a. *Electronic Alumni Card* (with photo and name of alumna or alumnus) giving access to the EUI Mensa and the Library, which includes price

reductions in some Florentine shops and restaurants, free entrance to Florentine museums and other facilities available to researchers and EUI staff – first lot already distributed;

b. *Permanent e-mail addresses* (@iue.it) for all alumni who so wish – first lot already created;

c. *Housing exchange.* The programme is already in place. The Web site is now accessible at: <http://www.homexchange.com/iue/>. Entitled are Alumni who have the electronic Alumni card. EUI current and former professors and the EUI community at large are also entitled, provided they first register with the AA for the purpose.

d. *EUI Online Community.* The programme is already in place: register at <http://internet-alumni.com/it/iue/>.

7) The Executive Committee is setting up an *historical archive and a current one*. An archivist is presently re-ordering the old papers of the Association. After that, the EC will sign a contract for the deposit of archives of the AA of the EUI. The archives will then be handed over to the EU Historical Archives.

Please keep in touch with us (alumni@iue.it; Valerie.coppini@iue.it) and with all of the Association's activities via its web page (<http://www.iue.it/Alumni/>).

FRANCISCO TORRES
President of the Alumni association

Jean Blondel receives Johan Skytte Prize

Jean Blondel, former professor of the department and currently a professorial fellow in the Robert Schuman centre, has been awarded the Johan Skytte Prize in Political Science for 2004. The prize, awarded by the Department of Government at Uppsala University, Sweden, is the most prestigious award available to the discipline, the nearest that it can come to a Nobel Prize.



The prize was awarded to Jean Blondel 'for his for his outstanding contribution to the professionalisation of European political science, both as a pioneering comparativist and an institution builder'. Appropriately, the prize was awarded on the occasion of the European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR) meeting at Uppsala. Jean was the leading spirit in the foundation of the ECPR in 1969, which he then directed for ten years. It is today by far the most important organisation for bringing together comparative European social scientists in Europe, a major example of the 'institution building' to which the Skytte Prize citation refers. As the citation comments: '.....one of the founding fathers and later Executive Director of the ECPR, Jean Blondel has made this great institution going and with energy, imagination and creativity promoted the quality of European political science research and teaching.'

Born in Toulouse in 1929, Jean Blondel was educated at the Institut d'Etudes Politiques in Paris and at St Antony's College, Oxford. In 1964 he became the founder of the Department of Government at the University of Essex, today one of the world's leading departments

devoted to empirical political science research.

He served as a professor in SPS from 1985 to 1994. In addition to his continuing work at the Schuman Centre, he is currently a visiting professor at the University of Siena. He holds honorary doctorates from the Universities of Salford, Essex (GB), Louvain-la-Neuve (Belgium) and Turku (Finland). He is a member of the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences and of the Academia Europaea.

The books

The Skytte Prize citation continues: 'In numerous books and projects Professor Blondel has indefatigably called the attention to the value of classification and comparison in the study of politics, especially of the political variety of Europe.'

His publications include: *Voters, Parties, and Leaders* (first edition, 1963), *Comparative Legislatures* (1973), *Political Parties* (1978), *World Leaders* (1980), *The Discipline of Politics* (1981), *The Organization of Governments* (1982), *Government Ministers in the Contemporary World* (1985), *Political Leadership* (1987), *Comparative Government* (new, and entirely revised editions, 1990, 1995), *The Profession of Government Minister in Western Europe*, (with J.L. Thiébaud) (1991), *Governing Together* (with F. Müller-Rommel) (1993).

Note: JOHAN SKYTTE (1577-1645) was a leading politician in 17th century Swedish political life: a scholar, the prince's teacher, member of the government, governor, diplomat and a great land owner. In 1622 he established the Chair of Eloquence and Government at Uppsala, one of the oldest professorships in the world.

The EUI contribution to ECPR goes on: YVES MÉNY chaired its Executive Committee from 2000 through 2003 while the present Academic Director, RICHARD BELLAMY was a researcher in the SPS Department from 1980 to 1983. The ECPR professional journal *European Political Science* is presently edited by MARTIN RHODES (SPS Professor) and JIM NEWELL (researcher from 1984 to 1988).

EUI Review

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