



“As the scope of the EUI widens, and as its world-wide reputation grows, it becomes increasingly important to maintain an open-door policy . . .”

Visiting Scholars: Enriching the EUI Community

Professor of Comparative Politics & Head of SPS | **Peter Mair**

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One of the more common complaints that used to be levelled against the EUI in the past was that its academic community had much the same demographic profile as the small towns that lie along the south coast of England—lots of young people and lots of old people can be found there, but there's not much in between. In the EUI case, the top end of this age distribution was made up by elderly professors, the bottom end by young Ph.D. researchers. Apart from the occasional visitor, there were few mid-career scholars around.

This has slowly changed. The Departments are now making greater efforts to recruit 'junior' professors, even if this can lead to theological discussions in the Academic Council about what exactly 'junior' means. The postdoc

population is growing enormously, as are the number of applications for post-doc Fellowships. This year alone, we have had more than 1000 applications for some 70 places, spread between the thriving Max Weber Programme's Max Weber Fellows (MWF), on the one hand, and the ever-growing Robert Schuman Centre's Jean Monnet Fellows (JMF) and Marie Curie Fellows (MCF), on the other.

Of late, there has also been yet another species of Fellow roaming around the EUI and adding to our increasingly rich and varied community. These are the Fernand Braudel Fellows (FBF), and it is mainly with these Fellows that the current issue of the EUI Review is concerned. Despite their title, the FB Fellows are here for the *courte* rather ▶▶

▶ than the *longue durée*. The Fellowship is intended for established academics with an international reputation and may be held for up to ten months in one of the Institute's four departments. This is also important for the Departments. The JMFs and MWFs are clustered in their own buildings and tend to see more of one another than anyone else. The FBFs, on the other hand, fewer in number, and funded with a modest stipend, share the Departmental office areas and remain in close contact with the faculty. For this reason they also prove a great asset in the everyday working of the Institute. As the former Economics FBF Lisa Lynch and her husband Fabio Schiantarelli state in their contributions, engaging with the doctoral students in the classroom, in seminars, and at lunch was one of the highlights of their time at the EUI. As Thomas Poguntke notes in his contribution, the EUI is one of the only few places around the globe where he finds such a concentration of highly qualified Ph.D. students and Fellows working in areas related to his own research interests.

Poguntke is a Visiting Fellow in SPS. Like many Visiting Fellows he gets office space and access to all the EUI facilities, but no stipend. This is yet another species of Fellow in the Institute, and these places are also usually filled by mid-career scholars, thus further helping to bridge the gap between professors and their students. As the scope of the EUI widens, and as its worldwide reputation grows, it becomes increasingly important to maintain an open door policy, and to host interesting scholars regardless of their institutional background or origin. This policy is also strengthened by the Institute's proven ability to attract Marie Curie Fellows. These are highly competitive Fellowships funded by the EC and they are represented in this issue by Nicola Casarini (RSCAS), Benoît Chaland (HEC), Thomas Goebel (HEC), Stéphanie Hennette-Vauchez (RSCAS), Margarita Petrova (RSCAS), Sara Poli (RSCAS), Saverio Simonelli (RSCAS), and Antoine Vauchez (RSCAS).

Demand for these short-term fellowships is high. Mid-career scholars needing a break from their normal teaching and administrative routines quickly learn to appreciate the peace and beauty of Fiesole as well as the intellectual stimulus afforded by the EUI's unique academic community. Often they come as

couples, such as Lisa Lynch and Fabio Schiantarelli, or Dorothee Bohle and Bela Greskovits in the SPS Department, one a Braudel Fellow and one a Visiting Fellow. Both are here to complete their joint book on the varieties of capitalist political economies that have emerged from the transformation of Central-Eastern Europe, and both have found the EUI to be a place rich in the research expertise that is crucial to the completion of their project.

All of the Fellows—FBFs, MWFs, JMFs, MCFs, and VFs—relish the Library. For Peter Hilpold, FBF in Law, the Library proved invaluable in helping complete the third edition of his book on the EU and the WTO. Ilaria Porciani, FBF in History, also lauds the facilities, including the friendly and helpful attitude of the librarians and the wide range of international books and journals. For Porciani, her Fellowship amounts to 'three months of heaven'.

According to an unsourced Wikipedia entry, Fernand Braudel himself did not have a similar experience in Paris. After he had published *la Méditerranée*, the story goes, Braudel went to the Bibliothèque Nationale and applied for a library card. He was handed a short form to fill out. Under 'Nom,' he wrote 'BRAUDEL, Fernand'; under 'Métier,' he wrote 'historien.' He was turned down. The Wikipedia entry goes on to say that he then wrote *The Structures of Ordinary Life* which delineates how all social structures from table manners to petty bureaucracies place limitations on one's possible actions.

One of the great merits of an EUI Fellowship is that it frees the holder from these normal domestic bureaucracies. It is a period to enjoy some real academic freedom and to savour the many stimuli that the EUI offers. A library card comes with the package. ■

Corrigendum

In the editorial of the last issue of the EUI Review, the successor to Nino Majone as the director of the Policy Unit was mistakenly identified as Renaud Dehousse. Instead, Roger Morgan was the last director.

Law and the Bending of Regulatory Science

Fernand Braudel Fellow, LAW | **Peter Strauss**



Past years have twice given me the opportunity of spending time at the EUI's Faculty of Law, and experiencing the wonderful opportunities for scholarship and collaborative support that it offers. Several years ago, when I was preparing the second edition of a book intended to introduce foreign lawyers to the institutions and procedures of American public law, I was fortunate to spend six weeks here as the exchange scholar in the program my law school, Columbia, has with the EUI faculty. And four years ago, in the midst of research into the European Union's procedures for developing drafts of legislation and implementing measures, I had a shorter visit that permitted me to share my work with, and learn from, a number of colleagues here. When I began to plan for my current year's work, these happy experiences made the EUI an obvious choice.

My current project, like these, is related to the procedures by which bureaucrats develop policy instruments, and the balance of politics and law between them. I am a professor of administrative law, long having an interest in the interface between law and politics and, in particular, that interface as it affects

the procedures by which executive authorities develop administrative regulations, sometimes called subsidiary legislation. In all developed democratic legal systems committed to principles of legality, it is common to find statutes or other constitutive texts that invest a named executive authority (ministry, department, or regulatory agency) with the power to develop legal texts for the area within its responsibilities. Although not adopted by Congress or Parliament, these administrative regulations, if valid, have the force of statutes. How is this power, given to executive actors, to be reconciled with the commitment of legislative activity to an elected body? What constraints of legality keep the executive officials from doing, politically, just what they may wish?

In the United States, the development of regulations occurs following a statutorily prescribed public procedure. This rulemaking procedure is characterized by substantial transparency of the agency's data and proposal, and provides a necessary opportunity for public submission of additional data and views. In adopting a regulation, an agency must provide what is often an extensive explanation of the results it has reached as the product of these inputs. And this is followed by the possibility of quite demanding judicial review for legality and reasonableness. The statutes conferring authority usually confer it on a particular agency or officer having particular responsibility for the matters at issue, and expected to act on the basis of the 'best science' or other objective indicators. All of these factors—transparency, public participation, commitment to 'experts,' extended explanation and tight judicial control—may serve to answer the questions of legality that might seem to be presented by this executive power to create statute-like regulations.

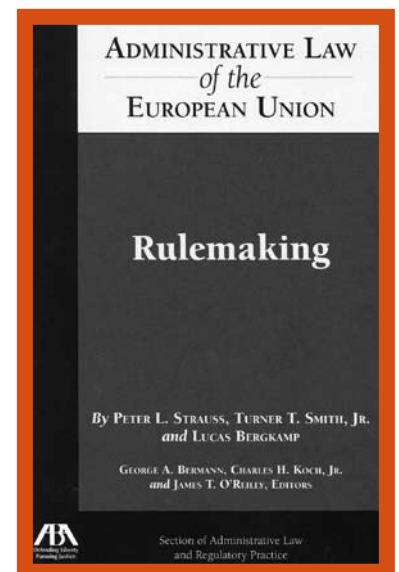
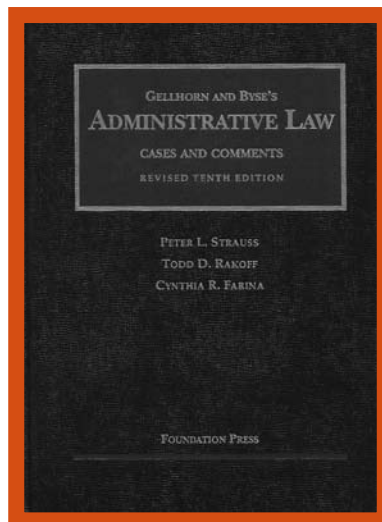
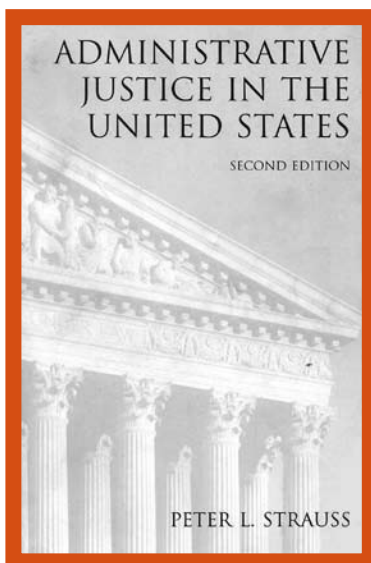
“Claiming the power to decide, not merely to oversee, undermines the rationale of ‘expertise.’”

In recent years, however, as indeed regulations have become a more and more important instrument of public policy formation (in the United States, and I believe elsewhere, they outnumber statutes by an order of magnitude), some of these reassurances have been eroding. Although the authorizing statute will confer the power to adopt regulations on a particular named agency with appropriate resources and expertise, in recent decades, American Presidents have been asserting greater and greater participation ►►

▶ in rulemaking processes. In doing so, they draw on the fact that the US Constitution places executive authority in the President, our one elected executive official. It says very little about the precise relationship between the President and the actual government of the United States, which it leaves Congress to define. And President George Bush in particular has claimed that his position gives him the right to decide matters that Congress may have placed, for example, in the Environmental Protection Agency. Claiming the power to decide, not merely to oversee, undermines the rationale of 'expertise.' President Bush has repeatedly claimed, as well, the right tightly to control all communications between executive branch agencies like the EPA and Congress, and to keep communications within the executive branch confidential. The consequences are that transparency has suffered, the effect of public participation has become less certain, explanations appear to be less reliable as accounts of actual decision processes, and judicial controls are correspondingly less effective. All in all, then, the result has been a considerable injection of political will into decisions ostensibly left to resolution by 'best science,' and in accordance with procedures protective of legality.

The reconciliation of politics and law in this context presents problems of wide application. It is not difficult to imagine that temptations like those to which President Bush has succumbed also present themselves in parliamentary systems, the EU, and institutions (such as the WTO or the Codex Alimentarius) that could be grouped as 'global administrative law.' Whether one is considering the health effects of tobacco, GMOs, global warming, or nuclear power, it will seem advantageous to some to 'bend science,' and it may be difficult for the public either effectively to participate in matters of great importance to it, or to have a clear vision of how decisions deeply affecting its interests are made. My project then is to identify and assess the variety of possible controls over the political bending of regulatory science that may be deployed. The EUI, with its collection of European scholars, resources and contacts, seemed an ideal site at which to pursue it. The possible support of a Fernand Braudel Senior Fellowship, to help defray the expenses of relocation, added measurably to its attractions. ■

Peter Strauss is Betts Professor of Law at the Columbia University Law School.



Capitalist Diversity on Europe's Periphery

Fernand Braudel Fellow, SPS | **Dorothee Bohle**

During my stay at the Department of Political and Social Sciences at the EUI I am finalizing a book project on 'Capitalist Diversity on Europe's Periphery'. Co-authored with Bela Greskovits the book identifies three different types of capitalist political economies which emerged from the transformation of Central-Eastern Europe after the collapse of state socialism, and explains their origins and logic of emergence. The Department of Political and Social Sciences is an ideal place to discuss and finalize the project. It has rich expertise in research areas that are crucial to the project: the process of socio-economic transformation in Central-Eastern Europe, labor markets, social policies, social exclusion, and theories of institutions.

Capitalist diversity in Central Eastern Europe

By the time of accession to the European Union, three capitalist regimes emerged from the transformation of Central-Eastern Europe's former state socialist societies. The 'pure' neoliberal Baltic States (Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania) have championed in market-radicalism, and for a long time in macroeconomic stability, which however occurred at the expense of industrial transformation and social inclusion. Mainly center-right party coalitions have governed their stable but highly exclusive democracies. In contrast, the 'embedded' neoliberal and less market-radical *Visegrád* states (the Czech and Slovak Republics, Hungary and Poland) achieved better results in building complex, competitive export industries through massive foreign direct investment. At the same time, they have been more socially inclusive, too. It is precisely the established measures and institutions of industrial policy and social welfare that make their neoliberalism embedded and distinctive. However, embedding neoliberalism has its costs: most *Visegrád* countries have suffered repeatedly from macroeconomic imbalances, which make them internally and externally vulnerable. Their fairly inclusive democracies have faced contestation, which has manifested itself in the regular alternation of centre-right and centre-left forces in power. Finally, only the least market-radical neocorporatist Slovenia succeeded, in a balanced pattern, in all above areas simultaneously. Competitive industries and superior social indicators did not come at the cost of macroeconomic instability. Neocorporatist institutions, and dominantly centre-left coalitions have so far been able to deliver the compromises required for a balanced and inclusive agenda. From different starting points and via different paths, Bulgaria and Romania came close to the neoliberal pattern.

“(It) is an ideal place to discuss and finalize the project. It has rich expertise . . . in the process of socio-economic transformation in Central-Eastern Europe, labor markets, social policies, social exclusion, and theories of institutions.”

Emergence of capitalist diversity

The project traces these regimes' origin and logic of emergence to the interplay between legacies and early reform choices, and international factors and actors: financial and product markets, transnational corporations, and the EU. Initial reform choices reflected the legacies of communism and their perception as assets or threats from the viewpoint of national independence and development. Both the key legacies—the continuity of relative national independence or its absence, ethnic homogeneity versus heterogeneity, pursued or abandoned market-socialist experiments, and inherited economic and social structures—and their perception differed in the three regimes.

The project investigates the influence of international factors and constraints in the critical contexts in which they became most crucial: during the three major crises that shook the region. The transformational recession of the early 1990s; the financial crises in the second half of the 1990s; and the post-accession politi- ▶▶



cal crises after 2004 all empowered an array of domestic and international actors to test—and reinforce or correct—initial economic and political choices. In the Baltic States, the initial preferences for reform radicalism and social and political exclusion have been reinforced throughout all three crises, whereas Bulgaria and Romania were forced on the path of market radicalism by the financial crisis of the second half of the 1990s. In the *Visegrád* regimes, the initial decisions favoring social cohesion were challenged throughout all three crises. However, it is their political instability after EU-accession that most clearly demonstrates this regime’s contradictions and fragility. The interplay of international pressures with domestic factors might force them to either dismantle their welfare states, or lose some of the liberal aspects of their democracies. Finally, Slovenia has been hit least by the three crises, and consequently, could weather them with little damage. Gradual rather than radical adjustments helped Slovenia keep to its initial reform choices.

Case selection and research methodology

The book analyzes the emergence, reproduction and contradictions of major capitalist institutions in ten East European EU member states. It compares them with one another and contrasts them with countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States and small West European states. We focus on this particular group of countries because in contrast to their neighbours further east, they successfully mastered the project of establishing democratic and capitalist societies. Our analysis allows us to identify the international and domestic conditions of successful transformations as well as varied paths towards success. Contrasting our ten countries with the socioeconomic regimes of small West European states permits us to point to the limits and precariousness of even the most successful transformations in eastern Europe.

Our method is historically informed comparison. In some cases, we apply statistical analysis. Ours is however not a quantitative data-driven project. The par-

ticular context of regime collapse, fundamental and radical change require a very critical stance towards existing statistical data. Thus we strongly rely on qualitative data such as newspaper sources, archival material and interviews.

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Contribution to the state of the art in the field

The project contributes to existing research in comparative capitalism in a threefold way. First, most of the existing comparative literature on Central-Eastern Europe relies on generalizations based on a few polar cases, and is biased towards the four *Visegrád* states Poland, Hungary, and the Czech and Slovak Republics. Our project is more ambitious in that it includes a broad range of post-communist countries, and compares them to one another as well as to West European countries. Second, literature on comparative capitalism pays a disproportional amount of attention to the experiences of the most developed countries. Analysing capitalist diversity in Europe’s periphery allows us to systematically explore the interplay of international and domestic institutions and actors, as well as the precariousness of peripheral capitalist institutions. Both topics are of high relevance and are left unexplored by approaches focusing on the developed West. Finally, by studying the emergence of institutions in the post-communist realm, our project contributes to the ongoing debates about institutional change under conditions of high uncertainty. ■

Dorothee Bohle is Associate Professor of Political Science at the Central European University in Budapest.

Births

Congratulations to **Giovanna** and **Giovanni Giusti** on the birth of their sons, **Samuele** and **Davide**, on 19 September 2008.



Migration and International Economic Law

Fernand Braudel Fellow, LAW | **Peter Hilpold**

International Economic Law (IEL) is a rather young field of knowledge. At the same time, it is developing at a very fast pace. Many new sub-branches of this subject have come into life in the last years. One of the most recent areas of interest in this area regards the relationship with migration issues.

Migration is in itself an interdisciplinary field of research. Sociologists, economists, lawyers and political scientists—only to mention a few—are trying to explain this phenomenon from different points of view, sometimes also with combined approaches in order to fill the many lacunae which are still given here. Mostly, however, the different explanatory attempts are developed out of traditional perspectives and are premised on well-established methodological foundations.

The basic assumption of this research project is that International Economic Law can give important insights in the phenomenon of migration and further a more comprehensive understanding. Does such an approach again provoke the risk of a restricted and perhaps distorted view on migration? It cannot be denied, of course, that no single methodological approach can exhaustively address such a multi-faceted subject. On the other side, however, it is submitted that IEL can allow for a refreshing new look on migration. IEL being itself a very dynamic subject capable of integrating very diverse fields of research and remodeling them very flexibly according to the ever-changing needs of the practice seems to be very well suited to follow the sociological phenomenon of migration very closely and very effectively.

“One should never forget that migration is only a technical term to describe the movement of human beings in search for a better life...”

As it is known, there is much controversy, on a world-wide scale, about migration. At the end of the day, the related questions have to be assessed politically and there can be no doubt that in this evaluation process human rights considerations have to be of paramount importance. One should never forget that migration is only a technical term to describe the movement of human beings in search for a better life, a choice which gives expression to their human dignity and which commands the utmost respect. Is it allowed, then, to look at migration from a pre-eminently technical



viewpoint? Is not there the risk that we will lose sight of the real political choices that have to be made in this field? In fact, recourse to technical concepts should never serve as a pretext to cover the political nature of the decisions that have to be taken and to avoid responsibility for the choices made. It is argued here, however, that once the political standpoints have been made transparent the technical discussion will become more neutral and in the end also more efficient.

In the context of this research project I shall examine in the larger sense the main regulations in IEL concerning migration issues. I shall give particular attention, of course, to the pertinent rules in the GATS agreement. As it is known, the liberalization of trade in services has been a very difficult area of negotiation during the Uruguay Round and also liberalization has been rather slow-moving in the aftermath.

When this subject was finally addressed it was not overlooked that supplying services in some cases ►►

- ▶ requires the movement of persons. Among the four modes of supply for services this was the last one of the list and the one where WTO Members have proved to be most restrictive. Because of this extremely cautious attitude the WTO has been strongly criticized. Without doubt the GATS rules on the movement of workers are not neutral or, to put it differently, they are the expression of a specific consensus among the WTO Members with regard to the extent to which the promotion of migration is considered to be a valid instrument to further economic growth. As it seems, the preparedness to open up national borders for natural persons to stimulate economic growth is very limited. Furthermore, the few commitments made by the Member States in this area concern foremost the movement of higher qualified workers.

What are the reasons for this attitude? What are the consequences? Is this approach sustainable also for the future? It shall be shown that there are no simple answers to these questions, even if a purely pragmatic, utilitarian perspective is adopted. In fact, the question of whether immigration furthers general welfare is a highly disputed one. The outcome will depend very much on the parameters adopted, the time horizon envisaged and the question of whether an individualistic or a communitarian view is taken. By fine-tuning and combining these elements a vast array of 'ideal immigration models' result.

As already stated, the IEL perspective cannot deliver a complete theory on migration. It has to be taken into account that there are many non-economic factors that are of decisive importance for the explanation of the transborder movements of people. Furthermore, economic considerations can—and often should—be trumped by humanitarian concerns. Nonetheless, it is argued that making evident the basic assumptions underlying the existent IEL rules on migration is of decisive importance to understand the very nature of these rules and to de-emotionalize the relevant discussion.

The relationship between EU law and WTO law

I have also taken advantage of my stay at the European University Institute to complete the third edition of my book *Die EU im GATT/WTO-System*. This book was first published in 1999 and was reprinted shortly after.

In the meantime, nearly ten years have passed and the relationship between the European Union (or, respectively, the European Community) and the WTO has undergone profound changes and developments. These developments are reflected in the fact that the size of the third edition has doubled in comparison to the previous edition. Nonetheless, the main structure of the book has been maintained.

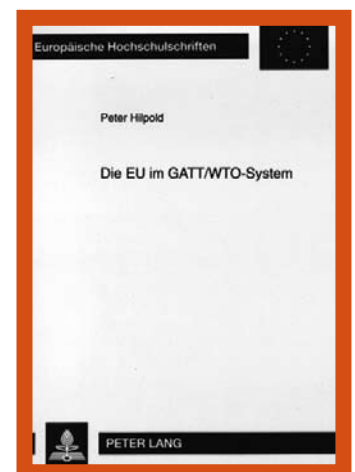
At the time of the publication of the first edition of this book, I was—at least among German speaking writers—one of the most outspoken advocates for the necessity to deny direct effect to GATT/WTO norms in the EC system. I also argued that the European Court of Justice would stick to this jurisprudence for the foreseeable future. In fact, the ECJ has been very steadfast in this regard also over the last decade (see, lately, the FIAMM judgment of September 2008).

My aim was to analyze this jurisprudence and to examine the peculiar form of interaction between the two orders mentioned. I tried to show thereby that while WTO rules are given great relevance in EC law, it is not necessary to attribute them direct effect.

Further subjects I deal with in this book regard *inter alia* the development of the EC external competences, the definition and interpretation of mixed agreements and an analysis of the legal framework for regional integration.

The excellent library at the EUI, not to speak of the inspiring academic environment at the Institute, have been of invaluable help to make the long overdue completion of this book's third edition possible. ■

Peter Hilpold is Associate Professor at the University of Innsbruck.



European Historians on the Map

Fernand Braudel Fellow, HEC | **Ilaria Porciani**

The historical profession in Europe

The historical profession is a key aspect of 19th and 20th century European culture. While historians—as distinct from amateurs—were granted public recognition and a central role in cultural life, the model of historiography constructed around 1800 profoundly characterized the intellectual and cultural history of Europe and was crucial to the cultural construction of its centrality. This model, which enjoyed long continuity notwithstanding the political upheavals of the 19th and 20th centuries, is now undergoing a deep change due to the challenge of globalisation as well of an unprecedented transformation of the university system.

In recent decades historians, while questioning the framework—both geographical and disciplinary—of the profession, have increasingly interrogated themselves on the significance of their work and role in society. Since the 1970s their communities have grown larger and more complex. More than in other disciplines boundaries are exploding, older paradigms are questioned, and previous forms of communication and aggregation are increasingly challenged. In universities the relationship between teaching and research is going to change even more. In short, we are looking back at the construction of the historical profession as such from a very different point of view than the triumphant statements of the early phase of the 19th century. We are viewing this development—this parabola?—from a present characterized by very large communities of historians, but also—at least in some countries—by threats of drastic reduction and crisis.

A broader analysis is deserved, and our work is also a contribution in this direction.

Within the ESF project on ‘Representations of the Past National Histories in Europe’ I have organized a team which has sought to investigate networks, communities and institutions of European historiography in order to explain the relationship between the professionalization of the historical discipline and the emergence of national histories during the 19th and the 20th centuries. We are creating a historical atlas which will provide essential information on the professionalisation of history and the role of institutions in that process. The framework of analysis is defined chronologically and provides information on the institutional settings of national historiographies in Europe at eight moments in time: prior to 1850, 1850, 1875, 1900, 1928, 1955, 1980 and 2005.

These European maps are based on large amounts of quantitative and qualitative research: with the help of



more than 70 scholars from every European country we have put together a giant database related to 41 countries—1424 grids and 52546 records!

Our records will help us provide information on historical scholarship at university level and in academies showing both the number of professionals involved and the location of the institution where these professionals worked. The maps will also help to localize associations and historical museums, and provide information on the number of historical journals published in each country in the given years. Diagrams, illustrations, as well as short texts will highlight specific aspects of the often-complicated history of the different national historiographies, e.g. its proximity and its strong ties to both centers of power and *lieux de mémoire*. It will also consider the profound impact

“We are creating a historical atlas which will provide essential information on the professionalisation of history and the role of institutions in that process.”

of nation-building processes, wars, revolutions and totalitarian regimes on the production of historical knowledge. After working out this broad European perspective, each country will be presented individually in a series of comprehensive articles. These will ▶▶

- ▶ each include an overview of the development of the main trends of the national historiography. They will present the specificity of the institutional settings of the historiography together with an essential bibliography and a synthetic chronology.

The Atlas—which I will co-edit with Lutz Rapahel from the University of Trier—is not the only work of the team. We have also provided a series of comprehensive articles which offer a large comparative analysis: this analysis will be the core of *Setting the standards. Institutions, Networks and Communities of National Historiography*, co-edited with Jo Tollebeek from the University of Leuven.

History Women

The gendered character of the historical profession will also be mapped for the first time in the Atlas. The first results of this research were published in a special issue of *Storia della storiografia: History women*, which I co-edited together with Mary O'Dowd. Now, the data we have gathered confirm a view of the masculine nature of the professional history community. Although women gained admittance as students to most European universities by the early decades of the 20th century, it took considerably longer for them to gain access to full-time academic posts in history in any significant numbers. It was not until the 1950s that 17 European countries had one or more female academic historians teaching at university level. And the statistics compiled for our Atlas reveal for the first time the extent to which the European Academic community remained overwhelmingly male until the late 20th century. Even in 2005, women represented less than a third of the total number of academic historians and in many countries the percentage was considerably lower.



The new project of the web site

The work for the Palgrave books will soon be completed, and the two books will be out next year. However, we believe the incredible amount of materials that we have gathered should also be made public for further uploading as well as research. We are thinking of creating a website that could consider the development of a discipline—but also numerous related institutions—across all of Europe, with the precision of a Geographic Information System. This website would be the first of its kind, and could be the starting point—a very developed one indeed—for an historical atlas of European cultural institutions.

Looking back: Studying networks—constructing networks

When speaking of this project I always say 'we' instead of 'I'. This project has been itself a case of transnational history. While we were studying networks we have also been constructing networks. Such a project would not have been possible before e-mail, the web and Skype. I found myself discussing issues with Ukrainian colleagues now working in Canada; and communicating easily with colleagues from places as diverse as Iceland, Estonia, Portugal and Serbia. I also have been in constant contact with our busy workshop in Trier, where data are processed and the maps are actually prepared.

Scientific hubs which are so full of discussion and where young researchers are trained have also been decisive. These include the Max Planck für Geschichte in Göttingen—for as long as it existed; the Central European University; the Association for the Study of Ethnicity and Nationalism and the European Social Sciences History Conference.

However, compared to all these places, the European University Institute has been—and was so even before I came here one month ago to enjoy a brief break from the Bolognese teaching schedule—the most important one. The Institute has not only offered me three months of heaven and the opportunity to enjoy the international atmosphere and lively discussions with colleagues and younger researchers. It has also, since the beginning of the project, provided me with substantial help in finding contributors for the Atlas for many different countries. Not only have the friendly and helpful attitude of the librarians and the large choice of international books and journals helped me to constantly refocus my project, but former and present researchers have been involved in it from the very beginning of this adventure. ■

Ilaria Porciani is Professor for Modern and Contemporary History and the History of Historiography at the University of Bologna.

The Politics of Ethics, and Ethics of Politics

Fernand Braudel Fellow, SPS | **Christian Reus-Smit**



In 1337 Ambrogio Lorenzetti was commissioned to decorate the Council Chamber of the Palazzo Pubblico in Siena, subsequently producing his masterpieces the 'Allegories of Good and Bad Government'. For most international relations scholars, such art, and the ideas it embeds and instantiates, is politically irrelevant. And if it is politically consequential at all, it is only in the political realm within the state. The international realm is a realm of brute forces: struggles for material power, and the clash of self-interest. Yet it is precisely the influence of ethical ideas on international politics that interests me, and which has animated my writings throughout my career.

In the past I have pursued this relationship between ethical ideas and international politics across a variety of terrains. My book *The Moral Purpose of the State* (Princeton 1999) explored how prevailing conceptions of legitimate government shaped the kinds of institutions that states have con-

structed historically to facilitate cooperation and coexistence. In *American Power and World Order* (Polity 2004) I critiqued the Bush Administration's failure to understand the importance of legitimacy in sustaining American power and influence. My edited collection *The Politics of International Law* (Cambridge 2004) argued for a reconception of the relationship between politics and law, one that stressed the nature of international law as a political institution, but recast politics as a form of human action mediating between identity, strategy, purpose, and ethics. And, most recently, Duncan Snidal and I have tried, in the new *Oxford Handbook of International Relations* (Oxford 2008), to shift prevailing understandings of the field of international relations, arguing that all theories in the field integrate normative-theoretic and empirical theoretic elements.

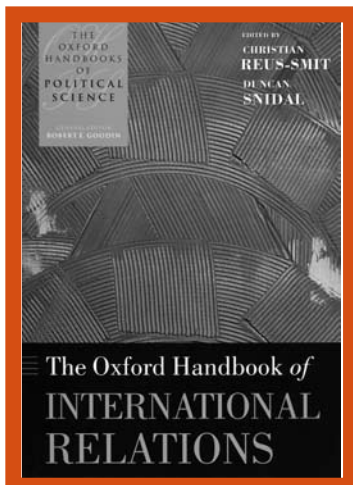
My appointment as a Fernand Braudel Fellow allows me to push my interests in ethics and politics a step further, to complete the

book on 'Individual Rights and the Making of the International System' that I have been working on for almost a decade. When we think about the relationship between individual rights and world politics we do so in a distinctive way. We concentrate on the system of sovereign states, that world of territorially demarcated political units, forged through often violent struggles for power. We then ask whether the contemporary human rights regime has had any affect on this system, whether it has impacted, in any significant fashion, upon the internal or external conduct of states. This project advances a different perspective on the relationship between individual rights and international relations. My central claim, however, is that the importance of individual rights, and the politics they engender, is not confined to the efficacy (or lack thereof) of the present human rights regime. The modern system of sovereign states is, in crucial respects, the product of the politics of individual rights.

By this I do not mean that rights politics has over time affected the internal constitution of a growing number of sovereign states, although this is undoubtedly true. My claim is that struggles over individual rights have conditioned the basic structure of the international system itself. Michael Walzer famously argued that membership is the most basic good that any society distributes, a prerequisite for effective political power and agency. The membership of our current global system of states is the result of five waves of political incorporation, each admitting a new cohort of recognized sovereign states. Rights politics has played a central role in these processes of incorporation, and ►►

- ▶ as such has conditioned the basic structure of political agency that characterizes the contemporary international system.

The first wave of political incorporation was the product of the Westphalian settlement (1648). To the small group of existing, yet still evolving, states the settlement added the German states, the United Provinces of the Netherlands, and the Swiss Confederacy, ordaining them with what we now interpret as sovereign rights. The second wave came at the beginning of the nineteenth century with the dissolution of the Spanish and Portuguese empires in the Americas. In little more than a decade, seventeen new states gained sovereign recognition, starting with Columbia in 1810 and ending with Bolivia in 1825. The third wave followed the Versailles settlement and the creation of the League of Nations in 1919, events that spawned in excess of twenty newly recognized sovereign states. The fourth came with post-1945 decolonization. In the three years following the 1960 'Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples' twenty-seven states joined the 'family of nations'. The fifth, and most recent, wave followed the break up of the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia between 1991 and 1993. From these implosions seventeen new states attained sovereignty.



Each of these waves of political incorporation was the product of struggles by diverse polities for recognition as sovereign states, for full membership of the expanding international system. The Protestant princes of the Holy Roman Empire, the Spanish and Portuguese colonies in Latin America, and the European colonies in Asia and Africa all struggled for recognition as independent sovereign states, recognition they sought from the extant members of the international system. But these 'statist' struggles were driven by more primary struggles for the recognition of individuals' rights, generally civil and political rights. It was the struggle for liberty of religious conscience that drove the struggle by the German Protestant princes for sovereignty; it was the struggle for the individual's right of political representation that drove the independence movements in Latin America; and it was advancement of individuals' civil and political rights that justified the right to self-determination after the Second World War. The link between these two levels of recognition struggle lay in the perceived relationship between individual rights and the sovereign state. Individual rights require an institutional referent, a political institution that is charged with providing the legal and administrative apparatus necessary for their protection. A recurrent pattern has characterized the globalization of the system of sovereign states, one in which empires have suffered profound crises of legitimacy—crises engendered by their perceived failure to respect individuals' rights—and the sovereign state has been embraced as the institutional path to more effective rights recognition.

It is commonplace to begin accounts of individual rights and world politics with the proposition that rights became important in international relations only during the twentieth century, more particularly after 1945. Scholars

readily acknowledge that the philosophy of individual rights has a much longer history, dating back as far as the Stoics and receiving renewed attention in the writings of seventeenth and eighteenth century political theorists. But the idea that the politics of individual rights might have had a consequential impact on the history of international relations is seldom considered.

This project promises an alternative understanding of the relationship between rights politics and international relations. The international system has a political structure that conditions the play of politics. For realists, this structure consists primarily of the organizing principle of anarchy and the distribution of material capabilities. But the political structure of the international system also has social dimensions which give meaning to its material dimensions. Critical among these is its structure of political agency—the number and type of recognized member states. Who the recognized states are, and the nature of the sovereign rights they enjoy, shapes the contours and tenor of international politics: today's global international system, consisting of multiple regions, encompassing polities of diverse wealth and culture, is different from the fledgling European system of the seventeenth century. If my central thesis is correct, and struggles for individual rights were centrally implicated in the waves of political incorporation that produced the present global system, then the impact of individual rights cannot be reduced to the efficacy, or lack thereof, of the evolving international human rights regime. In important respects, rights politics helped constitute the structure of the contemporary international system itself. ■

Christian Reus-Smit is Professor of International Relations at the Australian National University.

A Happy Return

Fernand Braudel Fellow, ECO (2007) | **Lisa Lynch**

It was a wonderful opportunity to go on leave from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University to become a Fernand Braudel Fellow in the Department of Economics at EUI in the Fall of 2007. My husband Fabio Schiantarelli (also a Fernand Braudel Fellow in the economics department) and I had already had the opportunity to visit the economics department in the past so it was with great enthusiasm that we returned to EUI. I enjoyed the spirit of collegiality in the economics department and more generally with all the people we met at EUI.

While on leave at the EUI I had the pleasure of teaching a half semester course on empirical topics in labour economics with a focus on the distribution of earnings and the factors that may explain changing patterns of income and wage inequality across the US and Europe. Engaging with the doctoral students in the classroom, seminars, and at lunch was one of the highlights of my time at EUI.

I also worked on revisions¹ for a project that had received funding support from the US National Science Foundation to examine the factors that enable businesses to be more organizationally innovative and those that inhibit this innovation. This topic is of interest to both businesses and public policy makers

as organizational innovation has been an important component of the increased productivity we have seen in the US economy over the last decade. Unfortunately while there have been an increasing number of studies in the US and Europe that indicate a significant positive association between labor productivity and organizational innovation², there has been little research on why some firms decide to invest in organizational innovations and others do not. Anyone trying to predict the sustainability of these productivity gains needs to be able to answer the question ‘if investments in organizational innovation are so good, why isn’t every company doing this?’ Using a unique longitudinally representative survey of both manufacturing and non-manufacturing business in the United States during the 1990s I examined the factors associated with both the incidence and intensity of organizational innovation. I found that past profits tend to be positively associated with organizational innovation rather than current economic woes. I also found that employers with a more external focus and broader networks that helped them learn about best practices were more likely to invest in organizational change. Investments in human capital, information technology, R&D, and physical capital appear to be complementary with and precede investments in



- ▶ organizational innovation. Discussing this work with my colleagues and presenting it in the microeconomics seminar was particularly useful for this paper that is now under review for publication.

I also had an opportunity to share findings from a second research project³ at the 2nd Max Weber Programme Academic Careers Observatory Conference on 'Academic Careers in the Social Sciences & Humanities: National Comparisons and Opportunities'. At this conference I presented results from a survey that I conducted while at the EUI of 124 economics departments with doctoral programs and 147 non-Ph.D. departments in the US. In this study for the American Economic Association's Committee on the Status of Women in the Economics Profession (which I chaired while at EUI), I looked at the progression of women through the ranks from newly minted Ph.D.s to tenured full professors. This annual survey has been conducted for thirty five years and has been an important tool to document the progress, or lack of progress, of women in the economics profession. I found that while women progressed in a similar fashion to men through graduate school and completion of the Ph.D., the female share of untenured assistant professors fell for the second year in a row to 27.7 percent from its peak of 29.4 percent in 2005. In addition, the female share of tenured associate professors declined and there has been little growth in women's representation in the ranks of tenured full professors over the past decade with the fraction tenured who are women at just 8.1 percent in 2007.

“...it was useful to discuss the crisis with my colleagues at the EUI and then provide a European perspective on the crisis at our board meetings.”

In my role as chair of the board of directors at the Boston Federal Reserve Bank I also spent a great deal of time during the Fall of 2007 engaged in policy discussions on how the Fed should respond to the financial crisis that began in earnest in August of 2007. I had to fly back to the US for two days every month to attend directors' meetings so it was useful to discuss the crisis with my colleagues at the EUI and then provide a European perspective on the crisis at our board meetings.

As my husband Fabio Schiantarelli details in his summary of his time as a Fernand Braudel Fellow, we were enriched not only professionally but also culturally by our time in Fiesole/Firenze. To try to improve my Italian I took Italian lessons every week in beautiful Villa Schifanoia. This gave me an opportunity to meet other members of the EUI community outside the economics department. Our teacher did a terrific

job of simultaneously getting us through the rigors of Italian grammar and teaching us more about Italian history, politics, and culture. We went to the opera and concerts in Florence, took trips around Italy and even ran our first running race as a family. Only in Florence would one receive a bottle of Chianti for showing up at the start of a race and another upon completion!

As I write this summary in my new position as Dean of the Heller School for Social Policy and Management at Brandeis University I look forward to returning to the EUI again as a visitor, hopefully in the not too distant future. ■

Notes

1. Lisa M. Lynch, 'The Adoption and Diffusion of Organizational Innovation: Evidence for the US Economy', National Bureau of Economic Research working paper 13156.
2. See my review on the US evidence in Lisa M. Lynch, 'Organizational Innovation and US Productivity' December, 2007 <http://www.voxeu.org/index.php?q=node/775>
3. Lisa M. Lynch, 'Report of the Committee on the Status of Women in the Economics Profession 2007', The American Economic Review, Volume 98, Number 2, May 2008, pp. 611-618(8)

Lisa Lynch is Dean of the Heller School for Social Policy and Management at Brandeis University.

Births



Congratulations to **Francesca Davoli** and **Arnaud Mertens** on the birth of their son, **Emilio**, on 2 October 2008.

A Run through My Autumn as a Fernand Braudel Fellow

Fernand Braudel Fellow, ECO (2007) | **Fabio Schiantarelli**

I am very grateful for the opportunity that the Fernand Braudel Fellowship gave me to spend the Fall term of 2007 in the Economics Department at the European University Institute. My academic home is in the United States at Boston College, yet my research interests include issues that are relevant for Europe and that I am pursuing in collaboration with other researchers located there. The EUI was an ideal place to pursue them in a supportive and stimulating environment. The combination of institutional support, of interesting and productive colleagues in the Economics Department, and of easy access to and for my co-authors in Turin, Milan, Paris, and London worked quite well for me.

A great research environment... that is only part of the story (more on the serious stuff later). What I especially enjoyed was the entire cultural experience. We (my wife, Lisa Lynch, then also a Braudel Fellow, and our daughter Julia, and I) lived in Fiesole in an estate that included the top of Monte Ceceri. Although our home was not palatial (rather a former barn or a share-cropper's cottage) it was located in a beautiful setting amongst vineyards and olive groves, with the magical view of the Arno valley and Florence below. Our walks in the countryside and the discovery of the local restaurants and food were very rewarding.

Julia, as she had done three years before, attended Italian school for a term, and trained, as the only girl, with a boy's football team in Caldine. Spending time in Italy is an important part of our effort to raise her to be bilingual in English and Italian.

Another important part of my experience was the ability to mix work and family life with running in beautiful surroundings. Some of the runs around Florence are among the best anywhere, provided you like hills. Running home from the Department to the top of Fiesole along Via della Piazzuola and la Vecchia Fiesolana is demanding, but rewards you with great views. Moreover, the runs along small roads on the hills above San Miniato and Pian dei Giullari are impossible to replicate anywhere else. The Florence Marathon capped my running experience.

Back now to research. The general theme of my research starts with the observation that during the last fifteen years many countries have introduced significant regulatory reforms in the product markets, in factor markets, and in the financial sector. Most of the empirical literature on the effect of product and factor markets regulation (or regulatory reform) has



focused on the labour market. Much of it has focused on explaining the different performance of continental European countries versus the United States and other OECD countries. There are also many contributions on the effect of financial deregulation that examines its effect on growth and the efficiency of resource allocation, as well as whether it has increased financial fragility. The area that has been comparatively under-researched up to now is the effect of product market regulation on macroeconomic outcomes, through their effects on barriers to entry and, hence, on the degree of competition. A number of more recent contributions have appeared which start redressing this imbalance.

While in Florence, I continued to work on a research project focusing on the effect of product market reform ►►

- ▶ on the employment rate and analyzing the interaction between product and labour market regulation. More specifically, in collaboration with Giuseppe Nicoletti and Stefano Scarpetta at the OECD, we are trying to answer the question if product market deregulation is more effective in stimulating employment when the labour market is highly regulated (high employment protection and employment benefits, powerful unions, high coverage rate, etc.) or when it is less lightly regulated.¹ Moreover, we have investigated the effect of product market reform on the probability of labour market reform. The answer to these questions, based on the experience over time of the OECD countries, seems to be that deregulation in the product market is more effective in stimulating employment when the labour market is highly regulated. This is potentially important for those countries in which labour market reform may be politically difficult. Moreover, our empirical results suggest that product market deregulation increases the probability of labour market deregulation, with further favourable employment effects.

Breaks from one's usual academic routine are also useful for finishing up projects close to publication, and for exploring new areas. While in Florence I put the finishing touches on a paper I co-authored with Luigi Benfratello and Alessandro Sembenelli on the effect of banks on the introduction of product and process innovation. We have investigated this issue using firm level data for Italy and the geographically diverse effects of deregulation on banking developments. Interestingly this project was started when I was visiting the EUI in 2004 and will now appear in the *Journal of Financial Economics*.²

“The combination of an intellectually challenging environment with nice and stimulating colleagues, beautiful surroundings, excellent food, a rich cultural life, and great running made our stay a very good one indeed.”

My stay in Florence, away from the responsibilities at Boston College, has also allowed me to start exploring issues that are new for me. In particular, some researchers believe that cultural differences are the main explanation of the differences in several labour market outcomes, such as employment rates for women, youth and older workers. The effect of cultural attitudes on labour market performance and on institutions, and conversely the effect of labour market experience on attitudes towards work is a challenging topic that deserves further investigation.

During my period at the EUI I also taught an advanced course for graduate students on the interaction between capital market imperfections and business

cycle fluctuations and growth. I enjoyed my interaction with the doctoral students and I hope they did as well.

Closer to my previous work, I also started investigating the effect of competition on the incentives to introduce new products or processes, using the rich data on innovation in Italian manufacturing firms. On the one hand, the expectations of monopoly profits provide the crucial incentive for innovative activity, as well the internal funds to carry it out. On the other hand, competition may stimulate innovation because the threat of entry provides an incentive for the incumbents to innovate in order to escape competition. Which of these two forces wins out in different circumstances and for different types of firms is still open to discussion and deserves further investigation.

Summing up, we thoroughly enjoyed our stay at the EUI. The combination of an intellectually challenging environment with nice and stimulating colleagues, beautiful surroundings, excellent food, a rich cultural life, and great running made our stay a very good one indeed. ■

Notes:

1. G. Fiori, G. Nicoletti, S. Scarpetta, and F. Schiantarelli, 'Employment Outcomes and the Interaction Between Product and Labor Market Regulation: Are they Substitutes or Complements?', Boston College Working Paper 663, 2007

2. L. Benfratello, F. Schiantarelli, and A. Sembenelli, 'Banks and Innovation: Microeconomic Evidence on Italian Firms', *Journal of Financial Economics*, November 2008.

Fabio Schiantarelli is Professor in the Department of Economics at Boston College.

Analyzing Democracy among the Frescoes

Visiting Fellow, RSCAS | **Hanspeter Kriesi**



Before departing from Zurich to San Domenico di Fiesole, the rector of my university warned me that, in a short sabbatical like the one lying ahead, I would never be able to accomplish as much as I had planned. As time advances fast, I notice that there is some truth in his warning. What I originally had in mind when coming here was to pursue (in addition to some other tasks which also have to be done) above all two objectives related to two large research projects in which I am currently involved. For both projects, we have completed the collection of data, and both are ready for data analysis and reporting. One of the two projects deals with the processes of political communication in direct-democratic campaigns. Together with some 20 other projects, this particular project is part of the NCCR-democracy, the Swiss National Competence Centre for Research on the Challenges of Democracy in the 21st Century. The first task which I set myself was to work on some chapters for a joint volume to which all the members of the project contribute, and which will attempt to synthesize its results.

This project takes an integrated approach to political communication, and tries to focus both on the characteristics of communication processes through which messages and political information are constructed by political actors and the media, and on the individual responses to persuasive messages about particular choices. These two approaches seldom are joined together in a single research endeavour. We explicitly attempt to combine the two in a study of three Swiss direct-democratic campaigns. Two of these are linked to immigration issues, and one is linked to fiscal policy. For the study of political communication strategies and their effects, institutionalized political campaigns such as electoral or direct-democratic campaigns have two great advantages: first, they are of limited duration, with a clear beginning and a clear ending, and second, they introduce sharp changes in the flow of political information, which makes it possible to study its impact. In addition, their coming is known in advance, which makes it possible to obtain a baseline of public opinion before they start. For our study, we have interviewed the strategic actors at the beginning and the end of the campaign, content-analyzed their »

For five months, from September 2008 until the end of January 2009, I benefit from the hospitality of the RSCAS/EUI, where, as a visiting fellow, I am passing my sabbatical term. The RSCAS/EUI offers a unique working environment for me—as long as I so desire (although, in a world of e-mail, you are easily reachable, also by those whom you rather would want to avoid for a while). I am left alone and can work on my own in my monk's cell of the Convento, but I also have the opportunity to talk to great colleagues, and participate in the countless attractive events that go on here. Everybody seems to come here every once in a while, which provides those who reside here (even if only for a short term) with many opportunities to meet colleagues from all over Europe. For a political scientist like myself, this is, indeed, a unique and very stimulating environment. And, of course, the RSCAS/EUI is situated in a culturally very attractive region, embedded in a superb landscape, which, as someone has recently observed, is probably one of the few places on Earth, where man has improved on God.

“Everybody seems to come here every once in a while, which provides those who reside here (even if only for a short term) with many opportunities to meet colleagues from all over Europe.”

- ▶ media input as well as the media output, and conducted panel-surveys with the citizen public.

The big question driving this project is, to what extent the political communication efforts of the political actors and the media influence the opinion formation and the eventual choices of the voters. The question is whether direct-democratic campaigns mainly give rise to manipulation or to deliberation, whether they mislead the voters or enlighten them. So far, based on the analysis of one campaign only, we have several indications suggesting that their effect is rather more enlightening than misleading. Thus, the framing strategies of the political actors are mainly focusing on substance and not on strategy, conflict or the horse race, and the same is true for the media who faithfully report the frames of the actors. While it is true that the framing is predominantly negative, it is also true that the opposing camps not only talk past each other, as predicted by diverse political science theories, but address each other's arguments with counter-arguments. At the level of the voters, we find that they learn the arguments of the political actors in the course of the campaign, although the distribution of knowledge follows the usual patterns in socio-demographic terms. As a consequence of their learning, their final choices dramatically converge to pre-campaign partisan and issue-specific predispositions. Moreover, voters whose issue-specific and partisan predispositions collide tend to resolve their ambiguity in favour of their partisan leanings.

The other main task I set myself for my stay at the RSCAS is to contribute to yet another joint volume which we plan for the completion of the second phase of a large project on the transformation of the national political space in Western Europe. This project, which is a joint effort of my Department in Zurich and the Department of Political Science at the University of Munich, has already resulted in a first volume summing up the results of its previous phase.¹ In a nutshell, our idea here is that Western European party systems are being transformed under the impact of the mobilization, by parties of the populist right, of the political potentials composed of various groups of 'globalization-losers'. We have substantiated this idea on the basis of a comparative analysis of national election campaigns in six Western European countries—Austria, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Switzerland, and the UK—between the 1970s and the 1990s/2000s. In the second phase of our project, we are extending the original study in four directions. First, we add the more recent national elections to the analysis, in order to check whether the trends we found extend beyond the period we studied previously. Second, we extend the study to European election campaigns, in order to test whether the specific conflict structures we found at the national level are repeated at the European level,

or whether, instead, we can speak of a Europeanization of conflict structures. Third, we extend the study to the protest arena, in order to test whether the same potentials are also mobilized in this particular arena. Finally, we extend our analysis beyond election campaigns to three issue-specific public debates which are crucial for our thesis that the transformation of the national political space hinges mainly on the mobilization of 'globalization losers': European integration, immigration, and neo-liberal economic reforms. The detailed study of these debates should allow us to get a better idea of the precise meaning of the conflict structures in the different countries, arenas, and levels of the multi-level political system of Europe. ■

Notes:

1. Kriesi, Hanspeter, Edgar Grande, Romain Lachat, Martin Dolezal, Simon Bornschier, Timotheos Frey 2008. *West European Politics in the Age of Globalization*. Cambridge University Press.

Hanspeter Kriesi is Professor at the Department of Political Science at the University of Zurich.





Degree Conferring Ceremony at the European University Institute



Friday, 3 October 2008
Badia Fiesolana

2008 EUI Doctorates and *Honoris Causa* Degrees

Honoris Causa Degrees

John H. Jackson, University Professor, Georgetown University Law Center, Washington DC

Fritz Scharpf, Emeritus Director, Max Planck Institute for the Studies of Societies, Cologne

Thomas Sargent, Professor of Economics, New York University

Doctorates in History and Civilization

Olga BARANOVA

Eva BAUER

Christina BLANCO SÍO-LÓPEZ

Maria Del Mar CEBRIAN V.

Rita Maria GARSTENAUER

Moritz Friedrich ISENMANN

Takuro IWASA

Julia Christine LEDERLE

Davide LOMBARDO

Laura MANZANO BAENA

Ciaran Colum O'SCEA

Fernandao Manuel PIMENTA

Sigfrido RAMIREZ PEREZ

Massimo ROSPOCHER

Marco M. C. SCHNYDER V. W.

Hitoshi SUZUKI

Henning TRÜPER

Janou VORDERWUELBECKE

Doctorates in Economics

Marta ARESPA CASTELLO

Judith AY

Clara V. BARRABES SOLANES

Victor BYSTROV

Juan GONZALES A.

Christian Jonathan KASCHA

Alessandro MARAVALLE

Massimiliano G. MARCELLINO

Mario MARINIELLO

Laurent MEUNIER

Christopher MILDE

Markus POSCHKE

Elvira PRADES

Katrin RABITSCH

Matthias Christian RAU-GÖHRING

Konstantinos TATSIRAMOS

Natacha VALLA

Doctorates in Law

Levente Benő BORZSÁK

Helene BOUSSARD

Federica CASAROSA

Fernando DOMINGUEZ G.

Vanesa HERNANDEZ G.

Poul KJAER

Cormac Seamus MAC AMHLAIGH

Tambiama André MADIEGA

Alexandre Cardoso MOTA PINTO

Patricia QUILLACQ

Ekaterina ROUSSEVA

Ruth RUBIO MARIN

Irene SOBRINO GUIJARRO

Annelies VERSTICHEL

Doctorates in Political and Social Sciences

Sophie-Charlotte BRUNE

Yordanka CHOBANOVA

Chiara DE FRANCO

Mario Eduardo DRAGO CAMUS

Maria GOMEZ GARRIDO

Eva HEIDBREDE

Maria JIMENEZ BUEDO

Koen JONKERS

Jean-Antoine KARAGIANNIS

Xymena KUROWSKA

Gabriella MELONI

Thomas POGUNTKE

Christine REH

Carla M. RODRIGUEZ GARCIA

Hans Jakob SKOVGAARD

Jonathan Peter James WHITE

Lea Leman YPI



***Laudatio* for John H. Jackson**

Presenter: Ernst-Ulrich Petersmann, Head of the Law Department

John H. Jackson, who is Professor of Law and Director of the Institute of International Economic Law at Georgetown University, Washington DC, has been proposed for this doctor *honoris causa* in recognition of his leading contributions, over more than four decades, to the theory and practice of international economic law. Just as Adam Smith is widely recognized as the founding father of modern economic theory, so is Prof. Jackson recognized—all over the world—as the founding father of modern international trade law as an academic discipline. And just as Adam Smith built his economic theories on moral ideas of justice, so do the numerous books by Prof. Jackson analyze international economic law as part of national constitutional systems and international ‘treaty constitutions’ committed to the protection of freedom, economic welfare, the rule of law and democratic governance.

In 1969, when his classic textbook on *The Law of World Trade* was first published, hardly any citizen in Europe knew the meaning of the word ‘GATT.’ Even today, only few European citizens recall that the European Community Treaty of 1957 and the European common market were explicitly based on the customs union rules of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), and that the absence of a GATT in the 1930s was a major cause of the emergence of dictatorships in Europe and World War II. By contrast, taxi drivers in China readily confirm today that the recent emergence of liberty and economic welfare in China is closely related to China’s membership in the GATT. These interrelationships between national, regional and worldwide economic law and constitutional rules are one of the core subjects of Prof. Jackson’s research and practical work as legal advisor to many governments and international organizations. The current financial crisis confirms this important function of world trade law as a bulwark protecting citizens not only against welfare-reducing protectionism, but also against the transformation of economic recessions into political crises as in the 1930s.

As author of numerous books and articles and chief editor of the leading *Journal of International Economic Law*, Prof. Jackson continues to shape—as he has for more than 40 years—worldwide research on international economic law. Prof. Jackson’s proposal, in 1990, for transforming the GATT into the new World Trade Organization (WTO) illustrates the policy-oriented focus of his research on facilitating legal change and political adaptation to economic globalization. By engaging, every year, in lectures and conferences with European academics, policy-makers and legal practitioners at London, Geneva and Brussels, Prof. Jackson has set a unique example for transatlantic cooperation in the search for common strategies supporting a more beneficial world trading system. Many European lawyers and academics are proud of

having studied international economic law, and its ‘domestic law effects’ inside constitutional democracies, in the seminars of Prof. Jackson at the universities of Michigan and Washington or at the numerous European universities that have invited Prof. Jackson as visiting professor.

This honorary doctorate is justified not only by the academic excellence of Prof. Jackson and by the unique political contribution of his work to promoting economic welfare and rule of law. He is also one of the best American representatives for the values underlying our EUI: his research is interdisciplinary in its methods; it is comparative, transatlantic and global in its approach; and it is committed to promoting democratic governance and rule of law through social discourse and legal innovation. John has always remained a kind citizen, eager to help—with curiosity, modesty and humor—students and doctoral researchers all over the world. During the few days of his visit to the EUI, Prof. Jackson participated in the doctoral defense of our EUI researcher Lukasz Gruszczynski and offered to publish this thesis in the prestigious OUP series of books on international economic law, which he edits. It is my pleasure to present John Jackson for admission to the Honorary Degree of Doctor of the European University Institute.



Professor John H. Jackson

Laudatio for Fritz Scharpf

Presenter: Stefano Bartolini, Director of the Robert Schuman Centre of Advanced Studies

Fritz Scharpf's academic formation and *parcours* is fairly classical for a scholar of his generation in continental Europe, in the recovery years of the 1950s and 1960s.

He pursued studies in law and political science at the University of Tübingen and Freiburg between 1954-1959; and then had his first encounter with the *mecca* of post WWII political science, the United States, with a fellowship at Yale, state examinations in law and legal internship service between 1959 and 1964; a masters in law at Yale in 1961 and a second 'American' period, between 1964 and 1968, as assistant professor and visiting assistant professor at Yale and Chicago Law schools.

Back to Germany, he became full professor of *Politikwissenschaft* in 1968 at the University of Konstanz. Between 1973 and 1984 he directed the International Institute for Management at the Wissenschaft Institute in Berlin, and in 1986 he made the move to the newly created Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies in Cologne, established in 1985 and initially headed by sociologist Renate Mayntz, with whom Fritz Scharpf intensely cooperated. Both of them exerted a profound influence on the institute's research and public image.

During his career, Fritz Scharpf has won a considerable list of academic awards and honours in recognition of his work, among which I mention here only the 2000 Johan Skytte Prize in Political Science; and the 2007 Lifetime Contribution Award in EU Studies from the European Studies Association.

So, the beginning of the 21st century was benign to Fritz Scharpf and brought about a broad and full recognition of the importance of his work in several fields and across many different academic circles, and in the world of policy practice.

In recent years Fritz Scharpf has also been a close associate with the EUI, repeatedly visiting us, serving on thesis committees, in the Research Council and then on the Steering Committee of the Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies. If I am allowed a personal memory, as research council member he offered, together with Johan Olsen, a crucial contribution to the SPS department in a delicate period of its life in the second half of the 1990s, helping the department to stabilise itself, define its profile and plan its recruitment policy.

But let's come to substance and chart briefly his special contributions to the social sciences. Among the many, I will point to three areas that seem to me to have been not only fields of high level production but also of constant personal commitment and

concern: federalism, European integration, and the political economy of inflation, employment and the welfare state.

The analysis of the relationships between federal, regional and local governments in Germany was originally developed in a famous book on *Politikverflechtung* (1976) [*Joint decision making*] written together with Bernd Reissert and Fritz Schnabel. This analysed theoretically and explained empirically—in the light of different problem types (distributive problems, coordination problems etc.)—the varying success of the so-called *Gemeinschaftsaufgaben* of 'joint tasks' of the German Federal, Länder, and municipal governments, which involved the joint financing of tasks for the funding of universities, the building of motorways, and other big investments.

Having so thoroughly studied the problems of joint decisions in multi-level governmental structures, it was only natural that Fritz Scharpf would then move to observe in that same light the growing political production of the EU since the 1980s. He applied there at the European level this theory of joint decision making, developing the now famous notion of the 'joint decision trap'.



Professor Fritz Scharpf

He explained that in a context of multi-level decision-making where actors at the supranational level depend on the acquiescence of domestic constituencies at the lower level; find themselves in bargaining context with no exit option; and apply unanimity rule; specific imbalances develop:

- imbalances between the high political costs of decision making in the Council, where only incremental policy changes can be envisaged, and the lower political costs and faster decision making of the ECJ and the Commission;
- imbalances between the 'positive integration' driven by Council political decisions and the 'negative integration' driven by ECJ and Commission; imbalances between the reduction of the latitude of action for national policy options in the area of market correction (environmental policy, social policy), and the market integration agenda of the ECJ and the Commission.
- imbalances between the incapacity of the EU to face its growing legitimacy problem - as it rests on a continuous 'output legitimacy' based on effective delivering of positively evaluated policy output - and the EU capacity to erode the national bases of political legitimacy. He developed those thoughts further in his work on 'Governing Europe: effective or democratic?' (1999)

'Joint decision trap', 'positive and negative integration', and 'input versus output legitimacy' are concepts invented or re-interpreted by Fritz Scharpf that have profoundly shaped the debate about EU development since the 1980s.

[...]

Fritz Scharpf has explored the consequences for the national welfare state and national macro-economic policies of the growing but unevenly distributed new mobility options of productive factors and of exchanges connected with globalisation tendencies and the lowering of economic boundaries.

Accompanying these main substantive contributions is also a strong epistemological concern that runs through Fritz Scharpf's books and papers, which offer an important methodological contribution.

Working in the interstitial methodological space between the super-heroic assumptions of neo-classical economic theory and hard-core rational choice theory, on the one hand, and the agnosticism of descriptive social sciences about theoretical and generalisable explanations, on the other hand, he has attempted to identify those conditions that can make human action (individual as well as aggregate unit actions) predictable in situations where actors' perceptions are not necessarily an accurate representation of objective reality, cognitive capabilities are limited, and preference over outcomes are neither necessarily utility maximising nor strictly selfish.

In this endeavour, he has focused on the role of *institutions*: formal rules and social norms (sanctioned and unsanctioned) as constructs that tend to reduce the range of potential behaviour by determining the required, prohibited, appropriate or permitted action, which are by far less numerous than the possible actions in any given cultural environment.

In his view, the discovery of empirical regularity and the sheer possibility of a social science can only be achieved if the institutionalized expectations reduce the range of feasible behaviours and constitute the set of relevant actors.

In this type of institutionalism—to be identified as 'actor-centered institutionalism'—the definition of actors beyond the individual and below the systemic properties and structures is not postulated, but needs to rest on a theoretical analysis of their internal micro-level interactions.

[...]

Thus, by combining insights from various strands, such as neo-classical economic theory and game theory, sociological institutionalism, the roles of norms and reciprocal expectations, as well as cognitive sciences, Fritz Scharpf has contributed to the setting up of an organic programme for social science research and methodological reflection. *Games Real Actors Play* (1997) is the book in which this attempt has been most coherently pursued.

[...]

In conclusion, we appreciate not only Fritz Scharpf specific scientific contributions, but more generally his intellectual attitude of trespassing disciplinary boundaries, working at the crossroads of several social sciences, and in the 'interstices' of disciplinary specialisation; of invoking the principle of 'possibility' and 'plausibility' as against the principles of 'elegance' and 'parsimony' of theories; of reminding us of the need to face with honesty and courage the difficult and often 'demoralising' ontological and methodological problems of the social sciences.

These qualities are the distinguishing features of a 'classic' scholar as they remain the fundamental antidotes against any excessive blinding specialisation, and 'scholastic' paradigmatic standardisation, in the social sciences.

For all these reasons I present Fritz Scharpf for admission to the Honorary Degree of Doctor of the European University Institute.

***Laudatio* for Thomas Sargent**

Presenter: Ramon Marimon, Director of the Max Weber Programme, Professor in the Economics Department

Dear President, professors, researchers and families,

In these days of unprecedented global financial crisis, as economists, as social scientists, there are few things we cannot—we should not—avoid thinking about.

First, thinking about the role of expectations. In contrast with nature, where the future doesn't play a part in the present, today's economic situation is not only a function of the past, of years of unprecedented financial growth, but also a function of the future, of investors' and consumers' perceptions, expectations and anxieties about the uncertain future.

Second, thinking about the role of general equilibrium. The fate of many families is at stake; not only wealthy investors, but also home-owners with home-mortgages, workers in firms in dire straits, researchers looking for jobs. Their fate not only depends on their actions and chance, but also—and mostly—on social trust, on mutual confidence. To regain such trust, there are no one-sided solutions: an unpleasant arithmetic links financial, fiscal and monetary solutions, links domestic and global actions, links today's actions with tomorrow's opportunities, links trust as well as mistrust. This is the nature of our dynamic general equilibrium.



Professor Thomas Sargent, President Yves Mény and Secretary-General Marco Del Panta

Third, thinking about the role of our profession in the face of social demands. As doctors and engineers, we economists are called upon, in times of crisis, for fast and sharp solutions. In time of crisis charlatans have a field day. But it also is a good time to take honest stock of what we have learned from crises and policies in the past, to reassess our theories and models. Today's headlines talk about the 'great depression of the 1930s'. The situation is not the same, and it is not the same particularly in one respect: decades of research in economics have given a much better understanding of the economy and of the possibilities and limits of economic policies.

A good share of our understanding of macroeconomics comes from the forty years of research, teaching and academic writing Thomas Sargent has produced since his 1968 Harvard Ph.D. This includes his sixteen years at the University of Minnesota, with his productive collaborations with Neil Wallace, Chris Sims, Robert Lucas and Edward Prescott (the latter two, already Nobel Laureates), and also with his Ph.D. students; his following years at Stanford and the University of Chicago, and, since 2002, at New York University.

Addressing the problem of expectations has been central to Sargent's research agenda. First, as a key figure in the 'rational expectations revolution' that swept through the profession during the 1970s and 1980s, developing new models and statistical methods that have become standard in the profession. But he did not stop there, and has also been a leading figure in the exploration of models of learning where agents have subjective beliefs, showing how models with 'self-confirming beliefs' can provide a better explanation of historical data. The author of nine books, his latest one, *Robustness* with Lars Hansen, builds upon the most advanced engineering literature to show us how economic policy should be designed in situations where the policy maker is uncertain of which is the 'true model' of the economy. Work that could hardly be more timely!

Linked to the 'rational expectations revolution', a radical transformation of macroeconomics in the last thirty years has taken place in the development of dynamic stochastic general equilibrium models, which has allowed us to better understand the interlinks between individual decisions, economic policies and aggregate outcomes in an uncertain world, where often credibility and commitment are at stake. As in complex models in physics, biology and engineering, the so-called DSGE models often need to be simulated on a computer. Again, in this wide field of models and methods, Tom Sargent's research and graduate textbooks have had a major impact, as any graduate in economics from the EUI, or any other leading Ph.D. programme, will testify. For them, as

one was asking me yesterday, a recurrent question is: 'when is he going to get the Nobel Prize?'

The impact has not only been in providing a better 'toolkit', of models and methods for the profession, but also—and today I would like to emphasize this—in addressing a wide range of economic policy issues. From the reconsideration of monetary policy, in the light of the rational expectations hypothesis, emphasizing the deep interconnections between fiscal and monetary policy, to rethinking the European unemployment problem. In his extremely prolific list of refereed—often co-authored—articles, the macroeconomic problems which he has not addressed are very few indeed.

Tom Sargent is a Social Scientist of an unusual intellectual curiosity. Not only does he have an insatiable thirst for knowledge, learning not only from other leading researchers, and colleagues, in economics and in technical fields, but also from students and young researchers, as well as researchers from other social sciences and the humanities. It is not by chance that he has made major contributions in other areas; for example, in monetary economic history (in fact, a recent Ph.D. thesis in the HEC-EUI department builds on his work). It is not by chance that he has been extremely prolific as Ph.D. advisor, on a wide range of topics. As it is not by chance that he likes to come back to Florence often, to give seminars and interact with faculty and researchers of the EUI, but also, with his wife Carolyn, to explore Florentine art.

It is with great personal pleasure that I present Thomas Sargent for admission to the Honorary Degree of Doctor of the European University Institute.

This year's Mauro Cappelletti Prize was awarded to Annelies Verstichel for her thesis entitled "Representation and Identity: The Right of Persons Belonging to Minorities to Effective Participation in Public Affairs: Content, Justification and Limits", which she defended in 2007 under the supervision of Prof. Bruno De Witte.



The Alumni Prize for the Best Interdisciplinary Doctoral Thesis was awarded to Yannis Karagiannis for his thesis entitled "Preference Heterogeneity and Equilibrium Institutions: The Case of European Competition Policy", which he defended in 2007 under the supervision of Prof. Adrienne Héritier











Back to the Roots

Visiting Fellow, SPS | **Thomas Poguntke**



I was one of the lucky few to be admitted to the EUI in 1983. Coming straight from London (I literally finished my M.Sc. dissertation on the train) I found myself immersed in an intellectually even more exciting environment and, one should not forget to mention, in a wonderful location. When I first saw the cloister of the Badia upon my interview my immediate reaction was that I really wanted to get one of the scholarships. As we all know, academic careers have a habit of moving you around quite a bit, and in my case this meant drifting north via Mannheim and Bielefeld to Keele, and then back down south again via Birmingham to Bochum. My sabbatical allows me now to return temporarily to my academic roots at the EUI where I work, among other things, on a data set that was generated by a large comparative ESRC project on the Europeanization of national political parties.

When I started with a group of colleagues at Keele University to inquire about the effects of European integration on national political parties we realized, to our considerable surprise, that the role of national political parties in the process of European governance had thus far been largely overlooked. Given that all EU member states are, to a greater or lesser degree, party governments this represented a somewhat surprising omission. To be sure, party politics had not been disregarded altogether: the formation of party groups in the European Parliament had attracted considerable interest by researchers, as had the voting behaviour of

MEPs and their alleged tendency to ‘go native’ once elected to the European legislature. Similarly, the formation of European party federations, the so-called Europarties, had not gone unnoticed by scholarly interest. As a matter of fact, one of the leading scholars in the field, Prof Luciano Bardi, is currently a Braudel Fellow at the EUI and has maintained his links to the SPS department ever since I was a researcher here in the eighties.

Yet, the fairly obvious question concerning the effects of European integration on the internal workings of national political parties had largely remained unanswered. Given that a series of treaty reforms beginning with the Single European Act of 1987 has greatly expanded the scope of EU decision-making and strengthened its supranational character, it was a reasonable expectation that this should have had substantial effects on political parties as the key players in national politics. Furthermore, virtually all decision-makers in EU institutions are party politicians in that they owe their position to a selection or nomination process in which national political parties play a central role. »

“As a point of departure we chose to focus on what is at the heart of much of political analysis, that is, the question of power.”

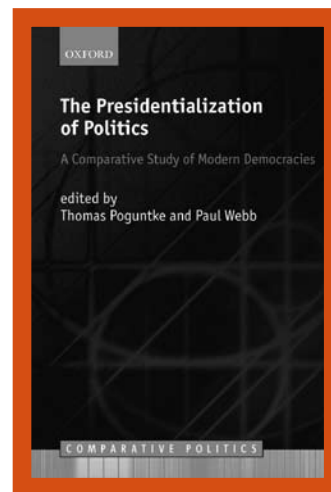
▶ As a point of departure we chose to focus on what is at the heart of much of political analysis, that is, the question of power. After all, the very fact that a new group of professional politicians, that is, MEPs had been created as a result of the introduction of direct elections to the European Parliament was unlikely to have remained without any effect on the internal balance of power within national political parties. Furthermore, the growing need to acquire specialized knowledge within the party organizations on the EU system of governance should also not have left national political parties entirely unaffected. Last but not least, what did it mean for the function of national political parties as the central linakge between the institutions of governance and mass publics if their top elites were increasingly drawn into EU decision-making where they determine national legislation to a considerable degree, yet are removed (and isolated) from the accountability mechanisms which operate, to a greater or lesser degree, at the level of national politics. After all, EU decision-making has an in-built tendency to function according to the logic of international politics, which means that there is an inevitably executive bias that strengthens executive actors at the expense of collective actors such as national parliaments and national parties. To be sure, much of the often bemoaned democratic deficit of the EU system of governance can (also) be found here and our research has shown that it is indeed the party elites who, when they are in national government, acquire additional power as a result of their involvement in EU decision-making.

To be sure, this trend towards the strengthening of political elites at the expense of collective actors is an important factor in amplifying a wider trend towards the presidentialization of politics in modern democracies, which is another of my major research interests. During my stay at the EUI I will explore possibilities to pursue this theme further, which has already led to a large comparative volume co-edited with Paul Webb (another EUI alumni).

Why did I choose the EUI for my sabbatical? Well, besides the obvious attraction to temporarily return to an institution where I spent my formative academic years, there a number of excellent colleagues here with whom I have cooperated ever since I left the EUI. I have already mentioned Prof Bardi with whom I share an interest in Europarties. With Peter Mair I cooperated in the party organization project which laid many important foundations for the current advances in the research on political parties and the way they organize. Together we directed the ECPR Summer School on 'Parties and Party Systems' this September. We will do so again next year and hope to develop a volume on the role of parties in European governance out of our ongoing cooperation. With Donatella Della Porta I share an interest in social movements as one of my

ongoing research themes has been the emergence and success of Green Parties in Western Europe which grew out of the protest movements of the late seventies and early eighties. To be sure, this list is far from complete, and it goes almost without saying that EUI is also the place to meet many inspiring Ph.D. students who are working in related fields. There are only few places around the globe where such a concentration of highly qualified Ph.D. students and Fellows working in areas related to my own research interests can be found, and this is certainly one of the most rewarding aspects of spending a semester at the Badia. ■

Thomas Poguntke is Professor of Political Science at Ruhr University, Bochum, Germany.



Nation-state Transformations and Social Rights

Visiting Fellow, SPS | **Marta Arretche**

Throughout the 20th century, national states' commitment to nation-wide uniform social rights has pushed the centralization of political authority. State structures underwent (gradual or rapid) transformations that concentrated spending and regulatory powers with the central governments. The national state has increased its political authority over the affairs of states and municipalities, either by channelling its expenditures through policies they eventually have taken over or by regulating the policies under their control.

Even federal states largely known for their fragmented governmental structures, like the United States, underwent deep transformations in the powers assigned to the central government.¹ In Europe, some federations were born committed to nation-wide uniform policy rules from their very origins, with Germany being the most studied case. Commitment to nation-wide homogeneous social rights was deeply rooted in the process of state formation that strongly concentrated decision-making authority at the central level, being constituent units regularly in charge of implementing the federal legislation. In this case, welfare state development brought further centralization.

On the other hand, the last quarter of the 20th century witnessed a widespread wave of decentralization and devolution processes through which state structures were reshaped. Although oriented by diverse norma-

tive goals and driven by different political contexts, highly centralized unitary states created new forms of regional and meso-level governments to which they transferred policy competences.

“Commitment to nation-wide homogeneous social rights was deeply rooted in the process of state formation that strongly concentrated decision-making authority at the central level...”

These transformations and their relationship with social services decision-making authority call for a line of research that goes beyond the simple dichotomy between federal versus non-federal states. Through different processes of state transformation shaped by quite distinct factors, federal and unitary states nowadays present significant similarities on a number of political institutions, such as vertical arrangements allocating policy competences among government levels, the extension of fiscal decentralization, the mechanisms employed to regulate and supervise local and regional governments' policies, and even the rigidities encountered in amending constitutions with regard to matters affecting regional governments authority. In fact, comparative studies found that, when it comes to local governments' effective autonomy to make decisions over their own finances, some European federations like Germany and Austria are more centralized ▶▶



- ▶ than some decentralized unitary states, such as Denmark and France. On the same token, the concept of ‘varieties of federalism’ is based upon the analytical recognition of major distinctions among federal states regarding the distribution of political authority.

“Although inequality is a known outcome of Latin American social policies, an explanation suggesting that political institutions had provided regional elites the opportunities to veto central government initiatives aiming for more egalitarian and comprehensive systems of social protection does not stand.”

These recent findings challenge a number of established theoretical propositions on the role the distinctions of these two forms of state play upon the constitution of different models of democracy, as well as on the decision-making process and political behaviour. So far, comparative analysis has asserted that federal states generally create political institutions that constrain the centralization of political authority. As a result, the development and comprehensiveness of social policies would be hindered. Compared to unitary states, federal ones would show lower levels of social spending and cause policy decisions to be based on the lowest common denominator. The comprehensiveness of social policy and the national coordination of public policies would thus probably be more of a by-product of political regimes whose institutions concentrate authority and decision-making. Federal states instead, by fragmenting political authority and creating multiple veto points along the decision-making process, would bring forth mechanisms that would reduce the scope of national policies. In sum, the main findings of comparative federal analyses have predicted that federal states will build up specific institutional arrangements, different from those found on unitary ones. As a result, consensus models of democracy would be associated with the former while the latter would tend to institute majoritarian styles of decision-making and political behaviour. Nevertheless, the systematic relationship between those two forms of state and models of decision-making has been challenged by the transformations of state structures mentioned above. Fortunately, it also opens a large avenue of investigation for researchers interested in the role institutions play in structuring political behaviour and policy decisions.

As a matter of fact, Latin American federations don’t appear to fit very well into the key hypothesis of the mainstream literature linking federalism and systems of social protection development. The form of state

affects neither social expenditures nor policies and their comprehensiveness. The social spending levels of Latin American federal states are similar to averages found among OECD countries. Indeed, Latin American federal states spend more than unitary ones on core social policies, even if we exclude social insurance expenses, which tend to be affected by the ‘ratchet effect’. Evidence actually permits conclusions similar to those found in the German case, that is, being a federal state has favoured social spending growth instead of hindering it.

Moreover, although inequality is a known outcome of Latin American social policies, an explanation suggesting that political institutions had provided regional elites the opportunities to veto central government initiatives aiming for more egalitarian and comprehensive systems of social protection does not stand. Instead, social policy outcomes are better explained by the policy preferences of bureaucratic elites occupying key positions at the central government under authoritarian or semi-democratic regimes. The earliest social security systems, like those which prevailed in Argentina and Brazil, were clearly inspired by the normative goals of what Esping-Andersen called the ‘conservative’ type: social rights were meant to substitute for the absence of democratic and civil rights as well as to divide citizens along corporatist lines. So, inequalities can be explained by nation-wide social systems aiming at status preservation—embedded in a context of high unemployment and income inequality—rather than by the opportunities offered by political institutions to provide for veto powers to regional elites. Thus, systematic investigation into the state-building process and political institutions between European and Latin America states is a promising line of investigation.

My previous research on Brazil also showed the current centralized traits of its federal state, and thus its similarities to the European states. In spite of the thorough decentralisation process that accompanied democratization, legislation is still overwhelmingly concentrated at the central level, which is entitled to regulate numerous policies that local governments are in charge of implementing. Federal legislation regulates the finances of subnational governments, ruling both on how they may collect taxes and allocate their revenue. Although decentralization has provided room for policy innovation, local governments’ decision-making authority is limited on core social policies. Even local level participation, which has blossomed through innumerable policy-specific councils, can not be fully understood without taking into account federal-level mandates. In other words, the centralization of political authority implies that subna- ▶▶

▶ tional governments' policy decisions are highly affected by central-level legislation, transfers, and supervision. In spite of the concentration of policy decision-making at the central level, constituent units have limited institutional veto powers, resembling some decentralized European states. Constitutional amendments, even when related to federal issues and affecting major interests of constituent units, are comparatively easy to approve, with only a 60% majority being required in two sessions of the two Houses under the same legislature. There are no additional veto mechanisms, such as referendums or approval by state legislatures. This means that decision-making on federal issues begins and ends at the central level, and comes into force immediately following approval.

These findings suggest that researchers interested in a deeper understanding of Latin America have much to gain by means of systematic comparison with the European states. State-building in Latin America as well as the on-going state transformations have been much more influenced by European models than current comparative analyses acknowledge. This recogni-

tion will also contribute a great deal to understanding democracy and political institutions in Brazil.

For sure, the contribution of EUI professors and researchers to the current knowledge about democracy and multilevel governance, along with the commitment of its community to permanent debate about federal issues, places the EUI as one of the most suitable institutions for me to follow such a line of research. ■

Notes:

1. Pierson, Paul (2007). 'The Rise and Reconfiguration of Activist Government', in: Pierson, Paul and Theda Skocpol (2007). *The Transformation of American Politics. Activist Government and the Rise of Conservatism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Marta Arretche is Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of Sao Paulo and Research Director of the Center for Metropolitan Studies, Brazil.

Congratulations to Amalia Amaya

Amalia Amaya has been awarded the 'European Award for the Best Doctoral Dissertation in Legal Theory', by the European Academy of Legal Theory. Amalia received a LL.M. and a Ph.D. from the EUI in 2006. She also obtained a S.J.D. from Harvard Law School in 2007.

Her award winning EUI Dissertation is entitled *An Inquiry into the Nature of Coherence and Its Role in Legal Argument*. She is currently finishing her book *The Tapestry of Reason: An Inquiry into the Nature of Coherence and its Role in Legal Argument*, to be published by Hart Publishing.

Amalia joined the Institute of Philosophical Research at the National Autonomous University of Mexico in 2008. She works primarily in philosophy of law, specifically, in the epistemology of legal proof and the theory of legal reasoning, though she is also interested in ethics and practical reason.



Opportunities and Barriers to Food Democracy

Visiting Fellow, SPS | **Michiel Korthals**



Crisis of food

The philosophical (ethical) and political meaning of food and agriculture are a fascinating subject matter, in particular due to recent social developments and to the fact that until now philosophers didn't consider food ethics and policy to be an important item. Nietzsche didn't write *Thus Ate Zarathustra* nor Heidegger *Being and Food*. This attitude coincides with the consensus among stakeholders that emerged in the fifties of the last century that food was to be seen as a political and ethically non-controversial issue. Food could essentially be treated as 'fuel' that should be made available by farmers and producers for consumption and should be safe to eat. Citizen-consumers were encouraged not to interfere with food production processes and to leave them to the experts and this was also in general the EU policy. Nothing political could happen with food production; the only ethical controversy that was taken seriously at that time were food shortages in various parts of the world mostly due to misdistribution of food.

However, from the eighties onwards, production and consumption of food has become increasingly po-

liticized. European consumers are simultaneously no longer involved in food production, and have less knowledge of, and trust in, food production processes. Catastrophes like BSE, Dioxin, Foot and Mouth Disease and food controversies like the one with Genetically Modified Foods cause social crises which extend beyond straightforward matters of food safety. More recently, European consumers are confronted with several food crises at once. The most common one talked about nowadays concerns the rising prices for essential food stuffs and the concomitant hunger protests in poor countries. This crisis is systematically connected with the already earlier manifest crisis concerning food related diseases like obesity, and the one due to the unsustainability of the current food production. This last one covers e.g. the excessive use of energy and water to produce and transport food that reduces life chances of future generations and poor people.

These crisis demonstrate the gap between the locations where consumers shop for, prepare and consume a meal, and the distant places where parts or ingredients of food are produced. This gap between production and consumption not only determines numerous kinds of ethically unacceptable production practices but also contributes to an increasing feeling of consumer alienation, and a lack of trust in the actors of the food sector.

Consumers of food have at least three types of concern on food production. They have substantive concerns about structural traits of food production, such as lack of animal welfare. Secondly, they complain about the lack of trustworthy information, or even partisan or distorted information, and lack of objectivity on the part of information sources. They also complain about lack of involvement with food production and the increasing gap between production and consumption, which treats consumers as complete outsiders and does not involve them in decisions made about the food supply but are very important for their life. The core of their concerns is, that food is not a normal commodity but a public good, an intrinsic good; pasta, for example, has not only monetary and nutritional value, but in the Italian context cultural, social and ethical values as well, because it has an intrinsic role to play in individuals experiencing life according to their ideas of what constitutes a good life. My research is about the philosophical and ethical meaning of food (production) and agriculture. ▶

► *New trends in food production*

Many actors in the food sector are participating in the recent phenomenon of mergers of smaller food companies into larger ones, and the formation of global food chains with the concomitant development of the globalization of markets. Longer supply chains and connections, the rapid fragmentation of ingredient sourcing (e.g. herbs from Kenya, conservation ingredients from Canada, soy sauce from India and so on being used in the same product), and increased processing of ingredients make these chains increasingly intransparent and unsustainable.

Simultaneously, bio- and nanotechnologies applied to food production and conservation are rapidly progressing, resulting in an increase in novel foods, of which the novelty however and the concomitant claims (often health claims) are not well validated, and the risks also not thoroughly analysed.

A shameful development is the production of biofuels for cars that contribute to increasing hunger in the developing world because they push food crops towards less fertile areas or diminish the possibilities for food crops.

There are some countermovements in the direction of local food production, like edible cities (cities that consciously try to reduce their climate gasses output by transforming their neighbourhoods in agricultural areas), urban community farming and other local food initiatives. They often contribute to sustainable production that is overseeable and transparent.

Can food democracy help?

What to do? The crises are severe and we do need in the West a radical change of the dominant foodstyle. But do we need to skip meat altogether, eat only local food, eat less and as sober as possible? I doubt that. Due to the complexities of the food production the imperative to buy only local food would probably have disastrous effects on international trade with the poorer Southern farmers. If eating less means less vegetables and fruits than we are also in trouble. The advice of sober eating is silly, because the most important thing is that food should be seen again as an issue of enjoyment, of delight, of sociality and of a connection of man with nature. Food styles do have to change towards sustainable, animal welfare friendly and culinary practices. We need not less food, but more nature connected food consumption and production and a food science that is doing research in that direction. Do we need strong new ethical norms, or new spice laws as some argue? No, because food production and food consumption is everywhere different; application of whatever moral law is everywhere an experiment and a thing of deliberation and elaboration. Different types of deliberation and organized as a learning

process, that is the direction I am looking for. It is interesting to see that some EU policies also go in that direction. My book just published, *Ethical Traceability*, got a positive afterword of the EU-commissioner.

Questions for a theory of deliberative food democracy

It is quite a challenge to find out what sustainable food democracy could mean in bridging the gap in food production, and my research aims both at doing case by case work (interviewing, organizing deliberations) and at analyzing more general, translocal deliberative contributions to the problems at hand. I want to look at least four issues of a theory of food democracy.

1. What criteria of success for deliberative food democracy? Can the concept of 'deliberative representation of food styles' be of any help in bridging the gap between consumers and producers? What is its relationship with the public sphere and governments?
2. What types of deliberations can be best organized on the local, national, regional and global level of governance with respect to the various food networks and chains? What type of deliberations do we need on different levels, for example, on an efficient and just method of deliberation upstream the innovation process of new agricultural (seeds, etc.) and food products with actors operating in civil society, like representatives of farmers and consumer movements? Moreover, pluralism of food and farming styles is to be taken into account.
3. What structure should deliberations on food have, how can their input (inclusion of stakeholders, experts), throughput (what type of considerations are fruitful, like argumentation, rhetoric, and role play) and output optimal be organized? What can efficiency mean in the case of deliberations on food and food production?
4. What barriers are preventing the establishment of deliberative food democracies and how can they be overcome? ■



Michiel Korthals is Professor and Chair of Applied Philosophy, Wageningen University, Netherlands.

See also:
www.ethicalroom.com
and www.app.wur.nl

Korthals, M., 2004, *Before Dinner: Philosophy and Ethics of Food*, Dordrecht: Springer

Interview: Roderick Abbott

Visiting Fellow, RSCAS



Roderick Abbott has worked as an international trade negotiator for the European Commission and the WTO. He will be visiting the RSCAS until March 2009.

You're a bit of a rare bird for the EUI, not an academic, but rather someone with a long and distinguished career as an international negotiator and trade disputer. Shall we provide some background for our readers?

After having started my career with the British Government in the Board of Trade, I then worked at the European Commission for 30 years, during which time I was directly involved in two GATT rounds of multilateral negotiations: the TOKYO Round from 1973-79 and the URUGUAY Round from 1987-1993. I was also twice posted to the Commission Delegation in Geneva, first in 1975-79 as deputy chief negotiator for Tokyo, and again in 1996-2000 as Ambassador and Head of Delegation. In 2002 I became Deputy Director General of the World Trade Organization in Geneva; I held that post for 3 years, until 2005. While at the WTO I was heavily involved in the organization's new Dispute Settlement Body. I also attended the first four WTO Ministerial Conferences, including Doha.

In retrospect, which trade dispute was most interesting for you to deal with, and why?

In retrospect, and in every other respect, the banana case (USA and others v. EC) while I was in Geneva for the EC is top of my list. I was of course personally involved in some stages of this dispute in 1999-2000 (after the initial panel and appellate reports) when the US challenged the measures that the EC had taken to remedy the problems, arguing that they were unsatisfactory. This led into a situation where the US came very close to taking illegal, unilateral action (acting as

judge and jury in its own case) and it did in fact refuse to follow the WTO rules at this point and was rescued by Ecuador. It is a textbook case study and used as such by teachers: a dispute which involved an import regime constructed to secure trade and development objectives but judged on strict legalistic grounds, pitting Caribbean developing countries on the EC side against Central Americans on the US side; it overturned an EC policy which dated back to at least 1957 (40 years at that time), if not much longer, which had never been declared illegal and which involved for the first time a case under new rules for trade in services.

What do academics have to learn from practitioners like yourself, and vice versa?

Practitioners have lived through trade negotiations and debates on controversial issues such as regional agreements and selective trade measures. These are of major interest to academics who analyse them from a formal legal or economic standpoint; but the views expressed by participants and the conclusions reached are often quite different. So, practitioners add a spice of ambiance for the academic, and they learn in return what are the prevailing views in the 'real' world where basic rules are assessed on their merits and without the extra hyperbole that results from an adversarial context.

What brings you to the EUI, and what are you working on at the moment?

I have been to the EUI before, having attended conferences and collaborated with Professor Ernst Ulrich Petersmann, who was a legal adviser in the GATT and WTO. The EUI/RSCAS also supports and will host a conference initiative I have planned for next April on the future of the WTO, entitled 'What should the WTO agenda be in the post-Doha Round world?' The conference will be divided into three sessions: climate change, the energy sector, and development. The aim is to better clarify the failure of the WTO after the Doha round, and provide some suggestions for change to insure future success.

While at the RSCAS, I've also set up an informal discussion group of faculty and students with an interest in trade policy and disputing, with a seminar planned one a month on different topics. We had the first seminar in October, on the WTO, and it stirred up a lot of interest.

I should also mention that I love Italy, and am glad to have the opportunity to come and spend some time in my house here. ■

Interview:

H.E. Ambassador Takayuki Kimura

Visiting Fellow, RSCAS

Ambassador Kimura is a Japanese Diplomat well-acquainted with the European scene, having served as Ambassador, Japanese Mission to the European Union. The EUI Review takes advantage of his time visiting at the RSCAS to ask him a few questions.

Ambassador Kimura, what is your 'Europe connection'?

I have always been involved in the areas of international economics and cultural affairs, and, having worked for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) for almost my entire life, I have long-time experience in Japan-EU relations. I have also lived and worked in the EU itself, with time in London, Paris, and Brussels.

And what brings you to the EUI?

At the moment I am Director General of the EU Institute in Japan (EUIJ), an academic centre of studies and research on the European Union, sponsored by the European Commission and managed by a consortium of four Tokyo Universities. The main purpose of this Institute is to establish EU related study and research opportunities, to provide information about the EU and to enhance the general awareness of the EU and its policies in Japan. The Institute was created in 2004 and in January 2007 an agreement of academic exchange was issued between the EUIJ and the EUI. I am thus happy to be at the Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies for the period September 2008-August 2009.

What projects or research activities will you pursue while in Florence?

My year in Florence will allow me to pursue a number of projects and activities. First, I will work on my research on Japan-EU economic relations in the 1970s and 1980s. Those were very important and productive years for Japan-EU relations, and I was able to play a role during that very interesting time. In addition, I am still involved with the Japanese MOFA, acting as Special Adviser to the Minister of Foreign Affairs. My location in Italy this year facilitates this role, allowing me to more easily visit colleagues at the Japanese Mission to the EU and to move around Europe. This also helps me continue my activities as intermediary between Japan and Europe, with the hope that I can help the Japanese people better understand European Culture.

In what other ways are you engaged in strengthening Asia-Europe relations?

I am currently Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Asia-Europe Foundation (ASEF). This institution has grown immensely in the last decade and now comprises 45 countries between the EU and ASIA. I believe that ASEF will play a fundamental role in future economic, cultural, and humanitarian relations between Asia and Europe. To provide an example of one of its initiatives, it has organized, along with many other Asian and European institu-



tions, the 11th Annual Conference on EU-Japan relations. This year's conference in Brussels in late November focused on: Japan, Europe, Asia strategies, partnerships and regional integration.

Will there be opportunities at the EUI to learn more from you on these issues?

In spring 2009 I will collaborate on a symposium at the RSCAS that will focus on European and Asian integration. I would like to add that my time so far at the RSCAS has been interesting and productive. ■

EUI Marie Curie Fellows



Nicola Casarini has been a Marie Curie Fellow in the RSCAS since 1 March 2008. His research project explores the potential, and the limits, of the EU as a strategic actor in North-East Asia. It does so by focusing on a comparative analysis between EU motivations and aspirations towards China on space and defence matters and the perceptions, and reactions, of Chinese, Japanese, Taiwanese, South Korean and American policy makers. His research seeks to provide empirical knowledge on the determinants for the promotion of EU space and defence interests in China and on the perceptions and reactions of North-East Asian and American policy makers. By exploring perceptions of European foreign policy in North-East Asia, his study aims to contribute to our knowledge about EU presence and strategic actorness in the region as well as produce some theoretical insights on what kind of international actor the EU is—and wants to be. This would also contribute to revisit current views in the literatures on European foreign policy and the international politics of North-East Asia.



In his project 'Sickle and Crescent', **Benoît Challand** explores the role of communism and Islam as two possible significant 'Others' for a political Europe. The research intends to shed light on the so-called othering process in general and for the European construction in a cross-historical perspective. The first external presence is the threat embodied by Eastern European communism during the immediate post-World War II period and in the first years of the European construction. The second is the current debate about the integration of Muslim majority Turkey into the EU and of the challenge that, according to many, Islamist ideologies represent to the political order of a democratic and secular Europe. This research is at the crossroads of contemporary history and political sociology and draws on a variety of sources including school textbooks, media analysis and a semiotic reading of visual material. Challand will present some of his findings in 'From Hammer and Sickle to Star and Crescent. The Question of Religion for European Identity and a Political Europe', forthcoming in *Religion, State and Society*; and 'Intertwined Identities: A gender-based reading of the visual representations of Contemporary Islam in French, Italian and German textbooks', forthcoming in an edited volume by Gerdien Jonker and Shiraz Thobani.



Stéphanie Hennette-Vauchez's project at the RSCAS is called EUROBIOLAW and aims at analyzing the emergence of a body of biomedical law at the EU level. Her aims for this project are to (1) gain an idea as to the actors and institutional processes that enable

these issues to actually reach the European agenda; (2) understand, if at all, the extent to which the fact of being regulated at the EU level affects the traditional perception of biomedical issues as being primarily fundamental rights issues (cf. the rights/regulation debate); and (3) contribute to the analysis of the tension between harmonization and diversity that is quintessential to EU law throughout its study on a specifically sensitive subject. Some current work and forthcoming publications include 'L'émergence d'un droit communautaire de la bioéthique. Perspectives et Enjeux'; 'Words Count. How interest in stem cells has made the embryo available: a look at the French law of bioethics', forthcoming next year in *Medical Law Review*, and 'Une dignitas humaine. Vieilles outres, vin nouveau', forthcoming in *Droits. Revue française de théorie juridique*. Hennette-Vauchez is currently on leave from her position as professor of public law at Université Paris 12 Créteil.



Michael Goebel is MCF in the Department of History and Civilization. He is interested in the social, political and intellectual history of Latin America since the late nineteenth century, with a focus on the Southern Cone. His research concentrates on the interaction

between understandings of nationhood with transnational links across the Atlantic. His forthcoming book, to be published with Liverpool University Press, deals with nationalism and the uses of history in twentieth-century Argentina. Goebel has also worked on the social history of immigration in Uruguay. At the EUI his research is on intellectual relations between Latin America and Europe in the interwar period, with a special interest in the ways in which the sojourns and networks of Latin American intellectuals in Europe impacted on the crisis of liberal models of nation-building and the rise of inward-looking forms of nationalism in Latin America. An article on Weimar Germany's cultural relations with Latin America will soon be published in the *Journal of Contemporary History*.



Margarita Petrova's research is concentrated in the field of International Relations, Law, and Comparative Politics. She is now a MCF in the RSCAS. Currently she is working on a project entitled 'The Politics of Norm Creation: State Leadership and NGO Partnerships in Curbing the Weapons of War'.

Based on historical analysis and cross-national comparisons, the project explores the development of new norms prohibiting weapons with a severe humanitarian impact on civilians and the implications of those processes for the development of international humanitarian law and the role of the USA and Europe in world politics. Her most recent publication is 'Curbing the Use of Indiscriminate Weapons: NGO Advocacy in Militant Democracies' in the 2008 volume *Democracy and Security: Preferences, Norms and Policy-Making*. In 2008, her Ph.D. thesis received the Helen Dwight Reid Award of the American Political Science Association for the best doctoral dissertation in international relations, law and politics.



Sarah Poli, MCF at the RSCAS, is working on the project 'Legal issues of the EU. External action in the achievement of an area of freedom, security and justice'. This project concerns the way the European Union (EU) can build an area of freedom, security and justice

by making use of its powers to enter into international agreements with third countries. Her aim is to identify possible legal problems EU Institutions may face in concluding these agreements. She will explore a) to what extent international agreements are necessary as well as effective to build an area of freedom, security and justice; b) whether the EU is competent to enter into these agreements affecting an ever increasing number of cross pillar policies and to what extent Member States remain competent to conclude international agreements in areas affecting the EU internal security and the EU external borders; c) whether these agreements are coherent; d) whether these agreements create accountability problems, in particular as far as the Europol's agreements are concerned; and e) whether there is coherence between the EU's external and internal action. The mentioned problems will be analysed looking at the legal bases of the EC/EU Treaties enabling the EU institutions and Europol to enter into international agreements as well as examining the practise of these institutions and the relevant case-law of the European Court of Justice. Poli has published two books and numerous articles, and is lecturer (*ricercatrice*) at the Law Faculty of the University of Rome 'Tor Vergata'.



Saverio Simonelli has been a MCF at the RSCAS since January 2007. He comes from Naples, where he is Assistant Professor of Economics at the University of Naples Federico II. Simonelli's Marie Curie project sets out to understand why technology innovations common

to different countries may generate cross-country heterogeneity in the responses of macroeconomic variables. The theoretical contribution of the project mainly consists of analyzing the importance of the so-called embodied technology progress—the technology/knowledge incorporated in investment goods—in explaining such heterogeneity. Some recent associated publications include the 2008 paper 'Interpreting aggregate fluctuation looking at the sectors', (with Antonio Acconcia) in the *Journal of Economic Dynamics & Control*, which investigates the cross-sectoral effects of economy-wide and sector-specific efficiency disturbances. In addition, his article with Morten Ravn "Labor Market Dynamics and the Business Cycle: Structural Evidence for the United States", published this year in *The Scandinavian Journal of Economics*, analyzes the dynamic effects of labor variables to policy shocks.



Antoine Vauchez has been a MCF at the RSCAS since September 2007. His current work focuses on a socio-historical approach of the relationship between Euro-lawyers, legal knowledge, and the formation/legitimation of EU polity. In a context where no national

model (political, economic or administrative) and no professional canon seemed able to prevail in a polity generally defined as *sui generis*, lawyers have in fact played a critical role in formalizing EC-specific rationales, opening up an unprecedented space of manoeuvre for themselves, often way beyond the role they had traditionally been granted in national settings. Grounded in political sociology, his research also considers how this capacity of law to provide Europe with devices and guidelines for its reform and future is now contested by competing sciences and elites of EU government. While the general problématique of this research has been recently published as 'The Force of a Weak Field. Law and Lawyers in EU Government' in *International Political Sociology*, Vauchez has also co-edited a Symposium 'Law, lawyers and transnational politics in the production of Europe' for *Law and Social Inquiry*. His volume *La Constitution Européenne. Elites, mobilizations, votes* was published in 2007. Vauchez is currently on leave from a position as Research Fellow at the French Centre national de la recherche scientifique (CNRS).

Alumni News

In October the term of the Executive Committee (EC) came to an end. Following the call for candidatures, only four alumni had put their names forward and therefore could also be voted on electronically. Therefore, the Electoral Subcommittee chaired by Donatella Della Porta decided to reopen the elections and Teresa Morais Leitão, one of the three candidates who came forward for the vacant position in the EC, was voted in by the General Assembly. The new EC members (by decreasing number of votes) are: Valérie Hayaert, Sigfrido Ramirez Perez, Leila Simona Talani, Pompeo Della Posta and Teresa Morais Leitão.

The EUI Review asked EUI President Yves Mény and Francisco Torres, AA President between October 2002 and October 2008, to give their views on the recent achievements of the Alumni Association.



Francisco Torres, Annette Bongardt, and EUI President Yves Mény

AA of the EUI to create an active association. He held that the EC had managed to organise the AA and the EC, had created structures and implemented good initiatives that, he hoped, would be continued in the future. The AA contributed to the common aims of the EUI and its Community, namely by donating all AA membership fees to doctoral students without a grant, having created and awarding the Alumni Prize, and bringing alumni together in important academic initiatives. In his opinion, the next EC should pursue and try to build upon the many good realisations developed over the past years.

Francisco Torres outlined what he regarded as the main achievements of the Alumni Association over the past 6 years:

- to create and organise a well-functioning website with all relevant information;
- to design the first AA logo and later a second one, encompassing the new EUI logo;
- to create an alumni card with an associated EUI email account and other facilities;
- to organise, deposit and make available online the AA historical and current archives;
- to write, publish and distribute the history of the first 20 years of the Association;



AA Environmental Policy and Climate Change Conference, June 2008

- to organise many social activities such as walks in Tuscany, art visits and dinners;
- to organise book/festschrift presentations/dinners with distinguished keynote speakers;
- to organise, edit and publish proceedings of 5 conferences with renowned publishers;
- to publicise, in workshops and seminars and on the website, publications by alumni;
- to organise, namely with the RSCAS, presentations of EUI faculty publications;
- to extend full participation in all AA activities also to EUI post-doctoral fellows;
- to institutionalise and award (3 times) the Alumni prize for the best EUI Ph.D. thesis;
- to create the AA interdisciplinary E-journal on European Political Economy;
- to co-organise in 2005 and 2008 the EUI Competition day;
- to co-organise in 2007 and 2008 the career event and to create a Career sub-committee;
- to set-up the Alumni Research Grant for EUI researchers without a scholarship;
- to devote all the revenues from the AA membership fees to the Alumni Research Grant;
- to make each alumna/us with a AA membership card a donor to the EUI;



Second Annual EUI Competition Day, April 2008

- to become a net contributor to the EUI throughout the last mandate;
- to bring together all AA assets in an Alumni permanent account with the EUI;
- to allow for all AA financial transactions to be made through the EUI, subject to its rules;
- to leave the AA with substantially increased resources and stable sources of financing;
- to re-launch and promote Alumni meetings in many chapters and research associations;
- to broaden electoral participation, implementing e-voting for the EC;
- and, above all, to bring many alumni back to the EUI, thereby making them participants in its permanent evolution.

According to Francisco Torres, all those achievements were only been possible thanks to the continuous and generous support of the EUI and of many people in the EUI Administration, and to the increasing participation (and donations) of so many alumni in the AA activities and in its various committees, subcommittees and AA Prize juries. The institutional and personal encouragement by President Yves Mény and Head of Academic Service Andreas Frijldal have been very rewarding and have motivated the AA over the years to come up with new initiatives of relevance for both alumni and the wider EUI community.



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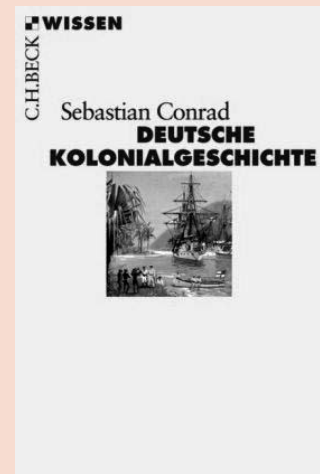
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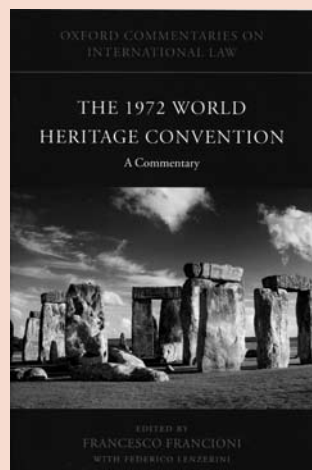
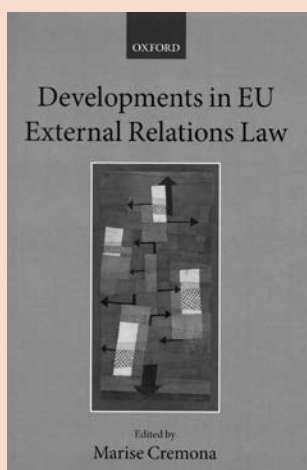
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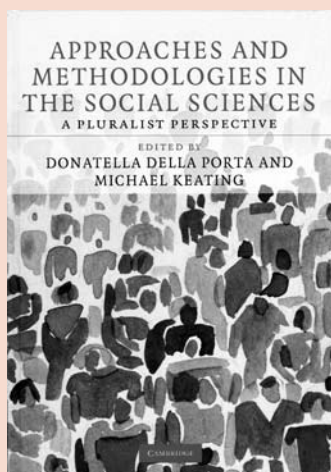
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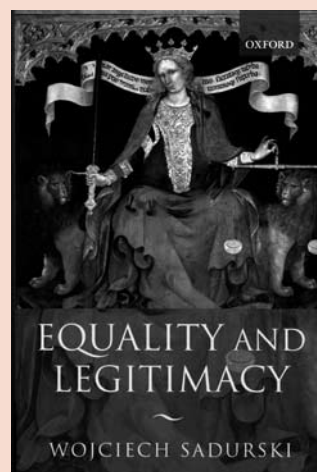


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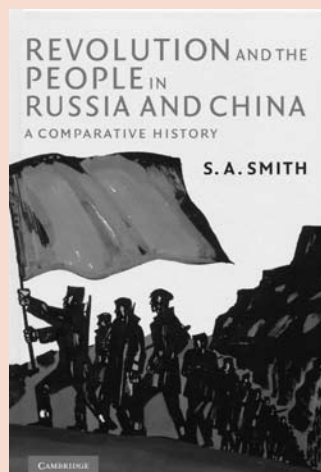
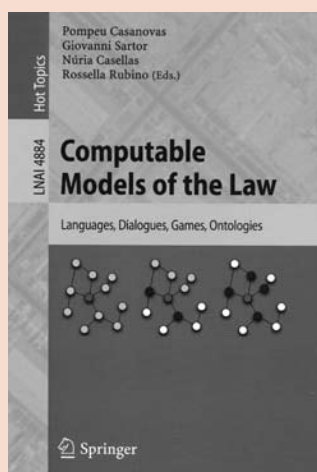


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In Memoriam

Alexis Pauly, scholar and priest, died on 29 September 2008, in Luxembourg, following an operation. A former EUI researcher in Law, Dr. Pauly received a *Maîtrise de Droit* in Grenoble in 1976. He entered the Dominican order that same year, and completed his theological studies in Lyon. Specializing in European and Canon Law, he obtained a *Diplôme d'études approfondies* in European law and, in 1988, a doctorate in Canon law (Dr.jur.can.) from Strasbourg University. He then worked as a *Référendaire* at the European Court of Justice and as Professor at the European Institute of Public Administration (EIPA) in Maastricht and as *Professor am Angelicum* in Rome (Pontificia Universitas Studiorum a Sancto Toma Aquinate in Urbe). In 2000 he returned to Luxembourg as *Aumônier* of the European Parish. His funeral was celebrated by his Dominican Brothers on 3 October in the church of Belair, where he had celebrated his first mass in 1984. He was mourned by the entire Luxembourg community.

-Anna Lucchese

Professor Yota Kravaritou who died recently in Thessaloniki as the result of a brain tumour was a Professor of Law at the EUI 1991-9. She will be remembered for her energetic commitment to gender equality and social justice. She and I arrived at the EUI together at a moment when the presence of some female faculty first became an imperative. Labour lawyer and feminist, Yota believed fervently that gender issues and affective relationships should be given due weight in the operations of social justice. Having herself fled the Greece of the generals to study in Paris and work in Brussels, she interpreted the European Union as an important organ of progressive change.

At the EUI we together ran a year long forum on 'Gender and the Use of Time' eventuating in a volume still in demand in Europe where problems of work/life balance have still to be resolved. Returning to Thessaloniki in 1999 as a Professor of Law she continued to devote herself to issues of labour law, trades unions and social justice.

We shall remember her as a person of great passion and commitment to the furtherance of a society in which every human being, male and female, rich and poor might find greater self realisation. The world is a poorer place without her, a tribute which all who knew her will warmly endorse.

-Dame Olwen Hufton

The EUI Community lost **Yota Kravaritou** last month. Yota served the public university for forty years. Having left Greece to pursue postgraduate studies in Nancy and Strasbourg, she then moved to Brussels to prepare her doctoral thesis in European Labour Law. Yota lived 'May '68' first-hand, in Paris. This event exercised the most powerful influence upon her thought and her future academic interests.

Yota had solid philosophical foundations and a taste for post-modernism. Her lectures included references to the historical evolution, the philosophical implications and the socio-economic background of legal rules. For students having received an unduly formalist training in (unduly) National Law, Yota's seminars represented a source of new knowledge and an inspiration for stimulating reflection.

She combined her Greek identity with a cosmopolitan mentality. Given her legendary courtesy, true interest in others, social sensitivity and acceptance of the 'different', Yota was well integrated into the Institute's ambient; in fact, she loved the Institute and promoted the idea *d'une Europe comme lieu de liens affectifs*.

Open minded and engaged in innovative academic research, Yota Kravaritou contributed important novelties to the Greek legal world. She was the first Law Professor within the Greek academic system to introduce 'Feminist Legal Theory' and 'Gender Approaches to Law as a distinct field of study. Aware of the fact that life is a continuous learning process, she exploited her academic experience at the Institute to acquaint Greek lawyers with relatively new branches of post-modern legal theory, like 'Law and Literature' and 'Law and Psychoanalysis'. In the last years, Yota introduced in her Comparative Law courses the teaching of the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union; the Charter confirmed her well embedded belief that 'The European Union is a Community of Values'. It is a pity that she could not live just a bit longer to see the Charter's enactment, which would be a coronation of her life long reflections about Europe.

-Kostas Tsekouras (LAW 1995) & Babis Koutalakis (SPS 1996)

Yota lives inside our hearts, because she taught us about love. She taught us about law and love and made us love law. She made us love the other and our self.

She allowed us to see life through a different lens: gender, industrial relations, social law, the EU, the Far-East, art, books, literature, poetry, theatre, culture, philosophy, psychoanalysis, history, politics, a comparative perspective, an aesthetic appreciation of the world.

Yota flourished at the Institute; she found fertile ground to unfold her unique academic perspective, she made some path-breaking research on Gender and EU social and comparative law. She became an integral part of life in Florence, because there she was where she was supposed to be in the first place, next to art, inside art, a part of art, an art herself, her existence is art.

-Anna-Maria Konsta (LAW 1995)

EUI Rowing and the Launching of the 'Badia Fiesolana'

EUI Rowing Team

The idea of creating an EUI Rowing team had already been around for quite some time, with some steps in that direction having been taken a couple of years ago. But it was the arrival of Franca Van Hooren (SPS) and her partner Diederik Diercks in 2006 that proved the catalyst to transform an embryonic rowing group into a fully-fledged regular sports activity at the EUI. Thanks to the help and intermediation of Kathinka España, an agreement with the Società Canottieri Firenze was reached, eliminating a series of administrative and financial obstacles. This led to the real birth of 'EUI Rowing', which now counts around 30 regular members.

Once the project got started, the objectives for the second season became more ambitious and included the participation in three events: the Tuscan Erg Championships in December 2007, the Heineken Roeivierkamp (Heineken Regatta) of Amsterdam—a famous international rowing regatta—in March 2008, and in April the Pasqua del Canottaggio (Easter Rowing Regatta)—an international university rowing event in Milan. The challenges the EUI rowing team now faced were athletic; not logistical. The men's and the women's crews which eventually left for Amsterdam and Milan were almost exclusively composed of beginners. The question therefore became whether, with only a couple of months' practice over the winter, the team would be able to honorably represent the EUI at such important international events.

While rowing may look all very easy and smooth from the riverbank, the reality is quite the opposite. A beginning rower must first master the technique, and then learn how to adapt it to the other seven people in the boat to create one synchronized movement. Moreover, rowing-races can require eight minutes or more of extreme physical effort, which calls for participants to be in quite good physical shape. Considering that all of the preparation had to be done in the middle of

winter—with its seasonal weather conditions—while having to coordinate the practices with everyone's time schedule, it bordered a miracle that we made it at all.

The races were to be a unique experience for all the EUI rowers. Imagine having to row your first race ever, in a foreign country, in a new boat, on an unfamiliar river, with an unknown Dutch coxswain (the person who steers the boat) shouting incomprehensible commands at you. Considering all this, apart from some minor incidents, the race in Amsterdam went surprisingly well and the subsequent race in Milan, under somewhat easier circumstances, went even better. Although the EUI rowing team is not yet in a position to dominate international competitions, it has now established its name as a worthy competitor. On a more personal level, for those participating, it will be difficult to forget the emotions, the adrenalin kick of racing, the friendships developed thanks to the sport, and the sights and sounds of the colourful regattas... not to mention the well-earned beer at the end!

Following these first encouraging steps, we have entered a new stage for the 2008/09 season. Thanks to the support of Kathinka España, Marco del Panta and Beatrijs de Hartogh, and in co-sponsorship with the Società Canottieri Firenze, a new boat (an eight) was bought. The boat, christened the 'Badia Fiesolana', was officially launched on 23 September 2008, in the presence of the highest EUI and Società Canottieri authorities as well as of a number of journalists. The launch took place in the beautiful setting right under the Uffizi Gallery, with an unforgettable sunset view of the Ponte Vecchio. Hopefully this event will reinforce a good long-term relationship between the EUI and the Società Canottieri Firenze. This will insure that the EUI Rowing team will continue to exist after the first generation of rowers leave Florence. In the meantime, however, the rowing team will strive for some good results and a lot of sportily pleasure in the coming year! ■



The Launching of the 'Badia Fiesolana'

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