



Fifth Research Programme 2002 - 2004

Mannheimer Zentrum für Europäische Sozialforschung
Fifth Research Programme 2002 - 2004
Mannheim 2002

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EUROPÄISCHE SOZIALFORSCHUNG

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Preface

The Research Programme is the major tool for planning and coordinating research at the Mannheim Centre for European Social Research (MZES). The present document is the fifth in a series of Research Programmes of the Mannheim Centre since its founding in 1989.

In cooperation with potential project directors, the Research Programme is prepared and proposed by the MZES Executive Board for its three-year term of office. The present board was elected February 11, 2002, for the three years 2002-2004. It consists of:

Director: Prof. Dr. Walter Müller
Head of Department A: Prof. Dr. Hartmut Esser
Head of Department B: Prof. Dr. Franz Urban Pappi

The Research Programme has been evaluated by the MZES Scientific Advisory Board during its meeting on June 29, 2002 and was formally approved by the MZES Supervisory Board (Kollegium) on July 18, 2002.

This Programme is the result of intense cooperation between many people at the institute, though none of the researchers responsible for the different sections of this fifth Research Programme are mentioned by name. The Programme also draws heavily on the fourth Research Programme, and adaptations from the earlier programme are not generally noted. The Executive Board of the MZES accepts the responsibility for the programme as a whole and will organise research activities according to the plans presented in this document. The programme will be updated every year in consultation with the Scientific Advisory Board and the Supervisory Board of the Centre.

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Research Topics and Programme Goals

This first section gives a general overview of the research topics and the research aims of the fifth MZES Research Programme. It includes the following issues:

- 1.1 MZES Mission and Recent Development
- 1.2 Main Subjects and Research Issues of the Research Programme
- 1.3 Main Characteristics of Research
- 1.4 Cooperation and Integration
- 1.5 Main Goals of the Fifth Planning Period

1.1 MZES Mission and Recent Development

The central goal of the Mannheim Centre for European Social Research is to do basic social science research on the development of the European societies and their political organization in the process of European integration. The Centre studies the social and political structures and processes existing in European countries with special emphasis on the evolution of nation-states into a “European society”. In view of these aims it is committed – as expressed in the Articles of the MZES – “to undertaking comparative European research and research into European integration and aims to combine the two”.

In no other similarly small area of the world have modern societies developed under such varied cultural, social and economic conditions and established their own nation-states politically as in Europe. Understanding the European social and political reality and the strains and the potential of its development necessarily presupposes the comparative study of the single societal and political units that constitute Europe. Comparative research provides the means to identify the common characteristics of the European societies and political systems as well as the main differences between the systems, and it makes it possible to observe the converging and diverging trends of their development. The political measures taken towards European integration and the creation of the European Union have to take into account the existing diversity, but at the same time the economic and political integration forcefully impacts on the development of the national societies and fundamentally changes the conditions of government within them. These intertwined processes need the combination of comparative research and integration research.

When the Mannheim centre was founded in 1989 it started with the challenge to bring together the main traditions of research represented within the Faculty of Social Sciences into a research institute and to focus research more specifically on Europe. The Centre started with a limited number of projects. Sociological projects were concerned with the social inequality of living conditions and the structure and development of the welfare state in Europe. Political science projects mainly studied trends and developments of democratic government systems. Later, research concerning the political system of the European Community and problems of European integration was added. Quite separately from the focus on the social and political

developments of Western Europe a major part of research in the first years of the Centre's existence focused on the history and political development of the former German Democratic Republic. This research gradually shifted to the comparative study of structures of conflicts and cooperation in Eastern Europe, including the analysis of nationalisms on the territory of the former Soviet Union and the tensions in its successor states in their orientation towards Moscow or Brussels as centres of political integration in Europe.

Starting from these beginnings the MZES has become by far the largest research institute at the University of Mannheim and in recent years has attained a leading position in European social and political research. Over the years the Centre has been highly successful in expanding its research programme and in attracting external funding from various sources. Over the last few years the Centre has continually included some 50 researchers working in some 50 larger or smaller research projects and has created an infrastructure for social science research in Europe that is likely unique. The MZES contributes significantly to a landscape of research that moves beyond national borders and takes European reality as a point of reference for better understanding both European integration and the position and development of the individual societies within Europe. The MZES has also become a place of intensive scientific exchange within Germany and internationally. In recent years it has coordinated two European Union-financed TMR networks ("Family Change and the Welfare State in Europe" and "Political Representation and Party Choice in the European Union"), which brought many young and senior scholars from all over Europe for research stays at the Centre. It is presently coordinating an ESF-based network and is playing a leading or participant role in various other Europe-wide research endeavours. It has hosted several major international conferences and many smaller national and international workshops.

In 1998, after the first ten years of its existence, the Centre reformed its organizational structure, concentrating research from four into two research departments:

Department A: European societies and their integration;

Department B: European political systems and their integration.

In the last three years the new structure has been successfully implemented. The research profile of the two departments has been consolidated, and promising developments are taking place to increase exchange and cooperation between the departments in the coming years. They are described further below among the goals of the present Research Programme.

1.2 Main Subjects and Research Issues of the Research Programme

Despite its broad historical diversity, Europe is now the area in the world where the most significant development of the political organisation towards an integrated political structure is taking place. European integration has been increasingly moving beyond economic integration. A political union is in the making with new trans- and supra-national forms of government that have profound implications for the existing nation-states in Europe. For probably the first time in history, so many sovereign states are willing to transfer so much of their sovereignty to supra-

national bodies. Although nation-states continue to be highly important political arenas – both in terms of legitimising political decision-making and with respect to the significance and political weight of the decisions actually taken – they are losing in relative terms. Supra-national actors have emerged and are gaining ground. Sub-national regional actors and non-governmental organisations also increasingly compete with the nation-state and its central government. At the same time, trans-national interdependencies and contacts are intensifying, aided by new communication technologies and opportunities. While all this has gradually brought significant transformations in the political organisation of Western Europe, the collapse of communism and the power structure of the Soviet Union has rapidly transformed the landscape and the significance of political boundaries and alliances in Europe. While this process is still in flux, the coming enlargement of the EU necessitates further transformations in the competences of national and supra-national political actors, in the rules for political decision-making and in the legitimisation of the various levels of the political regime. The ongoing groundwork for a European constitution exemplifies the continued fundamental reshaping of the political order of Europe.

While many of the consequences of this historic transition for the future of Europe are still unclear, the political spheres and the transformations taking place in them are grounded in and have repercussions on the social spheres in the national societies involved. In fact, the political and the social spheres are highly intertwined. Partly related to the process of integration and partly independent of it, the European societies are experiencing continued transformations of their institutions and social structures, of the conditions of living in them and of many other circumstances that condition the actions of the individual members and citizens and of the political elites. What is feasible politically in terms of integration depends (at least in part) on the stance and interests of the citizens in the societies involved and on their perceptions or expectations of the impact integration measures will have on them personally and on the major problems their society faces – whether such measures will solve or merely aggravate such problems.

Many European societies face similar challenges: technological change and increasingly global market competition require changing individual qualifications, affect work opportunities, lead to changing risks and opportunities for securing one's living, and provoke adaptations of respective institutions. Gender roles, family structures and other arrangements of close social relationship are changing. Low birth rates and increasing longevity lead to population ageing and rising demands for health care, social services and old-age pensions. Together with demands resulting from continued mass unemployment, these demands weigh heavily on the welfare state budget and put its legitimacy under pressure from interest groups and from individuals who pay for it. Also, in many European societies, high levels of immigration reduce cultural homogeneity, incite ethnic conflicts and require growing efforts to integrate newcomers.

Many of these and other developments may put similar pressures on the societal and political actors. Within Europe, however, there is still considerable variation in prevailing economic, social and cultural conditions. These are rooted in societies and nation-states with historically widely different traditions, institutions, paths of development, power relations among and

resources of different actors. All this generates different interests within societies and between them. It provides different options for choices to be made by individuals and social and political actors and makes similar options differently attractive or viable. A major task of research is to contribute to better basic knowledge concerning these diverse pillars on which the process of building an integrated Europe rests.

At present, only limited knowledge is solidly established about the social characteristics of European societies, the functioning of many of their social institutions and the way they constrain or incite individual behaviour in the various countries. We are far from a situation of having well-grounded knowledge on Europe at large that is similar to the knowledge available on individual societies. As most research has been so far orientated on researchers' own national societies, it is often not comparable. Thus, we do not know much about where we are on the path towards a "European Society" or what options, barriers and setbacks lie on the way to integration. We urgently need comparative studies in order to know more about the economic, social, cultural and political realities that are to be integrated and how the integration measures taken impact on the various arenas and levels of action within the European societies and political systems. Continuous comparative research in many areas is needed to learn whether the societal developments in the various countries are converging or diverging. At the same time studies focusing on the integration process per se are needed, among others in order to understand the viability and repercussions of different models and options of integration, at both the political and the social level.

Both comparative research and integration research have a place in the present MZES Research Programme. Practical research, however, often cannot ideally combine both strands. More limited research questions that are feasible with available resources must be selected for concrete studies. Depending on the research question, the state of knowledge and the data and research tools available, more or unique emphasis is put on the comparative or the integrative aspect. In particular fields research is also needed to understand the processes and mechanisms at the micro level before meaningful comparative studies or research on integration can take place.

The issues selected for research for the coming years take up the challenges of the European project briefly described as challenges for study. The studies included in the Research Programme are all closely tied to improving basic social science knowledge about core problems concerning the social and political conditions and structures existing in the European societies and nation-states and their transformation in the present state of transition of the political order in Europe. They furthermore address developments contributing to the further integration of Europe or strains resulting from it. In the two MZES departments there is both continuity in research priorities from the last Research Programme and substantial innovation in new topics. In both departments earlier research areas have been concluded while new ones have started with the present programme. Many projects from the earlier programme are finished and several new ones are initiated. Research within this fifth MZES Research Programme is focused on the following research areas:

Department A: European Societies and their Integration

1. The Development of Social Structures in European Societies
2. Social Services and Social Security: The European Welfare States in Comparison
3. Migration, Integration and Ethnic Conflicts
4. Cultural Foundations of the Market Economy and the Welfare State
5. Family and Social Relations

Department B: European Political Systems and their Integration

1. Engagement, Participation, and Voters' Behaviour
2. Political Parties and Political Linkage
3. The Election of Parliaments as a Coordination Problem of Parties and Voters
4. Governance in Europe
5. International Embeddedness of European Governance
6. Institutionalization of International Negotiation Systems
7. The Development of a European Regional System

In Department A research is concentrated on the core elements of the social structures and social institutions that affect life chances and the social integration of individuals and social groups in European societies. These institutions are education, labour markets, the welfare state and the family or alternative forms of intimate partnership. One common interest is how they shape the opportunities and behaviour of individuals and social groups in core domains of life in different European societies that for historical and other reasons vary in crucial characteristics of these institutions. Another common interest concerns the social inequalities and potential conflicts that result from the way specific institutions structure the distribution of resources and the actions of individuals and their life chances. Projects intend to elaborate how and why similarities and differences in these respects have evolved in different countries and what the prospects are for convergence or divergence in present and future developments. In the specific research topics the research areas and projects cover central elements of the major transformations and challenges the European societies are presently experiencing, as briefly described above. Contributions to the study of integration within European societies are particularly pursued in the studies on migration in Area 4. Migration across national borders, the integration of migrants into the host societies and the volume of daily contacts among persons of different national origin are probably the core factors in the long-term process towards a European society.

In Department B the first three areas are mainly concerned with classic problems of political participation in democracies, i.e. the issues of interest articulation and political behaviour of

citizens and their impact (mediated through parties) on government election and political decisions. The specific contribution of the research done at the MZES can be seen again in the systematic study of these processes under varying conditions of structural social change and different political structural environments, for instance of different party systems and of varying institutional regulations in election procedures and government formation as they exist in different European political systems. Also various projects study how this 'democratic process' is evolving on the European level (such as in the studies of European party federations or of the European elections). Other specific marks of MZES research in this area are the newly developed studies of strategic voting and coalition formation in multi-party systems as well as the concerns pursued in several projects with modes of civic and political participation other than voting. Areas 4-7 focus research on the changing structures of governance and political integration in Europe. Projects in Area 4 are particularly interested in the extent to which governance in Europe is transformed through the growth of grass-root organisations and public interest groups with European or international constituencies and whether and how this wider involvement of 'civil society' can promote the emergence of an 'all-embracing European political space'. Area 5 studies European governance in the context of international governance structures and analyses the impacts of changes in the international context on institutional change within the EU. Projects in Area 6 start from the premise that international politics largely consist in international negotiations; these projects study the choice of the institutional settings of such negotiations and how these settings affect negotiation outcomes. Research Area 7 extends the concerns with political integration in Europe to the former USSR-dominated states of Eastern Europe and primarily investigates how domestic social and political features affect the position of these states in the competition for integration around the European centres of Brussels and Moscow.

Integration research is generally less developed in sociology than it is in political science, which has a long tradition of research on comparative government and international relations. In sociology most researchers share the conviction that presently the most valuable contribution for understanding the potential integration of European societies can be made when comparative knowledge on the state of these societies is improved or when basic mechanisms of societal integration and the conditions for the operation of these mechanisms among the European societies are better understood. Therefore most research on European integration is so far related to the integration in the political sphere.

The research issues addressed and the projects to be carried out in the various research areas are described in more detail in sections 3 and 4 below.

1.3 Main Characteristics of the Research

Answering the broad range of research questions evidently also requires a range of different modes and methods. The plurality of methods used in the MZES projects also reflects the plurality of approaches that is characteristic of the social sciences and of different methodological traditions in the various disciplines. Projects thus not only differ in the extent to which they intend to develop theory or rather use existing theories to understand and explain phenomena,

they also vary widely in the kind of data and the analytic methods they use. They may be based on large-scale population surveys, but also on participant observation (e.g. of international negotiations), the study of administrative records, expert interviews or qualitative in-depth interviews. They may be based on approaches of historical macro-sociology to understand long-term developments and path dependencies, but may also use micro-analytic models to explain individual action and decisions. All this variety notwithstanding, the MZES is clearly committed to answering research questions based on solid empirical evidence and carrying out primary research to this end.

The nature of the general thematic profile of the MZES also requires other specific characteristics of research. The MZES Articles define the character of European research conducted at the Centre as “concentrating on forms of cooperative basic research based on long-term planning with an international and interdisciplinary orientation”. This characterizes well the type of research that is needed to better understand the nature of and changes in European societies and their political systems. More specifically, besides aspiring to the highest quality of research possible, we consider the following features to have the highest priority for MZES research:

- *Basic research:* Research at the MZES aims at scientific elucidation. In the selection and definition of research topics and the allocation of funds, scientific arguments and the strength of methods used have priority over application-orientated arguments.

- *Long-term planning:* Research at the MZES is orientated towards major fundamental research issues that require continuous research over longer periods of time. These issues are identified in respective research areas, in which various related projects address the core questions of the area in a long-term perspective.

- *Cooperation:* Individual researchers generally cannot achieve research of the scope and substantive domain addressed in the Centre. Such research takes cooperation among project groups within the Centre and very often with other researchers in international networks. Therefore the MZES explicitly encourages such network-based cooperation and welcomes the fact that many projects at the Centre form part of comprehensive networks (e.g. TMR and ESF networks, research circles organized by the *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft* (DFG), etc.).

- *International orientation:* European research is by definition international. Research at the MZES has a strong international orientation in terms both of contents and topics discussed and of its organization. All research areas pursue the central tasks of the Centre, that is, they carry out comparative research and research into integration. Projects restricted to studying developments in a single country are considered supplementary or associated projects as long as they do not have a realistic plan to move into a comparative perspective after an initial stage (see the definition of project types below).

- *Interdisciplinary orientation:* European research at the MZES is social science research in the broadest sense. It stems from an overarching set of questions pertaining to European research and not from specific pursuits of specific disciplines. It combines not only political science,

sociology and social psychology, but also economics as well as legal, methodological, and statistical expertise.

Of course, not every project is characterized by all of these elements. Supplementary and associated projects in particular are usually much more limited in scope. But it is the crucial task of each research area to develop a shared research topic with a clear nucleus in the field of European research corresponding to the above characteristics. They may also include projects that are less encompassing.

1.4 Cooperation and Integration

Research of the scope and content carried out at the MZES necessitates intensive cooperation within the MZES and with research groups and colleagues outside the MZES, both nationally and internationally. In particular research involving different societies and political systems requires expertise, experience and exchange that go beyond the capacities of individual researchers or research teams. From the very beginning, the facilitation of and support for international cooperation and exchange has been one of the most valuable assets of the MZES.

Within the Centre cooperation is most advanced and highly developed within project groups and research areas. Both working on the common topics and the association partially given between research areas and members of the Faculty of Social Sciences have historically led to strong group cooperation, sometimes at the expense of between-group exchange, but the tide has begun to turn. The regular department seminars and occasional workshops involving all research areas and projects have led to a substantial increase of between-project exchange within the departments. The research areas defined in the present Research Programme are less chair-based than in earlier programmes. The number of projects involving researchers from different areas is increasing. Training workshops offered to all Centre researchers and the regular joint seminars of the MZES and the Faculty of Social Sciences enhance exchange between all parts of the Centre. Several measures that will be taken in the coming years to further improve cooperation and the integration of the Research Programme are described in the next section.

In Mannheim, the MZES is not only the university's largest research institute. Apart from its close links to the Faculty of Social Sciences, it also contributes to various other research endeavours at the university and other Mannheim-based research institutes. The MZES hosts the DFG-financed interdisciplinary research group "Institutionalization of International Negotiation Systems", in which MZES researchers cooperate with researchers from the Economics and the Law Faculty as well as with researchers from the Centre for European Economic Research (ZEW) in Mannheim. MZES researchers are also involved in two projects in the DFG collaborative research centre (SFB 504) "Rationalitätskriterien, Entscheidungsverhalten und ökonomische Modellierung", based at the University of Mannheim. Close contacts and exchange also exist with the Centre for Survey Research and Methodology, ZUMA e.V. in Mannheim, in particular with the Social Monitoring groups.

In terms of national and international cooperation, the MZES continues to be active in various interdisciplinary and international networks and cooperation projects (for example, TMR projects, ESF networks, EU-framework-financed international research projects). Several of these projects are coordinated and directed by MZES researchers. In addition, the MZES has established a tradition of regularly inviting internationally renowned experts to participate in the Centre's work for a limited period of time. With its newly established Fellowship Programme, the Centre will activate this opportunity to improve the conditions for international cooperation and promote comparative research (see 1.5 below). Other routes to strengthen contacts are also regularly used (for example, organizing short stays abroad, supporting staff participating in summer schools, organizing or taking part in international conferences of the ECPR, ECSR, etc.).

Through its research and worldwide cooperation and exchange the MZES has gained wide recognition in the German and international landscape of social science and European research. In the coming years we aim to further consolidate the Centre's international standing.

1.5 Main Goals of the Fifth Planning Period

In the past three years the MZES has successfully worked towards the aims set up for its fourth Research Programme. Most of the general aims envisaged three years ago continue to be valid for the coming years as further improvement is possible and attainable. In addition to the old challenges, new ones will have to be met in the years to come. The main goals for the coming three years are:

- 1 Strengthening of international orientation and research cooperation.
- 2 Further integration of research activities and in-house cooperation.
- 3 Further development of the Young Scholar Initiative and the Fellowship Programme.
- 4 Active management of generational succession among professorial staff.

Strengthening of international orientation and research cooperation

Several large international projects (such as the TMR programmes) have already concluded or are scheduled to come to an end soon. However, international cooperation continues to be absolutely vital, given the specific MZES research agenda and also the Centre's commitment to reach the international edge of research. The University of Mannheim and the Research Ministry of the state of Baden-Württemberg, who provide the basic funding for MZES, also expect the Centre to maintain a strong international presence and participate in the EU-Framework Programmes. The Mannheim Centre is fully aware of these tasks and aspirations and actively supports its researchers' initiatives to this end.

New projects have been successfully initiated in recent years and several new initiatives will be taken and start soon. They ensure continuity as well as further innovation and improvements. The new initiatives that have already been put into operation or will come soon include:

- 1 ESF network “Citizenship, Involvement, Democracy (CID)”, directed by Jan van Deth with researchers from 14 European countries collecting and analysing data on social and political participation, social capital and citizen virtues. This network was started in 2000 and will deliver the main results in the next two to three years.
- 2 Within the framework of the 5th EU-Research Framework Programme, the MZES is participating in the research network “Dynamics and Obstacles of European Governance”. This network is coordinated by the University of Maastricht and works in cooperation with the University of Turku, the Technische Universität München, Odense University, the University of Westminster, the University of London and the Charles University Prague. The joint programme is based on mutual research interest in the performance and deficiencies of multilevel governance in the EU. It aims at communicating about ongoing research and at improving training of young researchers through exchange and joint workshops. The MZES will contribute by organising two workshops on research methodology and new theoretical developments in conceptualising EU governance.
- 3 Jan van Deth is directing the German national team of the European Social Survey, which in a coordinated effort is collecting survey data in 15 European nations designed to chart and explain the interaction between Europe’s changing institutions and the attitudes, beliefs, and behaviour patterns of its diverse populations. With this involvement the MZES is sharing a leading role in one of the most important academic investments in comparative social research in Europe.
- 4 The MZES is participating or will participate in several smaller-scale international research projects (e.g. on inequality in tertiary education participation, on the development and validation of new instruments for the comparative measurement of social class and mobility and a comparative study on ethnic inequality).
- 5 Hermann Schmitt is preparing a proposal for an EU grant for a new TMR network on “Political Support and Legitimacy in the New Europe”. Besides the substantial yield in research papers, in the past similar networks have brought many young international scholars to the Centre and have greatly contributed to the international orientation of the MZES.
- 6 The MZES is actively participating in the recent call for expressions of interest for research within the 6th EU-framework programme. Participation of the MZES is announced in several expressions of interest for internationally cooperative research projects in core areas of the MZES research agenda.
- 7 Hartmut Esser is involved in organising a major collaborative effort with several other leading family researchers in Germany (with international extension) to prepare a large-scale panel study on the “Emergence and Change of Intimate Relations (PAIR)”.
- 8 Beate Kohler-Koch and her group are continuing to collaborate with researchers in China, in particular with the Institute of European Studies of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and the University of Beijing, both in research and teaching at the M.A. and

Ph.D. level. EU and international governance is a focus of common interest. Theoretical and methodological approaches used in MZES research projects will be published in Chinese (articles in the leading Chinese Journal of European Studies, and in an edited volume to be published by a major press). First transfers into an empirical research project have taken place.

- 9 A proposal to the 5th EU framework programme has been accepted and funded for an interdisciplinary network of outstanding European research centres focusing on “Economic Change, Unequal Life Chances and Quality of Life”. The network includes the Economic and Social Research Institute, Dublin (co-ordinator); LASMAS - Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris; MZES, Mannheim; Nuffield College, Oxford, and the Sociological Research Institute, Stockholm. High-powered teams from each of these institutes and affiliated researchers will cooperatively address in research a number of core issues in European social and political developments. The issues addressed are part of the central problems studied in most of the research areas in Department A and also include problems of the research areas “Engagement, Participation, and Voters’ Behaviour”, “Political Parties and Political Linkage”, and “Governance in Europe” of Department B. Through this new network many of the problems studied at the MZES will in the future be studied in close cooperation with researchers in other network member institutes, strongly enhancing the international dimension of the research. The network will have regular workshops and seminars that will bring all thematic groups from the different institutes together and engage them in interdisciplinary development and discussion of research problems and results. The network funds also provide ample opportunity for extended stays at partner institutes for cooperative research. The group plans to develop into a gradually growing network of Centres of Excellence for Social Research in Europe. It will have very valuable effects on the international orientation of MZES and the integration of its research agenda.

All these activities together will form a substantial part of MZES work in the coming years and will strengthen its international position.

Further integration of research activities and in-house cooperation

At the level of research directors the MZES itself has no staff of its own. Therefore the research initiatives considerably depend on the interests and priorities of the relatively small number of professors and advanced researchers among the Faculty of Social Sciences. A major challenge for the MZES is to integrate these research interests with the MZES research priorities and to develop a series of well-defined and interrelated research areas. The measures taken in the last programme have produced clear progress in this direction. In order to continue these positive developments, the fifth Research Programme follows a similar strategy, using MZES resources to provide clear “incentives” to develop research within the broad MZES research agenda. Most important is that priority is given to research projects clearly in line with the general aim of comparative research on Europe and European integration, and more precisely to research that fits into the chosen research areas.

Several measures are intended to promote internal and external discussion among researchers in the Centre. They are intended to contribute to the further integration of the Research Programme by promoting intensive exchanges on both ongoing research and new joint research topics being developed in the Centre. These measures include the following:

- 1 In addition to the department seminars, a regular seminar involving all parts of the Centre will start in the next term. It may focus on the presentation and discussion of the MZES research areas as well as on specific topics discussed in a series of seminars (e.g. the transformation of Eastern Europe in the course of EU enlargement).
- 2 The new EU-financed network of European Research Centres on “Economic Change, Unequal Life Chances and Quality of Life” described above involves common activities of several research areas from both departments and will encourage various joint research efforts.
- 3 Ad hoc interdisciplinary working groups with members from both departments will be formed. A group of experts (from various projects) working on France has already started meeting.
- 4 One of its first activities is a large seminar offered for the general public on the upcoming parliamentary elections in France. Such public events involving several research areas and projects will take place on a regular basis in the future. They will foster wider cooperation within the Centre, enhance the dissemination of the Centre’s expertise and contribute to the presence of the Centre in the public.

Further development of the Young Scholars Initiative and Fellowship Programme

In summer 2000 the MZES started a grant and support programme for young scholars who want to write their dissertation in close connection with one of the existing MZES research areas or research projects. This programme is intended both to enrich the Centre’s research programme and to prepare young scholars for future cooperation as well-trained researchers in the fields of the Centre. Four excellent young scholars are currently participating in this programme. The Centre’s own resources do not allow for extending this programme, but the MZES will continue the initiative and attempt to extend it with outside grants.

In order to stimulate further exchange and collaboration and to open the MZES to colleagues from other institutes, the Executive Board followed the recommendation of the Scientific Advisory Board to introduce MZES Fellowships. They are of two kinds.

- 1 In the first variant, outstanding national and international experts are invited to stay repeatedly at the Centre (in successive visits of several weeks each) in order to actively participate in research projects and to help to develop new projects and research areas. Thomas Poguntke (University of Keele, UK) started such a fellowship with a first visit in December 2001. Douglas Massey (University of Pennsylvania, USA) will begin his

fellowship with a visit in June 2002. The Centre will invite additional outstanding colleagues to such fellowships in the future.

- 2 In the second variant, established scholars are invited to work at the institute for a continuous longer period to stimulate innovative research in specific areas not covered by the present staff. Fellows may eventually also establish a research area and work at the Centre for an extended period of time. The MZES has internationally announced these fellowships and is presently in the process of recruiting two scholars for such fellowships.

Active management of generational succession among professorial staff

The Faculty of Social Sciences anticipates that a large number of its professors will soon retire. Of its eleven professors of sociology or political science, seven will retire at the end of 2007 and nine at the end of 2009, among them most of the present active professorial researchers and team leaders at the MZES. This implies an almost complete replacement of the research leadership at the MZES within a very short time in the near future. This sudden generational change represents one of the most serious challenges for the continuity of research at the Mannheim Centre. In cooperation with the Faculty of Social Sciences and with support from the Rektor of the University of Mannheim, the MZES has taken initiatives to actively organize this transition period so as to reduce the risk of major disruption of its research activities. Plans have been developed and accepted by the Faculty and by the Rektor to recruit two new professors (one in sociology and one in political science) well before the departure of the retiring professors. It has also been agreed that in the selection of the new professors their potential future contributions to MZES research will play an important role. The Fellowship Programme can be very helpful as an additional instrument to bridge this generational gap and will be used to this end.

Structure and Organisation of the MZES

This section briefly describes the following aspects of the structure and the organisation of research at the MZES:

- 2.1 Structure of the MZES
- 2.2 Resources of the MZES and resource policy
- 2.3 Organisation of research and project types
- 2.4 The MZES infrastructure

2.1 Structure of the MZES

The *Mannheimer Zentrum für Europäische Sozialforschung* (MZES) is an interdisciplinary research institute at the University of Mannheim with close connections to the Faculty of Social Sciences. It is directed by a board of three University of Mannheim professors (the director and the heads of the Centre's two Research Departments A and B). The managing director is responsible for the infrastructure and the administration of the institute.

2.2 Resources of the MZES and resource policy

The resources of the MZES, which constitute a major parameter of what can be achieved, basically derive from three sources: the MZES budget itself, the Faculty of Social Sciences and other University of Mannheim faculties, and project grants.

In its capacity as a university research institute, the MZES receives a budget of its own as part of the state of Baden-Württemberg's budget for the University of Mannheim. This budget includes 24 full-time positions for research, infrastructure (data and information archives, library, computing) and administrative and secretarial staff, free use of office space and 500,000 Euro per year for additional personnel and other expenses.

The second major resource for the MZES is the scientific staff of the Faculty of Social Sciences at the University of Mannheim, in particular the professors of sociology and political science. They represent the core of the Centre's leading scientists who take responsibility for developing long-term MZES research areas, designing and directing particular research projects, acquiring funds and carrying out research. Also, all members of the MZES executive board (including the director and the heads of the two departments) are faculty professors. Increasingly, younger faculty scientists also assume responsibility for leading research areas and directing research projects. This cooperation between MZES and a large part of the Faculty of Social Sciences is absolutely vital for the MZES, as the Centre itself does not have the resources to engage the high-powered scientific capacities that are available in the Faculty.

The third source that keeps the MZES running is the project grants. The large majority of concrete research operations are financed by external research grants. As a general rule only those

projects that are subject to external peer review and that then in fact receive external funding can draw on extended MZES resources (including research staff) . With its own resources the MZES mainly provides an excellent infrastructure for research and supports the preparation of research proposals and the acquisition of external research funds. Core projects that have been positively evaluated and have received external funds may obtain additional MZES research staff support in order to accomplish the research goals.

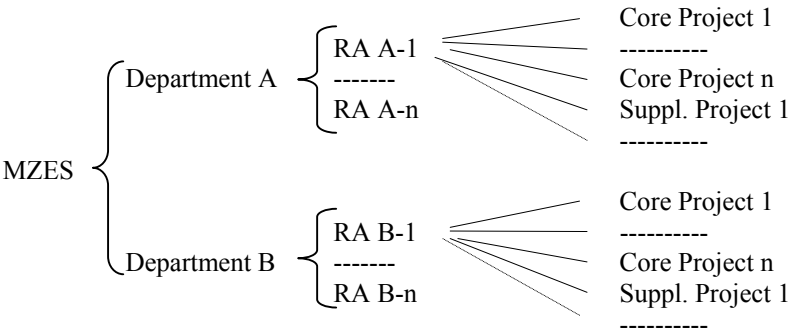
The MZES considers this self-commitment to external evaluation and funding an extremely valuable mechanism for achieving high-quality research. It is its main instrument for continued quality control. Exceptions to these strict rules may be made in the case of doctoral or postdoctoral dissertation projects. Persons working in these projects are mainly financed by resources of faculty chairs or by the MZES Young Scholars Initiative. If such projects fit into the MZES research programme they can be included as supplementary projects.

This combined strategy of resource mobilisation and resource allocation has so far proven highly successful. The MZES has been able to obtain cooperation from many faculty members and also be highly competitive in attracting external research funds. On average over the last ten years the Mannheim Centre has obtained well over a million euros in external research funding per year (in particular from the DFG, the Volkswagen Foundation, the Thyssen Foundation, and the ESF and the EU-framework programmes). For the coming years the MZES will continue these general policies, supplemented by additional instruments, in particular the Fellowship Programme.

2.3 Organisation of Research and Project Types

2.3.1 Main Structure

Research undertaken at the MZES focuses on two main fields: European societies and European political systems. This distinction largely parallels the organisational structure of the MZES with its two departments. The present research programme follows this structure and – like the previous programme – concentrates research in each of the departments within several more specific research areas, each of which comprises several research projects. Based on the nature of the projects and the resources allocated, projects are classified as core (C), supplementary (S) or associated projects (A). The structure thus can be represented in the following way.



RA = Research Area

2.3.2 Departments

The two research departments constitute the organisational units and the two main fields of research at the MZES. Consistent with their main orientation towards the study of European societies and European political systems, the two departments are mainly rooted in either sociological or political science approaches to the study of Europe and its integration. So far the departments are clearly marked by their disciplinary base, but interdisciplinary cooperation and exchange is growing.

Each department has its own head, whose task is to coordinate existing research activities, initiate new research and organize cooperation and exchange within the department through seminars, workshops and other activities. Administrative and secretarial assistance to support research activities is also concentrated at the departmental level.

2.3.3 Research Areas and Core Projects

The research areas represent the major research topics pursued at the MZES in a longer-term perspective. In general they extend over more than one planning period and comprise – either in parallel or succession – a number of core projects that address central research questions of the research area and are interrelated in terms of content and research focus. Core projects are expected to deal with the research issues in a comparative European perspective and in view of the processes of European integration, thus corresponding to the central mission of the Mannheim Centre. The most characteristic features of a research area and its corresponding core projects are the following:

1. The core projects, taken together, cover the main aspects of the research area, which is clearly defined in terms of content and scope.
2. Initial support from MZES research staff is available at the MZES to prepare and develop core projects.

3. Core projects are carried out on the basis of external funding.
4. Externally funded core projects may receive additional financial and staff support from the MZES.

2.3.4 Supplementary Projects

Supplementary projects examine research topics related to a research area, though they do not constitute that research area's core domain. They may study important side aspects or contribute in-depth analyses of specific questions such as developments in a particular country or during a given period. Work is often carried out by a single researcher and often designed to lead to a *doctoral or postdoctoral dissertation*. Supplementary projects thus also serve the Centre's aim to provide supportive conditions for young researchers. Finally, the category of supplementary projects also comprises projects that serve to prepare new research areas.

Supplementary projects do not enjoy additional funding for staff besides initial funding available for them. Support is restricted to materials, funds for (student) research assistance, and the use of infrastructure resources.

2.3.5 Associated Projects

Associated projects are concerned with issues of European research that are not covered by existing research areas. The incorporation of such projects is intended to enrich the overall range of the Centre and to open new opportunities for further international cooperation. As associated projects do not deal with central issues of research at the MZES (which makes them projects with low priority), they do not enjoy financial support for staff. The use and inclusion of other resources of the MZES is also restricted.

Associated projects that are of extraordinary relevance for research at the Mannheim Centre may be especially evaluated by the Centre's Supervisory Board. Such associated projects may also enjoy more substantial support than is normally the case.

2.3.6 Organizational Features of the Projects

The specific characteristics of the various types of projects (core, supplementary and associated) reflect the relevance of these projects to the central task of the Mannheim Centre. In order to achieve a higher level of integration, MZES resources are considered to be an *incentive structure*. This structure assigns first priority to those projects that correspond to the central goal of the Centre. The definition of different types of projects, however, should not be considered a rigid instrumentalisation of research planning. After all, content and arguments of a project are crucial for planning and resource allocation.

The most important aspects of resource allocation to the different types of projects can be summarised as follows:

	Core Projects	Supplementary Projects	Associated Projects
Relation with central research goals	Topic integrated	Supplementary	Non-central topic
MZES funds and other support:			
Initial funding	Yes	Possible	No**
Staff support	Possible*	No	No**
Research assistants	Possible*	Possible*	Possible*
Infrastructure			
Library/QUIA	Yes	Yes	Yes
Computers	Yes	Yes	Yes
Eurodata	Yes	Yes	Possible
Travel expenses, materials etc.	Possible*	Possible*	Possible*
Secretarial support	Yes	Yes	Yes
Manuscript editing	Yes	Yes	Yes
Offices	Yes	Possible	Possible

* For externally funded projects available only if no further external funding is possible for that purpose.

** Possible for associated projects approved by the Supervisory Board of the centre.

2.4 The MZES Infrastructure

The MZES infrastructure comprises computer facilities, the library, the research archive EURODATA, and a unit for documentation of parties and elections. The infrastructure primarily supports and promotes European research conducted at the MZES by collecting, providing, and updating various types of information and by providing access to and further updating of computer facilities at the Centre. The managing director is responsible for maintaining and overseeing the infrastructure.

The infrastructure has to be developed according to the Centre's research needs. Infrastructural services are done best when those in charge of them are also involved in research activities. Therefore the Centre encourages the collaborators in the infrastructure with scientific training to participate (up to 50% of their time) in research projects. Such projects in general should be included in one of the Centre's research areas and are further described in this context below.

The managing director prepares an annual *Infrastructure Plan* to adapt infrastructural services to the developments and requirements of European research at the MZES. This plan gives a detailed outline of the tasks to be performed in the different fields of infrastructure and highlights the relationships with current and planned research activities at the Centre. The Infrastructure

Plan is modified and approved at least once every year, when the annual update to the Research Programme has been ensured. Infrastructural tasks mentioned in the present Programme are therefore restricted to their organizational aspects.

2.4.1 Research Archive EURODATA

The main task of the research archive EURODATA is to compile meta-information (information archive), publications (statistics library), and computer-readable data (files archive) for European research at the MZES. The archive is primarily orientated towards official statistics. While it has up to now been primarily concerned with archiving, documenting and making available the enormously rich sources of aggregate statistics (historical and current) from statistical agencies and international organisations all over Europe, it now will use some of its resources to acquire, archive and make available selected sets of micro data that are of particular importance for ongoing research projects at the Centre. The establishment, further development, and maintenance of the archive are subject to the medium-term research planning of the Centre and are therefore orientated towards its research activities.

Due to profound changes in the field of publishing (electronic publishing, database searches on the Internet), the character of the work related to the archive has changed considerably. The University of Mannheim is also reorganising its information supply for the entire university and aims to adapt it to the new technological possibilities. In the next few years these two trends will have a clear impact on the tasks of the MZES archive, in addition to the integration of the EURODATA statistics library into the MZES library.

2.4.2 Information on European Political Parties and Elections

Elections and political parties are important fields of investigation in several research areas at the Centre. Therefore the institute has established an infrastructure unit that permanently observes the developments of elections and parties on the national and the European level. This unit has evolved from the former “Zentrum für Europäische Umfrageanalysen und Studien” (ZEUS).

The permanent tasks include collecting and documenting results of European Parliament elections and campaign-related material (e.g. party manifestos and content analyses of media broadcasts). In addition, this unit of the infrastructure archives EU-wide representative mass surveys and has helped organise such surveys at election time.

2.4.3 Library

The MZES library consists of the *Europe library* and the *Information archive on textual sources*. The library collects and organizes literature on European research and compiles studies concerned with individual European countries. The collections are available for research in the

library and online. The integration of the largest part of the MZES collection into the South-West Germany Library Consortium (*Südwestdeutscher Bibliotheksverbund*, SWB) was completed by the end of 2001. This also ensures inclusion in the University of Mannheim's OPAC system. The monograph holdings of the MZES library are now documented in these systems. In contrast, the inclusion of the rich holdings of publications of official statistics series held by the MZES has proved to be extremely labour-intensive, and only a small part of the task has been achieved so far. However, as this inclusion would substantially improve the accessibility of the library holdings, additional staff resources will be made available temporarily to the library in order to conclude the conversion in the near future.

2.4.4 Computer Facilities

Efficient facilities to analyse data, access information, prepare publications, carry out administrative tasks and communicate require continuous updating of hardware and software at the Centre and a wide range of services offered by the staff in the computing service group. Support for employees, a range of training courses offered at regular intervals, and maintenance of the computer systems at the Centre (provision and maintenance of server services, the in-house network, individual computer workplaces and of Internet access) are the computer department's most urgent tasks. Good technical solutions for documentation and library services and an informative and up-to-date presentation of the Centre and its products on the Internet are other demanding tasks for the computer department.

A comprehensive renewal of computer hardware was carried out in 2001, made possible by special government funding (HBFG funds). Most hardware components have been updated and the most recent software versions have been introduced. The present hardware is in excellent shape and will only need minor adaptations in the next few years. Software is regularly updated when important revisions or new programs crucial for the work of the Centre become available. Considerable work will be invested in revising the MZES homepage, in particular to make more MZES publications available on the Internet.

Department A: The European Societies and their Integration

Research Department A has focused its research programme from the very beginning on the comparative analysis of social structures and, closely related to that, the historical and current development of European welfare states. Generally, the research on the institutional and structural conditions and consequences for the living conditions and life chances of the population in European societies and its effects on the continuation or the delay of the process of European unification, not least on the background of national state, regional and institutional path-dependencies which can be reconstructed in their historic course and explained by structural and cultural determinations is continued.

In consideration of the accelerated and new types of processes of social change, the increasing global interdependencies and the resulting problems, Department A increasingly deals with topics related to these more recent processes. These include areas of research on topics such as the development of “new” forms of and changes in family relationships and social embeddedness in the life course, international migration, the integration of foreign populations into the national states of Europe and interethnic relations in general as well as the investigation of the integrative foundations of the respective welfare state regime, not least against the background of the assumption that in the course of the mentioned processes also moral and emotional ties to the national state collective will loosen. There are often no really appropriate theoretical concepts available that could be applied for these research areas, not least as these are quite new developments, but above all there are very few useful comparative data sets which would allow for the comparative analysis established in the MZES with mass survey data or available data from official statistics. Therefore, it is intended to initiate basic theoretical work if necessary and to collect new, partly long-term data on special research areas. At the same time it is attempted to cooperate with other European countries doing parallel research and data collection.

The mentioned and with respect to the preceding Research Programme of the MZES or the Research Department A respectively, relatively new main research areas perfectly fit into the established research areas of social structure analysis and welfare state analysis as the respective social processes are directly related to them: changes in fertility, partnership, marriage and separation behaviour, in the family and “moral” embeddedness and the ageing of populations immediately affect welfare state institutions. The processes of migration and the (dis-)integration of ethnic minorities have become new sources and lines of social-structural cleavages and tensions presumably resulting in new historical path-dependencies. Additionally, there are several indications for family processes becoming more and more important for the genesis and structuring of social inequality. This is especially true with respect to the explanation of processes of ethnic stratification and ethnic segmentations (and their at least empirical “interaction”), that can be observed in nearly all (West) European societies due to transnational migration processes.

Against this background, the Research Programme 2002-2004 of Department A can be divided into five main research areas (responsible researchers in brackets):

1. The Development of Social Structures in European Societies (Walter Müller)
2. Welfare States in Europe (Peter Flora)
3. Migration, Integration and Ethnic Conflicts (Frank Kalter)
4. Cultural Foundations of The Market Economy and the Welfare State (Johannes Berger)
5. Family and Social Relations (Hartmut Esser)

Research Areas 1 and 2 of Department A primarily follow the tradition of „classical“ comparative sociological and historical research at the MZES. Research Area 1 continues the comparative socio-structural analysis, also with regard to new developments of flexibilisation and “individualization” of market and labour relations that can be observed in the meantime. The general aim of all projects is the comparative analysis of social inequalities, which are especially directed by processes of educational behaviour, the transition to the labour market, structural changes of labour markets and professional structures and the processes of social mobility linked to it. The studies in Research Area 2 on “Welfare States in Europe” will further concentrate on changes and influences of intermediate instances and welfare state institutions in Europe. As before, the projects aim at analysing the institutional organization and the historical evolution and development of European welfare states and their interrelations with processes of social change. During the forthcoming research period, some ongoing projects will be finished and new projects will be started on the one hand and on the other hand, some long-term publication projects will be continued and (partly) finished.

Research Areas 3 to 5 take up the new topics mentioned above with Research Area 3 and 4 having already been included in the preceding Research Programme of Department A. Research Area 3 on “Migration, Integration and Ethnic Conflicts” on the one hand continues ongoing projects. On the other hand, also some new questions will be addressed, such as the new transnational forms of migration and different processes and conditions of (structural) assimilation of migrants in the course of generations. Research Areas 4 deals with the more general topic of solidarity in modernising societies and the moral foundations of processes increasingly controlled by “rationality” and market processes. The projects in this Research Area which were started during the preceding Research Period will be continued and finished. Research Area 5 is completely new. It is designed to investigate different processes of change in family and social relations on the basis of individual and longitudinal data collected for this purpose. It addresses a topic which has not been investigated at the MZES so far, though the questions linked to it have played a major role in the Centre’s former projects, especially in those on family change and family policy (cf. Research Area 2). It is also intended here to prepare and implement a large-scale data-collection project which may offer the chance to work out the project from the very beginning in accordance with partners from some Western European countries as a comparative project.

The publication project on “Societies in Europe” which was formerly included in Research Area 2 on “Welfare States in Europe” will be classified now as a Supplementary Project to

Research Department A in the forthcoming Research Programme. Details on this project can be found after the description of the five Research Areas.

Although the research areas at first glance differ significantly in terms of the questions raised and their theoretical and methodological orientation, they are closely related and complementary in many respects as already mentioned above. For example, the topic of social inequality and mobility is closely related with family processes and processes of “integration” of immigrants (and other groups), especially under the recent conditions of an increasing internationalisation and “opening” of formal positions as well as the re-emergence of ascriptive closures. This is also true for the question on the “moral” foundations of societies organised on the principles of market economy and the welfare state. So, there are also direct relations to those Research Areas of Research Department B which address legitimisation of democratic systems and political participation on the one hand, or the conditions and processes of the emergence of ethnic conflicts and new forms of national (dis-)integration on the other hand.

The past research period has shown that these substantial links are more and more recognised and taken into consideration by the single projects. A number of single and supplementary projects have resulted from these linkages and there are clear signs for the future that this interlocking of projects between the research areas will be reinforced in a casual way. Without doubt, increased joint activities at the level of co-operation with international research institutes, invited guest professors and the organization of international conferences have contributed to this positive situation. The forthcoming research period is planned as a continuation and reinforcement of the present situation (cf. also the general perspectives of the MZES as a whole). Additionally, the colloquium of Research Department A has proven to be the most important instrument of integration. In the meantime it has become a forum of exchange beyond all different methodological and theoretical perspectives in the institute. Finally, the various workshops on different topics have to be mentioned. They have turned out to be a very useful instrument of international communication and research planning and therefore they are to be continued in the forthcoming research period.

Research Area 1: The Development of Social Structures in European Societies

European societies as other modern societies are presently experiencing major changes in their social differentiation and in the institutions which affect their social structures and the life chances of individuals. Led by European Union legislation countries proceed to reform and harmonize their systems of education at the same time as educational participation grows to ever higher levels in most of the countries. In reaction to pressures from global markets, many countries reform their labour market institutions in view to increase flexibility and expecting to combat unemployment through it. Under budget pressures and in reaction to assumed work disincentives, welfare states revise their systems of social protection and reduce the generosity of work replacement rates. Labour markets are undergoing substantial change which however points in different directions: Transformations of occupational structures towards higher job requirements are paralleled with increased difficulties of employment of low skilled labour as well as growing importance of non-standard forms of employment such as part-time work, fixed term contracts, and the resurgence of varied (including precarious and unstable) forms of self-employment. Increasing labour force participation of women in many countries is now counterbalanced by severe employment problems of in particular young low skilled men.

All these developments impact on the unequal participation of individuals on the economic and social resources in the course of their lives and on the structures of social inequality existing in various countries of Europe. While all these processes occur to a larger or smaller extent in all European societies their forms, extent and significance vary, between countries. Besides general structural features and developments common to most countries we observe significant country-specific characteristics that can result from the particular conditions of national development, from different historical traditions of problem-solving, different constellations of power, specific institutional conditions, or a country's position in international competition.

The projects included in the research area concentrate on selected aspects of the described broader development and they mainly focus on their implications for patterns of social stratification and inequalities of life chances in Europe. They take profit of the existing variation to describe and explain both the general pattern and common trends as well as the effects of specific factors responsible for major differences between the countries and for the converging or diverging developments among them. For this reason, the projects are mainly comparative and they place great emphasis on describing the institutional preconditions and state-defined incentive structures that appear to be significant in each case. In doing this they provide the grounds to better understand the tensions deriving in the process of European integration from both the existing and changing structures of inequality within individual countries and the inequality of life chances existing between the member states and regions.

The individual projects partly continue and conclude work started in the previous years, partly they address new issues. As in previous years we maintain a special emphasis on the role of *education* for labour market outcomes and structures of social inequality in Europe. During 2002

we will conclude the ongoing projects particularly focused on the transition process from school to work and on the integration of school leavers into the labour market (projects 1.1 and 1.2). In a new project we will examine more closely the developments in the systems of tertiary education (project 1.3). This is the domain of education that presently is experiencing the most significant change, both through continued expansion and structural reform in response to political pressure towards harmonization of educational systems in Europe. Substantial improvements in the measurement of education in European social statistics are providing new means to study in more depth than so far possible the impacts of various ways to organise tertiary education in Europe.

Another major new project (1.4) – to be started in autumn 2002 – will study more closely the relationship between labour market processes, welfare state protection, and stratification consequences. While an interest in education will be preserved as a core individual resource the project will in particular focus on how increased labour market flexibilisation impacts on occupational life courses and concomitant social and stratification consequences under the varying provisions existing in different kinds of welfare states to protect and compensate for labour market risks.

Two projects started in the last period and to be concluded in 2002 and 2004 respectively examine the ongoing social structural changes in labour markets with in-depth analyses of two specific categories of workers that probably represent the extremes in the continuum of welfare state protection and whose social position most likely is substantially affected by both increasing labour market flexibilisation and changing welfare state protection: the self-employed (project 1.5) and the public service sector (project 1.6).

Three projects finally are primarily concerned with improving the conceptualisation and measurement of social class and life style in (comparative) stratification research. Among them project 1.7 attempts at validating and refining Erikson's and Goldthorpe's schema of social class by studying social mobility between detailed occupations. Project 1.8 on the other side contributes to the development and validation of a standard socio-economic classification to be used in the large scale surveys and data collections carried out by the European Statistical Agencies. These externally-funded projects will be complemented by a Ph.D. dissertation project on particular aspects of lifestyle (to be concluded in 2002).

While the focus of the projects in this research area is on the individual, and while inequalities arise initially from individuals' unequal participation and opportunities in the marketplace and from individual obligations towards and claims upon the public system of transfers, their impact on living conditions is mediated by the type of lifestyle, the division of labour, and the sharing of resources in house-holds, families, and other forms of cohabitation. The projects in this research area have therefore close ties to the projects on the family and intimate relations in area 3. In particular project 1.4 will have close ties to the research areas 2 and 4 centred on issues of social security in the European welfare state and on the cultural foundations of the market economy and the welfare state.

Projects

1.1 Educational Expansion and Social Reproduction in Europe

Director: Walter Müller
 Researchers: Stefani Scherer, Anna Kim, Reinhard Pollak
 Duration: April 1996 to September 2002
 Status: Core

Against the background of the massive expansion of participation in education and extensive structural changes in the labour market this project examines the changing role of education and training for the allocation of individuals to work positions and for the intergenerational reproduction of social inequalities. These issues are viewed from two perspectives: first, a historical perspective focusing on the consequences of educational expansion and occupational change; and second, a comparative perspective focusing on the effects of distinct features of educational and labour market institutions in different countries. The core European countries France, Germany, the United Kingdom and Italy serve as central cases of study that cover a broad array of the institutional settings in education and labour markets in Europe.

In the final year (2002) the project concentrates on

- analysing the impact of different education and training arrangements and of different systems on labour market regulation for the integration of school leavers into the labour market and for the course of early work careers;
- aspects of career mobility dynamics and the role of education-job mismatches for the further career chances;
- the growth of atypical work contracts in various countries and the role of education in protecting individuals from precarious forms of work;
- summarising the results of a large number of project publications into a comprehensive final report.

1.2 Evaluation and Analyses of the LFS 2000 ad hoc Module Data on School-to-work Transitions in Europe

Director: Walter Müller
 Researchers: Frank Kalter, Irena Kogan (both MZES), Markus Gangl (WZB, Berlin), David Raffé, Cristina Iannelli (both CES, University of Edinburgh), Emer Smyth (ESRI, Dublin), Maarten Wolbers (ROA, University of Maastricht)
 Duration: March 2001 to end 2002
 Status: Core

In order to improve the availability of data on transitions between education and the labour market in Europe, EUROSTAT has introduced a topical module on transitions from education to work into the Labour Force Survey 2000 in 14 EU member states, an effort which was

additionally joined by six Eastern European countries. Based on an international expert network, the project is intended as an evaluation study of this new European database which combines both methodological and substantive concerns. To that end, the project first includes a methodological evaluation part, assessing the degree of comparability achieved in the concrete implementation of the module, as well as the resulting data quality. Added to this, there are substantive analyses on core issues in transition research, including social background effects on educational careers, the relation between field of education and gender inequality in the labour market, ethnic inequalities in transition processes, the incidence and consequences of job mismatches, and job search and mobility behaviour in the early career stages.

In 2001 the project has concluded the methodological evaluation of the implementation of the module in the 20 participating countries. In 2002 the substantive analyses will be carried out. Publications will include an indicator report, a final report for EUROSTAT, several contributions for “Statistics in Focus” as well as several research papers. The analyses are conducted as secondary analyses of the EU Labour Force Survey 2000, including the countries of the European Union, Hungary, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Latvia, Lithuania.

1.3 Social Selectivity in Tertiary Education and Labour Market and Stratification Outcomes

Directors:	Walter Müller, Anna Kim
Researchers:	Anna Kim, N.N.
Duration:	July 2003 to December 2006
Status:	Core

Previous studies have consistently shown the eminent advantage of tertiary qualifications compared to lower level ones and the strong association of higher education with professional jobs. However, recent changes in the systems of tertiary education may have substantially altered the relationship between the higher education system and the career outcomes in the labour market. Most countries have observed a substantial expansion of tertiary education in last decades, although considerable variation between countries exist. At the same time, the higher education systems have been differentiated through the introduction of new institutional forms (e.g. vocationally-oriented specific colleges) or the re-organisation of existing institutions (e.g. the integration of polytechnics into the system of universities in the UK). The institutional differentiation and the various reforms have substantially increased the variability of institutional arrangements in tertiary education among European countries. Most recently, however, we observe substantial pressures from the European Union towards harmonisation of the systems of tertiary education in its member states.

Not much is known in a wider comparative perspective on the implications these structural changes in tertiary education have had and will have on labour market and stratification outcomes of various kinds of tertiary qualifications. Even less is known about a further important differentiation within tertiary education: the differentiation along different fields of study. Often it is assumed that the “massification” of tertiary education leads to both reduced social selection in

access to tertiary education as well as to lower returns on the labour market. However, one can expect that new mechanisms have developed to compensate the diminishing social selectivity and allocative role resulting from expansion. Students of different social origin can be expected to move differentially into the more differentiated structure of tertiary education and into the different fields of study. At the same time the enhanced hierarchical structure of tertiary education – along different levels or cycles of study or along the rank assigned to individual institutions (e.g. elite institutions in the UK, France and the US) – as well as the differentiation along subjects of study can be expected to sort students more specifically for different career prospects in the labour market.

The project will try to show with cross-temporal and international comparisons, how these new selective mechanisms in the higher education systems have strengthened, as the massification of tertiary education has taken place. As choice of study field is highly gender specific the project will also be particularly interested to disentangle how much of gender differences in labour market outcomes result from preferences and choice in subject fields and how much from gendered opportunities and constraints in the allocation of men and women to jobs. In view of the current attempts of re-organising and harmonising the systems of tertiary educational in Europe, it intends to show the implications the various reforms can be expected to have for different countries. Empirically the project will mainly draw on new data available from the European labour force surveys. Through the recent introduction of more detailed measures of education and specific topical modules on education in these surveys the data provided by them have considerably improved the opportunities for the comparative study of education and its impact on labour market and stratification outcomes.

Concerning the study of the development of social selectivity in various kinds of tertiary education the project is connected with an ongoing large scale comparative study co-ordinated by Yossi Shavit (Tel Aviv University) and Richard Arum (New York University). Concerning labour market and stratification outcomes the project intends to start in mid 2003 with the preparation of a DFG or EU research proposal, supported by the MZES and then be carried out with project funds from third sources in the years 2005–2006.

1.4 The Social Consequences of Labour Market Flexibilisation in Different EU Countries

Directors:	Walter Müller, Stefani Scherer
Researchers:	Stefani Scherer, N.N.
Duration:	October 2002 to December 2005
Status:	Core

Sociological and economic literature has recognised recently that processes in the labour market cannot be regarded independently of the welfare state. Means of regulating the labour market, forms of employment, their distribution and consequences vary with other welfare state regulations. Until now, however, in most of the literature this link between welfare and work has

been reduced to a trade-off between welfare rights and labour market efficiency, i.e. labour market efficiency has been understood to result from unfeathered market flexibilisation.

Labour market flexibilisation and the increase in various forms of non-standard employment relationships has been proposed as a means to foster economic efficiency and growth, combat mass unemployment and increase access for groups of persons traditionally less attached to the labour market. But – as the argument goes – to fully profit from it, flexibilisation must be paralleled by a reduction of welfare state benefits. The Anglo-Saxon liberal model with its highly flexible labour market and low welfare incentives for people to escape from labour market commodification, has been proposed as the benchmark for the continental European labour markets. The evidence, however, is not clear. With Denmark, at least one EU country ranks as high as the UK with regard to labour market flexibility. At the same time, the Danish welfare state is still among the most universalistic and protective in the EU, and with respect to core social indicators, the Danish model proves to be more efficient than the liberal Anglo-Saxon welfare regime. This suggests that social protection, far from being an obstacle to labour market flexibilisation, can instead support labour market efficiency and prove to be more ‘socially efficient’, given that it reduces the social costs and the negative externalities deriving from market insecurity. Thus, in the context of these ‘new’ forms of employment, the welfare state might receive a new role in protecting against social risks and in shaping the amount and structure of (persistent) inequality within societies.

The project aims at enhancing our understanding of the interconnection between welfare and labour market. It seeks to ascertain whether a trade-off between welfare rights and market efficiency actually exists and what price this might exact from society. This will be done by studying the consequences emerging from the current trend of flexibilising European labour markets. In a life course perspective the project will investigate the role played by different kinds of welfare states in shaping both the structure and the consequences of contingent or even precarious jobs. It examines their impact on individual work histories and the concomitant social consequences in terms of persistent exclusion from the primary and/or skilled labour market as well as in terms of poverty risks. In detail the project will focus on the following questions: (1) the distribution and composition of flexible work arrangements across nations, (2) their various consequences in terms of social risks, (3) the location and role that they play within individual work history, and (4) the specific situation of selected subgroups. These questions are addressed in two ways: First, broader comparative analysis among EU countries will allow assessment of how welfare and labour market flexibilisation interact in producing different work arrangements and different social consequences. Second, in-depth analyses of selected nations will enable detailed study of the dynamic aspects. Great Britain, Germany, Italy and Denmark have been chosen as ideal types of different welfare models. To these aims the project will combine analyses of the European Labour Force Survey and of panel and life course data available for the selected countries.

The beginning of the project is intended to be funded by various sources. It is planned to begin with a Marie Curie Fellowship for Stefani Scherer and MZES support for preparation of a DFG or EU research proposal.

1.5 Socio-economic Development of Self-employment in Europe

Director: Walter Müller
Researcher: Silvia Luber
Duration: September 1998 to December 2002
Status: Core

Since the 1980s the rate and number of self-employed workers increased in almost every Western European country. This growth has influenced strongly the recent debate about the replacement of traditional forms of employment. Further, it has raised the question about the causes of this increase. The project conducts a systematic comparative analysis in several European and non-European societies to describe the development in the various countries and to explain the differences between these countries in the context of specific national constraints, incentives and opportunities for self-employed work. Of specific interest also are the implications of the developments for the social-structural composition of the group of self-employed.

In the final year 2002 the main aims of the project are the following: (1) The in-depth analyses of the dynamics of self-employment in several European and non-European advanced economies will be finalised. The research mainly focus on the factors governing entry into and exit from self-employment. It will lead to a publication of a volume including country specific studies as well as comparative meta-analyses of the country studies to establish common and divergent elements in the development of self-employment in the last two decades of the 20th century. (2) Systematic comparative analysis of the development of self-employed work and its economic structure in different European countries will be continued. On the one hand, it is intended to answer the question how specific national structures are due to differences in the institutional framework. On the other hand, implications and consequences of different developments of self-employed work for the social and economic structure is analysed in an in-depth comparative study for Germany and the United Kingdom. The data source of the analyses are the European Labour Force Surveys, panel and life history data from the countries included in the project) several countries of Western Europe and Australia, Japan, Taiwan, US).

1.6 Social Structure, Social Security, and the Social Position of the Public Service Sector: European Models and National Case Studies

Director: Franz Rothenbacher
Researchers: Franz Rothenbacher, Jens Ballendowitsch
Duration: July 2001 to June 2004
Status: Core

The project examines the public services of five European countries in a sociological perspective. The theoretical core is the relationship between the social structure and the institutional regulations, and the effects of both on the social position of the employees of the public service sector. This main research question is analysed both historically in terms of its development and crystallisation and concerning its future, especially with regard to the demographic challenges

due to population ageing, increasing life expectancy and a deteriorating ratio between earners and pensioners. While these demographic developments can be found in all advanced countries, the adaptation of the systems of social security (esp. pensions) is different in each country because of the huge variations in public service systems between countries. Therefore, the main research question has to be tackled separately for each country by standardised country studies. A high degree of standardisation allows for a detailed comparison between countries later on (cf. MZES Fourth Research Programme 1999–2001, 39f.).

Franz Rothenbacher has started to write a monograph on this topic including the three main European countries of Great Britain, France and Germany. This study is composed of national case studies for these three countries as well as a comparative and theoretical part. In addition, the consequences of European integration for national public service systems will be dealt with. Jens Ballendowitsch's main task is to investigate the central research question for the two extreme European cases Switzerland and Sweden and to write a comparative study focused on these two countries.

1.7 Social Mobility in a Disaggregated Class Context: a Comparative Analysis of the Influence of Occupational Structuration on Mobility Regimes

Directors:	David Grusky (for international part), Walter Müller (at MZES)
Researchers:	Reinhard Pollak (together with David Grusky, Janne Jonsson, Mary Brinton)
Duration:	January 2002 to December 2003
Status:	Supplementary

Research on social mobility traditionally relies on highly aggregated class schemes, especially in a comparative context. However, to understand the specific mechanisms that shape social mobility it is useful to break down existing class schemes to an analytic level where real social groupings (i.e. occupations) form around functional niches in the division of labour: First, while there is little empirical support for *class identification* with regard to conventional classes, one finds that detailed occupations continue to be one of the main social identities for contemporary labour force participants, be it in terms of career aspirations, skill training or the like. Second, *social closure* is mainly found to operate at an occupational level: associated closure devices like licensing, credentialing and apprenticeships usually do not govern entry to aggregate classes, but serve to control entry and exit at a more detailed occupational level. Third, these social closure strategies are carried out by *collective action* groupings on a disaggregated level like professional associations or craft unions. Finally, if modern closure is indeed 'gemeinschaftlich' organised and secured mainly at the detailed occupational level, then the resulting restriction of social interaction will generate and maintain occupational subcultures which shape *class-specific outcomes* in various respects.

The project specifically examines intergenerational and intra-generational social mobility patterns as one possible outcome of a disaggregated class structure. We test the extent to which social mobility is governed by institutionalised boundaries between occupations rather than by

aggregate interclass boundaries. Therefore, we will reanalyse some of the standard models in social mobility research in order to find out if the results at the aggregate level also hold true for a disaggregated class scheme. In particular, the project will re-examine the standard findings of extreme rigidities found at the top and bottom of the aggregated class structure (“U-shape”), it will analyse the structure of recent trends in inheritance, persistence, and inter-occupational mobility, it will examine macro-level causes that generate immobility (e.g. closure forms) and it will test convergence models by running these models for four different countries, that are known for their high/low class structuration and for their high/low occupational structuration. We include Sweden as example for a relatively high class structuration, but low occupational structuration; Japan as a country with low structuration on both dimensions; the United States with low class structuration, but relatively high occupational structuration; and Germany as a country with high occupational structuration and high class structuration. Using large-scale population surveys, the project will develop a disaggregated comparative class scheme with approximately 70 occupational groupings which is meaningful in all four countries. This new scheme is also nested into Goldthorpe’s aggregated class scheme. The design of the scheme will allow to decompose traditional class effects from occupationally-based effects and therefore to assess the strength of these effects within and across countries given the countries’ specific institutional arrangements.

The project is an international collaboration co-ordinated by David Grusky (Cornell University, USA) and funded by the U.S. National Science Foundation. The MZES is responsible for the German contribution to the international data set. All analyses will be done jointly by the project group.

1.8 The Development of a European Socio-economic Classification 2002–2005

Director:	Walter Müller
Researchers:	Reinhard Pollak, Heike Wirth (ZUMA, Mannheim)
Duration:	2003 to 2005
Status:	Supplementary

The project intends to develop and validate a socio-economic classification to be used as a common basis in the various large scale surveys (labour force surveys, household income and consumption surveys and others) carried out by the European Statistical Agencies. The classification to be developed is closely related to the Erikson/Goldthorpe schema of social classes, which presently is one of the most widely used instrument in scholarly research to assess the social class position of individuals and families. The development of this classification for the European Statistical Agencies will substantially improve the ability for comparative research for a large number of areas of study of social structures and social change in European societies.

The project is planned to be carried out by a consortium of researchers from various European countries lead by Jean Martin of the UK Office of National Statistics and Richard Rose, Essex University. The Mannheim team will be responsible for the development of the respective

instrument for Germany and validate it by a series of analyses studying the predictive capacity of the schema for various social issues, such as unemployment, earnings, standard of living, health.

1.9 Theoretical Construction and Empirical Examination of a Lifestyle Typology

Director: Walter Müller
Researcher: Gunnar Otte
Duration: 1999 to 2002
Status: Supplementary

The question as to what extent lifestyles structure individual attitudes and behaviours and to what extent lifestyle typologies can be used instead of class or stratification models to describe populations has been a topic of sociological discussion for some time. However, the procedure currently used in the research for identifying lifestyle types empirically is not sufficiently grounded in a theory of behaviourally-produced social inequalities and results in a lack of comparability between the identified types.

The goals of this project are to construct a typology of the different kinds of individual lifestyles, to apply this typology empirically in a quantitative representative survey, and to examine its empirical and theoretical explanatory power with regard to various fields of social activity.

The project will be concluded in 2002 by the dissertation of Gunnar Otte.

Research Area 2: Social Services and Social Security. The European Welfare States in Comparison

The common frame of the various projects in research area 2 is a comparative-historical and macro-sociological analysis of the development of European welfare states from the late nineteenth century to the present. At the core of this analysis are the variations of the institutional and organizational structures of the welfare states, their differences across space and their changes over time. These structures shape in important ways the life chances of major population groups and contribute to the formation of social groups and social conflicts. In this sense the comparative welfare state research is a crucial element of the comparative analysis of social structures.

Theoretical point of reference of the comparative analyses is the Rokkanian model of the European state- and nation-building. It offers a series of possible explanations for the structural variations of the European welfare states. Thus, for example, differences in the process of state formation may explain the more *centralized* or *decentralized* character of welfare states, differences in the process of nation-building their more *universalistic* or *particularistic* character. Variations in the cleavage structures may offer an explanation for the more *etatist* or *intermediary* character of the welfare states, and all processes together contribute to an understanding of the *basic ideas about social order*, which may be found in the attributes of welfare state institutions.

The comparison focuses on the institutions and organizations of the welfare state in a stricter sense, but at the same time an attempt is made to put it into a broader societal context. This holds above all for the relationships between the welfare state institutions and the family and employment structures as well as the relationships of public and intermediary organizations with similar functions.

Research area 2 is now constituted by a number of ongoing and planned research projects which can be divided in two groups, one with a focus on social services, families and intermediary structures, the other with a focus on social security schemes.

The first group assembles three ongoing projects which will be concluded within the current 3-years' research programme. The financing of Project 2.1 "Family Change and Family Policy in Comparative Perspective" has ended, but a number of books have still to be published until the end of 2003. Project 2.2 "Intermediary Structures and the Welfare State: The Role of the Churches in Western Europe" is officially running until April 2003, but an attempt may be made to continue it for another 2-years period. The ongoing Project 2.3 "Social Services in the Welfare State: A Comparison of Great Britain, France, and Germany" is planned to be finished in form of a Habilitationsschrift in 2004.

The core of the second group of projects is the production of two handbooks on the development of social security in Europe (see the *Societies of Europe* Series as Supplementary Project of Research Area A). The ongoing work on the first handbook covering the period from the late nineteenth century until World War II should be finished in late 2003. The second

handbook on the period since World War II is planned to be produced from early 2004, in cooperation with external researchers and in combination with a number of dissertation projects. The preparation of two of them would start in October 2002: A comparative study on “The Reconstruction of Social Security and Social Services in Central Eastern and Southeastern Europe: A Comparison of Czech Republic and Slovakia, Croatia and Slovenia” (Project 2.4) and “Change of Social Structure and Reform of Social Security: A Comparison of Germany and Great Britain, 1980-2000” (Project 2.5), both with a focus on the 1980s and 1990s.

Projects

2.1 Family Change and Family Policy in Comparative Perspective

Directors: Peter Flora, Thomas Bahle
Researchers: (research phase finished)
Duration: publication series to be completed by 2004
Status: Core

The project studies family changes and family policies in eighteen Western countries in historical-comparative perspective. Major products are a series of country reports and comparative studies in a series of seven volumes, and a family policy database. The project has already ended, but the work on the publication series continues. The first volume of the series and the database are published, five of the other six planned volumes will follow from 2002-2004. The project was funded by the DFG, a related TMR programme was financed by the EU. The MZES supports the project by funding editing costs.

2.2 Intermediary Structures and the Welfare State: The Role of the Churches in Western Europe

Director: Peter Flora
Researcher: Birgit Fix
Duration: October 1999 to March 2003
Status: Core

Churches have been playing a major role in the provision of social welfare long before the modern welfare state was founded. Today, they still are important providers of social services, but with great variations across Europe. The project studies these differences in a quantitative as well as qualitative perspective. Research questions are: 1. For which target groups do denominational welfare organisations provide social services? 2. How many institutions, places, beds and how much time for counselling do they offer? 3. Which forms of service provision do they prefer? 4. From which financial resources are their services funded? 5. How many members of religious congregations do they employ and do they rely more on volunteers or on

professionals? Data have been collected by a survey of ca. 400 institutions in six countries (Austria, Belgium, Germany, the Netherlands, Norway and Switzerland). The project may be continued in a second phase in order to include other European countries.

2.3 Social Services in the Welfare State: A Comparison of Great Britain, France, and Germany

Director: Thomas Bahle
Researcher: Thomas Bahle
Duration: April 1999 to April 2004
Status: Supplementary

The project studies the institutionalization of social services in England, France and Germany in a comparative-historical perspective. The two main research questions are: (1) In which way has the historical development of the welfare state structured social services and how can variations between countries be explained? (2) How can similarities and differences between countries in major recent reforms in the field of social services be explained? The two research questions are related to the basic underlying theme of the project, that is the relationship between welfare state and social services: to what extent are services institutionalized between public and private and between central and local arrangements? Have the recent reforms, often referred to as privatization or decentralization, weakened the role of the welfare state, or have new mechanisms of social control of services emerged? In which directions have the systems in the three countries developed? The study is based on secondary analysis and published statistical materials. The project is planned to lead to a Habilitationsschrift and is not externally funded.

2.4 The Reconstruction of Social Security and Social Services in Central Eastern and Southeastern Europe: A Comparison of Czech Republic and Slovakia, Croatia and Slovenia.

Director: Peter Flora
Researcher: Ivka Puškarić
Duration: October 2002 – March 2006
Status: Core

The collapse of the communist regimes across Eastern Europe in 1989 and the following transitions to market economy and pluralist democracy – with greatly varying success – have also involved a need to reconstruct the existing systems of social security and social services. Until 1989 the countries of Eastern Europe were characterized by a particular type of welfare state, a bureaucratic state collectivist system of welfare. This system had become established within the Soviet Union under Stalinism and had been exported to the countries of Eastern Europe after the Second World War. It existed in a fairly standard form, with individual country variations mainly

due to residues of private economy (e.g. in agriculture) and pluralism (e. g. by the Catholic Church) as well as to differences in Russian hegemony.

The main characteristics of the standard form of Eastern welfare state derived from a linkage of egalitarian ideology with an underdeveloped and inefficient economy, and of welfare paternalism with an authoritarian/totalitarian political system. As Bob Deacon (*The New Eastern Europe. Social Policy Past, Present and Future*. Sage 1992: 2) has put it: “heavily subsidized foods and rents, full employment, relatively high (as a percentage of average) wages of workers and provision of free or cheap health, education and culture services represented a type of welfare contract between the party-state apparatus and the people which was marred only by its inefficiency and the hidden privileges of the nomenclatura.”

Despite the similarity of the communist welfare states, and therefore also of their ‘transition problems’, the systems of social security and social services did not develop in the same way across Eastern Europe. To a large extent, variations may be explained by differences in recent economic and political developments. In addition, however, it will be asked whether some of the variations may also be understood as consequences of earlier differences in state formation and nation-building and the development of more modern civil societies. The communist takeover certainly represented a deep break in the history of these societies, and it lasted long enough to produce certain homogenizing effects. After its breakdown, however, it seems to be very likely that deep-rooted older differences come again to the fore. And it is a basic assumption that such differences will imprint on the further development of the Eastern European welfare systems, as they have done in Western Europe.

This ‘Rokkanian perspective’ has influenced the choice of countries in the project (Czech Republic and Slovakia, Croatia and Slovenia). Since the sixteenth century all four belonged to the Hapsburg Monarchy which in comparison to the autocratic Russian empire and the despotic Ottoman Empire allowed for more pluralism, with a greater potential for developing a ‘civil society’. Until the last third of the nineteenth century all four countries were ‘dependent territories’, unlike the more autonomous Hungary, but Bohemia/Moravia and Croatia could look back to medieval state formations while Slovakia and Slovenia had never been independent states.

All four territories belonging to the same monarchy, it nevertheless made a great difference whether they belonged to the Austrian part (Bohemia/Moravia and Slovenia) or to the Hungarian part (Croatia and Slovakia). The higher level of economic development, of urbanization and industrialization as well as the relatively more advanced political liberalization in the Austrian part enhanced the chances for the emergence of a civil society, above all in Bohemia, but also in Moravia and Slovenia.

A further difference lay in the role of the church. Although all four countries were formally Catholic, this role greatly varied. While in Bohemia/Moravia Catholicism was identified with Hapsburg domination and therefore at least partially resented, in Croatia and Slovakia the Catholic Church became an important agency in mobilizing ethnic nationalism against Hungarian domination. Together with the generally lower level of social modernization this specific role of

the church may also have had long-term effects on the chances for developing a more pluralistic polity and society in the two countries.

Thus, the macro-contexts of the four new states which became independent in 1991 (Slovenia and Croatia) and 1993 (Czech Republic and Slovakia) varied not only according to their incorporation in the Austrian or Hungarian part of the Hapsburg monarchy but also according to their membership in the two follower states which even under communism retained significant differences.

	Hapsburg Monarchy		
State formation after WW I	Austrian part	Hungarian part	Communism after WW II
Czechoslovakia	<i>Czech Republic</i> (Bohemia/Moravia) independence 1/1/1993	<i>Slovakia</i> independence 1/1/1993	greater centralization and suppression
Yugoslavia	<i>Slovenia</i> independence 25/6/1991	<i>Croatia</i> independence 25/6/1991	greater regionalization and liberalization

In social policy the new states are confronted with very similar problems. They arise first of all from consequences of the transition to a market economy, above all high levels of unemployment and widespread poverty. These problems are further increased by the - largely unavoidable - abolishment of older elements of social policy, above all price subsidies and enterprise welfare. And of course the older problems of inadequate and inefficient social services, and of the authoritarian character of social policy continue to exist.

The objective of the project is to study the varying mixture of public, market, and non-profit or intermediary solutions sought for the problems in the four countries. In which way this will be done, has not yet been decided, above all the question whether we shall carry out an institutional survey in the four countries or even 'expert' interviews. The preparatory phase will therefore be used to get a full overview of the available information. The available academic literature on social security developments in Eastern Europe is already rich, but much less on social services, and often neglects Croatia. In addition to the academic studies, there is also great variety of studies by the OECD, ILO and EU. Basic statistics are available in the EURODATA archive of the MZES.

A further very valuable source of information is the New Democracies Barometer (NDB) created by the Paul Lazarsfeld Society in Vienna in 1991. The NDB covered all four and a number of other Eastern European countries and repeated key questions regularly. Between 1991 and 1998 there have been 5 rounds of this survey, which in 2001 was replaced by the New Europe Barometer. In addition, information is also provided by the Central and Eastern Eurobarometer (CEEB) which however does not include Croatia.

2.5 Change of Social Structure and Reform of Social Security: A Comparison of Germany and Great Britain, 1980-2000

Director: Peter Flora
Researcher: Martin Schommer
Duration: October 2002 – March 2006
Status: Core

In the last two decades the European welfare states have increasingly put under pressure to reform their institutions. In the comparative, mainly Anglo-Saxon literature this has been discussed under the label of 'retrenchment'. This in the meanwhile voluminous literature which has been very much influenced by the work of Paul Pierson is largely dominated by political science approaches and analyses, and often characterized by a rather schematic distinction between a phase of expansion and a phase of retrenchment in the development of the welfare states (see e.g. the survey article on the retrenchment debate by C. Green-Pedersen and M. Haverland, 'The new politics and scholarship of the welfare state' in *Journal of European Social Policy* 2001/02: 43-51).

From our point of view such a rigid distinction between phases for which different explanatory models must be designed is not very useful. It is rather a reflection of the post-World War II period, neglecting the experiences of earlier interwar developments. The main objective of the planned project is not, however, to give a critique of the basic approach, but to supplement the political science studies by a comparative sociological, above all empirical analysis of the consequences of institutional changes of the systems of social security for the various population groups. In doing this we shall substitute the more narrow concept of 'retrenchment' by the broader one of 'reform'.

To fully understand their consequences, however, it is not sufficient to study only the institutional changes of social security, but one must also analyze their interactions with social change. The life chances of a population is structured by the interaction of social structure and welfare state, and both can vary and change over time relatively independent from each other. An analysis of such relationships presupposes a comparative and long-term perspective, and it requires to supplement the institutional analysis by the use of micro data.

The requirement of microdata makes it necessary to limit the time period and number of countries studied. We shall therefore concentrate on Germany and Great Britain during the last two decades. Both countries have more than only a few things in common. They belong to the oldest and most important industrial societies of Europe, even though Britain led the way, and this is also true for the transition to a service economy. At the same time, the two countries belong to the oldest and most important welfare states in Europe, although in this respect Germany went ahead, and until today its social security expenditure ratio has remained higher. The early origins of industrial society and welfare state mean that both countries have entered the recent reform period with a relatively old institutional framework.

Concerning the welfare state, both countries have traditionally been taken as proto-types for a different organization and philosophy of social security. The differences emerged long before the second World War, and even before the first one, but they became emblematic with the British reforms, connected above all with the name of Beveridge, at the end or immediately after the war, and with the restoration and consolidation of the older German system in the late 1940s and 1950s.

Since the 1950s the development of social security diverged in the two countries, at least in terms of the levels of social security spending. The differences in the development of spending levels between the two countries cannot be understood only as a result of a different economic record, but are also as a consequence of the different social security systems themselves. The greater reliance on the protection of a minimum income only and the nationalization of health services in Britain set much stricter limits to social expenditure growth than in the German system with its closer link of social insurance and economic growth and the predominance of private interests in health provision. The difference also meant, however, that the social protection of the British population has been on the whole much lower, even though more universal. The British insurance system in general is less suitable not only to protect the relative standard of living but also minimum standards, as the much higher reliance on social assistance proves.

Thus, the countries entered the 'reform period' from the 1980s with rather different institutions of social security - but with rather similar economic problems and both with conservative governments. In Britain the Conservative Party ruled from 1979 to 1997, and in Germany a conservative-liberal coalition from 1982 to 1998. Then, at about the same time, the Social Democrats came back to government in both countries. This makes the comparison of the two countries somewhat easier, reducing some of the variations, even though there are still important difference not only in terms of the party composition of government, but also of its institutionally given *Spielraum*.

The project does not want to study the impact of politics on the changes of social security, however, but will take these changes as starting points for studying their consequences. On the whole the systems of social security have shown a surprisingly high resistance, even under Thatcher (see e.g. P. Pierson, 'The New Politics of the Welfare State'. In: *World Politics* 1996, 1: 141-79), but with continuous smaller, and in more recent years also greater changes.

To study the impact of these institutional changes, they must be related to the changes in the social structure of the two countries during the last two decades. There are, of course, many similarities, e.g. in the development of new employment and family forms, but also significant differences such as e.g. in the development of female employment and the service services or in the increase of lone parent families. To analyse relationships between institutional and social structural changes one needs micro-data. Fortunately enough, there is a variety of national and also international micro data sets available for the two countries during the envisaged time period. It will be a major task in developing the project proposal to find out which of these data sets contain suitable information which can be connected with institutional changes. The connection

of institutional and socio-economic data is possible and fruitful as recently demonstrated by an increasing number of articles based on the Luxembourg Income Study (LIS).

Research Area 3: Migration, Integration and Ethnic Conflicts

Migration and interethnic relations have become major topics in most European societies and they are of crucial significance for both the internal integration and the integration of Europe as a whole. The projects in this research area are applied to the detailed analysis of the underlying processes. There are the causes for trans-national migration on the one hand – especially the underlying decision-making processes – and on the other hand we have the consequences for the migrants and the host society with social distances, the assimilation in the course of generations and structural assimilation being in the focus of research.

The common core of all projects can be seen in the attempt to deal with these classic questions of migration sociology from a resource-theoretical perspective. It is above all new developments in the context of the capital concept that offer a promising starting point to tackle “old problems” with new methods. In recent years, researchers have tended to put special emphasis from a sociological point of view on the important role of cultural and social capital which may be transformed into economic and human capital and which may also “be passed on” from one generation to the other. Furthermore it was pointed out, e.g. with regard to the concept of social production functions, that the value of capital depends to a considerable extent on societal contexts and therefore can be distinguished from general and society-specific resources. Both aspects are of central significance to understand the phenomena linked to “migration and integration” and the analysis of the respective investment, transformation and transmission processes is of central importance: the respective projects deal with the special influence of social capital specific to the country of origin or the receiving country (or network structures resp.) on migration decisions (3.3.), educational decisions (3.1.), job placement (3.4.) and the social distance with regard to ethnic minorities (3.2). The transformation of specific capital into general and the intergenerational transmission are the main point of attention in projects (3.1), (3.5) and (3.6). There is also a close link to the projects in research areas 1 and 5, especially to project 5.3.

Apart from the common theoretical perspective, all projects of this sub-area have in common that they aim at a detailed empirical investigation of the mechanisms assumed. Due to the special research problems, it is in some cases necessary to carry out primary data collections. Those projects which already existed in the Fourth Research Programme (3.1 and 3.2) are partly in the possession of the relevant data or they are in the process of data collection. Corresponding data surveys are to be prepared for other projects. (3.3, 3.4). It is also intended to use existing data or to create links (3.5). In this respect, the access to official data which has been improved in recent years, is a very promising possibility (3.4, 3.6), as this data meets with two important conditions in the context of the analysis of structural assimilation of ethnic minorities: on the one hand they are free of selectivities, on the other hand they offer a sufficient number of cases needed for the analysis of a “rare population”. Furthermore, taking into consideration the existing mass data we are able to deal more intensively with single phenomena in a comparative perspective (3.4 and 3.6), because important preliminary work regarding the comparability of key instruments has already been done for these data sets (especially in former research projects of area 1).

Projects

3.1 Educational Decisions in Immigrant Families

Director: Hartmut Esser
Researcher: Cornelia Kristen, Jörg Dollmann
Duration: 1999 to 2006
Status: Core

Immigrant children attain on average consistently lower educational qualifications than their German counterparts. They are more likely to attend the lower academic tracks and are consequently underrepresented in the more attractive educational trajectories. In comparison to German children, they are also more likely to leave school without any degree and to remain without completing any vocational training. It is the purpose of the project to focus on the nature of these disadvantages: Which processes produce such typical patterns? In order to answer this question, it is necessary to focus on the educational decisions that families take at different transition points in a child's school career.

Based on a theoretical explanation of educational decisions, we intend to collect data on the transition from primary to secondary schooling. The first branching point in the German school system is selected, because this transition is of crucial importance for the child's future educational career. We study in which ways and under which conditions immigrant families systematically differ from German families when they select between different educational alternatives. In analysing these educational decisions special attention is paid to the available resources in different ethnic contexts as well as to the impact of educational aspirations. Moreover, we take into account the institutional framework of the educational system, including the different regulations for the transition in two exemplary federal states.

The project started with a number of preliminary steps that are targeted at the preparation of the main quantitative survey. A qualitative investigation of the transition process in Turkish and German families was conducted. Moreover, an achievement test was composed, which serves as an instrument for measuring the children's qualification for the different demanding school types. In a further preliminary study an instrument for measuring educational aspirations will be developed. Since aspirations are an integral part of an explanation of educational decisions, the adequate identification of aspiration levels is a central issue. After the completion of these preparatory tasks, the main empirical study will be carried out in the second stage of the project.

3.2 Ethnic Cleavages and Social Contexts

Director: Hartmut Esser
Researchers: Angela Jäger, Stephan Ganter
Duration: 1999 to 2004
Status: Core

This research project focuses on the conditions and causes of ethnic cleavages and conflicts at the level of day-to-day behaviour. This problem will be studied by analysing social distances between 'natives' and 'foreigners' in Germany. We consider it particularly important to study the impact of the immediate social context on the emergence of ethnic tensions and the stabilization of ethnic cleavages. These aspects have largely been ignored in research so far. The basic orientation of this project results from the insight that such separations and conflicts cannot be attributed to individual dispositions and interests alone but are primarily caused by processes of mutual interaction, reinforcement, or weakening of patterns of attitude and behaviour in the context of day-to-day interaction and communication relationships in social microenvironments and milieus.

The necessary data are currently not yet available to carry out an empirical test of our hypothesis concerning the impact of reference groups and social milieus on the degree of social distance (other determining factors being included). This is why we will first collect relevant data. During the data collection process, which will primarily be based on procedures of network analysis, follow-up interviews will be conducted with relevant reference persons of the individuals interviewed for the first time in this research context. With regard to future representative interviews, this method enables us to test the subjective information given by the main interviewees and also provides us with the opportunity to identify structural characteristics of the social microenvironments (such as homogeneity, scope, and density). These structural characteristics are essential in the differentiation of attitudinal and behaviour patterns.

To test all relevant details of the design and to find out whether the main hypotheses of the project are plausible, a first study (N=500) was conducted between March 1999 and April 2000, funded by the Volkswagen Foundation. Based on the findings of this study, a second study (N=2000) is designed, to explore differences in manifestations of social distances towards ethnic minorities in Western and Eastern Germany. The purpose is to find out why East Germans (on average) show stronger social distances towards ethnic minorities than West Germans. This study can expand the database in such a way that a comprehensive empirical test of the explanatory model developed in the context of the project will be conducted. The final draft of the research project will be settled and implemented in February 2002. First results are to be expected in September 2002.

3.3 Social Capital and the Dynamics of Trans-national Migration (Polish/Italian Migration Project)

Directors:	Frank Kalter, Douglas S. Massey
Researcher:	Patrick Schupp
Duration:	2003 to 2005
Status:	Core

The EU East Expansion is only a matter of time and one of the major public concerns is about a massive in-flow of low-qualified labour and its impact on the Western labour markets. Thus the

question of the amount of future immigration from Eastern European countries challenges social research. What is needed – apart from a detailed knowledge of the specific background conditions – is a profound knowledge of the general basic mechanisms leading to trans-national migration. So far, most predictions rely on a basically economic view of migration, expressed either in terms of the push-and-pull framework or in terms of the human capital model of individual migration, where the decision to move is considered as a weighing of benefits and costs.

Although this perspective has proved to be a very fruitful starting point in many cases, it is nevertheless true, that it often fails to tell the whole story. Therefore, many refinements of the basic economic approach have been suggested in order to develop a more realistic model of the basic process. While some of these elaborations (like for example adding further utility terms) do not change the whole perspective dramatically, at least two general theoretical developments seem to imply more severe deviations of the core model: They do not only lead to minor corrections with respect to the predicted level of migration but come to a very fundamental revision with respect to the extent and the dynamics of expected migration movements.

- a. It has been argued that one severe limitation of the standard approach is its assumption of actors being sort of hyper-rational, steadily weighing pros and cons. In contrast, the concept of a 'bounded rationality' seems to be a more realistic view of individual decision making. This refinement has led to the suggestion of multi-stage decision models. The models have been empirically tested in a former research project at the MZES (migration potentials, 1993–1996), however only at the case of internal migration in Germany. One of the most important results was that many individuals do not even consider moving anywhere, although they presumably would gain by doing so (according to the standard economic view). Obviously, this aspect seems to be very important also for future migration streams from Eastern Europe.
- b. It has been suggested that, in addition to economic capital and human capital, social capital may play a crucial role in the decision-making processes of potential migrants. Most importantly, when looking at the dynamics of migration over time imbedding social capital in the theoretical framework leads to a mechanism of cumulative causation as the decision parameters of a potential migrant at time point two are directly affected by the migration acts of her social ties at time point one. Among others, this aspect has turned out to be very important in understanding the dynamics of Mexican-American migration and has been empirically confirmed with data from the Mexican Migration Project, co-directed by Jorge Durand (Mexico) and Douglas S. Massey (U.S.). This dynamic may turn out to be very important in the context of East-West migration within Europe as well.

In this project we want to improve the knowledge of the micro processes underlying migration movements thus enhancing the quality of predictions of future migration to Germany. To do that it seems necessary to further elaborate the mechanisms related to 'bounded rationality' and 'social capital' and try to combine them within a comprehensive model of the decision-making process of potential migrants. Empirically, we want to test our models in the context of two

migration systems, which provide opportune background conditions: Polish-German migration and Italian-German migration. While Poland is one of the candidates for becoming an EU-member soon, Italy is an EU-member with a long tradition of migration to Germany. We try to implement a quantitative study sampling potential migrants in the their home country as well as actual Polish and Italian immigrants in Germany. On the one hand we want to record migration intentions and prospective migration behaviour, on the other hand we want to measure the migration history and possible return migration. With respect to both aspects the impact of social ties in the home and receiving country is our major interest. The role model for our design is the Mexican Migration Project (MMP) conducted at the University of Guadalajara and University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia. This migration context will deliver further opportunities for fruitful comparisons.

3.4 Segregation and Labour Market Outcomes of Turkish Immigrants (in a Comparative Perspective)

Director: Frank Kalter
Researcher: N.N.
Duration: 2003 to 2005
Status: Core

In recent studies some progress has been made in clearing the theoretical reasons for the persistence of ethnic inequality in the German labour market. It could be shown that most of the positional disadvantages of the so-called 'second generation' are mainly a matter of formal qualifications. However, the group of Turks strongly deviates from this pattern: Controlling for (school and vocational) education in multivariate models the Turks (but none of the remaining five labour migrant groups) are still considerably disadvantaged in the second generation.

Looking at possible theoretical answers two starting points lie at hand. 1. The lower success of Turks could be due to 'cultural factors'. Here, value-driven arguments (religion, belief systems etc.) as well as resource-driven arguments (transferability of cultural specific capital) are possible. 2. Different returns in the labour market could result from a stronger behavioural or institutional discrimination. This view seems to be supported by studies on social distance of Germans where Turks regularly turn out to be the most disfavoured group of all classical labour migrants.

However, there are theoretical reasons as well as empirical hints why these arguments may not be sufficient to account for the special situation of Turks. Therefore, we focus on a third starting point which is structural in nature: 3. In recent theoretical contributions the role of ethnic segregation in stabilising ethnic inequality structures has been increasingly emphasised. As the Turks are by far the biggest of all immigrant groups in Germany, they are confronted with a different opportunity structure of ethnic enclaves and segregated facilities that may be a trap with respect to social mobility within the receiving society.

In this project we try to answer the question, why Turks may play such an exceptional role with respect to economic assimilation paying special attention to the role of segregation. The first step of our project activities is to clear the respective theoretical mechanisms in detail and to integrate them together with the cultural arguments and the theories of discrimination. Then we try to disentangle the weight of culture, discrimination, and segregation empirically. In the first phase, the 3 year interval of the current research program, we mainly want to make use of large scale data sets. The general attempt is to analyse, on the one hand, the impact of context variables (like types of industries) which are theoretically linked to the likelihood of discrimination and, on the other hand, disaggregated regional contexts which will provide for a variance in segregation. Comparing Turks to other minority groups will also allow to vary culture. In addition to that we will choose an international comparative perspective, i.e. we will compare the (relative) situation of Turks in Germany with the (relative) situation of Turks in other host countries. Comparing Germany to other societal contexts will provide an strategic and critical variation of all three influence factors. Therefore, the search for comparable data sets and measures will be an important aspect of our activities and some useful insights are expected from the supplementary comparative project (3.6). Depending on the first results analysing available data sets in early phases of the project it may be necessary to add an own survey testing the segregation mechanisms more directly, either in a small-scale parallel study or in a more extended study in later phases.

3.5 Structural Assimilation and Migration Biographies

Director:	Hartmut Esser
Researcher:	N.N.
Duration:	2003 to 2005
Status:	Core

One of the central problems of the continuing and even increasing inter- and trans-national migration is still the “integration” of the immigrants, especially of the following generations, into the host society. Beyond all controversies regarding the concept of integration there is no doubt that integration into the educational system and the labour market, designated as structural assimilation, is of major importance, even independent of any possibly related processes, such as changes in social relations and ethnic identification and preparedness for interethnic conflicts. It is especially in the political field that the significance of certain details of the migration biography as, for example, the age at the time of immigration, family reunion and certain kinds of return and repeat migration are discussed controversially. Although there is some scientifically supported indication for the significance of the migration biography (across generations), there is still a lack of studies which systematically consider this aspect using appropriate instruments. Systematic studies with large samples on the conditions and courses of (structural) assimilation are rare. Moreover, the available studies do either ignore the aspect of migration biography or do not consider it in the appropriate way, so that they could be analysed using (more recent) methods of retrospective questions and event history analysis. Against this background and analogous to the

life course study of the MPI for Human Development, Berlin, it is planned to especially identify (retrospectively) the relevant stages and events of the migration biography in order to explain (among others) processes of structural assimilation and further aspects of the integration of immigrants. It is intended to compare different groups of immigrants and immigration cohorts. To allow comparison with earlier studies and, should the occasion arise, with other host societies in Europe, the considered immigrant groups will be Turks, Italians and people from former Yugoslavia and the immigration cohorts will cover those of the “classical” period of labour migration in the 1970s as well as those of the period after the transformation processes in the early 1990s. It is expected to uncover the specific consequences of “voluntary” and “forced” immigration, especially in the group of people from former Yugoslavia. Furthermore, the conditions for the fact that Italians traditionally are located at lower social strata have to be clarified.

The preparation of the corresponding research proposal is planned for 2003, so that the beginning of the study is expected for the middle of 2004 (and therefore the actual conduct of the study is expected for the next period of the research programme).

3.6 Ethnic Minorities Education and Occupational Attainment: the German Case

Director:	Frank Kalter
Researcher:	Frank Kalter
Duration:	2002 to 2003
Status:	Supplementary

This project is the ‘German part’ of an international comparative initiative on the investigation of ethnic disadvantage in the labour market and its cause. So far, the project covers Britain, Belgium, France, Germany, Ireland, Israel, the Netherlands, Sweden, and the USA. While there is an increasing amount of literature devoted to the disadvantages of ethnic groups in the labour market of single societies, comparative quantitative studies are scarce until now. Therefore an attempt is made to come to similar empirical analyses for different contexts in order to see whether and why the amount of ethnic disadvantages differs.

Looking at the German situation, there is no doubt that most interest and research focuses on the so-called ‘guest-workers’ stemming from Greece, Italy, former Yugoslavia, Portugal, Spain and Turkey. Most empirical studies agree to the general conclusion that ethnic inequalities in the labour market have persisted until today. Although the situation has noticeably improved over the last decades, it is nevertheless very clear that immigrants still occupy lower positions and that this holds true even for the descendants of the former migrants, i.e. the so-called ‘second generation’.

In contrast to the empirical facts, the theoretical reasons for the persistence of ethnic inequality in the German labour market remain rather unclear until now. Therefore, a major task of research is to discover the main mechanisms through which ethnic inequality seems to have become a persistent characteristic of the German labour market. Obviously, the most basic

question is whether differences in educational qualifications are responsible for ethnic disadvantages or whether immigrants experience some form of labour market discrimination. So far, however, surprisingly little research has been done to give appropriate answers. One of the reasons for this situation is that large scale data have not been available for social sciences for a long time. But even if such data is now used, some of the studies do not contain adequate measures of educational qualifications, some of the studies do not differentiate between nationalities and generations, and none of the studies combines both aspects. However, a combined use of generation and appropriate educational measures is necessary in order to come to a more comprehensive understanding of the ethnic inequality structures.

In this paper we try to further enhance the knowledge about the major paths of ethnic inequality in the German labour market using large scale data from the German microcensus and setting it in the context of an international comparative perspective.

3.7 Integration of Immigrants in the EU Countries

Director:	Walter Müller, Hartmut Esser
Researcher:	Irena Kogan
Duration:	March 2001 to March 2003
Status:	Supplementary

In spite of the growing importance of the immigration and refugee problem in Europe, existing research has not yielded an adequate understanding of the processes of immigrant integration across the European Union countries. This is not to disregard existing country-studies on immigrant assimilation, exclusion, and persistence of ethnic inequalities in the “core” European countries – Great Britain, France and Germany and more scarce and largely descriptive work on some other EU countries. Similarly so, existing cross-national studies have focused only on a narrow range of countries, sometimes contrasting Northern American immigrant countries, where the greater and most comprehensive part of the immigration theory and research has come from, to those of Western Europe, with Great Britain and Germany, being commonly included. Theoretical propositions, which map a wider range of European countries with respect to citizenship and immigration policies and discuss a possible influence of those on the immigrant assimilation processes, unfortunately lack substantial empirical assessment so far.

To improve the understanding of mechanisms, factors and the processes of immigrant integration and to explain the variation in the labour market outcomes of the immigrant population in the European Union countries, the project attempts to approach the issues from two perspectives: individual, i.e. focusing on the differences in the “quality” of the immigrant populations residing in various EU countries, and institutional, i.e. concentrating on the differences in the immigration policy and regulations, labour market structure and practices, the system of education and welfare regime of the countries themselves. The merit of the current project is not only on examining of the labour market outcomes of immigrant integration, i.e. labour force participation, employment, and occupational status, but also on concentrating on the

immigrant in-/exclusion process as a sequence of events on the entry to the labour market of the host countries.

In its empirical part the project adopts a dual strategy, first, by using the aggregate labour market statistics (ECLFS data set) covering extended period of time (1992–2000) to give a comprehensive overview of the general development of immigrant structural assimilation in all European Union countries. Second, we use micro-data, individual LFS and existing longitudinal data, for the specific and differentiated multivariate analyses of the immigrant labour market incorporation processes in the selected countries (provisionally Germany, the United Kingdom, Sweden, Austria, the Netherlands and Italy).

3.8 Educational Aspirations and Reference Groups

Director:	Hartmut Esser
Researcher:	Volker Stocké
Duration:	2003 to 2005
Status:	Supplementary

This project is aiming at the theoretical conceptualisation and empirical test of the concept of educational aspirations, which have been found again and again in sociological studies on the problem of educational decisions. The general background is the attempt to conceptualise the construct of educational aspirations as a special case of the model of frame selection, thereby integrating the economic models of educational decisions, especially those of the human capital theory. As it is to be expected that educational aspirations (as “mental models” of the every day’s culture of certain socio-economic milieus) get their direction and stability only through ongoing communication in personal environment, the study will also focus on the according effects of reference groups. Because of its explicit basic theoretical importance and its special orientation with regard to the contents of the project it is incorporated in the SFB 504 (“Rationality Concepts, Decision-Making and Economic Modelling”). However, it is thematically closely related to project 3.1 on “Educational Decisions in Immigrant Families” in which the concept of educational aspirations is indeed considered empirically but not dealt with theoretically in depth. Furthermore, the aspects of the embeddedness in reference groups meet the core of project 3.2, in which the anchoring of social distances and ethnic cleavages in such personal environment is being analysed.

Research Area 4: Cultural Foundations of the Market Economy and the Welfare State

The general objective of this research area consists in the analysis of the cultural and normative foundations of the market economy and the welfare state. Whereas it is generally acknowledged that the institutions of the welfare state rest on moral beliefs it seems less obvious that the market system is not value neutral but expresses moral convictions, too. Insofar a specific normative structure is characteristic for both market economies and the institutions of social policy. In particular not only the latter but the further, too are founded on specific ideas of social solidarity and justice.

Starting from this general framework the individual research projects aim on the one hand at clarifying to what extent these ideas coincide with value orientations and collective representations of actors. On the other hand they address the question how the different normative orientations of the welfare state and the market economy interact.

With respect to the first question one aim of the research in this area has been to show that the social acceptance of the social security systems is furthered by the matching between value orientations of actors and the inbuilt morale of the different institutions of social policy. This topic will be further pursued in the project “Cultural Foundations of the Welfare State and Welfare State Reform” and the project “Institutional Features of the Programs for Unemployed People and the Correlated Chances for Solidarity”.

With respect to the second question the contention that the spread of the market system undermines the moral foundations of the welfare state seems to win approval in different camps of social thought. What is more, the fear is widespread that the moral bond of modern societies is weakening or even in a process of dissolution. An international conference that will take place in autumn 2002 and that is sponsored by the EURESCO and the MZES is dedicated to scrutinize the empirical validity of contentions amounting to a loss of the moral bond in present day societies.

Projects

4.1 Cultural Foundations of the Welfare State and Welfare State Reform

Director:	Carsten Ullrich
Researcher:	Carsten Ullrich
Duration:	2002 to 2003
Status:	Core

This project deals with the cultural prerequisites of modern welfare states, mostly neglected in predominantly structuralistic approaches of welfare state development. Firstly, the impact of cultural factors on welfare state formation and expansion will be examined by a historical comparative analysis. Furthermore, it will be outlined how in recent social policy research

"culture" and "knowledge" have been increasingly and successfully used as explanatory variables for welfare state developments. As will be shown, cultural explanatory variables in social policy research are not restricted to "values" and "ideologies".

In spite of their obvious fruitfulness, cultural approaches are always suspected to be tautological. Therefore, it has to be explicated by which theoretical conception the perils or tautologising can be minimised. Two conceptional devices seem to be of central importance here. The first one can be called the "institutional binding" of cultural indicators. Cultural variables are only acceptable, if they are "meaningful" in the investigated institutional context (e.g. notions of distributive justice only in the case of distributive welfare programmes). The second device is a close linkage of the micro- and the macro-level of explanation. Thus, a fully fledged cultural explanation requires a parallel explanation or recursive plausibilisation of macro processes and individual behaviour. While individual behaviour dominated by norm, values, collective representations etc. has to be conceived as an adaptation of general cultural models, the impact of those cultural models on social policy can only be assessed if it is based on assumptions about individual actions and micro-macro-transitions.

The fruitfulness of a thus controlled cultural explanation will be demonstrated for three areas of social policy research. These will be the acceptance or popular support of welfare institutions, attitudes to inequality and distribution and the phenomenon of welfarization. The study will be based on a re-examination of the comprehensive international literature and on secondary analyses (esp. of ALLBUS, ISSP und ISJP-data). It still has to be clarified whether an additional primary study can be carried out.

4.2 Institutional Features of the Programs for Unemployed People and the Correlated Chances for Solidarity

Director:	Johannes Berger
Researcher:	Silke Hamann
Duration:	January 2002 to June 2003
Status:	Supplementary

The public discussion on the social acceptance of the three programs for unemployment compensation in Germany (*Arbeitslosengeld*, *Arbeitslosenhilfe* and *Sozialhilfe*) focuses more and more on financial problems of these programs. Presumptions about the reluctance to work of the recipients of the programs are further keywords. The responses of the political actors are suggestions to cut or to abolish benefits or to enhance mechanisms to control the abuse of the three programs. But what is often forgotten is the fact that besides financial aspects social acceptance of welfare programs and different forms of solidarity comprises not only the willingness to pay but also the approval of the underlying normative principles of the public assistance programs. The purpose of the project is to explain the impact of "values" and "interests" on the social acceptance of such programmes.

Based on the main findings of the completed project “Moral Economy of Unemployment” the dissertation first intends to deal with the question to what extent the social acceptance of the three programs for unemployment is influenced by institutional features. I would like to demonstrate that the degree of re-distributions caused by the programs is by far the most important institutional feature underlying the attitudes toward the different benefits.

Institutional features of the programs mentioned above like the level or the duration of benefits can evoke incentives for the recipients of benefits to remain unemployed. This is the second question which lies at the core of the work to be carried out in the project. All the publicly debated theoretical arguments and the available empirical evidence is to be discussed and evaluated. Therefore it will be useful to analyse quantitative samples and compare them to the empirical results of the project. The analysis of the data will be conducted primarily with respect to two different aspects: a) the contrast between the acceptance of different groups in the total population and also the contrast between the acceptance of the varying programs between and in-between the groups; b) beyond, it will be analysed how attitudes vary with socio-structural variables.

4.3 Conference: The Loss of the Social Bond? Euro Conference on the Future of Community in Advanced Western Societies

Director:	Johannes Berger
Researcher:	--
Duration:	January 2002 to September 2002
Status:	Supplementary

The conference is devoted to explore the future of solidarity in western societies. The view is widely held that an untamed process of modernisation, especially the expansion of markets and technical progress entails a “loss of community” and endangers the moral bond that integrates modern society. However, empirical evidence corroborating this view is wanting. Given this discrepancy the aim of the conference is twofold. First, to better understand the impact of an ongoing modernisation on the moral order of society and secondly, to present in selected fields new empirical findings that allow a more profound judgement on the changing nature of moral integration in western societies.

The meeting will be organised around the following topics:

- Theoretical approaches: is there anything like a decline of community?
- Contexts and directions of moral socialisation
- Solidarity and the taming of opportunism in the modern corporation
- The Welfare State: in need of the solidarity it possibly destroys?
- Is there an European solidarity emerging?

The conference invites papers which address these topics. The Yearbook 2004 of the MZES is planned to be based on these papers.

Research Area 5: Family and Social Relations

In the new established Research Area 5 changes in family and intimate relations, in the social embeddedness of individuals and families and in the organization of families and other forms of intimate relations will be analysed. Against this background, project 5.1 is planned as a long-term service project going beyond the scope of the MZES. However, it shall be prepared within Research Department A aiming at a possible future institutional integration into the MZES. Project 5.2 is serving for the preparation of an important module of this project: the collection of data on marriage markets and the development of operationalisations to measure these opportunity structures. In project 5.3 the correlations between the structural assimilation of typical groups of migrants and patterns of marriage will be analysed. Project 5.4 aims at analysing the changes in living arrangements and family forms in an international context on the basis of comparative mass data. And the research project 5.5 deals with international comparative analysis of the changes in relation patterns of elderly persons, particularly in dependence on certain critical events.

Projects

5.1 Panel-Study of the Emergence and Change of Intimate Relations

Director:	Hartmut Esser
Researcher:	N.N.
Duration:	2003 to 2005
Status:	Core

The proposed study is planned as a long-term project. The background of this project is the finding of the analyses of the Mannheim Divorce Study, which was conducted from 1993 to 1997 at the MZES, that some of the central processes explaining changes in family and other intimate relations cannot be validly registered with retrospective interviews. Explaining divorces for instance, it could be shown that obviously the complete “early history” of the relation and the “framing” of the marriage at the very beginning are playing a central role, as well as marital crisis, infidelity and other “irritations” during the course of the relation. Despite of all efforts toward validation it cannot be excluded however, that all these processes are due to “rationalisations” on the basis of the actual situation. Additionally, there is an increasing need to consider also the emergence and change or decline respectively, of non-marital relations, co-habitations and certain “new” forms of pair-relations, including those of homosexual nature, since on the one hand the proportion of this kind of relations seems to clearly increase and on the other hand there is a major theoretical interest in the investigation of the further effects of the pre-history of the (formal) marriage on the development of the relation of the particular couple. Moreover, in this context another obviously extremely important but thus far hardly satisfying recorded aspect of the emergence and change of relations shall be systematically included: the

embeddedness of the partners in social networks and hence their resulting stock of social capital. In this respect there are also several indications that on the one hand especially certain tensions in kinship and friendship networks and on the other hand the stock of social capital independent of the partner have a clear influence on the dynamic of the relation.

All these processes cannot be registered by common cross-sectional surveys. For that reason there was taken the initiative at the MZES to institutionalise a long-term panel addressing these questions in co-operation with the most prominent representatives of the (German) sociology of the family. In the meantime two meetings in preparation for this project were held (25 January 2002 in Mannheim and 11 April 2002 in Heidelberg; participants: Hans-Peter Blossfeld, Josef Brüderl, Andreas Diekmann, Paul B. Hill, Johannes Huinink, Thomas Klein, Johannes Kopp, Bernhard Nauck, Michael Wagner). There are also close contacts to the initiators of the DFG priority programme “Development of Families”, who are (partly) also members of the initiative group for the panel-project. It is planned to conduct some of the without doubt necessary preliminary studies on methodology and substance within this priority programme (see also Project 5.2 below). The formal and institutional frame of the panel is yet unclear. But there are also considerations to apply for a “Transregio” at the DFG (with Mannheim being one of the places of its anchoring) in which the panel would represent the central data project (similar to the setting-up of the SOEP in connection with the then SFB 3, for example). Other institutions are also interested (like the *Zentralarchiv für Empirische Sozialforschung* in Cologne).

There are also concrete plans to integrate the project in an just now started initiative on the European level to initiate common and comparative projects in the field of marital relations and marital (in-) stability (started by Jaap Dronkers (Amsterdam/Florence, Italy) and Matthijs Kalmijn (Tilburg, Netherlands), so that there are good chances to create a long term project in that field on an international and comparative basis.

Due to the size and complexity of the project a short-term realisation is impossible. However, it is planned to submit the corresponding research proposal so that the expected beginning of the panel could be in 2005.

5.2 Opportunity Structures and Marriage Markets

Director:	Hartmut Esser
Researcher:	Thorsten Kneip
Duration:	2003 to 2005
Status:	Core

In preparation of the above mentioned (in section 5.1) panel-study, a number of methodological pre-studies will be necessary, as the required instruments are partly not available. One of the theoretically and empirically most important precondition for the development and the (in-)stability of relations are the structurally distributed alternatives to find partners, e.g. in dependency of employment, living conditions, life style and the respective biographical situation. This project will examine if and how such opportunity structures can be investigated via surveys,

and which additional possibilities there are. In this respect, an application in the framework of the DFG research programme “Development of Families” is to be prepared. The results of further analyses of the Mannheim divorce-study will be included in this study with regard to the envisaged operationalizations of opportunity structures for relations, especially on marriage markets.

5.3 Marriage Patterns of Immigrants and Structural Assimilation

Director: Frank Kalter
Researcher: N.N.
Duration: 2003 to 2005
Status: Core

The marriage patterns of immigrants are among the most predictive indicators of their integration into the receiving societies. In Germany, however, surprisingly little research has been done on these phenomena so far. Until now only spread results are available and it is hard to combine them to a clear overall picture: On the one hand there is an ongoing notion of so-called ‘trans-national marriages’, i.e. the fact that even second generation immigrants choose partners from their parents’ country of birth. On the other hand figures from the official Federal Statistics report a slight but noticeable increase of intermarriage between Germans and Foreigners during the last decades. However, these figures are hard to interpret as disaggregation according to ethnic groups and migration history is lacking.

Even more unclear than the empirical relevance of different marriage patterns is their relation – in terms of causes and consequences – to the more general processes of structural assimilation. However, this question turns out to be a very important one: It is reasonable to argue that the type of partner choice may be conducive or harmful to the success in the labour market and in the educational system in many ways. For example, intermarriage is expected to increase host-country-specific social capital, thus enhancing the opportunity structure for structural integration. Additionally, in recent debates much concern is about ‘trans-national marriages’ of second generation immigrants leading to immediate implications (e.g. via language skills and educational success) for the integration of their children, i.e. the ‘third generation’. In the light of these possible consequences it is very important to know, whether the choice of partner is itself caused by the degree of structural integration. If ‘yes’ (like one would assume following the arguments of the economic approach to the family for example) the marriage patterns would be sort of intervening variables in a underlying process of structural assimilation with only minor catalysing effects. If ‘no’ (like one would assume following cultural or ‘value-driven’ arguments) the marriage patterns could turn out to be severe barriers to the further convergence with respect to educational and occupational attainment – even in the course of generations.

The first, mainly descriptive aim of the project is to define precisely the empirical relevance of three different types of immigrants’ marriages (interethnic, ethnic within Germany, ethnic trans-national) as well as the corresponding trends within the last decade. The microcensus data

since 1989 seems to be an adequate data set in this respect. After that we plan to elaborate the theoretical mechanisms linking the social integration of immigrants (in terms of intermarriage or ethnic marriage) and the structural integration in the educational system and the labour market. Then we try to test these mechanisms empirically. In the first phases of the project we will further rely on the microcensus data as it allows a lot of analyses which allow at least indirect tests. Additionally, some other available data sources (like the German Socio-economic Panel) can be used to analyse specific questions. In later phases of the project we plan to conduct study of our own which is specifically designed to fill the gaps arising from the analysis of secondary data.

5.4 The Pluralisation of Living Arrangements and Family Forms

Director:	Josef Brüderl
Researcher:	N.N.
Duration:	1999 to 2004
Status:	Core

It is clear that restrictions on individual behaviour in Western industrial societies have been undergoing a process of change for several decades. Changes in these restrictions lead to changes in behaviour, which in turn has consequences at the macro level for the social structure in these societies. A central task in the analysis of social structures is to investigate empirically which restrictions have changed, how individuals have reacted to these changes, and what effects this has on the social structure.

In this context, one hypothesis is that many formerly binding restrictions have disappeared, the number of behavioural options has increased, and individuals are making greater use of them. Thus at the macro level, we can observe the disappearance of the old classes and social strata. This so-called individualisation hypothesis is now accepted by many social scientists and is regarded as true particularly in the public discussion. Unfortunately, this judgement does not rest on solid empirical research, but more on impressionistic first-hand experience (presumably largely in the academic milieu). This research deficit is problematic in view of the implications of this issue. For if this hypothesis is not true, but is still taken seriously by policy-makers, then we must increasingly expect counter-productive social policy decisions.

Research on social structures has only recently begun to focus intensively on this issue (see the recent collection edited by Friedrichs); this project is intended to contribute to this research. The individualisation hypothesis refers to different spheres of life such as career, family, and leisure activities. This project will focus on developments in the family sphere, in particular on individual decisions regarding living arrangement and family form and the impact of these decisions on the social structure.

In this area of application, the individualisation hypothesis is often termed the pluralisation hypothesis: in comparison to the 1950s and 1960s, it is argued, the diversity of life patterns has increased. This assertion is based on well-known changes in demographic processes: the average age at marriage has risen and the number of unmarried persons has increased, unmarried

cohabitation is growing, divorce rates are increasing, and so on. Compared to the past, when almost the entire population ended up married, the situation today is less clear-cut.

However, until now there are only few precise descriptions – based on empirical data – of the pluralisation process. Most studies are based on cross-sectional data, which can only provide ‘snap-shots’ of the distribution of life patterns in the population. Such cross-sectional data cannot provide satisfactory information about how these patterns have changed over successive cohorts. For that, one needs cohort-based longitudinal data that include in particular a detailed family biography. Until now, we have used in this project the data of the German Family Surveys 1988 and 2000 to provide such a description for West-Germany from 1950–2000 (Brüderl and Klein 2002).

The next step will be to do this in a comparative way. For this we will use data from the ‘Fertility and Family Survey’ (FFS). The FFS is an international research project in which national research groups, drawing on a standardised questionnaire, surveyed large population samples (N=5.000–10.000) in a number of European countries (plus the USA, Canada, and New Zealand) in the early to mid-1990s. These data were prepared according to a standardised scheme and are available to researchers. Due to the large number of cases, detailed biographies, and their standardised format, the FFS data are ideally suited to investigate pluralisation processes in a comparative perspective. The data have already been acquired by the project.

In addition to describing the pluralisation process in various countries, we will also devote our attention to explaining it in terms of changes in behavioural restrictions, as indicated above. Identifying these changes should be a central goal of research on pluralisation. In carrying out this task, a comparative perspective is very helpful, since country-specific differences in the pluralisation process make it easier to identify the relevant changes in behavioural restrictions. In particular, one should look at changes in the context of family policy, as other MZES projects have already collected information on family-related institutional regulations and their evolution in many European countries.

5.5 Informal Networks and Ageing

Directors:	Johannes Berger, Betina Hollstein
Researcher:	N.N.
Duration:	2003 to 2005
Status:	Core

Demographic ageing of society and individualization processes are important features of modern western societies. With regard to increasing labour force participation of women, spatial mobility of children and an increasing proportion of elderly living alone, the efficiency of social networks is crucial for the quality of life of the elderly, in everyday life as well as in the case of crises (e.g. the need of care). Family relationships, friendships, and neighbourhood relations fulfil diverse cognitive and emotional forms of support (e.g. information and motivation, sociability and belongingness) and are important sources of instrumental assistance and material support.

Informal relationships are changing over time, not only in a historical perspective, but also in the life course of individuals. Network changes refer to types of support as well as to the composition of the “convoy” of persons accompanying individuals through their lives. These network changes and their socio-structural, institutional, and cultural prerequisites are the topic of the project.

The aim of the project is to describe and to analyse the changes of informal networks after different status passages which take place in old age, and which hold certain risks for successful integration and subjective well-being of the elderly. These passages, like the death of the spouse, restrictions of physical fitness and the need of care may imply special demands for the efficiency of the social networks. E.g. widowhood not only means the loss of the partner, but also changes in the remaining network as well as the loss of other network members, i.e. of sources of support.

In a first phase existing survey data will be analysed in internationally comparisons. Network changes to be studied are changes after the transition to retirement, the death of the partner, the need of assistance and spatial mobility (with special emphasis on removals into retirement or nursing homes). For this purpose we draw upon data of the Population Ageing Project “The status of older persons in ECE countries: economic conditions, living arrangements, and gender”, conducted by the Population Activities Unit (PAU) of the UN Economic Commission for Europe (UNECE) in 15 countries in Europe and North America. Once the “Survey of Health, Ageing and Retirement in Europe” (SHARE) will be available, these data will also be analysed. This panel study is co-ordinated by Axel Börsch-Supan (Mannheim Research Institute for the Economics of Ageing, MEA) and is conducted in more than 10 European countries. It contains extensive parts on informal networks and intergenerational relationships. Because comparative longitudinal data are currently not existing (with enough cases to allow for detailed analyses), we also draw upon national panel data, e.g. for Germany the data of the first two waves of the German Ageing Survey (BMFSFJ).

In a second phase of the project detailed case studies will be conducted in selected European countries, in order to investigate the consequences of different service systems and cultural orientations for the structure and the efficiency of informal networks. Service systems refer to the types of welfare regimes as well as to different infrastructures of social services. Cultural orientations refer to norms of responsibility and utilization of different (informal and formal, i.e. market and state financed) support systems.

Supplementary Projects of Department A

6.1 The „Societies of Europe“ Series

Directors: Peter Flora, Franz Kraus, Franz Rothenbacher
 Researchers: Peter Flora, Franz Kraus, Franz Rothenbacher
 Duration: 1999 to 2006
 Status: Core

The goal of this project is to produce a series of eight historical data handbooks entitled ‘The Societies of Europe – European Society’. The series consists of eight statistical handbooks, each supplemented by a CD. The books are limited to condensed statistical information in tabular and graphical form, complemented by institutional data and interpretative texts. The CDs provide larger data sets in different formats, include all raw data and present more detailed documentation. The interface allows easy navigation to data and documentation.

The handbooks cover Western Europe, Poland, Hungary and Czech Republic (except for trade unions and elections which are limited to Western Europe only) at the national and – for certain benchmark years – sub-national level. The election handbook refers to the level of constituencies.

The ‘Societies of Europe’ Series is a contribution of Eurodata to the establishment of a systematic empirical basis for studying long-term developments in European societies, their differences and similarities, their divergence and convergence. It concentrates on three major developments since the 19th century: population growth and demographic transition; industrialisation and the changing division of labour; democratisation and the growth of welfare states. These developmental processes have shaped the social structures and institutions of the European societies until today.

The project draws on several long-term (project) studies and functions as a conclusion to these studies. The series is published by Macmillan/Palgrave. The volumes vary between 500 and 800 pages. On average, one book will be produced per year:

2000	Elections in Western Europe since 1815	D. Caramani	published
2000	Trade Unions in Western Europe since 1945	B. Ebbinghaus, J. Visser	published
2002	The European Population, 1850–1945	F. Rothenbacher	published
2003	The European Population since 1950	F. Rothenbacher	
2003	The European Social Security Systems, 1885–1945	P. Flora	
2004	The European Labour Force, 1870–1945	F. Kraus	
2005	The European Social Security Systems since 1945	P. Flora	
2006	The European Labour Force since 1950	F. Kraus	

For the coming research period it is planned to publish the third volume on "the European population since 1950. This volume covers the period from the end of World War II to the end of the twentieth century. The structure of the book will be similar to the first volume on population concerning the countries included and the selection of statistical time series. If both volumes on the European population are taken together, consistent demographic data are available for the long historical period from 1850 to 2000. In addition to the statistics and time series included in the volume *The European Population I*, the second volume will include extra time series (e.g. different fertility indicators, synthetic indicators like Total Period Fertility Rate, age at marriage, etc.) and data on household and family structures. The accompanying CD-ROM will include the data of both volumes, i.e. for the time period from 1850 to 2000. This allows users to investigate further without new data management as they have to use only one data source. Work on the second volume an "The European Population, 1850-1945" has started at the beginning of 2002 with an emphasis on the completion of the statistical database in 2002.

6.2 Historical Data Handbook: "Trade Unions in Western Europe 1900-1945"

Directors:	Günter Braun, Hermann Weber
Researcher:	Günter Braun
Duration:	2002 to 2004
Status:	Supplementary

The Data Handbook "Trade Unions in Western Europe 1900–1945" is associated with the 'Societies of Europe' series (see above). It accompanies the volume 'Trade Unions in Western Europe since 1945' by Bernhard Ebbinghaus and Jelle Visser, published 1999. Standardised tables will contain basic information on all major confederations and major national unions, as well as detailed statistics on membership developments over time. In addition to this data sets the handbook focus on the institutionalisation of industrial relations (collective bargaining, industrial conflicts, the assignment of public functions). The main period will be the early stage of development after the First World War. During this time the trade unions gained in power. An introductory guide, comparative overviews, country profiles, chronologies, cross sectional and time series tables, as well as comparative indicators are intended to facilitate and encourage the comparative and historical study of trade union organisational development. Sources are aggregate statistics, institutional information, and meta-information, and the geographic space includes Western Europe, Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic.

Department B: European Political Systems and their Integration

In the fifth Research Program, projects on European integration and comparative politics of European political systems are continued and new projects will be started. Readers familiar with the history of the Mannheim Centre will recognize the path dependence of the research areas of this department in the sequence of the research areas. The former Research Department 2 focused on comparative politics and is now subdivided into the first three Research Areas. The former Research Department 3 on European integration is continued in the Research Areas 4 and 5 of this new program, followed by Research Area 6 on the institutionalisation of international negotiation systems which was already started as a part of the Research Department B and has no earlier history. The East European focus of the former Research Department 4 is continued in the Research Area 7 of this program.

The research directors of Research Department B aim at accentuating new developments by stressing the substantive research questions of these seven research areas. Thus, it will be easier to see the interrelationships between the projects of this department and the degree of integration which has already been reached.

From the beginning, one stronghold of the Research Department B has been research on European integration. This research does not focus only on the European Union, but is challenged by the problems of the Eastern enlargement of the EU and competitive concepts of an integration of Eastern Europe around the dominant Russian federation. The core research question of Research Area 4 concerns the possibility of supranational governance of the EU, that is

- the prospect of citizen representation, participation and accountability: Will strategies for more openness and wider involvement of “civil society” promote the emergence of a European political space and will grassroot organization be able to reach higher levels of interest intermediation?

This integration research focusing on the EU is supplemented by Research Area 7 on the development of a European regional system encompassing the former communist states in Eastern Europe. The core question here is

- on the interrelationships between domestic social and political features inter alia influencing the development of democratic or authoritarian government on the one hand, and the quantity and quality of cooperation and integration of the nationstate and the interstate level on the other hand.

The further the integration process at least of the European Union is developing, the more this new system will be present as a corporate actor of its own right in the wider international system. This was the reason why we subdivided research on European governance and deal with the problem of the international embeddedness of European governance as a research area of its own. The central questions of this Research Area 5 are:

- How does the international context cause institutional change within the EU?
- How are international governmental and non-governmental activities coordinated in Europe?

Closely connected to the functioning of the international system are the research questions of Research Area 6 on the institutionalisation of international negotiation systems. Thus, even the development of the EU can be conceptualized as an ongoing process of the institutionalization of the intergovernmental aspect of the EU. Research Area 6 is focusing on the following three research questions.

- How can we explain institutional choices with regard to international regimes and organizations?
- How do variable pre-existing institutional settings influence negotiation outcomes?
- How should we assess these outcomes given different criteria of efficiency and fairness?

In Research Department B, projects on comparative politics in Europe are the other important research area. We now divided this research area into three subdivisions each of which concentrates research on more specific questions.

Research Area 1 on engagement, participation and voters' behavior asks the following central question:

- How can the claims and expectations of an emancipated and individualized citizenry on the one hand be attuned to the requirements of democratic decision making in mass societies on the other?

The projects of this research area concentrate on democratic decision making and the process of interest articulation with an emphasis on individual behavior and orientations. They are supplemented by two further research areas, the one focusing on political parties as the major linkage between the citizenry and the state and the other bridging the gap between voters and the political system by asking the specific question how parties and voters coordinate their activities in elections to reach responsible governments in parliamentary, multiparty systems which are the dominant regime type in the European Union.

Thus, the central question of Research Area 2 is:

- How are political parties performing their linkage task between citizenry and government under conditions of social structural change and in different political structural environments?

Research Area 3 asks the question:

- Do voters solve the coordination problem between the demand and supply side of the electoral market by strategic voting?

The relationship between the seven research areas are of a personal and of a substantive nature. The substantive links are mentioned in each introduction to the projects of the seven research areas.

The following characteristics in developing and organizing research in department B are new and will therefore be explicitly mentioned:

1. The researchers responsible for the research areas are not only professors but also senior researchers who have proven their ability to raise soft money for their projects by successful project applications in the past.
2. The responsibilities for the seven research areas are as follows: (1) Jan van Deth, (2) Hermann Schmitt, (3) Franz Urban Pappi, (4) Beate Kohler-Koch, (5) Michèle Knodt, (6) Paul Thurner, (7) Egbert Jahn.
3. For the first time, we add a project with a double appointment to two research areas. By doing this, we stress the aspect that the research question is the primary device in organizing the research. This example is the so-called French study (2.6 and 3.3) for which the two research questions are the role of personalization for voters' decisions which is asked from the standpoint of Research Area 2 and the role of strategic voting on the side of the electorate in the French presidential and parliamentary elections of this year, which is asked from the standpoint of Research Area 3.
4. Research Area 3 and 6 have important external linkages of an interdisciplinary character. The core project of Research Area 3 is a candidate to be included in the *Sonderforschungsbereich* of the University of Mannheim on "Concepts of rationality, decision behavior and economic modelling" and the research projects of Research Area 6 are funded together with projects from international law and economics as a *DFG-Forschergruppe*.
5. Cooperation with projects of Department A focuses on common interests in expected utility theory and in trends of class voting in European electorates.

Research Area 1: Engagement, Participation, and Voters' Behaviour

Ever since Pericles political theorists defend the notion that a well-developed democracy relies on the combination of several modes of private and political engagement among its citizens. This twofold responsibility defines the role and position of democratic citizens and can be seen as the core requirement for the endurance of democratic political systems. There seems to be a widespread consensus that a revival of civic engagement and citizenship – combining different modes of private and public concerns – can compensate for a number of social, political, and societal problems. In addition, the introduction of new technologies (internet, email) offers unique opportunities for new forms of engagement and participation. The *central question* of Research Area 1, then, is focused on the development of various modes of engagement and participation: *how can the claims and expectations of an emancipated and individualised citizenry on the one hand, be attuned to the requirements of democratic decision-making in mass societies on the other*. Negatively formulated, this means that the chances for democratic decision-making have to be ascertained with respect to the development of apathy, disaffection, and alienation among citizens.

Despite the ongoing process of European integration citizens' orientations are still largely shaped and determined by their national political and societal environment. Therefore, national contexts (in structural and in cultural terms) are used as specific conditions for the development of different modes of social and political engagement of citizens in various countries. Resulting comparative analyses help to test general explanations and interpretations, and accentuate their context- and path-dependencies. From this perspective, institutional aspects of the European integration process are part of the changing context and play a secondary role. Integration is conceptualised here as the possibility that the political cultures of different nations may grow closer. The basic premise is that the long-term social developments in structural terms will lead to a convergence of cultures at the national level as well as to increasing differentiation at sub-national levels. These processes of cultural convergence and differentiation can also be seen as an important prerequisite, promoters or obstacles of European integration.

Form a methodological point of view all projects are to be considered as analyses of multilevel systems taking into account the institutional aspects of European integration as an integral part of the societal context.

Research projects in the area cover three main themes: (i) interdependencies between modes of social and political engagement (Projects 1.2 and 1.3), (ii) impact of new technologies for citizens' engagement (Project 1.4), and (iii) development of social and political orientations (new core Project 1.5). By the end of the three-year planning period 2002-2004 ongoing projects belonging to the first main theme will be finished, while projects to the other two themes have been developed and submitted recently (see below). Therefore, in the next few years new initiatives are especially welcome for the first theme: interdependencies between modes of social

and political engagement. Initiatives will be taken to develop new projects in this area in 2003 and 2004.

The following common aspects characterize each project in Research Area 1:

- They focus on the orientations and expectations of individual citizens;
- The scope and meaning of specific modes of engagement for individual citizens are to be established in empirical ways;
- Engagement is a dynamic process;
- Impacts of changing opportunity structures (institutional, cultural, technical) are deliberately taken into account.

Since projects in this research area concentrate on democratic decision-making and the process of interest articulation with an emphasis on individual behaviour and orientations, several links with other projects focusing on institutional and organisational aspects are evident. Clear links exist with “European Party Federations” (Project 2.2), “The Euromanifestos Project” (Project 2.3), and “Electoral System and Coalition Government as Incentives for Strategic Voting” (Project 3.1).

Projects

1.1 Citizenship, Involvement, Democracy (CID)

Director:	Jan van Deth
Researcher:	--
Duration:	2000-2002
Status:	Supplementary

CID is an international network of researchers from fourteen European countries, financed by the European Science Foundation (ESF) and directed by Jan van Deth (for detailed information see <http://www.mzes.uni-mannheim.de/projekte/cid>). Central question of this project is: under which social, societal, and organisational conditions can social involvement of citizens contribute to qualitative and quantitative improvements of contemporary democracies? The network accepted an extensive Common Core Questionnaire on questions concerning social and political participation, ‘small democracy’, social capital, and citizens’ virtues. Identical population surveys have been conducted by in twelve European countries in 2000 and 2001. The network also carries out a comparative study on intermediary organisations in several cities in Europe. At the local level (MZES), the network decisions are realised through the two separately financed projects (see Project 1.2 and Project 1.3 below).

1.2 Citizenship, Involvement, Democracy: An International Comparison

Directors: Jan van Deth, Sigrid Roßteutscher
Researcher: Sonja Zmerli
Duration: 2000-2003
Status: Core

Major goal of this part of the project is the application of the Common Core Questionnaire of the ESF-network to a representative sample of the German population. The Common Core applies a very broad conception of 'involvement'. On the one hand, it contains numerous questions on political and social involvement based on conventional approaches in this area. On the other hand, democratic theories recently emphasised modes of citizens' participation, which go beyond the traditional concepts of both 'conventional', institutionalised modes of participation and 'unconventional', non-institutionalised, protest activities. In particular, the concepts of 'consumer' democracy, and of 'direct' or 'small' democracy, based upon an active relationship between public service providers, on the one hand, and their clients, on the other, have shifted the attention from the realm of 'big' politics to the immediate concerns of day-to-day life. The coverage of all these areas in a Common Core Questionnaire, conducted in many different European societies, provides the opportunity to test several crucial questions posed by current debates about social capital, civil society and the future of the welfare state.

1.3 Welfare through Organisations: A Comparative Analysis of British and German Associational Life

Directors: Jan van Deth, Sigrid Roßteutscher
Researcher: Sigrid Roßteutscher
Duration: 2000-2003
Status: Supplementary

The aim of this project is to add local and organisational context to the representative national samples that are conducted at the same time. In particular, it explores (i) the density, range and diversity of the voluntary sector in different institutional and cultural contexts, (ii) the internal organisational structure of the voluntary sector in different institutional and cultural contexts, and (iii) whether differences in the internal structure and participatory opportunities explain differences between activists and volunteers concerning democracy, trust, citizenship, and welfare. An extensive mapping of all existing clubs, associations, and networks has been accomplished in Mannheim and in all other participating communities. Besides, a postal survey of all organisations has been carried out as well as extensive interviews with members and activists of selected organisations.

1.4 Parliaments, Representative Government and New Electronic Media Environments: An International Comparison

Director: Thomas Zittel
 Researchers: Thomas Zittel
 Duration: 2000 - 2005
 Status: Supplementary

New information and telecommunication technology is providing a new opportunity structure for political participation. This project asks whether political elites seize these opportunities in order to design new types of participatory political institutions or whether they choose to remain within the existing paradigms of democracy.

This project has three parts. It first develops a heuristic model of participatory institutions in the networked society. It then applies parts of this model which focus on participatory direct representation to three political systems which represent contrasting cases regarding their systems of representation and which experience technological change in telecommunication at the same time (Sweden, USA, Germany). One main goal is to study how these different systems of political representation are structurally adapting to technological change and to verify or falsify the hypothesis that telecommunication technology matters to political representation. In a third step, we will focus at the microlevel of political analysis in order to understand the micropolitics of "electronic representation" and to draw general conclusions regarding mechanisms which influence institutional development in the networked society.

1.5 Learning to Live Democracy

Director: Jan van Deth
 Researcher: Marina Berton
 Duration: 2000-2005
 Status: Core

Political socialization starts early in childhood and not during adolescence. Crucial impulses for the development of democratic orientations and civic attitudes can already be observed at young age. Based on this assumption the project focuses on young children (age 6-7). After a detailed literature study and the development of a first research design in the initial phase of the project (2000) the major aims have been specified in detail recently. A new title is adopted ("Learning to live democracy: Opportunities for development of children in families and elementary schools") according to this specification. (The old title of the project "Targeted political socialisation" was too much focussed on explicit attempts to affect political orientations.)

The project aims to obtain information about political involvement, understandings, and basic political orientations of children towards national democratic political institutions and towards European democracy by the time they enter elementary school. The empirical core of the study consists of about 850 young children who will be interviewed at the start and at the end of their

first school year. For this purpose, about half of the elementary schools in Mannheim are selected and all pupils in each class of the selected schools will be interviewed. Data collection from this panel group is accompanied by parallel interviewing of the usual control groups; that is, the first interviews of the panel are accompanied by interviews of the previous year group at the end of their first year and the second panel interviews are accompanied by interviews of the succeeding year group. Besides, interviews with parents and teachers are planned as well as the collection of information about the contexts of the participating school (climate, social area, etc.). In this way, the relative impact and relevance of socialization agents and -instances can be estimated.

Due to the complexities of working with very young children and the complicated research design required to assess the relative impact and relevance of socialization agents and -instances, the project has an explorative character in this phase. However, contacts are established with scholars in France, Britain, the Netherlands, and Canada to develop further international co-operation and exchange in this area. Especially the development of attitudes towards European political institutions should be studied from an international-comparative perspective. The design of the project enables both an easy extension covering several countries (or cities) and an extension covering a longer period of time than the first year in school.

1.6 European Social Survey

Director: Jan van Deth
Researcher: --
Duration: 2002-2003
Status: Supplementary

The European Social Survey (ESS) is an academically driven social survey designed to chart and explain the interaction between Europe's changing institutions and the attitudes, beliefs, and behaviour patterns of its diverse populations. The survey covers about 15 nations and employs the most rigorous methodologies in terms of sample design, fieldwork, and development of equivalent instruments. Fieldwork for the first wave is scheduled for autumn 2002, and a fully documented multinational dataset will be released in mid-2003. The questionnaire for each round consists of two elements: a core module of socio-demographic and substantive indicators (around 120 items); and two rotating modules of around 60 items each. Each rotating module covers a single academic and/or policy concern within Europe and is drafted by a team to be appointed following an open call. For the 2002-wave, the two rotating modules are 'social and political involvement' and 'migration and identity'. The coordination of the study is funded via the 5th Framework Programme, with supplementary funds from the European Science Foundation. Fieldwork costs in each participating nation are borne by the respective national funding agencies..

The German part of the project was funded by the DFG in early 2002. As in all other countries a national co-ordinating team directs the German part. This team is led by Jan van Deth

(official German co-ordinator) and consists of Oscar Gabriel (Stuttgart), Heiner Meulemann (Cologne), and Edeltraud Roller (Berlin).

Research Area 2: Political Parties and Political Linkage

In representative democracies political parties are the key intermediaries between citizens and the state. Among other things, they are organising general elections; formulating electoral platforms; mobilising the electorate; structuring the vote; and forming governments. Through all of this, political preferences of voters are formed and transformed into electoral mandates of party governments, and ultimately into public policy.

While political parties have been in charge of this linkage function in most of the 20th century democracies, they are now confronted with major challenges. These challenges affect both angles of political linkage, the citizenry and government, as well as the very process of political linkage. On the side of the citizenry, political parties have been loosing stable support. Does this affect their capacity to structure the vote, and if so: to what degree? On the government side, there is a growing differentiation of forms and levels of government. Does this affect parties' intermediary role, and if so how and with which consequences? With respect to the linkage process, finally, the organisational apparatus of political parties seems to be vanishing; the question here is whether there are alternative linkage instruments and how well they can substitute the traditional ones.

In short, the central research question of this research area is how political parties are performing their linkage task between citizenry and government under conditions of social-structural change and in different political-structural environments. This common research interest establishes close links to Research Areas 1 (Engagement, Participation, and Voters Behaviour), 3 (Election of Parliaments as a Co-Ordination Problem of Voters and Parties) and 4 (European Governance). All projects in this area, while theoretically motivated, are strictly empirically oriented. Most of them focus on the individual citizen, the micro-level of analysis so to say; some are exploring micro-macro (Projects 2.1, 2.6), meso-macro (2.2, 2.3, 2.5), or micro-meso interactions in addition (2.4).

On the side of the citizenry, political parties are loosing stable support. Whether this loss of stable support is driven by social change and modernisation, or rather by transformations in the political sphere, is debateable. However, whatever the reasons are, these processes are likely to affect the role that political parties play for the vote choice of citizens. Thus, Project 2.1. (Political Leaders and Democratic Elections) starts from the basic assumption that the weakening of partisan ties (together with a growing personalisation of mass communication) renders political leaders more important for vote choices than they were in the past. The French Study (supplementary Project 2.6), which focuses on a cross-national rather than on a diachronic comparison, explores this same question. The French Study is a co-operative project of members of different research areas and is co-listed in Research Area 3.

On the government side of the linkage process, political parties are confronted with a growing differentiation of forms and levels of government. This is of particular relevance for parties operating in the European Union. The multi-tiered system of government of the European Union does not simply add an additional political arena to the pre-existing ones (chiefly: to the national polity), it also creates a complex web of relationships of EU and national (and sub-

national/regional) branches of government. National political parties (and the governments staffed by them) are shaping this web of relationships and are shaped by it at the same time.

European political parties are shaped by it to the degree that they are co-operating within the groups of the European Parliament and beyond, and even join into European Union party federations of various reach and depth. (cf. Project 2.2 on Parties and Democracy in The European Union). But political parties – national political parties we should now more precisely say – are also shaping the process of European integration. They are recruiting candidates for European Parliament elections, they are putting up electoral platforms, and they are trying to transform these platforms into actual policy making through their representatives in a European Parliament that has considerably gained powers over the last decade. What policy areas they are focussing on in their electoral platforms, whether they are emphasising the same problems in national and European manifestos, and under what conditions their manifestos become salient in the campaign communication preceding the EP elections is the topic of Project 2.3.

Citizens and government have changed, and so has the very process of political linkage. Party organisations, at least those of mass membership parties, are no longer what they used to be. The mass membership of political parties is rapidly declining. As a consequence, party activism is shrinking: parties nowadays are facing severe problems in recruiting candidates for local and regional public office. All of this suggests that parties are adjusting their linkage apparatus by adding new information and communication technologies (new ICTs) to the more traditional means of political linkage through mass membership and party organisation. There are two supplementary projects exploring this phenomenon, one (2.4) focussing on a comparison of the role of new ICTs in political and commercial organisations and the other (2.5) more explicitly on political mobilisation.

Projects

2.1 Political Leaders and Democratic Elections

Director:	Hermann Schmitt
Researchers:	Tanja Binder, Hermann Schmitt
Duration:	2001-2003
Status:	Supplementary

Mass electoral behaviour is portrayed to be changing. While long-term determinants such as political party affiliation and social-structural locations are becoming less important, the relevance of short-term factors – political leaders and issues – is said to be increasing. The central research question of this project is whether political leaders indeed have become more important for vote choices over time; whether their relevance varies according to the institutional and political context of a voting decision; and what this actually means for the quality of the democratic process. The project is a co-operative enterprise of some 15 electoral researchers from 9 countries. It is convened by Kees Aarts (Enschede), André Blais (Montreal) and Hermann

Schmitt. These three will eventually edit a comprehensive book reporting on the findings of the study. In terms of empirical analysis, the study concentrates upon secondary analysis of series of national election studies from Australia, Canada, Germany, Norway, Spain, Sweden, The Netherlands, the US, and the UK. The data sets of these studies, which for some nations cover most of the second half of the 20th century, have been organised in a common format in order to facilitate international and diachronic comparison.

2.2 Parties and Democracy in the European Union: Euro-Parties as New Democratic Intermediaries?

Directors:	Thomas Poguntke and Jan van Deth
Researcher:	Christine Pütz
Duration:	2001-2004
Status:	Core

The strengthening of the institutions of supra-national governance in the European Union has created opportunities for Euro-parties to play a more important role in the political process of the EU. So far, these transnational party federations have played only a minor role in policy formulation and decision-making at the European level. However, it is the increased role of the European Parliament in conjunction with the official recognition of Euro-parties in the Treaty of Maastricht and Nizza which have created a more favourable environment for them suggesting that both, their organizational strength and the political influence will grow. This project analyzes their organizational development and their changed political role in the European political process. Particular attention will be given to the potentially shifting balance of importance between national political parties and ‘their’ Euro-parties as democratic intermediaries. On the basis of these findings the project will address the question to what extent Euro-parties can make a contribution towards improving the democratic accountability of the political process of the European Union, thereby enhancing the legitimation of European governance.

In order to assess likely shifts in the balances of power and influence between European party federations, their respective national parties and the parliamentary party in the European parliament, a longitudinal and comparative research design is required. The major components of this design include (i) content analyses of party constitutions and party documents to trace formal intra-party changes since the early 1990s, (ii) postal interviews with decision-makers in organisations of party federations, national parties, and parliamentary groups in order to obtain information about the actual development of co-operation and contacts between the respective branches, and (iii) oral interviews with leading office holders in party federations, national parties, parliamentary groups as well as in major EU-institutions (Commission, Council) to capture specific aspects of decision-making processes and possible shifts in the balances of power between the various participants and institutions. Although each part of this design will provide relevant information about the changing positions of European party federations and their (potential) contributions to the further democratisation of the EU, it is especially the combination of these three main components that should provide unambiguous empirically based conclusions

about the opportunities and challenges for representative democracy at both the national and the EU-level.

2.3 Comparative Analysis of Party Platforms for the European Election (The Euromanifestos Project)

Director: Hermann Schmitt
 Researchers: Andreas Wüst, Tanja Binder
 Duration: 2002-2004
 Status: Core

What are the conditions under which political parties succeed in making their EP election manifestos known to the voters? And, what is more, under which conditions become these programmatic statements of competing parties relevant for participation and party choice in EP elections? These questions motivate the European Election Study 1999. Any effort to answer them must first establish content-analytical measures of programmatic statements of political parties at the occasion of EP elections. This shall be done in a way to allow for analyses of changes over time (1979-99) and cross-level contrasts (second vs. first-order elections) for any party that ever sent elected representatives to the European Parliament.

2.4 New ICTs and the Innovation Capacity of Political and Commercial Organisations

Direktor: Andrea Römmele
 Researchers: Andrea Römmele and Michael Woywode
 Duration: 2002-2004
 Status: Supplementary

Internet technology has been praised to have the potential of improving significantly information flows between an organization and its environment as well as internal communication processes and decision making of organizations. But can it live up to its promises? During the 1990's the rise of internet technology has been greeted with great enthusiasm. Internet technology became an important premise of the so-called New Economy. It has also been claimed to revolutionize politics by spawning new and creative forms of direct democracy and thereby streamlining political organizations. Only a few years later, however, the New Economy is in crises. And political parties lack broad participation via internet-technology. How has IT-technology affected organizations, internally as well as their environmental relations? Have innovations in the field of communication technology brought about innovative organizational forms?

This is the central research question the project is guided by. To answer these questions in the scope of this research project we analyze the fields of applications of internet technology and its broader implications for political as well as commercial organizations. In addition, we look at

organizations having a strong organizational structure as well as organizations with weak, loose organizational forms. Regarding political organizations, we separate between established parties, interest groups and social movements. Analogously, among commercial organizations we distinguish between established large companies, small and medium sized companies and start-up firms. Hence, we apply a less technologically determinist view of IT-impact and expect some organizations to be more profoundly affected and shaped by the new technology than others. While accepting some degree of change, therefore, such an approach rejects the idea of "one-size-fits-all". In general, we expect organizations with greater organizational capacity to develop more sophisticated and multi-purpose strategies than those with limited capacity. Our research question asks for multidimensional empirical research and brings together qualitative and quantitative data, namely organizational data, organization elites' attitudes/ webmaster attitudes, server statistics on internet-technology usage and the content of internet-technology.

2.5 The Role of New ICTs in the German Federal Election of 2002

Director: Andrea Römmele
 Researchers: Andrea Römmele and Rachel Gibson
 Duration: 2002-2003
 Status: Supplementary

In modern mass democracies, political parties connect government and the people. Political communication is channeled by and through political parties. The internet is a new revolutionary form of communication allowing political actors and citizens a new form of dialogue. In this project the question is pursued which relevance the internet has for political parties in a national election campaign. Do parties use these new ICTs at different organisational levels for campaigning? And if so, what are they using them for? Comparing the German case study to earlier research in the UK and Australia, the question is asked: do country-specific contexts make a difference? These are the key research questions the project aims at finding answers to.

2.6 The French Study: Political Leaders in the Super-Election of 2002 in France

Directors: Thomas Gschwend and Hermann Schmitt
 Researchers: Thomas Gschwend, Dirk Leuffen, Christine Pütz, Andrea Römmele and Hermann Schmitt
 Duration: 2002-2005
 Status: Supplementary

Due to its electoral and party system, France is a very particular case in comparative party and election studies. While this adds to the professional interest in empirical information about French electoral politics, the problem has been that comparable data are scarce. By administrating the CSES II module (amended by a number of questions on leader traits and strategic voting)

among a representative sample of French voters between the presidential and the parliamentary election of 2002, this project aims at diminishing that information gap. Its purpose, however, goes beyond the generation of cross-nationally comparable data. Two major articles on the role of political leaders and voter strategies in French and German elections are planned, as is a book on Voting in France and Germany (working title).

Research Area 3: The Election of Parliaments as a Coordination Problem of Parties and Voters

Parliamentary democracy with multiple disciplined parties is the predominant type of governmental regime of the member states of the European Union. National parliaments are elected by different electoral systems, but insofar as single parties do not gain majorities in the National Assemblies – the normal case under proportional representation and even under the French two-ballot system – government formation is a complicated process ending in a coalition of several parties which the electorate can anticipate in some countries and which cannot be anticipated in other countries with multiparty systems. Contrasted with two-party systems, the coordination problems of parties and voters are thus more complex. Traditionally they have been solved by disciplined parties with relatively stable electorates, organized around social cleavages.

The gradual process of dealignment created a more flexible electorate with voters not only interested in the success of their respective parties, but also in certain types of coalition governments and it created parliamentary parties and members of parliament more independent from the party organizations of the mass-integration parties of former times.

The central question of Research Area 3 is asked from the perspective of the electorate:

Do voters solve the coordination problem between the demand and supply side of the electoral market by strategic voting?

Strategic voting, that is the choice of the second best party because a vote for the most preferred party is expected to have not the preferred effect, is also common in two-party systems when a preferred third party is perceived as a hopeless loser of the electoral contest, so that a vote for it is wasted. In multiparty systems incentives for other types of voter strategies arise (threshold insurance voting for smaller coalition parties, strategic sequencing etc.) that are closely linked to the type of electoral system and to the identifiability of future coalition governments.

Concerning electoral systems, one important variable is district magnitude. The incentive for the strategy to avoid wasted votes declines rapidly with the number of seats available. In multiparty systems with proportional representation or mixed electoral systems, the party reference frame may be complemented by a coalitional frame, i.e. by taking possible governments into account.

Three options have to be distinguished:

1. The expected election outcome does create so many viable coalition options, that parties avoid any precommitments in favor of specific coalitions before the election.
2. Parties, or at least the parties in government, precommit themselves to specific coalitions and constrain party member candidacies for parliament in such a way that the voters are forced to choose either a “government” or an opposition candidate.

3. Parties run separate election campaigns but voters take the opportunity to vote strategically for specific coalition options, if these are identifiable.

The feasibility of Option 2 and 3 depends heavily on the electoral system. A good example for Option 2 is the French single-member dual-ballot system, whereas examples for option 3 are mixed electoral systems like the German one. With its heavy emphasis on proportionality such systems discourage party coordination and offer incentives for strategic voting on the side of the electorate.

This research area will focus on projects investigating Option 3: Institutional and coalitional incentives for strategic voting in European multiparty systems. Models are available which explain so-called Duverger equilibria of first-past-the-post systems, but research on other electoral systems and especially taking into account the identifiability of future coalition governments raises new research questions for which neither models nor empirical research results are available. This research question is especially important for the European parliamentary systems on which the core project of this research area will be focused. In addition, Japan will be used as an additional case study since Japan, also having a parliamentary regime with multiple parties, has changed its electoral system in the 90s from the single non-transferable vote to a mixed electoral system.

The central research question is related both to the research questions of Research Area 1 and 2. The relationship to Research Area 2 is given since the coordination problem between the electorate and the parties can also be studied from the standpoint of parties. The above mentioned option 2 is a case in point. The relations to Research Area 1 are given by the focus on individual voting behavior and political participation in the form of voting or non-voting, for which expectations about future governments or about the chances of the parties to enter parliament are considered as further determinants of the vote.

Funding for the core Project 3.1 is sought through the Sonderforschungsbereich of the University of Mannheim: "Concepts of rationality, decision behavior and economic modelling". The project is supposed to bridge the gap between institutional analysis of electoral systems at the macro level and theories of individual decision-making. The two further projects are supplementary and serve as role models for possible additions in 2003 or 2004.

Projects

3.1 Electoral System and Coalition Government as Incentives for Strategic Voting

Director:	Franz Urban Pappi
Researcher:	Thomas Gschwend
Duration:	2002-2005
Status:	Core

The goal of this project is to empirically test a previously developed theory about the process and the political consequences of strategic voting. In the first face of this project we are interested in identifying and explaining various strategies voters employ in different electoral systems. According to our theory we expect that the amount of strategic voting and the strategies employed depend on two characteristics of the electoral as well the party system as can be seen in the following 2x2-table. The first dimension is the *district magnitude* and the second dimension is described by the pre-election *identifiability* of majority coalitions.

		District Magnitude	
		large	small
Identifiability	high	(2) Germany (List Vote), Portugal, Spain, Japan, Italy (List Vote)	(1) Germany (Candidate Vote), UK, France, Italy (Candidate Vote)
	low	(3) Netherlands, Belgium	(4) Canada

Our general hypothesis is that the easier it is for voters to identify coalitions before an election the more likely they vote strategically. Furthermore we expect to find more strategic voters following the wasted-vote logic in small electoral districts while we expect to identify various strategies to support possible coalition governments in large districts.

We are able to study strategic voting in three out of four cells of the above table using various data sources. (1) in countries with small district magnitude and high identifiability we employ district-level data, while we use survey-data as well as district-level election returns in order to study strategic voting in cells (2) and (3). Survey-data will be necessary for these cells in order to identify and disentangle various strategies motivated by the degree of identifiability of majority coalitions. For a country with high pre-election identifiability we chose Germany's federal election in 2002, while we are going to administer a representative pre-election survey for Belgium's parliamentary election in 2003 as an example of an election with low identifiability.

(4) Countries with small districts and low pre-election identifiability of majority coalitions are in fact rare and can only be studied using secondary data sources.

In order to explain the political consequences of strategic voting in different electoral systems, we are going to test our hypotheses using individual- and aggregate-level data. The results are expected to illuminate not only theories of electoral behavior but also yield concrete suggestions for constitutional design.

3.2 The Change of the Coordination Problem from the Single Non-transferable Vote to a Parallel System

Director: Susumu Shikano
Researcher: Susumu Shikano
Duration: 2003-2004
Status: Supplementary

In 1994, the Japanese parliament reformed its electoral system from the single non-transferable vote (SNTV) to a mixed electoral system consisting of a plurality contest in single member constituencies and a proportional representation tier. SNTV was well-known for the effect that candidates of the same parties competed in the multi-member constituencies. This fact was interpreted as one of the causes of the fragmentation of the parliamentary party of the LDP into factions. One of the goals of the reform was to guarantee that party headquarters had more influence on candidates through the nomination of single candidates in each constituency and through the party list.

In European countries, we define strategic voting in terms of party preferences. For Japan, one of the first problems will be to operationalize the concept of strategic voting when personal votes had such a big influence under the old SNTV. Under this system the candidates relied on their personal networks of supporters (Koenkai). Under the new mixed system with new districts this personal support has now to be combined with the backing of the party headquarters.

Parallel to the electoral system reform the Japanese party system changed due to the result of the last general election under the SNTV. The LDP can enjoy no longer its absolute majority in the diet and the coalition between parties have to be formed to build a government. This change of the party system added a new dimension to the strategic voting in Japan, too, especially in respect to the voting for the non-LDP parties.

For this project, we use data from a seven-wave panel study that was started in 1993, i.e. before the reform, and ended in 1996 with the first election under the new mixed system. Thus, we can study the influence of the electoral system change and the party system on individual voters, how far they changed their subjective interpretation of the objectively changed situation and, finally, how this influenced their voting decision.

3.3 The French Study: The Strategies of Voters in the Super-Election of 2002 in France

Directors: Thomas Gschwend and Hermann Schmitt
Researcher: Thomas Gschwend
Duration: 2002-2005
Status: Supplementary

Due to its electoral and party system, France is a very interesting case for comparative politics in general and for studying strategic voting comparatively in particular. The French case supplements the other projects in Research Area 3 in at least two major points. First, within the French electoral system expectations about the outcome of the election in each round is particularly important. Thus, it allows to directly test hypotheses on the individual-level about the role of subjective expectations on the proclivity of strategic voting. Second, and particularly influential in the super election year of 2002 these elections provide a unique opportunity to identify strategies and assess political consequences of strategies that aim to balance various levels of governance (e.g., cohabitation).

Research Area 4: Governance in Europe

Governance in Europe and in the individual European political systems is characterised by growing interdependence. The close link between national and EU governance has brought about institutional changes and has transformed the strategies of negotiation and the representation of interests. It has strengthened the emergence of new modes of governance aimed at efficient problem solving beyond the nation state. In previous years the main focus of research has been on the empirical analysis of the functioning of a multi-level system of governance and the ensuing transformation of modes of governance and on patterns in the organisation and representation of economic interests. In the coming research period, projects will focus on the effect EU embeddedness on the future of representative democracy. The *central question* of Research Area 4 is on the prospect of citizen representation, participation and accountability: *will EU strategies for more openness and wider involvement of “civil society” promote the emergence of an all-embracing European political space and will grass root organisation be able to reach higher levels of interest intermediation?*

The basic assumption is that countervailing forces push and restrict the transformation of the multi-level political spaces in Europe into a single EU political space. EU institutions, endowed with rule making powers and resources in terms of money and legitimacy, aim at a transnational political space. Public interest groups are linked to individual constituencies which may be predominantly international, European or national and local. It is an empirical question which kind of political issues will mobilize what kind of constituency and whether or not citizens' support for and engagement in public interest groups will be shaped by their local and national environment and whether citizens' “provinciality” will limit transnational interest representation. It is plausible to assume that the readiness and ability to go “beyond the nation state” will depend on political and social context conditions, i.e. they will be highly “path-dependent”, and they will be shaped by the very structures of communication which the evolving EU system is offering.

From a methodological point of view the EU system is conceptualized as being both: a supranational organisation of nation states (“Staatenverbund”) and a single political space. Comparative analysis has to explore the variations across nation states and issue areas, the latter because of the different levels of integration in individual policy fields. The projects will concentrate on (i) EU governance and general interest groups, (ii) political representation and accountability in EU governance, and (iii) institutional transformations in the EU governance system.

Evidently, projects in this Research Area are closely linked to projects of Research Area 5, but also to projects on interest mediation of Research Area 1 (1.3) and European party federations and party platforms in Research Area 2 (2.2, 2.3).

Projects

4.1 Governance in the European Union

Director: Beate Kohler-Koch (Co-ordination)
Researcher: --
Duration: 1996-2005
Status: Supplementary

The programme brings together researchers from different disciplines. It is funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG) and co-ordinated by Beate Kohler-Koch. The programme supports theory oriented empirical analysis focusing on 'Governance in the EU'. Its objective is a deeper knowledge of the functioning of the EU system, the transformation of the involved national systems and in more general terms the particularities of governance beyond the nation state. Contributions from economics and law, in particular, also take a normative view in terms of assessing the efficiency and legitimacy of institutional reforms.

Project activities will concentrate on (1) networking national and international research in progress, (2) contributing with a publication project on the institutional transformation of EU governance.

4.2 EU Involvement Strategies and the Formation of a European Political Space

Director: Beate Kohler-Koch
Researcher: Barbara Finke
Duration: 2002-2006
Status: Core

The European Union has developed a variety of strategies to involve societal actors and to support the cooperation amongst them in order to tie European politics to a "European civil society". We want to investigate if the resulting structure of cooperation and communication between societal actors and the European Union on the one hand and amongst societal actors on the other will transform a system of national political spaces into a single European political space. This means that we are interested in the impact EU strategies of involvement have on the emergence of a European political space. Drawing on a communicative approach established by Karl Deutsch, we consider the growing scope and density of socio-political exchange and communication as an important aspect of European integration.

The research project will investigate this process in two different issue areas. As political spaces are constituted by a broad variety of societal actors, we follow the EU definition of "civil society actors" (White Paper on European Governance 2001) and include public interest groups (NGOs) as well as economic interest groups (like trade unions and trade associations) into our

research. We want to reveal the socio-political structure of interaction within an emerging European political space assuming that the European involvement of societal actors not only supports their cooperation with EU agencies but also stimulates the cooperation amongst societal actors. Our basic hypothesis is that the EU, the Commission in particular, creates focal points of socio-political communication by singling out an actor or a forum as privileged interlocuteur. A network analysis will be the most appropriate tool to test this hypothesis.

4.3 Local Europe: Grass Root Organisations in European Governance

Director: Beate Kohler-Koch
 Researcher: Nikola Jung
 Duration: 2003-2006
 Status: Core

“Europeanisation” in terms of an adaptation of sub-national systems and actors to the EU ranks high on the present research agenda. Business associations and, to a lesser degree, trade unions have been included in recent research whereas research on public interest groups (and social movements) still is rather patchy. In view of their potential contribution to democracy it is of utmost concern to investigate their involvement in EU multi-level governance and their presence in a transnational political space. It is plausible to assume that high transaction costs in a multi-lingual, heterogeneous transnational setting add to the existing collective action problems. This may result in a marginalisation of grass root activities, a shift in patterns of political participation from conventional to “un-conventional” forms of participation, a highly selective organisation of European wide networks and a change in the relations and role ascriptions of local, national and transnational organisations.

The project aims at exploring organisational properties and context conditions that enable or hinder grass root organisations to reach out to higher levels of political involvement. The comparative study will start with two member states and include different policy areas.

4.4 Directory of General Interest Groups/NGOs at European and (Selected) National Levels

Directors: Beate Kohler-Koch, Günter Braun
 Researcher: Günter Braun
 Duration: 2001-2003
 Status: Supplementary

In recent years the European Commission is pushing the dialogue with non-governmental actors and encourages general interest groups, especially NGOs, to work together in common associations and networks at the European level.

The project intends to establish a systematic empirical basis for studying the growing involvement of general interest groups into EU politics. For this purpose a data collection of General Interest Groups will be created covering NGOs active at the EU level. A first classification will be according to different types of EU policies as represented by the Commission's Directorates-General and the national level in selected member states.

The choice of member states and applicant countries will consider a broad variety of independent variables: type of political system in particular with regard to an openness for NGO involvement and patterns of public-private relations; territorial (regional) distribution of power; degree of civil commitment and engagement in General Interest Groups; scope and density of civil organisation. Apart from these systematic criteria language capacity has to be taken into account.

The collection of data rely on the following main reference works and resources: (i) Since summer 2001 the European Commission homepage offers a new directory called CONECCS (Consultation, the European Commission and Civil Society). Its database which allows the associations to register and update their data "on line" includes approximately 1000 associations. (ii) The "Yearbook of International Organizations (2000-2001). Guide to global civil society networks, edited by Union of International Associations", (iii) Web Directories and homepages

Schema: General administrative information, members, organizational history, principal aims and objectives, target groups and activities, organisation, structures, administrative resources, funding, publications and events, links with other associations and bodies

4.5 Political Support and Legitimacy in the New Europe

Director:	Hermann Schmitt
Researchers:	TMR stipendists and senior scholars from 12 European research institutes
Duration:	2004-2007
Status:	Core

There is a danger of a severe erosion of political support in the European Union in the course of Eastern enlargement. This process will affect the communitarian basis of legitimacy beliefs of EU citizens; its political institutions and decision-making procedures; and its policies. All of this is likely to challenge the legitimacy of the multi-tiered political system of government in general – that is to say, political support for national politics might also be affected.

Upon this background, the research agenda of the proposed TMR network is to assess the structure of and dynamics in political support and government legitimacy in different political arenas (mainly national and European) and in different places (old and new member states and membership candidate states) in view of the established *trias* of support objects – policies, institutions and procedures, and the political community.

4.6 The Prospects for EU Democracy After Eastern Enlargement

Director: Hermann Schmitt
 Researcher: Hermann Schmitt
 Duration: 2003-2006
 Status: Supplementary

The objective of this co-operative project is to engage in primary research in order to enhance our understanding of the legitimacy and the democratic quality of European Union government and to explore the possibilities and prospects for a more democratic and legitimate European Union in the near future. This objective shall be reached by (a) the development of a normative theoretical framework of legitimate democratic government, encompassing three basic dimensions: identity, representation and accountability, and performance; (b) an empirical evaluation by means of public opinion surveys and content analysis of the performance of the present European Union on each of these dimensions; and (c) an evaluation of the prospects for the EU on these three dimensions in light of enlargement. This project is a joint endeavour of five European institutes: the EUI in Florence (Stefano Bartolini); the Central European University in Budapest (Gabor Toka); the University of Twente (Jacques Thomassen); the University of Stuttgart (Dieter Fuchs); and the MZES (Hermann Schmitt). The Mannheim part of it will focus on the organisation of the content analysis of front page news of the 2 major papers in 25 countries over the 4 weeks preceding the European Parliament elections of 2004; the organisation of the mass survey component of the study; and the writing-up and co-edition of a book reporting on the major findings of the study.

4.7 Europeanization of Nation-State Identities? A Franco-German Comparison of Identity Discourses

Director: Beate Kohler-Koch
 Researcher: Stefan Seidendorf
 Duration: 1/2002 – 12/2003
 Status: Supplementary

This study investigates into the transformation of identity constructions by processes of “europeanization”. The underlying assumption is, that in the near future there will be no such thing as “the European identity” stable enough to bear legitimacy to European decision-making. The primary frame for legitimacy is still the nation-state. Still, one can find in all member states the search for a European identity and legitimacy.

Therefore, our hypothesis is that a process of slow europeanization will lead to a reconstruction of identity discourses. These transformed discourses will have to resonate with the existing, national identity discourses, as well as with the necessities of the new, European level.

If this is the case, than these “europeanized” nation-state identities could bear a potential legitimacy to the European level. Another result could be a negative europeanization due to

incompatibilities between national and European constructions. An emphasis of the “nation” within identity discourses could be expected in this latter case.

To understand evolutions in time as well as differences in space, a comparison between three different periods of European integration and two countries (France and Germany) is conducted. Sources are media discourses (leading newspapers) and “elite-discourses”, especially of politicians and party-programs.

4.8 Does *Cohabitation* Matter? French European Policy-Making in the Context of Divided Government

Director: Beate Kohler-Koch
Researcher: Dirk Leuffen
Duration: 10/2001 – 09/2003
Status: Supplementary

The dissertation analyses French European policy-making during the so-called *cohabitation* periods of divided government. It compares the formulation of French European positions in the three *cohabitations* 1986-1988, 1993-1995 and 1997-2002 with the decision-making procedures in the context of unified government. The underlying assumption is that for an understanding of European politics the national level continues to play an important role.

Cohabitation is conceptualised as a highly competitive actor constellation. The President who during unified government is the uncontested leader of the executive is confronted with a hostile Prime Minister who becomes the true head of government. Both actors compete for public support. The President’s influence is more or less reduced to the *domaine partagé* of foreign and security affairs. The Prime Minister is responsible for domestic affairs. How is the field of European policy-making organised during cohabitation? Can clear patterns of division of responsibilities be identified? What are the mechanisms of co-operation leading to astonishingly coherent French positions? How can the high degree of seemingly consensual positions be explained? What impact does cohabitation have on the French European positions and how from a two-level game perspective does cohabitation affect France’s role in European negotiations?

Cases will be chosen that allow detailed reconstructions of the decision-making processes. The empirical research will be based on the study of documentary material, secondary literature and in depth interviews.

Research Area 5: International Embeddedness of European Governance

The end of the East-West conflict brought about considerable structural changes of the international system. There is a strong interdependence of international changes on the one hand and changes occurring at the national, transnational or European level on the other. These interrelated processes of change and their impact on governance is currently at the centre of International Relations as well as of European research. In this context, research in area 5 is focusing on one dimension of these interdependent processes, i.e. on the *embeddedness of European governance in the international context* which has a strong impact on the character of national, transnational as well as of European governance.

The central research questions of this research area is:

- How does the international context cause institutional change within the EU?
- How are international governmental and non-governmental activities coordinated in Europe?

Institutional change can be analysed at different levels within Europe, at

- the EU-system as such;
- the national level;
- the subnational level, and
- the transnational sphere.

Project 5.3 'Governance in an Expanded Multi-level System' covers the EU-level. Core Project 5.1 'Strategy options of international governance' and Project 5.4 'Training of civilian peace experts in European countries' concentrate on specific European nation-states, whereas core Project 5.2 'Strategy options of international governance: NGOs and good governance' analyses NGO strategies, thus focusing on the transnational dimension. Institutional changes at the subnational level have been the subject of a project on 'Regions in the EU' directed by Beate Kohler-Koch at the MZES from 1993 through 1996. Future research to be included in this research area should be directed at the EU-system.

The international context can be conceptualised in different ways, as embeddedness of European governance in

- international organisations (UN, WTO, OSCE, OECD etc.);
- international regimes;
- international negotiations;
- international 'epistemic communities' or discussions.

Current research in this research area is focusing on EU involvement in international organisations (Project 5.3 – WTO, 5.2 – UN, 5.4 –UN/OSCE). Project 5.1 conceptualises the international context as international discussions and phenomena which are reflected in the cognitive frames of political actors in European nation-states.

Institutional change at the levels mentioned above can be observed in different dimensions:

- the organisation of politics (who is allowed by law to govern whom, and which are the legal rules on decision-making processes);
- established routines (routines of decision-making and implementation and regularly involved actors);
- concepts of legitimate order (guiding principles on good and effective governance).

All projects in Research Area 5 focus on the second dimension: This means that decision-making structures and new strategies of conflict management, the introduction of new communication structures as well as the involvement of new actors are investigated. Moreover, some of the projects have a closer look at the changing organisation of politics as well as at concepts of legitimate order (Project 5.2, 5.3).

There are strong linkages with projects in Research Area 4 on European governance (Projects 4.2, 4.3, 4.4) as well as with projects in Research Area 1 on Engagement, Participation, and Voters' Behaviour (Projects 1.1, 1.2, 1.3). The linkage is due to the fact that all projects include the question of civil society involvement in policy-making, both in their theoretical conception and in their empirical research. Besides, strong linkages exist with Research Area 6, Project 6.2, where the focus on institutional change and the constructivist approach result in similar research questions, and in Research Area 7, Project 7.4. which focuses on the governmental and non-governmental conflict management of ethnonational conflicts.

Projects

5.1 Strategy Options of International Governance

Director:	Beate Kohler-Koch
Researcher:	Fabrice Larat
Duration:	November 2001 to January 2004
Status:	Core

The research project on "Strategy Options of International Governance" seeks to better understand conceptual differences in governing international relations. The hypothesis is that designing strategies of international governance are influenced by individual perceptions of international political order which are represented in particular 'worldviews'. To differentiate between worldviews, three models, i.e. competing conceptions of transnational and international order have been developed: 1) State system; 2) Society of states and international organisations; 3) System of transnational network governance. The project aims at overcoming the deficiencies in the constructivist approach of international politics by providing an analytical model which will link theory to in-depth empirical research through a comparison between Germany and France. These two countries have been chosen because of the persistence of different guiding

principles in their political culture despite a high degree of integration in the EU and many similarities.

For the purpose of a discourse analysis, a database on globalisation has been generated with texts from different sources covering the time period between January 1998 and December 2001. Articles from 3 German (about 2300 articles included) and 3 French daily newspapers (2400) has been collected, as well as more than 700 official documents and speeches from ministries and other institutions.

In a second step, the texts will be evaluated with TEXTPACK - a computer programme for content analysis – and analysed from a quantitative and qualitative point of view. This evaluation will enable us in the discourse of the different categories of actors to identify worldviews and patterns of argumentation, which can be related to our three models (ideal types) of international order.

Interviews with key actors (senior officials in selected ministries) will complete in a last step the discourse analysis and provide a thoroughly view on the topic through three case studies : i) The Global compact initiative of the UN proposed by K. Annan 1999, ii) the question of the participation of NGO to the next WTO-negotiations, iii) and the competences of the International Penal Court of Justice.

5.2 Strategy Options of International Governance: NGOs and Good Governance

Director:	Beate Kohler-Koch
Researchers:	Barbara Finke
Duration:	February 2000 to November 2002
Status:	Core

The project models and explores the legitimacy of NGOs and their potential contribution to the good governance of global politics. One of the three models of transnational order developed within the SiR project – a system of transnational network governance – is investigated more thoroughly from a normative point of view. This project designs a model of good governance through deliberation promoted by transnational advocacy coalitions. Empirical research focuses on a transnational women's network that has introduced the principle "women's rights are human rights" into global politics.

From the viewpoint of conventional aspects of legitimacy usually applied to NGOs like representativity and internal democratic structures, the women's advocacy network the case study investigates would not prove satisfactory. The case study suggests on the other hand that the major potential of women's NGOs to enhance the legitimacy of global governance lies in their capacity to induce a communicative political process within different UN policy regimes and to support transnational civil society structures through the integration of a "transnational discursive space". At the same time, the existence of a transnational discursive space enables political and

societal actors from the grassroots level to the top to connect their political and everyday-life experiences to the global policy process, thus integrating "the local and the global".

Connecting these findings to the model of good governance, the project argues that the feminist human rights discourse promoted by NGOs constitutes a transnational discursive space can be conceptualized as a major element of good governance through deliberation.

5.3 Governance in an Expanded Multi-level System

Director: Michèle Knodt
Researchers: Su-Ling Tseng and Birgit Hellmann
Duration: September 2001 to August 2003
Status: Core

This research project is situated within the framework of the interdisciplinary research programme, 'Governance in the EU', which is coordinated by Beate Kohler-Koch and funded by the DFG. The project of 'Governance in an Expanded Multi-level System' aims to explore the impacts of the EU's World Trade Organization (WTO) membership upon the governance of the EU.

The underlying assumptions of this project are twofold, that is: first, the political system of the EU, which is between a 'Staatenverbund' and a supranational community, is open to the changes which are brought about by external factors; and second, the EU political system is characterised as multi-level governance, in which the multiple levels overlap. Starting from these two underlying assumptions, this research project intends to test two hypotheses upon three broad categories of empirical cases. The two hypotheses are: first, the embedding of the EU in the WTO leads to institutional changes of the EU in four dimensions – the formal policy process, the routines, the guiding ideas and the concept of legitimacy, and the resources; and second, these institutional changes are in favour of the centralisation of policy-making at the EU level.

In order to test these two hypotheses, the extent that issue areas could be dealt with at the EU level needs to be taken into account, i.e. first, the issue areas which are subject to the exclusive competence of the EU; second, those which are subject to the mixed competence which is shared by EU institutions and the member states; third, those which are related to both the exclusive and mixed competences; and fourth, those which are pertinent to changes of the concept of legitimacy. Based on these four elements, three broad categories of empirical cases are selected for our analysis. The first are the issue areas which fall within the scope of the respective pillars of the WTO – namely, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) and the Agreement on Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS). The issue areas covered by the GATT are subject to the exclusive competence of the EU; and those of the GATS and TRIPS are subject to the mixed competence. The second case is the negotiation on China's accession to the WTO. This is a case which covers both the issues subject to the EU's exclusive competence and those to the mixed competence. The third case is the role of civil societies in the policy process of the EU within the

WTO. This case is concerned with the question of how and why the concept of legitimate order changes.

5.4 European Civilian Conflict Management

Director: Egbert Jahn
Researcher: Christina Weiß
Duration: April 2002 to September 2005
Status: Core

1. Research Objective

The aim of the project is to analyse the problems of over-lapping competences in the policy field of European civilian management that arise due to the embedding of the European Union in the international context.

Starting from the empirical fact that strategies of civilian crisis management are developed on sub-national, national, European and international levels, this study will explore to what extent the newly developed institutions and instruments for civilian crisis management of the European Union are a competition or a completion to the civilian conflict management of national, European and international actors.

First we want to examine the objectives the actors pursue in this policy field, the specific instruments and strategies with which they want to achieve their goals and to which extent they coordinate and cooperate. Second, we want to examine if the EU concretises as an actor which has the capacity to bundle up its resources and instruments for developing a coherent strategy of civilian conflict management and therefore can meet its self-stuck goal of having a partnership with the VN and OSCE

2. Theoretical Discussion of Civilian Crisis Management

Due to the increasing number of intra-state wars the nature and means of international peace missions have changed profoundly. In complex intra-state wars not only military intervention is needed but multidisciplinary operations which include a wide range of civilian tasks, from coordinating humanitarian assistance and human rights monitoring to supporting institution building.

Since the 1990s, when the Balkan crises erupted, Europe has been trying to make the transition from reacting to crises on an ad hoc basis, to anticipating and preparing for such crises. Efforts to strengthen the civilian side of conflict management have also increased on the national, European and international level. The EU, the OSCE and the United Nations are in progress to develop integrated concepts of civilian crisis management ranging from a professional training of civilian personal and a better coordination of the organizations to a coherent approach for crisis management activities.

Concerning the intervention in conflicts the prevailing assumption is that only the existence of many different and multi-focused interventions will, over time, lead to a sustainable conflict transformation/peace (Fitzduff 2000; Paffenholz 2000). Therefore, it seems to be useful not to have one intervening actor but a combination of varying external parties.

Since the 90s much effort has been undertaken to develop approaches which combine various methods and actors of third party interventions as opposed to seeing these as competing or contradictory. An important point of discussion is the question of the best time to intervene in an intra-state conflict. What actor can intervene with which strategies and instruments at what time? In the theoretically literature on conflict management there are two diametrically opposed positions: some analysts see the different intervening strategies as chronologically sequenced stages (Ropers 1996; Truger 1994, Boutros-Ghali 1992 und 1995), while others doubt this separation (Stephen Ryan 1990). They rather assume that it is the best strategy to deploy all governmental and non-governmental actors simultaneously at all conflict levels (Bloomfield 1995).

Fisher and Keasly (1991) propose a model of third party intervention in which various methods of intervention are matched to the different phases of a conflict. According to them different interventions will be more or less appropriate at different stage of the conflict than others.

The question is, if and how these findings are implemented into the daily field work. Do different intervening actors cooperate and coordinate themselves or tends it to be a theoretical issue? This question will be examined at the international interventions in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosovo.

3. Theoretical Discussion of the International Embedding of European Governance

The underlying assumptions of this project are twofold: first, the political system of the EU is characterised as highly complex multi-level structure, in which multiple levels and negotiating arenas overlap. Second, the embedding of European Governance in the international context has a strong influence on the character of governance at national, transnational and European level

The debate on the processes of governing stresses the absence of central authority. Instead, multiple over-lapping political arenas are assumed which are populated by formally autonomous actors linked by multifaceted interdependencies. According to the concept of governance as developed in the international relations and comparative politics, political arenas and societal sub-systems develop their own logic of decision-making and are only loosely linked to other political arenas. The responsibility assignment between the different arenas is not defined properly with the consequence of overlapping competences and competition about resources. One consequent assumption of this is restricted problem solving, with solution finding on the lowest common level (Scharpf 1985). But as empirical findings has shown, in some policy-fields the capacity of EU decision-making goes beyond the decision-making of the nation states.

The neo-institutionalist approach (March/Olsen 1996) is picked up to explain these findings. The neo-institutionalist premise is, that the institutional properties of a political system shape the

mode of governance, albeit do not determine it. Developing a own rationale and norms of decision-making (Pollack 1997 and 1999), they have crucial influence of the EU problem-solving capacity.

To analyse the EU actors quality we link this institutional approach to the network approach of governance. As multiple civil actors are involved in the policy-field of European Crisis Management we want to examine to which extent a cooperation between non-governmental and governmental organisations can be found and if the relations between those actors changed toward a stronger impact of the NGO.

4. Research Methods

In this study the following methods of gathering data are used: documentary analysis, literature analysis including grey literature and personal interviews with a semi-structured schedule.

The analysis of official documents will be based i.e. on publications of the European Parliament, the European Council and the European Commission; Treaties; the Bulletin of the European Union; speeches and statements of the Secretary General respectively the High Representative; statements from national political parties and governments.

The search for interview persons will concentrate on representatives of relevant NGOs, national civil servants responsible for the ESVP; civil servants of the Secretariat-General and the Commission; as well as selected members of national Parliaments and the European Parliament.

Research Area 6: Institutionalization of International Negotiation Systems

Negotiations are the predominant mode of interaction in international relations. Increasingly, international relations are embedded within a multitude of institutional settings and at the same time continue to create new variants of international governance mechanisms. Consequently, the interdisciplinary DFG-research group 'Institutionalization of International Negotiations' (1999-2005) is centered around three main questions: *a) How can we explain institutional choices with regard to international regimes and organizations?* *b) How do variable pre-existing institutional settings influence negotiation outcomes?* and, taking a normative perspective, *c) How should we assess these outcomes given different criteria of efficiency and fairness?* During 1999-2003, the members of the group refined their theoretical concepts and methods in an interdisciplinary way and conducted several case studies.

As planned by the overall schedule of the first 'Rahmenantrag', during the last 2-year term (2003-2005) it is intended to elaborate now on normative conclusions. Theoretically, we will rely on new cultural and economic sociology approaches that increasingly show up a complementary of constructivist and rational choice approaches. These studies accentuate the embeddedness of actors within networks thereby connecting actor and system perspectives. The networks may be specified as transporting flows of ideas ('discourse networks', 'cognitive maps' etc.), capital, services as well as influence, support etc. In this view, networks constitute the mechanisms whereby 'appropriateness', the determination of 'focal points', valuation of expected negotiation outcomes as well as the control of declared commitments (compliance) are produced and enforced.

We will elaborate on middle-range propositions about the differential applicability/appropriateness of different negotiation mechanisms for given constellations. For the exchange with experts and in order to manage problems of knowledge transfer to practitioners we will profit from the cooperation with the other projects located at the University of Mannheim (Departments of Public Economics (Prof. Grüner), International Law (Prof. Riedel), International Management (Prof. Perlitz)) and at the Center for European Economics (ZEW, Departments of Labour Markets (Prof. Vaubel/Dr. Boockmann), Environmental Economics (Dr. Böhringer)) as well as established information exchange with the research group 'Procedural Approaches to Conflict Resolution Designing Analytical Support for Interactive Group Decision Making' (2001/2002) at the Center for Interdisciplinary Research in Bielefeld.

Projects 6.1 to 6.3 are core projects, Project 6.4 is a supplementary offspring of Project 6.1. The core projects are closely related to the research questions of Area 5.

Projects

6.1 European Health Policy and National Regulation of Pharmaceutical Markets

Directors: Franz Urban Pappi, Paul Thurner
Researchers: Peter Kotzian
Duration: 2001 to 2003
Status: Core

The EU is of growing importance for national health policies. Especially the EU's impact on national organisational competencies for health care systems has been increasing by recent ECJ decisions. The aim of this project is to analyse the impact of EU treaties and policy-making on national health care systems, and in particular to assess its impact on national actors in the pharmaceutical sector. This task requires the identification of centres of decision in the policy formulation process and the analysis of the formulation of positions by the member states and non state actors. Of particular concern is the institutionalisation of permanent negotiation systems, in which the involved actors negotiate on the future role of the EU level for health care systems.

The project's aims are twofold: first, we want to describe in an analytical and theory guided way the initiation and establishment of the "Round Tables on Completing the Single Market for Pharmaceuticals" as a relatively informal and weakly institutionalised international negotiation system. Second, we want to explain the policy positions of the participants, a heterogeneous group including member states, pharmaceutical enterprises and societal actors involved in the organisation and delivery of health care goods and services. Of special interest are the positions of the states, which we consider as determined by structural and operational features of their health care system.

With regard to the first project topic, i.e. the analytic description of the establishment of the Round Tables, we developed a theoretical framework of institutionalisation, which covers institutionalisation processes from agenda setting up to the creation of an institution. Semi-standardized interviews have been conducted with persons involved in establishing, organising and participating in the Round Tables.

With regard to the second topic, the goals of the relevant actors, especially of the EU member states, are coded from official documents and, in the case of states, derived from characteristics of their national health care systems.

6.2 Organisational Structure and the Facilitation of Argumentative Action in International Negotiation Systems

Director: Beate Kohler-Koch
 Researcher: Thomas Conzelmann, Christoph Humrich
 Duration: March 2001 to February 2003
 Status: Core

This project is a follow-up project for the research on "Production and Diffusion of Ideas in International Negotiations (PRODI)". It is part of the DFG-sponsored Research Group on "Institutionalization of International Negotiation Systems" (IINS), which in the two year period from 2001 to 2003 conducts research in its second phase. The project develops and applies a reflexive-institutionalist approach, which postulates the interdependence between institutionally-mediated ideas and the definition of interests and identities of actors in international negotiations. The ultimate objective is to build a model that singles out the circumstances under which reflexive approaches offer explanations for the institutionalization of international negotiation systems.

In the course of developing the reflexive-institutionalist approach further, three dimensions of institutionalization have been distinguished. As a first dimension, the constitution of international negotiation systems through the stabilization of interaction and the establishment of certain cognitive constructs, namely focal ideas ("Leitideen") as basis for this interaction, was at the center of concern in the first project phase. In the second phase the attention of the project shifted to a second important dimension of institutionalization: the reproduction of institutional arrangements and the evolution of the meaning of their focal ideas through processes, in which their interpretation and assertion as well as the compliance with resulting norms are negotiated. The evaluation of knowledge and norms is an important part of real world negotiation processes, and argumentation is the mode of social interaction through which this evaluation takes place. Argumentation rests upon claims of "validity" and "appropriateness" (cognition and norms) and is the mode of interaction in which focal ideas are promoted and diffused in negotiations. It therefore makes sense to ask which, and how certain organizational structures facilitate argumentative action, which helps to further stabilize and reproduce institutional arrangements. This, however begs the question, how in organizational contexts, which rather facilitate stability and reproduction, institutional flexibility can be achieved. Institutional arrangements in general have to strike a peculiar balance between stability and flexibility in order to be effective and efficient. This third dimension of institutionalization will be examined in the third phase of the project planned to begin in 2003.

Two case studies have been conducted so far. The first case-study focused on the negotiations establishing the so-called BRITE-EURAM program as the nucleus of EC Research and Technology Policy. A second case study tackled the emergence of the agenda of "good governance" in the field of EU development policy. Both case studies demonstrated, first, the relevance of ideational discourse for the emergence of feasible and durable negotiation outcomes, and, second, the importance of organizational context for the structure of these discourses. More

specifically, the latter case study showed, that the principle of good governance was successfully introduced and institutionalized in the negotiations between the EU and the ACP countries. It is however, still open to question, whether the development of a distinguished understanding of Good Governance within the EU is not only a necessary but also a sufficient condition for the stabilization of EU-internal outcomes of negotiations on development policy and the further supra-nationalization of European development policy. In the second half of the second phase, therefore, the significance of normative principles and issues specific ideas as well as focal ideas concerning the politics of international cooperation will be examined in a comparative analysis of EU and the International Labor Organization (ILO). In selected examples of ILO activities, the focal ideas, networks of central actors in the formation of political opinions and decision making, as well as patterns of communication and opportunities and measures of influence on the negotiation processes will be mapped in order to pinpoint crucial factors which account for the facilitation of consensus on and compliance with negotiated outcomes.

The case study of the ILO serves a second purpose. One of the main aims of the IINS-Research Group has been the confrontation of different theoretical approaches. Within the Research Group the effectiveness and efficiency of the ILO has already been evaluated from a legal and a public-choice perspective. From the public choice perspective, more specifically, variation in the ratification of ILO conventions has been analyzed. This analysis will be re-examined from the reflexive-institutionalist perspective of this project. It will be asked in how far differences in the focal ideas, the patterns of involved actors and communication as well as the evolution of the institutional structure influence ratification behavior and therefore the different individual patterns and variation in ratification of ILO conventions.

6.3 Stability and Flexibility in Institutionalised International Negotiation Systems

Director:	Beate Kohler-Koch
Researcher:	Christoph Humrich
Duration:	March 2003 to February 2005
Status:	Core

This project is a follow up project for the research on "Organizational Structure and the Facilitation of Argumentative Action in International Negotiation Systems". It is part of the DFG-sponsored Research Group on "Institutionalization of International Negotiation Systems" (IINS), which in the two year period from 2003 to 2005 will conduct research in its third phase, pending a decision of the DFG on funding by the end of 2002.

In the course of developing the reflexive-institutionalist approach further, three dimensions of institutionalization have been distinguished. Research in the first phase of the project was able to show, that the constitution of international negotiation systems is facilitated through the stabilization of interaction and the establishment of certain cognitive constructs, namely focal ideas ("Leitideen") as basis for this interaction. In the second phase the attention of the project

shifted to a second important dimension of institutionalization: the reproduction of institutional arrangements and the evolution of the meaning of their focal ideas through processes, in which their interpretation and assertion as well as the compliance with resulting norms are negotiated. However, the latter processes may contribute to inefficiency and ineffectiveness of the negotiation system, if they prevent necessary evolution or institutional change. An important feature of any institutional arrangement is therefore sufficient flexibility. We define flexibility as both the ability to adapt to changing environmental conditions and the reversibility of the institutional arrangement itself in order to stop or avoid unintended consequences caused by the specific institutional setting. Surprisingly little research has been done on the trade-off between stability and flexibility. Although major branches of the literature on international institutions agree that flexibility is an important feature of international institutions, so far little has been found out about which and how particular institutional arrangements provide the right balance between stability and flexibility.

In accordance with the reflexive-institutionalist approach our take on the flexibility and stability problem again emphasizes the role of ideas, the processes of their production and diffusion and the structures which enable or impede these processes. In the last instance, we believe, either the openness of an institution for the diffusion and adoption of new ideas, the ability to produce these new ideas internally, or certain characteristics of the ideas themselves determine the flexibility of a specific institution. More concretely, therefore, we concentrate our research on those characteristics of institutions and ideas which enable or impede either openness or internal production, diffusion and adoption of new ideas. Beside characteristics of the ideas itself, which relate to their content, their form and their origin, we singled out the following institutional factors, which might be decisive for flexibility: The degree of institutionalization, the form of institutional linkages, the way in which the institution is embedded in processes and structures of political opinion-formation and decision-making, the role of rules of procedure and decision-making as well as institutional actors and the different types of politics conducted in the institution (constitutional, regulative or operative) and their interaction. We try to determine the relative influence of these factors and their relation through a re-examination of the case studies of the first two project phases. The first of these case studies focused on the negotiations establishing the so-called BRITE-EURAM program as the nucleus of EC Research and Technology Policy. The re-examination here would first have to determine, whether, and if so, how, the negotiation-network was able to keep up with recent developments in the core ideas about research and technology policy. A second case study tackled the emergence of the agenda of "good governance" in the field of EU development policy. Here, the institutionalization of a new focal idea ("good governance") failed to have any larger impact on the internal EU policy coordination. It is therefore interesting to investigate the reasons for this failure. One of these reasons might be the relative openness of the concept itself and the resulting vast variety of different interpretation in different institutional contexts in which the decisive actors operate. The third case study is concerned with the ILO. In the history of the ILO there were several adaptations of the institutional arrangement and the work of the institutional actors to challenges regarding new normative ideas, effectiveness and efficiency. Research on the ILO will be

conducted in the second half of the second project phase. It will be determine then, which specific instance of ILO adaptations merits a closer look with our task in mind.

6.4 Negotiation and Institutionalization: Explaining International Institutional Choice and Comparing the Performance of Negotiations within Different Institutional Settings

Directors: Paul W. Thurner, Franz Urban Pappi
Researcher: Peter Kotzian
Duration: March 2003 to February 2005
Status: Core

The project takes up the main research questions as formulated by the research group. We will focus on the explanation of the process and the achieved degree of institutionalization of negotiation systems. Second, we compare the performance of negotiations under given institutional settings.

Relying on new institutional economics (NIE) approaches we develop an analytical framework in order to describe and explain why and how actors choose negotiations to solve public goods problems. Based on our conceptualization of international cooperation and institutionalization in general, we derive hypotheses as to the formal and informal determinants of safeguarding/overriding/expanding the formally assigned participatory, decision and controlling rights of actors as well as to the differential predictive power of axiomatic negotiation mechanisms under given preferences and institutional settings as compared with actual negotiation outcomes.

In order to test our hypotheses empirically we analyze the data on negotiation systems as collected by Pappi and collaborators in previous studies. (It is also intended to use additional available and comparable data sets on international conflict situations.) These studies focused on negotiation systems differing with regard to the negotiation constellations as well as to the institutional choices made. The data sets include standardized information on national level interministerial negotiations (Intergovernmental Conference 1996, IGC 1996), on international intergovernmental treaty negotiations (Antarctic, Law of the Sea, IGC 1996) and legislative negotiations in the EU (CAP, EU Social Policy), negotiations in multinational firms as well on loosely structured international cheap talk negotiations (Frankfort Round Tables). Hypotheses on institutional choices as well as on comparative performance will be tested by using multi-level analysis.

6.5 Comparative Health Care Systems in the European Union

Directors: Paul W. Thurner, Peter Kotzian
Researchers: Peter Kotzian
Duration: 2002 to 2003
Status: Supplementary

Relying on new institutional economics approaches, incentive-relevant organisational features of health care features will be identified which correspond to the control or absent control, respectively, of incentives for opportunistic behaviour of providers, financing organisations, political actors and patients. We expect that the simultaneous consideration of these features will allow a systematic comparison of health care institutions and policy-making and an improvement in the explanation of health care expenditures. We developed a standardized questionnaire. We aim at providing a new institutional economics inspired comparative politics perspective on health care systems, collaborating with Prof. Friedrich Breyer (Universität Konstanz).

Research Area 7: The Development of a European Regional System

Since the breakdown of the bipolar global system, Eastern Europe has been witnessing ongoing reconstruction processes ranging from the disintegration of formerly multinational states to new forms of inter-state cooperation and integration. The new architecture of the European regional system is founded on all embracing European organizations such as the OSCE, the Council of Europe, on the expansion of NATO and the EU to the East, and on the special relations which the Russian Federation has established both to these two organizations and to neighbouring countries in the CIS framework. The two extremely asymmetrical integration processes in former communist Europe divide not only former allied states and regions, but also some of the new societies into Brussels- or Moscow-oriented ones and into neutral political and societal forces which are trying to pursue a path of full nation-state independence. This creates a high potential for domestic conflicts. Integration competition within and between the former communist states around the European centers of Brussels and Moscow is moderated by common attempts to develop some elements of all-European economic and political cooperation and integration.

The core question of the research area concerns the interrelationship between domestic social and political features *inter alia* influencing the development of democratic or authoritarian government on the one hand and the quantity and quality of cooperation and integration on the nation-state and interstate level on the other.

The basic assumption is, that the close link between nation-state and interstate governance has been forcing all former communist states to adapt their economies, laws and political institutions to the standards and markets of one integration centre. In the EU-enlargement zone this has strengthened the emergence of new modes of governance aimed at efficient problem-solving beyond the nation-state. On the war-ridden Balkans, and in the East of Europe, the CIS countries have not yet been able to develop a comparable level of integration. Nevertheless in the whole region societal and political forces are trying with more or less success to strengthen the development of democracy and civil society by participation in European intergovernmental and transnational organizations, whereas countervailing forces, political parties, economic and social interest groups attempt to restrict the transformation of the political institutions to the space of the individual nation-state.

From a methodological point of view the projects are centred on studies of the activities of governments, relevant political parties, major interest groups and mass media concerning state and interstate integration or disintegration, based on specialized investigation of individual nation-states, namely Poland, the Czech and Slovak Republics, Ukraine, Russia and the South Caucasian states.

Some projects in this research area will conclude earlier studies dealing with the state- and ethnicity-based definition of a nation and its impact on national integration and state-building in Europe. The primary goal of these is to study different types of nationalism in Eastern Europe and to identify their different political, economic and social prerequisites and the implications that

these have for the cohesion of the new state-nation, the development of democracy and the conservation of various languages and cultures in the framework of polyethnic societies, without risking ethnonational violence. In some cases international governmental and nongovernmental organizations try to moderate conflicts and to assist the process of conflict regulation in order to bridge ethnonational cleavages. Two of the current projects will be finished in 2002 and 2003.

One of the important, and in a way surprising, results of the earlier projects in this field at the MZES was that state (civic) nationalism and ethnic (cultural) nationalism, which are often discussed as mutually exclusive, converge in manifold ways in Eastern Europe. This result led to the necessity for more elaborated concepts of the analysis of state- and nation-building, which will be published in 2002 and 2003.

The projects of this Research Area are linked to projects on European legitimacy and Eastern Enlargement of EU (4.5, 4.6) as well as to Project 5.4 on the training of civilian peace experts in European countries.

Projects

7.1 Authoritarian Integration or Democratic Co-operation? The Caucasus between Brussels and Moscow

Director: Egbert Jahn
Researcher: Sabine Fischer
Duration: 2002-2005
Status: Core

The Caucasus is one of those regions on the territory of the former Soviet Union in which competing integrationist offers from both Russia and Western countries and international organisations are most obvious and even translate into domestic and intrastate conflicts. The Northern Caucasus is part of Russia, but torn by separatist conflict since the collapse of the Soviet Union. The Southern Caucasian countries, Armenia, Georgia and Azerbaijan, are involved in differing structures of integration and co-operation. While Armenia is still closely connected to Russia, Georgia and Azerbaijan are both seeking closer co-operation with the West. They play an important role in Western economic as well as strategic considerations concerning the region. Furthermore, they are part of GUUAM, an organisation which is supposed to forge an international co-operation belt from Moldova to Uzbekistan.

Based on research results about co-operation and integration on the territory of the former Soviet Union we put forward the assumption that an orientation towards the West accelerates and stabilises democratisation, while orientation towards Russia influences transformation processes in a way impeding democracy. All three Caucasian states adopted democratic constitutions after the Soviet breakdown. However, their further development points to the opposite of the above-mentioned empirical results: co-operation with the West combines with authoritarian

presidentialism in Azerbaijan and to a lesser extent Georgia, while closeness to Russia at the least does not preclude the consolidation of certain democratic features in Armenia.

The project will investigate the interdependent structures of conflict and co-operation in which the Southern Caucasian countries are entangled. We will ask how these structures influence transformation processes in Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan. We will systematically compare the development of the respective political systems. The second aim of the project is to learn more about foreign policy orientations and their connections to domestic politics in the Caucasian states.

7.2 The Management of Integration Processes in the CIS and the Whole of Europe as Intended by Russian Political Actors

Director: Egbert Jahn
Researcher: Rolf Peter
Duration: 1999-2003
Status: Supplementary

The political and geographic centre of both Russia and the Community of Independent States (CIS) is in Europe, although both extend over part of the Asian continent as well. On 8 December 1991 the CIS began with what is now its core of the three Eastern Slavic states--Russia, Ukraine and Belarus. The former Soviet Republics of Moldavia, Armenia, Georgia, and Azerbaijan subsequently joined the CIS. From the point of view of Moscow, the three Baltic states Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, which hope to be admitted to EU and NATO belong to the 'near abroad' and are therefore also part of the Russian sphere of interest. The countries of the former Warsaw Pact (with the exception of the East Germany) and the southern successor states to the former Yugoslavia are also considered as areas which should not be ceded easily to Western influence. This is why Russia has been trying to establish particularly close links with these countries. The economic region of the Black Sea, for example, has successfully institutionalized South Eastern European interests at the initiative of Turkey and with the inclusion of Greece. There seems to be an overlap of integration interests in Brussels and Moscow. In addition, the competition for integration within many nations is dominated by the priority of either Western or of Eastern integration and is also the subject to the current form of integration.

Russia's attempt to become the centre of a new Eastern European network of cooperation and integration is accompanied by its attempts to become a fully accepted participant in the pan-European, Euro-Atlantic and global processes of integration. The objective of the present project is to study the intensity of efforts undertaken to achieve integration and co-operation and to analyse the accommodation of interests between these countries from 1992 to 2000. We are not studying which countries, from the Russian point of view, should belong in which network of integration or co-operation, but we rather are systematically analysing the societal functions and modes of co-operation or integration which are ascribed to the CIS and the other instruments of integration.

7.3 How Polish and Czech Political Actors Link Western Integration to Eastern Policies

Director: Egbert Jahn
Researchers: Markus Bieniek, Volker Weichsel
Duration: 1999-2003
Status: Supplementary

With their accession to NATO in March 1999 Poland and the Czech Republic attained the first of their two most important foreign policy goals. Although there is little probability of them being admitted to the European Union as full-fledged members in the near future, their negotiations for membership have been institutionalized at multiple levels. Thus these two states, together with Hungary, form a regional Eastern Central European group in the politically and socially divided area of the former COMECON states. The emergence of this group and its foreign policy orientation towards the Western European and Western European-Atlantic processes of integration may be taken for granted with hindsight, but was by no means foreseeable at the beginning of the 1990s. The Czech Republic, Poland, and Hungary may depend considerably on future enlargement decisions taken by the Western European integration structures with a view to their geographic, economic, and political implications, but the volatile foreign policy orientation of the Slovak Republic clearly emphasizes that decisions regarding integration policies are taken not only in Brussels or Moscow. The geographic location and economic structure of the Eastern Central European countries, their threat scenarios, and the economic policy planning developed by the relevant political actors also have a vital role to play.

It is only natural that the various countries display vast differences, which are to be analysed in individual projects dealing with the situations of Poland and the Czech Republic. The goal is to systematically analyse existing sources and to establish the way in which the relevant actors in the foreign policy arena perceive their countries' positions in the Euro-Atlantic system, and what they define as the political, economic, and societal characteristics of these countries. It is also interesting to see how they derive restrictions or options for activities contributing to the establishment of a future European order from this. Subsequently we will study the intended or actual functions of foreign policy in specific Eastern Central European contexts which continue to be dominated by a process of rapid transformation.

7.4 International Management of Ethnonational Conflicts in Eastern Europe

Director: Egbert Jahn
Researcher: Susan Stewart
Duration: 1999 to 2003
Status: Core

Since the demise of the Soviet Union violent conflicts triggered by ethnic nationalism have dominated the image of this political arena, while the feared interstate wars have failed to break

out. The call for an independent state or the change in borders to the benefit of an ethnic national minority is usually at the core of conflicts, for example, in Karabakh, Trans-Dniestr, Abkhasia, Chechenya, Bosnia, and Kosovo. Conflict breaks out because the central government rejects such demands. Six states in Eastern Europe have lost sovereignty over part of their territory as the result secession movements.

International organizations, for example, the United Nations and the OSCE, are active in trying to solve these conflicts and usually contribute to successful truce negotiations. The truce, however, must often be further secured over a number of years with the help of peace-keeping troops. None of the conflicts has been solved so far. In each case the issues remain unsolved that are involved in restoring *de facto* state sovereignty and enacting a change in the status under national and international law for the part of the state striving for independence. The persistent failure of these ethnic national conflicts in Eastern Europe to reach a viable solution calls for new types of conflict management to be worked out. In many cases it is difficult for international organizations to intervene when the state in question rejects any form of interference in its domestic affairs and claims international law in support of its rejection.

The beginnings of civilian and constructive conflict management provide new tools for conflict management including all levels of society along with diplomatic representatives in forging a solution to the conflict. In addition to existing conflict management mechanisms at the institutional level, for example, as examined in the Ukraine project (citizenship, political representation), it is the establishment of 'peace alliances' (networks of different groups of society interested in forging a lasting peace) that constitutes a crucial contribution to establishing and securing peace in a society. The project attempts to draw conclusions from the previous analyses of problems of nation-state building and tries to identify the tasks that international organizations can manage in seeking a peaceful solution to conflict and those that they would not be able to deal with. In addition, possible alternative approaches and their impact will be highlighted.

7.5 The Nationality Policy of Ukraine since 1989 and its Contribution to Ethnic Conflict Regulation

Director:	Egbert Jahn
Researcher:	Susan Stewart
Duration:	1999 to 2002
Status:	Supplementary

The goal of the project is to analyse the nationality policy of Ukraine since 1989 and to determine the extent to which it has contributed to managing ethnic conflicts. The analysis was carried out in three thematic areas (language policy, citizenship issues and political representation) and with regard to four groups (Russians, Crimean Tatars, Hungarians and Romanians). An empirical study which draws on Ted Robert Gurr's 1993 model regarding the mobilization and protest potential of ethnic groups is in its final phase.

The project is based on the assumption that in 1989 the potential for ethnic conflict was present in Ukraine. In a first step the basic tenets of Ukrainian nationality policy was analysed and its implementation will be investigated. For this purpose indicators were developed which allow the implementation process to be compared in four regions of Ukraine. The effects of those factors of the Gurr model which influence the protest level against the implementation of the nationality policy measures is investigated in order to reach a conclusion concerning the effects of these measures on the protest potential of the four investigated groups. In this way it should be possible to compare the ethno-political situation of the four groups at the end of the period under investigation (1998) and thereby to assess the level of conflict potential after the implementation of the measures under consideration.

The project therefore examines a specific aspect of nation-state-building in Ukraine, its nationality policy. The project results should also facilitate estimates of the prospects for success of nationality policies in other multiethnic societies.

Associated Projects of Department B

8.1 The Impact of the Comintern on the Western European Party System

Director: Hermann Weber
 Researcher: Bernhard Bayerlein
 Duration: 1999 to 2003
 Status: Associated

The German-Russian Historians Commission, founded in 1998, declared the research on the Communist International (Comintern, 1919-1943) as its main focus of research. Within this frame, the project will investigate the influence of the Comintern (and therefore of the foreign politics of the Soviet Union) on the parliamentary systems of Western Europe exercised via the communist parties ("sections" of the Comintern) in Germany and France within the period from 1924 to 1928.

The relationship toward Germany was given the highest priority within the Comintern as well as in the KPdSU. This is not only illustrated by the fact that the leaders of the German communist parties had private correspondence with Stalin. As a first result of the project we will present a selection of the Thälmann-Stalin-, Thälmann-Neumann-, Zetkin-Bucharin-, Molotov-Stalin-correspondence in 2002, which is mainly oriented on the subject of the so called "Wittorf-Affair" in 1928. The subsequent political scandal about Ernst Thälmann can now be realised as the central and decisive point and leverage for the "Stalinism" and the political and organisational alignment of German communism and the Comintern toward the Soviet Union on the presence of these internal documents.

The second step of the project will be the preparation of a documentation in 2003, which will explain the various facets and "channels" of the Comintern influence on the political system of the Weimar Republic (as well as its extent and structure) and to the wider interconnection of Soviet foreign politics. The documentation shall demonstrate the uniqueness of Soviet politics in its plurality toward Germany or France (communist parties, Comintern, Soviet foreign politics, secret services, cultural relations, Soviet domestic and economic policies. Resolutions of the KPdSU toward German affairs shall be published within this work.

8.2 Yearbook of Research on the History of Communism

Director: Hermann Weber, Egbert Jahn
 Researchers: Bernhard Bayerlein, Günter Braun, Horst Dähn, Jan Foitzik, Ulrich Mählert, Marek Jäger
 Duration: 1999 to 2004
 Status: Associated

The “Yearbook of Research on the History of Communism” is being edited at the MZES since 1993. The once established international researchers of communism, who regularly present new findings, discuss historical controversies, publish newly acquired documents and inform about important literature on this research topic, has found international appreciation. With its abstracts, essays, documentation, biographical sketches, research- and archival reports as well as book reviews and its (discussion-) forums, the yearbook has gained an increasing readership which reaches far beyond the border of the “scientific community” interested in contemporary history.

The yearbook 2003 focuses on Stalin and Stalinism, which subsequently to the archive revolution of the former Soviet Union, became a main focus for the historical, social- and cultural scientific research.

The yearbook is being published by the Aufbau-Verlag in Berlin since 2001 and includes “The International Newsletter of Communist Studies”, which is being published since 1993 as well. The Newsletter gives basic information about present projects, reports on the situation of archives, biographical updates, new publications, conferences and dates as well as interesting web sites.

Infrastructure

Introduction

The MZES infrastructure includes four areas: (i) the research archive EURODATA, (ii) the unit “European political parties and elections”, (iii) the library, and (iv) the computer department. The common task of these four areas is to support the centre’s research projects from the preparatory to the final phase. In the main, the staff of the infrastructure is doing different kind of service work, but some staff members are also integrated into projects on the research level. This chapter gives a very brief description of the four areas and their duties as well as list of the staff and their assignment to different service tasks and research projects.

The activities of EURODATA, the library and the computer department are structured through basic concepts on major principles and acquisition profiles. The activities of all areas are further specified in annual work plans.

5.1 Research Archive EURODATA

Eurodata's central task is the establishment and maintenance of an appropriate information infrastructure for the comparative research carried out in the two research departments. This is achieved through the maintenance of an information archive, a statistics library and a file archive. The archive is mainly an archive of official statistics and focuses on Western Europe, Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic and Slovakia

The information archive provides meta-information on official statistics and data resource centres, mainly through links to Internet documents and a database on core characteristics of major official surveys in Western Europe which can be queried via the Internet. It includes regularly updated information on access to official microdata for scientific purposes in Western Europe.

The statistics library comprise yearbooks, bulletins, subject matter series with a strong emphasis on social statistics, censuses of population and establishments, and methodological publications, both at the national and (though to a limited degree) subnational level.

The file archive consists of data collections of third parties (mainly statistical offices) and own data collections in fields that are relevant to the Centre’s medium-term research goals. These contributions to the establishment of European databases are achieved via participation in relevant research projects of the departments or in common research projects. Depending on content, projects are either included within the research agenda of the departments or listed separately as so-called ‘service projects’.

Staff and activities:

The staff consists of 3 scientists (full-time) and a secretary (part-time):

- Franz Kraus (head)
- Dr. Franz Rothenbacher (senior researcher)
- Jean-Marie Jungblut (researcher)
- Marianne Schneider (secretary).

Staff members have a number of *general service tasks*. These tasks include the continuous updating of the archival holdings and the information archive, the monitoring of European data infrastructure issues, the acquisition of micro data and the publication of a periodic newsletter.

In addition, they are engaged in the establishment of European databases and more analytically orientated *research*. In the past, three databases have been generated: a meta-database on official surveys in Western Europe (service project), a database on family policy in Europe, and, in cooperation with the ILO, a database on the Cost of Social Security in Europe. Two projects are still running: the “Societies of Europe” project with historical data handbooks on various topics (cf. Research Department A, supplementary project), and the service project “Comparing Regions” which aims at the provision of tools and information for the study of regional integration.

Staff members participating in research projects

The following table provides an overview of the research activities staff members are engaged in within the research departments:

Project	Staff member	Topic	Completion
The Societies of Europe (cf. suppl. project in Research Dept. A)	F. Kraus	The Labour Force in Europe, 1880-1940	2004
		The Labour Force in Europe, 1950-2000	2006
	F. Rothenbacher	The European Population, 1950-2000	2003
Social Structure, Social Security, and the Social Position of the Public-Service Sector (cf. Dept. A, Research Area 1)	F. Rothenbacher	European Models and National Case Studies	2004
Economic Change, Unequal Life-Chances and Quality of Life (cf. Research Dept. A)	J.-M. Jungblut	To be specified	

Service project (not included in the Research Programme)

Comparing Regions

Director:	Peter Flora and Franz Kraus (MZES), Jöstein Ryssevik (Norwegian Social Science Services Norway), Guido Martinotti (ADPSS, Milano)
Researchers:	Daniele Caramani (Università di Firenze), Franz Kraus (MZES), Jöstein Ryssevik and Astrid Nilsen (Norwegian Social Science Services, Jürgen Schweickart (University for Applied Sciences, Berlin), and various staff members of ADPSS
Duration:	1996 to 2003
Status:	Service project

This project aims at the establishment of tools for the visualisation of regional patterns and structures below the level of nation states. Through its historical orientation, it supports the study of modernisation and integration processes by introducing an element that is often neglected in comparative research: space.

The project has three goals: 1) establishment of a data collection on population and employment in post-war Western Europe at the sub-national level; 2) establishment of proper infrastructure for computer cartography (digitised European maps at the subnational level since the turn of the century, establishment of a classification of regions); 3) provision of proper software, based on the NSDstat package, for explorative data analysis and thematic mapping). The electronic atlas module on population and employment, planned for 2003, integrates the three components. Data collection is split across all three partners; the regional classification is the duty of Eurodata, digitising and software development is the sole duty of NSD). It is expected that additional modules can be initiated afterwards in a far extended consortium of institutes.

The project will be completed by a publication on ‘The territorial structure of Europe since late 19th Century’. The book will be part of the series ‘Europe in Comparison. A Series of Guidebooks for the Social Sciences’. It is edited by MZES and the Information Centre for Social Sciences (IZ), Bonn.

5.2 Unit “European Political Parties and Elections”

This area of the infrastructure has evolved from the former “Zentrum für Europäische Umfrageanalysen und Studien” (ZEUS). Hermann Schmitt provides service activities of a permanent nature in the area of European Political Parties and Elections and is working in a variety of research projects.

Staff:

PD Dr. Hermann Schmitt (full-time)

Permanent tasks

Among the permanent tasks are the collection and documentation of campaign-related material (e.g., party manifestos, content analyses of media broadcasts), and of electoral results, of European Parliament elections. In addition, this area collects EU-wide representative mass surveys and has been contributing to the organisation of such surveys at election time. In this way, documentary work is done in the field of

- Comparative election research
- Comparative public opinion and culture research

Research projects

Hermann Schmitt is involved in the following projects

- a. Political Leaders and Democratic Elections (cf. Dept. B, project 2.1)
- b. Comparative Analysis of Party Platforms for the European Election (cf. Dept. B, project 2.3)
- c. The French Study: Political Leaders in the Super-Election of 2002 in France (cf. Dept. B, project 2.6)
- d. Political Support and Legitimacy in the New Europe (cf. Dept. B, project 4.5)
- e. The Prospects for EU Democracy After Eastern Enlargement (cf. Dept. B, project 4.6)

5.3 Library

The library of the Mannheim Centre consists of the *Europe Library* and the *Information Archive on Textual Sources* (Quellen-Informationsarchiv, QUIA). The Europe Library is collecting literature in the field of comparative European integration research and case studies on Western and Eastern European countries. It is a public reference library, open to the researchers of the institute as well as to external readers. At the end of 2001 the collection of the library contained about 26,100 media; there are subscriptions to about 130 journals in the main library languages (German, English, French, Italian, and Spanish) and about 50 periodicals in East European languages. In addition, there is an extensive collection of working papers (about 7,000) from domestic and foreign research institutes.

QUIA as part of the MZES library is supplementing the research archive EURODATA (data files, statistics) and provides (meta-)information on textual sources for comparative research on Europe and the problems of European integration. Within this framework, QUIA has established a reference library providing information in regard to textual sources as well as organisations and institutions which produce, archive, publish and distribute appropriate texts.

Staff:

Europe Library

Sabine Weiß (Librarian, part-time)

Marlene Wormer (Librarian, part-time)

Silvia Springer (Secretary, part-time)

Helena Wozniak (Assistance, part-time)

Information Archive on Textual Sources (Quellen-Informationsarchiv, QUIA)

Dr. Günter Braun (Head, full-time – partly for research, partly for QUIA)

Hermann Schwenger (Documentalist, full-time – partly for QUIA, partly for Europe library)

Staff members working in research projects

- a. Günter Braun
Historical Data Handbook: “Trade Unions in Western Europe 1900-1945” (cf. supplementary project in Research Dept. A)
- b. Günter Braun
Directory of General Interest Groups / NGOs at European and (Selected) National Levels (cf. Dept. B, project 4.4)

5.4 Computer Department

The staff consists of 2 scientists (full-time):

Marlene Alle (Head)

Dr. Christian Melbeck

The management of the computing infrastructure and its users constitute the main activity of the department. The following lists the corresponding services.

- Administration of servers, workstations and network printers. This means for example supervising the running systems and managing user accounts.
- Network administration: Managing the network addresses, installing and configuring network software and fixing network problems (if necessary in co-operation with the computing centre of the university).
- Administration of a central backup system (file archiving, file retrieval, media management).
- Administration of the PCs and peripheral: Configuring new PCs, installing new software or upgrading new releases, support using scanner, CD-writer and other special peripheral.
- Management and development of a web server: Creating HTML pages, CGI-programming for data base retrievals.
- Intranet Management: MZES internal data and document management (file archive data in co-operation with EURODATA)
- Trouble-shooting: Diagnosing defective devices, having them repaired or ordering replacement parts and repairing them.

- Computing training: Training courses for standard software are offered.
- Literature about Software used at the MZES (small EDP-library with about 800 books).
- Installing and managing library software (TINlib, SWB, ZDB): Installing and managing user accounts for data base access, daily data base management, doing special database retrievals for orders, controls and warnings (loan), installing and managing access to the Union Catalogue of the South West German Library Consortium (SWB) (Katwin) and Union Catalogue of Serials (ZDB) (WinIBW), creation of upload files for SWB and ZDB catalogue.