2014–2017

Ninth MZES Research Programme
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Preface

Like its predecessors, the Ninth Research Programme is the result of a rigorous process of planning and quality control. Following established procedures, the Research Programme was in a first step drafted by the Executive Board in close cooperation with the principal investigators of the research projects. The present Executive Board was elected in October 2013 and started work in February 2014; it consists of:

- **Director** Prof. Dr. Frank Kalter
- **Head of Department A** Prof. Dr. Bernhard Ebbinghaus (until July 2014), Prof. Dr. Irena Kogan (since August 2014)
- **Head of Department B** Prof. Dr. Marc Debus

The Scientific Advisory Board discussed the draft programme and gave most valuable comments during its meeting on May 9–10, 2014. On October 1, 2014, the MZES Supervisory Board adopted the Ninth Research Programme in its revised, final version. Updates of the Research Programme occur on an annual basis and follow the same lines of quality control.

The Executive Board thanks all the many people who have been involved in developing this programme and whose contributions have been indispensable: the project directors and their teams of researchers for the initiatives and ideas, which are the seeds of the institute; the Advisory Board members for their invaluable commitment and the thorough as well as constructive input; the managerial and administrative staff members for supporting the whole process of development and for the final editorial work. Not least, we would like to thank the members of all former Executive Boards, who, proceeding from the First to the Eighth Research Programmes, have gradually developed the major cornerstones of this document and, over a quarter of a century of the institute’s existence, kept the MZES in excellent shape.

Mannheim, November 2014   Frank Kalter
Contents

Preface ............................................................................................................................................. 1
Contents ........................................................................................................................................... 3

1. Introduction: Research Profile and Programme Goals ................................................................. 7
   1.1 The Centre's Mission .................................................................................................................. 7
   1.2 Main Themes of the Research Programme ................................................................................. 9
   1.3 Departments and Research Areas .......................................................................................... 13
   1.4 Main Characteristics of the Research ...................................................................................... 15
   1.5 Institutional Conditions and Recent Developments ............................................................... 17
   1.6 Cooperation and Integration .................................................................................................... 19
   1.7 Goals, Challenges, and Perspectives ....................................................................................... 22

2. Structure and Organization of the MZES ..................................................................................... 28
   2.1 Structure of the MZES .............................................................................................................. 28
   2.2 Resource allocation at the MZES ............................................................................................ 29
   2.3 Organization of Research ....................................................................................................... 31
   2.3.1 Departments and Research Areas ....................................................................................... 31
   2.3.2 Project Types ....................................................................................................................... 34
   2.4 The MZES Infrastructure ........................................................................................................ 36
   2.4.1 Eurodata ............................................................................................................................. 37
   2.4.2 Library ................................................................................................................................ 38
   2.4.3 Computer Facilities .............................................................................................................. 38
   2.4.4 Public Relations .................................................................................................................. 38

3. Department A: European Societies and their Integration .............................................................. 40
   A1 Institutions of Societal Integration: Market Economies, Organisations, and Welfare States 41
   A1.1 Weathering the Crisis? Adjusting Welfare States in Eastern Europe after the Crisis of 2008 .......................................................... 45
A1.3 Developments of Social Care Services in Europe: A Cross-national Comparison of Healthcare to Long-term Care and Disability-related Services
A1.5 Retirement at Risk in an Ageing Europe: Employment Flexibilization, Pension Marketization, and Social Inequality
A1.6 The Welfare of Public Servants in European Comparison
A1.7 European Gift Economies. Explaining Philanthropic Giving in Comparative Perspective
A1.8 Civic Integration through Economic Networks
A1.9 Changing Social Partnership in Europe: Revival or Demise of Organized Capitalism?
A1.10 Bargaining and Exchange in Social Networks: Negotiation Outcomes and Structural Dynamics

A2 Dimensions of Societal Integration: Social Stratification and Social Inequalities
A2.1 Health-Related Inequalities: Historical Trends, Life Course Dynamics, and Social Contexts from a Cross-National Perspective
A2.2 The Psychological Consequences of Perceived Social Unfairness
A2.3 Social Networks and the Transition from Education to Work
A2.4 Competence Acquisition and Learning Preconditions
A2.5 The Bologna Process and Educational Inequality in Higher Education
A2.6 Social Networks in Labour Markets
A2.7 New Methods for Job and Occupation Classification
A2.8 Using Propensity Scores for Nonresponse Adjustment with Covariate Measurement Error
A2.9 Educational and Occupational Careers of Tertiary Education Drop-outs
A2.10 A Sociocultural Motives Perspective on Self-Concept and Personality

A3 Focus Groups of Societal Integration: Migration and Ethnic Minorities
A3.1 Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Survey in Four European Countries (CILS4EU)
A3.2 Preschool Education and Educational Careers among Migrant Children
A3.3 Friendship and Identity in School
A3.4 Friendship and Violence in Adolescence
A3.5 Education Acquisition with a Migration Background in the Life Course
A3.6 Competencies and Educational Choices Across Gender and Immigrant Background in Germany
A3.7 Ethnic Networks and Educational Achievement over the Life Course
A3.8 Inside Integration and Acculturation - Migrants' Life Satisfaction in Europe
A3.9 The Effect of 'Surplus' Men on Xenophobia: Panel Data from the Neue Bundesländer
A3.10 Assessing the Effectiveness of Immigration and Integration Policies in Europe and Beyond
A3.11 Educational Strategies of Muslim Minorities in Western Europe
4. Department B: European Political Systems and their Integration

B1: Conditions of Democratic Governance: Behaviour and Orientations of Citizens 77
B1.1 (GLES) Campaign Dynamics of Media Coverage and Public Opinion 80
B1.2 (GLES) Long- and Short-term Panel Studies 81
B1.3 Political Talk Culture. Interpersonal Communication about Politics in Citizens’ Everyday Lives - Its appearance, Background and Consequences in East and West Germany 82
B1.4 Cultural Pathways to Economic Self-Sufficiency and Entrepreneurship: Family Values and Youth Unemployment in Europe (CUPESE) 82
B1.5 Social Capital Oscillations in Times of Economic Crisis: The Case of European Democracies 83
B1.6 Field Experiments on Citizen Participation in Elections and Referenda 84
B1.7 Political Communication on Social Media in the Run-Up to the 2013 German Federal Election 84
B1.8 Social Media Networks and the Relationships between Citizens and Politics 85
B1.9 Attitudes on Foreign and Security Policy in the U.S. and Germany: A Comparison at the Mass and Elite Level 86
B1.10 Spatial Models of Party Competition Applied 86
B1.11 Referendum ‘Stuttgart 21’ 87
B1.12 Democracy Monitoring 87
B2: Contexts for Democratic Governance: Political Institutions 88
B2.1 Intra-party Heterogeneity and its Political Consequences in Europe 91
B2.2 Personal Campaign Strategies and Political Representation 92
B2.3 Electoral Incentives and Legislative Behaviour 92
B2.4 Going Local: Determinants of Institutional Changes of Local Government and their Implications for Political Participation and Political Decision-Making in West European Democracies 93
B2.5 Issue Salience and Legislative Responsiveness 94
B2.6 Signalling Good Governance 95
B2.7 The Personal(ized) Vote and Parliamentary Representation 95
B2.8 Looking inside the Black Box: Intra-Party Policy and Party Policy Statements 96
B2.9 Making Electoral Democracy Work 97
B2.10 The Federal Constitutional Court as a Veto Player 98
B2.11 Participation and Representation. A Comparative Study of Linkage Mechanisms between Citizens and the Political System in Contemporary Democracies (PartiRep-2)  
B2.12 Mediated Contestation in Comparative Perspective  
B2.13 Varieties of Capitalism, Partisan Politics and Labour Market Policies in OECD Member States after the Financial Crisis  
B2.14 Implementation of Constitutional Court Decisions  
B3: Democratic Multilevel Governance and Europeanization  
B3.1 Party Competition and Policy Outcomes in Multilevel Systems  
B3.2 Clarifying Responsibility in Europe: How increasing Awareness about the EU’s Influence in Policy Making Affects Attitudes to European Integration  
B3.3 The True European Voter: A Strategy for Analysing the Prospects of European Electoral Democracy that Includes the West, the South and the East of the Continent (TEV)  
B3.4 European Election Study 2014  
B3.5 New Arenas for Youth Engagement in Politics (NAYEP)  
B3.6 Public Opinion of European Societies in Change  
B3.7 Individual Responses to International Democratizing Action (IRIDA)  
B3.8 Framing Europe: Eurosceptic Cues and Citizen Attitudes  
B3.9 The European Union in International Organisations  
B3.10 EUROLOB II - Europeanization of Interest Intermediation  
B3.11 Redefining the Transatlantic Relationship and its Role in Shaping Global Governance  
B3.12 Sustainable Media Events? Production and Discursive Effects of Staged Global Political Media Events in the Area of Climate Change  
B3.13 Tax Policy in the EU in an Environment of New Fiscal Institutions and Coordination Procedures  
B3.14 The Presidency Effect. EU Member State Behaviour in the Rotating Council Presidency and its Impact on EU Decision Making  

Associated Projects  
AI.1 Welfare State Reform Support from Below: Linking Individual Attitudes and Organized Interests in Europe  
BI.1 The Domestic Foundation of Governmental Preferences Over European Politics  
BI.2 Legislative Reforms and Party Competition  
BI.3 Reform Agendas and Intra-party Programmatic Position-taking  
BI.4 "Strong" vs. "Weak" Governments and the Challenge of Economic Reforms  
BI.5 Measuring a Common Space and the Dynamics of Reform Positions  
BI.6 Citizens in the European Public Sphere: An Empirical Analysis of European Union News  
BI.7 Repression and the Escalation of Violence (RATE)
1. Introduction: Research Profile and Programme Goals

The Research Programme is the major tool for planning and coordinating research at the Mannheim Centre for European Social Research (MZES). The MZES Executive Board is collectively responsible for implementing the Research Programme, not least by allocating the Centre's resources so that they maximize the success of the research outlined. The present document is the ninth in a series of Research Programmes since the foundation of the MZES in 1989 and will cover a period of three years (2014 to 2017).

Like its predecessors, the Ninth Research Programme constitutes a mixture of continuity and change. All in all, the programme includes 73 research projects, of which 46 are carried over from the Eighth Research Programme; a pleasantly high number of 27 projects are completely new initiatives – this is more than at the start of the former Research Programme. While the details of all individual research projects are described in chapters 3 and 4, this introductory chapter outlines the major themes, the general profile and the major goals of the research programme, together with some fundamental conditions and some recent developments accounting for continuity and new accentuations; it includes the following main points:

- The Centre’s Mission (1.1)
- Main Themes of the Research Programme (1.2)
- Departments and Research Areas (1.3)
- Main Characteristics of Research (1.4)
- Institutional Conditions and Recent Developments (1.5)
- Cooperation and Integration (1.6)
- Goals, Challenges, and Perspectives (1.7)

1.1 The Centre's Mission

The central goal of the Mannheim Centre for European Social Research (MZES) is to conduct and promote social science research, focusing on the development and integration of European societies and their political systems. It is committed – as has been laid down in the MZES statutes – to "undertaking comparative European research and research into European integration and aims to combine the two". It concentrates on basic research which is planned and
prepared in the long term and which builds up cumulatively. The MZES conceives of itself as an interdisciplinary institute with a strong international orientation, emphasizing cooperative research with national and international partner institutes. The Centre has a strong analytical empirical tradition and stresses the need for adequate methods and a strictly theory-guided research. This does not mean, however, that the MZES is oriented towards an academic audience only; on the contrary, it highly values the general societal importance of its research. It avoids, however, addressing day-to-day questions in an ad-hoc manner, but emphasizes that reliable contributions to major societal challenges require scientific depth as well as endurance and need to follow the existing theoretical and empirical state of the art. This is also why the MZES appreciates research on theory-development and methods if they contribute, as necessary steps, to answering key open questions within the narrower substantive profile.

European societies and political systems have developed under diverse historical, cultural, social, and economic conditions. Understanding Europe’s social and political reality as well as its challenges and future thus requires the method of comparison, which is consequently a leading principle of MZES research. Comparative research provides the means to identify the similarities and the differences between European countries and allows convergence or divergence in social and political trends to be detected; it is also crucial to identifying the impact of different historical, contextual and institutional settings on individual behaviour, and, in general, serves as a more systematic and stricter method of testing theories.

Next to the comparative perspective, a particular interest in the ongoing processes of overall European integration is another key element of the identity of the MZES. Obviously, this aspect is intrinsically tied to the comparative study of individual societies and political systems: The political measures taken towards European integration and the construction of the European Union have to take into account the existing cross-national social, cultural, economic, and political diversity. But social and economic processes of internationalization and the overall political process of European integration forcefully impact on the development of national societies; they fundamentally change the conditions of their integration and their government by altering the structural conditions and attitudinal orientations of their citizens and the shape of existing institutions.
1.2 Main Themes of the Research Programme

The integration of the European societies and their political systems as well as the overall process of European integration face constant challenges. The research topics contained in this programme take up these challenges, and the projects collectively aim at improving social science’s knowledge about core problems of the social and political conditions and structures in Europe. They address developments and mechanisms contributing to the further integration of Europe or strains resulting from it.

European societies face multiple exogenous and endogenous challenges ranging from globalization to socio-demographic changes. Since 2008 these pressures have been further amplified by the economic crisis. European market economies are subject to international competition, global financialization, European market liberalization, and technological innovations. These changes undermine past institutional varieties of capitalism from liberal to more coordinated market economies. For instance, we might be concerned about the degree to which these market processes have an impact on the primary income distribution. In respect to labour relations between employers and employees, the deregulation of labour markets, decentralization of collective bargaining, and decline in union membership increasingly undermine the self-regulation of employment conditions. This poses the important question whether institutions of social partnership can still find public-regarding solutions and what role civil society plays in this regard. Moreover, welfare states as providers of social transfers and services face increased demand due to mass unemployment and new social risks, but also encounter fiscal and economic limits to growth. Privatization and marketization of social protection has increased in recent years, changing the public-private mix in social protection between public and private actors. The question arises about the consequences of such shifting responsibilities for the living conditions of working and retired people today and in the future. The current economic crisis provides a window of opportunity to study the impact of different institutional contexts on market economies, labour relations, civil society and social security systems and their change across Europe.

Challenges facing European societies – globalization, skill-biased technological change, pressures of international competition, flexibilization and liberalization, an ageing population, migration and the recent economic crisis – do not only affect national institutional structures (as mentioned above), but also have a substantial impact on individual life chances. Social stratification in various spheres – e.g., within the education system and the labour market – gives us an indication about the way opportunities for various social groups are distributed within a society, about the social composition of vulnerable groups and about how these groups are able to cope with life course risks and societal challenges. Education systems equip
individuals with necessary skills, qualifications and competencies for future placement on labour markets. Education-labour market linkages are responsible for either a smooth labour market integration or a turbulent employment-career start. Alongside educational qualifications, the social imbeddedness of individuals, and particularly the role of personal networks for labour market success, is at the heart of stratification research. A person’s working life chances are further affected by the individual health, whereas health risks and well-being are in turn dependent upon labour market or other inequalities. Although the focus on objective life-course chances and risks remains at the core of social stratification research, looking at subjective dimensions of inequality and perceptions of unfairness allows for a more comprehensive picture of the studied phenomena. Largely pursuing a micro-analytical strategy, MZES research in social stratification and inequality strives to establish systematic micro-macro linkages by relating developments at the individual level to their institutional determinants at the nation-state level. Based on national or cross-national cross-sectional and longitudinal data, most projects explicitly aim at disclosing the dynamics of social processes and underlying causal mechanisms.

Almost all societies have recently experienced significant immigration, partly on a massive scale. As a consequence, the ethnic, cultural and religious composition of European societies has become increasingly diverse, and the new Europeans of tomorrow will look very different from those in the past. Central debates focus on the question of how far this growing diversity constitutes a challenge for the general integration of the European societies. There seem to be many indicators that the process of the incorporation of immigrants is not going smoothly. In particular, many children of immigrants, whose fate will be crucial for the future of Europe, seem doomed to failure in core spheres like the educational system or the labour market. There is a notion of ‘parallel lives’, and a widespread concern that diversity in general undermines the social and ideological cohesion of communities. Others, however, see the growing diversity as a huge chance to overcome existing societal issues. As the topics involve a very complex mix of interests and stakes, the public discourse is highly emotionalized and politicized. This all constitutes an important challenge for the social sciences. A basic aim of MZES research is to identify the exact mechanism through which immigration and diversity can have positive or negative effects on well-defined particular outcomes, or which mechanisms might accelerate or decelerate the process of the intergenerational integration of immigrants. Employing the comparative perspective, the MZES is especially interested in the institutional conditions under which the one or the other mechanism might work or not. Next to sound theories, a basic precondition to fulfill this task is comprehensive, reliable, and truly comparative data.

Like the European societies, the political systems of European countries and of the European Union are facing challenges which vary over time in terms of their intensity and scope. These challenges do not only affect political institutions, but also the individual behaviour of citizens.
and, thus, their willingness to participate in the political process and their trust in political institutions, which act on the local, regional, national or European level. Moreover, also political institutions like parties and their representatives have to take into account the changes in European societies when they compete for votes in elections and when they formulate and implement policies in the legislative process. The Ninth Research Programme deals with these aspects of democratic governance and studies the behaviour of citizens and institutions in the political process in European multilevel systems.

The internet and the new social media like Facebook or Twitter provide new opportunities for political participation of individuals, thus strengthening the link between citizens and the political systems. MZES research incorporates these aspects when studying the development of democratic citizenship and its direct conditions in European countries. A general focus is on the individual behaviour and orientation of citizens as conditions of democratic governance. The application of theories from political sociology and political psychology as well as analyses of mass surveys and experiments will help to deliver more insights into the determinants of citizens' attitudes and their perceived role in the political process in modern democracies.

Political institutions like governments, parliaments or parties will take into account the policy preferences of citizens to increase not only their chances of getting re-elected, but also to secure the implementation of policies preferred by the majority of voters. However, political institutions are also subject to political changes because, for instance, of the increasing demand for direct democracy and thus for a stronger influence of the citizens in the process of political decision-making. MZES research therefore addresses the role and interactions of institutions as key organizations that structure the contexts and processes of democratic governance. Further, it is interested in the development of institutions like political parties, parliaments, governments and courts in European countries and in their effects on outcomes of the political process on the one hand, and on the attitudes and behaviour of citizens on the other hand. The focus is on changes in the patterns of party systems, the development of party competition, government formation and coalition politics at various levels of political systems, and the changing behaviour of individual legislators.

The financial crisis and its implications demonstrated once again that citizens and institutions are strongly affected by processes of Europeanization. Legislators, governments and further authorities at the national level are restricted in their actions by developments and decisions taken at the supranational, European level. Furthermore, an increasing degree of political authority at the supranational level of a political system can result in calls to strengthen the regional or local level, since actors operating in these spheres of a political system are assumed to be ‘closer’ to the citizens and therefore better prepared to implement their interests. The
Ninth Research Programme focuses on these and similar issues and thus concentrates on the challenges of democratic governance in developing multilevel political systems especially at the European level. On the one hand, the interest is in the impact of European integration on political decision-making and policy outputs on the European, national and regional levels. On the other hand, MZES projects deal with citizens’ perceptions of political decisions induced by aspects of multilevel governance. The Euro crisis and the ensuing decisions of EU and national governments are a case in point; analyses address citizens’ perceptions of these developments and resultant changes in attitudes to further European integration. The latter is of key importance since we need a better understanding of democratic legitimacy in times when suggestions of further steps in European integration meet substantial criticism by citizens and political parties all across the EU.

Overall, the Ninth Research Programme will further contribute to a better understanding of the European societies and their political systems through empirical research based on solid theoretical foundations. Despite much progress over the last two decades, our knowledge of the social characteristics of European societies, the functioning of many of their social institutions, and the ways in which these institutions constrain or enable individual behaviour in the various countries is still limited. While some societies, typically the affluent ones, have allowed researchers to accumulate a considerable body of knowledge, this does not hold true for Europe at large. Moreover, as most research has been conducted within nationally defined frameworks, the results are often hardly comparable. Therefore, we need comparative studies in order to know the economic, social, cultural, and political realities of the societies that are involved in the European integration process. With regard to the EU integration process itself, we need to know how it feeds back to the various arenas and levels of action within the European societies and political systems. Continuous comparative research in many areas is required to learn whether the societal developments in the various countries converge or diverge. At the same time, studies focusing on the European integration process per se are needed in order to understand the viability and repercussions of different models of integration, both at the political and at the societal level. Comparative as well as integration research shape the present MZES Research Programme.
1.3 Departments and Research Areas

In 1998 the Centre reformed its constitutional organizational structure, concentrating research in two Research Departments: Department A/ European Societies and Their Integration and Department B/ European Political Systems and Their Integration. This basic structure has proved successful and will be maintained in the Ninth Research Programme.

Within each of the Departments, research projects are further assigned to more specific Research Areas which define narrower thematic clusters. The number of Research Areas within each of the Departments and their exact layout of contents has varied between earlier Research Programmes, dependent on the specific research interests and projects of the fluctuating faculty staff. Since the Sixth Research Programme (2005 – 2008), the research of Department A has been organized into three Research Areas, and since the Seventh Research Programme (2008 – 2011), Department B also has adopted a three-pillar configuration.

The projects of the Ninth Research Programme will be arranged according to the following scheme of Research Areas:

**Department A/ European Societies and Their Integration**

- A2/ Dimensions of Societal Integration: Social Stratification and Social Inequalities
- A3/ Focus Groups of Societal Integration: Migration and Ethnic Minorities

**Department B/ European Political Systems and Their Integration**

- B1/ Conditions of Democratic Governance: Behaviour and Orientations of Citizens
- B2/ Contexts for Democratic Governance: Political Institutions
- B3/ Democratic Multilevel Governance and Europeanization

Department A addresses some of the most crucial changes and challenges the integration of European societies has been facing, particularly in recent years since the economic crisis. Topics include the comparative analysis of changing market institutions, labour relations, civil
society, and social security that are investigated from a macro-institutional and organizational perspective in Area A1. Area A2 analyses recent developments in social inequality in education, work and health from a stratification perspective in comparative and micro-level studies. It also includes social psychological perceptions of inequality and economic network analyses of job searches. Social processes that generate social inequality are studied in the educational system, the labour market, and in society in general for Germany and other European countries. Area A3 concentrates on spheres of social integration by studying specific focus groups, namely immigrants and their children, who are often at the centre of scientific and public debates on social cohesion. Many projects share an action-theoretical perspective with their explicit interest in the mechanisms and causal relationships underlying cross-national variations and trends over time. In addition, the individual life chances and interpersonal processes are also embedded in the wider societal context that is studied by projects exploring cross-national institutional variations. Thus, the macro-comparative and the micro-sociological approaches of the projects in Department A complement each other, sharing overlapping research interests. The projects of all three areas blend the continuing previous strength in research with the introduction of innovative research topics and methods. Many projects are long-term endeavours building upon past research findings, and many of these collect new elaborate longitudinal data that contribute valuably to the international research infrastructure.

In Department B, all three Research Areas are concerned with the development of democracy and governance. The three Research Areas are distinguished by their central research questions and the resulting approaches and empirical foci. Area B1 is concerned with the micro-foundations of democracy and citizenship: the orientations and modes of behaviour of citizens and the ways in which these are acquired and shaped. Area B2 is devoted to political organizations and institutions that link citizens to the making of authoritative political decisions: political parties, parliaments and governments. Areas B1 and B2 necessarily overlap to some extent. On the one hand, institutions shape the orientations of individual actors, while, on the other hand, parties and parliaments respond to citizens’ demands and strategies. Yet, in B1 the research focus is on individual citizens, while it is on political institutions and democratic organizations in B2. Area B3 is devoted to the problems of democratic governance resulting from the development of multilevel systems of governance, especially within the European Union. Area B3 shares with B2 an interest in intermediary organizations and institutions, and with B1 an interest in individual orientations, but it remains distinct in that its main focus is placed on the implications and opportunities of democratic governance in multilevel systems for both citizens and political institutions.
All in all, the established structure of the Eighth Research Programme has basically been carried forward. There are only some minor shifts in the exact cut of the Research Areas, and some labelling adjustments. So, with respect to the rough research profile of the MZES, a large continuity is assured in the Ninth Research Programme. Further details about the Research Areas in both Departments are given in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4 below.

1.4 Main Characteristics of the Research

Next to the thematic foci, the profile of MZES research is also shaped by important general characteristics. The MZES statutes 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, we conceive the following features to have top priority for MZES research:

- **Basic research**: Research at the MZES aims at scientific elucidation, aspiring to the highest quality of research possible. 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-oriented arguments.

- **Long-term perspective**: Research at the MZES is oriented towards major research questions that require continuous work over longer periods of time. Work on related research questions is organized in Research Areas. While individual research projects in each Research Area may cover a well-defined smaller territory, collectively, the various projects of the respective Research Area address core questions and, in a long-term perspective, have the potential to significantly contribute to scientific progress in that area.

- **Cooperation**: Individual researchers generally cannot carry out research of larger scope, which holds especially for the substantive domains addressed in the Centre. This requires cooperation among project groups within the Centre and, very often, with other researchers in national or international networks. Therefore the MZES explicitly privileges such network-based cooperation and welcomes the fact that many projects undertaken at the Centre form part of comprehensive networks.

- **International orientation**: Research at the MZES has a strong international orientation both in terms of contents and organization. European research is by definition internationally oriented and, as a principle, the Research Areas pursue their core questions in a
comparative perspective. While the comparison is often an explicit feature of the design of an individual project, some other projects are explicitly internationally oriented in the sense that they take over the responsibility for a single country within an overarching European comparison, e.g. in a consortium with international partners. Others contribute, with their single-country results or their data, implicitly but significantly to a latent international comparative research question or debate; quite often, these projects move to an explicit comparative perspective after an initial stage. To expand and maintain its international orientation, the Centre strongly encourages international cooperation and regularly hosts guest researchers from other countries.

**Interdisciplinary orientation:** European research at the MZES is social science research in the broadest sense of the word. It stems from an overarching set of questions pertaining to European research and not from specific pursuits of particular disciplines. It combines not only political science and sociology, but also includes economics, social psychology, and media and communication studies. Of course, not every project is characterized by all of these elements. Especially supplementary projects are usually more restricted in scope. But it is the crucial task of each Research Area to develop a set of common research topics with a clear nucleus in the field of European research collectively corresponding to the above characteristics. Each Research Area may also include projects that are less encompassing, or projects that deal with specific theoretical or methodological questions.

The broad range of research questions evidently requires different modes and methods. The variety of methods used in the MZES projects reflects the plurality of approaches that is characteristic of the social sciences and of different methodological traditions in the various disciplines. Projects 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 used. Many draw on large-scale population surveys, on administrative records, expert interviews or qualitative in-depth interviews. Others rely on qualitative or quantitative text and content analyses of media reports, party manifestos or parliamentary speeches. Still others use approaches of historical macro-sociology to understand long-term developments and path dependencies, but may also draw on micro-analytic models to explain individual action and decisions.

The MZES is clearly committed to answering research questions based on the most solid empirical evidence; thus, given the central thematic issues of the MZES Research Programme, a certain predominance of large-scale quantitative data collection and analysis, often in longitudinal and multilevel designs, has developed over time. In spite of the overall
methodological heterogeneity of approaches, this focus is, as is also perceived by the international research community, certainly a relative strength and specific profile of much MZES research.

1.5 Institutional Conditions and Recent Developments

A major characteristic that distinguishes the MZES from many other larger national and international institutes within the social sciences, and which is crucial to understanding the conditions of its functioning, is the fact that it is a university-based institute. This means, above all, that, as a rule, it recruits potential project leaders from the academic staff of the university, predominantly among professors and junior professors of the Department of Sociology and the Department of Political Science. While only a few positions that might lead to project leadership can be filled directly by the MZES itself – four Research Fellowships and some Post-doc positions –, the research profile of the MZES builds largely on the individual research interests and priorities of the professors at the School of Social Sciences. More than many other institutes, the MZES thrives on a bottom-up approach – on the idea of co-evolution rather than on intelligent design.

This peculiarity has been both a challenge and a strength for the profile of the MZES from the beginning: When the Mannheim Centre was founded in 1989 it faced the task of bringing together in one research centre, an institution that would more specifically focus on Europe, the main traditions of research done at the various chairs of the School of Social Sciences. The Centre started with a relatively small number of projects which fitted into the broader thematic scope. It has been a major task to integrate further research interests with the MZES research priorities and to develop a series of well-defined and interrelated Research Areas.

Much has been achieved in this respect during the past 25 years: Step by step, the MZES has integrated more and more of the staff at the School of Social Science and thus developed into the by far largest research institute of the University of Mannheim. It has achieved, and has been able to maintain, a first-rate position in European social and political research, repeatedly testified to by external evaluations and rankings. Over the years, the Centre has been highly successful in expanding its research activities and in attracting external funding from various national and international sources. During the Seventh and Eighth Research Programmes, the Centre received an annual average of more than 4 million Euro in third-party funding. Today more than 20 faculty members and some 70 MZES researchers are working in more than 60 larger or smaller research projects at the MZES, assisted by many student researchers who obtain training on the job to become the successor generation to the scientists presently doing
research at the MZES and elsewhere. A staff of about 15 employees assures the smooth running of administrative, computer, library, and Eurodata services that are crucial for the ongoing research.

Within the process of growth the MZES had to deal with a difficult process of generational transition, as the professors who founded and built up the MZES retired. This critical phase occurred mostly during the Sixth and Seventh Research Programmes and is now basically completed. But, as everywhere, there is still some turnover, as colleagues move elsewhere and need to be replaced; in addition, in recent years several new professorships were created. It is thus extremely important for the MZES, and highly appreciated, that the School of Social Sciences has always recruited professors in sociology and political science with a view to active participation in the MZES. As strategy in research institutions is primarily a question of staffing, the School’s support in this regard was and still is invaluable for the MZES. This is testified to by the fact that all recently appointed new professors in sociology and political science will contribute projects to the Ninth Research Programme. The MZES also profits from the appointment of numerous junior professors at the School of Social Sciences, most of whom are also contributing to the Ninth Research Programme.

However, it has been clear for some time that further growth will meet with difficulties – not because the scientific potential to expand even further is lacking, but because the ratio between the amount of grant money and the Centre’s own institutional resource base is becoming increasingly precarious. The last change in its institutional budget occurred in 2006, and it was a cut (in fact, the third since 2003). Since then the Centre has seen a massive increase in its third-party funded research activities, but it has been forced to manage this expansion with a basically unchanged resource base. For the coming years, the level of basic funding is still largely unclear, making long-term research investments and planning more difficult. In this situation it is reassuring to the institute and its researchers that the university leadership clearly values the Centre as an important institution of the University of Mannheim and has repeatedly expressed its appreciation of the Centre’s research. The high general support of the university is also expressed by the fact that recent tensions and constraints with respect to office space could be somewhat reduced and the former decentralization of the institute could be mitigated by the assignment of new office space in the core MZES building (A5).
1.6 Cooperation and Integration

Research of the scope and content of research carried out at the MZES necessitates intensive cooperation inside the MZES and with research groups and colleagues outside the MZES, both nationally and internationally. Research on numerous national societies and political systems requires country-specific expertise and experience, and hence often calls for international cooperation. Likewise, specific projects may require factual knowledge and theoretical and methodological specialization and expertise that often are not held by one and the same researcher. From its beginnings the facilitation of and support for international cooperation and exchange has been one of the most valuable contributions of the MZES.

Within the Centre, cooperation is highly advanced and developed. Working on common topics within Research Areas and with researchers at the School of Social Sciences has historically led to strong cooperation in shaping clear clusters of research interests. The regular department colloquia and occasional workshops involving all Research Areas provide forums for exchange between the projects within each of the Departments. As compared to earlier times, the Research Areas are now less closely related to individual professors but aimed at cooperation between colleagues, and a number of projects involve researchers from different areas.

While the staff at the Departments of Sociology and Political Science at the School of Social Sciences builds the main fundament for project initiatives, the MZES carefully tries to widen its disciplinary scope and seeks to integrate partners from other Departments and other Schools of the University of Mannheim who do research on topics that fit well into the thematic profile of the Research Areas. The Ninth Research Programme contains core projects that are directed by colleagues from Social Psychology (School of Social Sciences), Economics (School of Law and Economics), and Media and Communication Studies (School of Humanities).

The MZES is an institutional partner of the Graduate School for Economic and Social Sciences (GESS) at the University of Mannheim, which received grants in the first and second rounds of the Excellence Initiative by the German federal and state governments to promote top-level research. As one of the three units of GESS, the School of Social Sciences has set up the Center for Doctoral Studies in Social and Behavioral Sciences (CDSS), which provides doctoral programmes in psychology, political science, and sociology. The MZES offers training workshops in cooperation with the Graduate School not only to CDSS doctoral students, but also to all MZES researchers. The MZES also provides specific funding for some students with dissertation plans that fit into the Centre's research agenda. Most importantly, however, the close link between the two institutions is established through the fact that many doctoral
students at the CDSS, usually after a first year of course training, become researchers in MZES projects in a second phase of their training. In this phase, they are funded by one of the projects of the Research Programme and thus develop their PhD theses in close relation to the major research lines in the MZES. The CDSS is hence the first and most important recruitment pool when MZES project leaders are looking for research assistance to develop project proposals or to conduct projects that have already received funding; the MZES, on the other hand, is a first-rate chance for CDSS students to get directly involved into leading international research activities.

Besides its close links with the School of Social Sciences, the MZES contributes to various other research endeavours within the University of Mannheim and cooperates with other Mannheim-based research institutes outside the university. Several MZES researchers participate in the DFG Collaborative Research Centre (SFB 884) “Political Economy of Reforms” at the University of Mannheim, established in 2010, and now funded for a second phase until the end 2017 (with the possibility of a subsequent third and last phase). This SFB includes researchers from the School of Social Sciences and from the Economics Department of the University of Mannheim as well as academic staff from the MZES and other research institutes (e.g., ZEW, GESIS). Those of its projects that connect to the MZES Research Programme are included in the Research Programme as associated projects.

Over many years the MZES has maintained close contacts to and cooperative exchanges with GESIS, the Leibniz Centre for Social Sciences, respectively one of its antecessors, the Mannheim-based Centre for Survey Research and Methodology (ZUMA). As the School of Social Sciences has strengthened its institutionalized links with GESIS, the ties between the MZES and GESIS have also intensified. Leading staff of GESIS were jointly appointed as Scientific Directors of GESIS and professors of the Mannheim School of Social Sciences, thus fostering cooperative research activities connecting GESIS and the MZES. There is also a notable staff exchange between both institutes, as researchers from one institute continue their careers at the other one. GESIS is an explicit collaboration partner in some important MZES projects (e.g. ESS, CILS4EU, European Election Study), in one case even an institutionalized project partner (GLES). The increased collaboration of both institutes is proved not least by the fact that in the current Ninth Research Programme two of the Scientific Directors of GESIS, Christof Wolf and Oliver Arránz-Becker, are engaged as project leaders of a MZES core project (see project A2.1 in Chapter 3).

As international cooperation is absolutely vital to the European research agenda of the MZES and as it is the Centre’s ambition to reach the international edge of research, past and current efforts to cooperate internationally have always been at the top of the priorities for the Centre.
The international presence and the participation in EU-level programmes are also highly appreciated by the University of Mannheim and the Minister of Science, Research and Art of the State of Baden-Württemberg. It is safe to say that in the 25 years of its existence the MZES has developed into a significant player in European political science and sociological research, as the work conducted at the MZES generally transcends national borders. Mannheim has become a place of intense academic exchange within Germany and internationally. The MZES can look back at many successful initiatives to develop extensive national and international research networks that were launched in recent years, with several of them continuing into the Ninth Research Programme:

- the “Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Survey in Four European Countries (CILS4EU)”; funded by NORFACE, the DFG and other national funding agencies;
- the EU and DFG-financed “European Social Survey (ESS)”;
- the EU Network “Cultural Pathways to Economic Self-Sufficiency and Entrepreneurship: Family Values and Youth Unemployment in Europe (CUPESSE);”
- the EU Network “Redefining the Transatlantic Relationship and its Role in Shaping Global Governance (TRANSWORLD);”
- the COST-financed network “The True European Voter: A Strategy For Analysing the Prospects of European Electoral Democracy That Includes the West, the South and the East of the Continent (TEV);”
- the European Election Study (EES) 2014 that will be financed by a consortium of various European funding agencies;
- the project “Making Electoral Democracies Work” focusing on a comparison of four European countries and Canada, financed by the Canadian Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council.

The Centre plans to implement measures to improve its potential for participation in EU network programmes even further, and over the next few years, similar activities shall be added to replace past initiatives that have come to their planned end. In addition to the explicit international networks, in the German social sciences, and in science policy more generally, the value of large-scale research infrastructure programmes, which are also of wider importance for the international research community, is increasingly acknowledged, and the MZES is taking part, and will continue to do so, in several of the activities which respond to this new development. At present, the MZES is coordinating or is involved in the following data infrastructure research networks as a major partner:
the DFG-financed “German Longitudinal Election Study (GLES)”; the National Educational Panel Study (NEPS), coordinated at the new Leibniz Institute for Educational Trajectories (LifBi), Bamberg.

In order to stimulate further exchange and collaboration and to open the MZES to colleagues from other institutes, the MZES can appoint External Fellowships, allowing it to invite outstanding national and international experts to repeatedly stay 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 fields of research. The MZES has also established a tradition of regularly inviting internationally renowned experts to participate in the Centre’s work for a limited period of time. With the Guest Professors Programme the Centre will continuously improve the conditions for international cooperation and the promotion of comparative research.

Other routes to strengthen contacts that are regularly used include organizing short stays abroad, supporting staff participating in Summer Schools, and, most frequently, taking part in international conferences. Moreover, the MZES is an institutional member of the European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR), the European Consortium for Sociological Research (ECSR), the Council for European Studies, and the ASI (Arbeitsgemeinschaft sozialwissenschaftlicher Institute). Through its research and worldwide cooperation and exchange the MZES has achieved a well-recognized position in the German and international landscape of social science and European research. In the coming years we will aim at further consolidating the international position of the Mannheim Centre.

1.7 Goals, Challenges, and Perspectives

During the past Research Programmes the MZES has successfully worked towards general and essential long-term goals that continue to be of overarching strategic importance:

- consolidating the high level of research quality and productivity;
- cementing the Centre’s international position in social research;
- cultivating and extending the cooperation with national and international partners;
- intensifying the integration and research cooperation on the local and in-house level;
- fostering the inclusion and career chances of young scholars in all of these processes.

With the start of the Ninth Research Programme the implementation of these goals meets some specific current perspectives and challenges.
The most obvious challenge to maintaining and extending the research quality and productivity of the MZES is the unclear financial situation with respect to the basic institutional funding in the years to come. As has been mentioned above, the growing disproportion between the number of grants and the amount of basic institutional funding has increasingly become a managerial problem for the MZES anyway. With the year 2014, the so-called ‘Solidarity Pact II’ between the State of Baden-Württemberg and its universities, which assured the MZES at least stability in nominal terms, will come to an end. Negotiations about a new pact are underway, but face the State of Baden-Württemberg in a period in which it has to prepare for impending constraints resulting from the fiscal pact. At the same time, the expenses of the universities, e.g. with respect to utilities, have tremendously increased, and an increase in financing to maintain the current level of activities would be urgently needed. While the actual direct means of the MZES to participate in the negotiating process are limited, the former Executive Board has done what it could to demonstrate and communicate the scientific and substantive importance of the MZES research to the relevant actors; there are many signals that the value of the institute is very highly appreciated. In the Ninth Research Programme the current Executive Board will continue to present the MZES and to cooperatively support the University of Mannheim in the negotiations wherever possible.

A further challenge to maintaining the current level of research might be less obvious, but becomes clearly visible if one looks closer at the developments over the last years. The growth of the MZES in figures has been – considerably, albeit not only – driven by a relatively small number of very large projects, such as the ESS, GLES, EES, PAIRFAM, CILS4EU, and most recently CUPESSE. Thus, the MZES has well proved itself equipped for a certain trend in the landscape of research opportunities to go towards funding of large-scale projects in cooperation with many partners. However, this source of success is at the same time a source of potential vulnerability. This could be witnessed during the Eighth Research Programme in the MZES, as the move of Josef Brüderl to Munich meant that Department A lost its share of PAIRFAM and thus a considerable part of its periodic third-party funding and research staff. The potential risks of the development become even more dramatically visible if one looks at the year 2013, the last year of the Eighth Research Programme. In terms of absolute third-party funding received, 2013 was the most successful year of the MZES ever, with more than 6.3 million Euros. However, the success is almost completely due to one single project, namely the CUPESSE project, which received funding of almost exactly 5 million Euros. If it would not have been for CUPESSE, 2013 would have been among the less successful years in terms of third-party funding in the last decade.

The most important lesson to be learned from these facts is certainly that the amount of third-party funding is only a limited indicator of the research quality of an institute. Further, it has long
been visible that the MZES' funding figures follow somewhat cyclic patterns reflecting the cycles of the Research Programme and that, if at all, one had better look at the development over a longer span and at the respective averages. But the vulnerability due to a dramatically increasing variance in the scope and financial volume of individual research projects is an issue that adds to this and potentially amplifies or covers the basic trends. It is also important to note that the structural changes in the landscape of funding opportunities do not always meet the comparative advantages of the MZES: Quite often large funding programmes come with tight deadlines, which somewhat contradicts the general MZES philosophy of long-term planning and in-depth preparation of projects. Not to speak of the fact that some funding is dependent on criteria other than scientific quality.

In the light of these developments, one of the main strategies in the Ninth Research Programme will be (to encourage the researchers) not to be overly strategic but to stay the course. Looking back, the success of the MZES in getting the above-mentioned large research grants was never the result of an explicit interest in getting large research grants and hastily looking for themes and partners; rather, they were the consequence of research ideas that had matured over a long time in close networks of cooperation, which were often seeded in former smaller-scale MZES projects: once the funding opportunity arrived, these ideas and networks could then be easily employed – sometimes the ideas and networks were even so strong that they were able to create new funding opportunities for themselves.

The only strategy in the narrower sense for the MZES is a certain diversification of risk. Next to the heterogeneity in the scope of the projects, recent years have also shown that there is a certain danger that the MZES might become too dependent on some individual researchers who run a number of projects in parallel. An important goal of the Ninth Research Programme therefore is to divide the MZES research more equally among more shoulders. The new Executive Board is therefore extremely pleased about the fact that the Ninth Research Programme starts with 27 new project initiatives; they involve 20 different colleagues, 13 of whom are new in Mannheim or new at the MZES. Moreover, 11 new external project leaders and cooperation partners add their expertise. Together, they provide the Research Areas not only with new names and project titles, but also with fresh impulses which are likely to strengthen the research carried out so far in many important respects.

In the Department of Sociology of the university’s School of Social Sciences, Frauke Kreuter has assumed office at the Chair of Statistics and Methods of Social Research. She started to develop projects for the MZES Research Programme even before her arrival in Mannheim. Oliver Arranz Becker is also a new contributor to the MZES Research Programme. He started his engagement as the new Junior Professor for Sociology of Education and Family. Though he
moved to become a professor at GESIS and the University of Cologne in the meantime, he will continue to develop his project at the MZES as an External Fellow. During the last Research Programme, two junior professors who had contributed projects to the MZES, left Mannheim to accept full professorships at other universities: Michael Gebel in Oldenburg und Clemens Kroneberg in Cologne, with the latter still leading his project in Mannheim.

In the Department of Political Science, all new professors have started or plan to start new projects at the MZES. These projects will not only strengthen, but will also widen the research profile of the Mannheim Centre. Harald Schoen has accepted the offer for the Chair of Political Psychology and Nikolay Marinov was appointed as Junior Professor for Empirical Democracy Research in 2013. As both plan to start new projects at the MZES, the Mannheim Centre will gain expertise in experimental research in political science. Nicole Baerg, who is the Junior Professor for International Organisations since April 2014, will start a project which combines aspects of the comparative analysis of political institutions with research questions from international political economy. Also Annelies Blom, who started working as Junior Professor for Survey Research at the School of Social Sciences in 2012, will start a new project at the MZES. Thorsten Faas, who left the University of Mannheim to accept a chair at the University of Mainz, has continued to lead his projects at the MZES.

The research fellows play an increasingly important role in initiating and coordinating research and other activities. Currently, the institute has four research fellows - Sarah Carol (PhD Humboldt University Berlin) and Nicole Tieben (PhD Radbout University Nijmegen) in Department A, Shaun Bevan (PhD Pennsylvania State University) and Yannis Theocharis (PhD University College London) in Department B. Shaun Bevan will, however, leave the MZES in the end of 2014 since he accepted an offer from the University of Edinburgh for a lecturer position in Quantitative Political Science. The process for hiring a promising young researcher in political science has already started in summer 2014. The research fellows get contracts of up to five years; the incumbents of these positions reliably contribute to the institute’s grant income. Beside these senior positions, the MZES also has postdoc fellows, who get two-year contracts and who then apply for grant money to extend their contracts. Currently, the MZES has five postdoc fellows – Sebastian Koos (PhD University of Mannheim) and Martin Neugebauer (PhD University of Mannheim) in Department A, Thomas Däubler (PhD Trinity College Dublin), Galina Zapryanova (PhD University of Pittsburgh), and Anne Wetzel (PhD University of Zurich) in Department B. Anne Wetzel has already secured an extension of her contract with grant money from the university’s equal opportunities office. Like Shaun Bevan, many fellows leave the MZES well before the end of their contracts; as a rule, they continue their ongoing MZES projects as External Fellows. The former research fellow Dirk Hofäcker accepted a chair at the University of Duisburg-Essen in 2013; his colleague Jale Tosun took up a junior professorship
at the University of Heidelberg in 2013; and the research fellow Jan Drahokoupil took up a senior position at the European Trade Union Institute in Brussels. The former postdoc fellow Richard Traunmüller accepted an offer for a lecturer position at the University of Essex and is now Junior Professor for Empirical Democracy Research at the University of Frankfurt.

The MZES aims at promoting a vibrant intellectual exchange among its researchers, between senior and junior scholars, between political scientists and sociologists and the neighbouring disciplines involved. Each Research Department runs a regular seminar to which all members of the Centre are invited. These seminars serve as forums for the presentation and discussion of the research conducted at the MZES, and for the presentation of related or generally relevant research by guests from other universities and research institutes, both national and international. The colloquia of Department A and B are also obligatory for second- and third-year CDSS doctoral candidates in sociology and political science, respectively, thereby further linking the CDSS with the MZES. In addition, there are in-house meetings of young scholars from the MZES and the School of Social Sciences organized by the postdoc fellows in both Departments. Moreover, the MZES organizes a series of public guest lectures that are of interest to a broad social science community and improve inter-departmental exchange. In addition to these regular events, the MZES organizes activities that bring together researchers from different projects, Research Areas, and Research Departments.

A specific emphasis has always been on the promotion of doctoral students. Since the founding of the Graduate School’s social science centre (CDSS), doctoral workshops on methodology or seminars in sociology or political science are organized in collaboration with the CDSS at the MZES, bringing together young scholars from the MZES, the CDSS, and the School of Social Sciences. These activities formalize the longstanding practice of method-oriented workshops at the MZES. Not only do researchers get credit as part of their PhD programme for taking part in CDSS doctoral courses; the contribution of professors to CDSS courses is also counted toward their teaching load. The MZES employs over 70 student research assistants at times who receive practical experience and on-the-job-training in conducting empirical research. Over the last years, the School of Social Sciences has expanded its graduate programme in addition to the well-established three-year BA programmes in political science and sociology. The Master in Political Science and the Master in Sociology are both research-oriented and thus very well suited for the recruitment of student research assistants. Several of the master students may continue their education in the Graduate School programme to obtain a PhD.

Thus far the MZES has contributed considerably to the support of doctoral candidates at the School of Social Sciences, and about 40 doctoral students are currently working as researchers in MZES projects. Once the supervisors, usually two professors at the School, have accepted
the proposals of their doctoral theses, these MZES researchers are formally included in the School of Social Sciences list of doctoral candidates. Many of them are recruited from and integrated into the CDSS doctoral programme and complete their thesis with a PhD.

Following a successful doctoral grant programme for young scholars who wanted to write their dissertation in close connection to one of the existing MZES Research Areas or research projects, the MZES has developed a programme which is adapted to include the new context of PhD training provided by the Graduate School. Since 2009 it supports CDSS doctoral candidates who work on a thesis project in line with the MZES Research Programme during their second and third years of doctoral studies. The MZES Executive Board selects the doctoral fellows from CDSS doctoral students based on dissertation proposals and recommendations by their mentors. Also with regard to this programme the MZES follows its well-proven principle to support only projects of high scientific promise for which external funds are unavailable. Thus the MZES strengthens its links to the CDSS and helps to promote research there.

In recent years the MZES has developed postdoc programmes. Both research fellows and postdocs are assigned their own budgets; the Centre thus gives substantial independence to young researchers. The research fellows have not only gained an important role in initiating research projects, but also contribute to teaching at the School of Social Sciences (in exchange for the moderate reduction of the teaching load of the members of its Executive Board) and provide guidance to younger scholars within the Centre. An award to provide funding for conferences organized by MZES postdoc researchers is an additional instrument of the Centre to promote the research activities of early-career scientists; past conferences have been very fruitful. Overall, especially the Research Fellow Programme itself has proven to be a clear success, confirmed by the fact that several research fellows have been offered very attractive positions, some of them full professorships. The postdoc programme is also increasingly attracting interesting applications; the whole programme, however, is still under evaluation, and during the Ninth Research Programme the Executive Board will specifically check whether the general distinction between the two programmes is still adequate given the current demand and supply structure in the post-doc market.

All in all, the MZES has always been a springboard for academic careers and will continue to be one. As a consequence, it must deal continuously with a considerable turnover among its younger researchers, requiring special measures to integrate new researchers. At the same time it has to maintain links to those who left the institute to continue their career elsewhere.
2. Structure and Organization of the MZES

In this section we briefly describe the following aspects of the structure and the organization of research at the MZES:

- Structure of the MZES
- Resource allocation at the MZES
- Organization of research
- The MZES Infrastructure

2.1 Structure of the MZES

The Mannheimer Zentrum für Europäische Sozialforschung (MZES) is an interdisciplinary research institute of the University of Mannheim with close connections to the School of Social Sciences. The Centre is directed by the Executive Board, consisting of three members: the Director and the heads of the Centre’s two Departments A and B, all of whom are professors at the University of Mannheim. The Executive Board prepares the three-year Research Programme and takes the major decisions concerning the direction of the Centre. The Director, with the support of the Managing Director, prepares and implements the decisions of other bodies and is the official supervisor of the personnel financed by MZES resources. The Managing Director primarily oversees the infrastructure and the MZES administration.

The Supervisory Board (Kollegium) represents professors at the School of Social Sciences and other departments of the university as well as MZES researchers and staff; it elects the Executive Board for a three-year period. The Supervisory Board also adopts the Research Programme and decides the broad guidelines for the yearly budget as well as the long-term directives for the development of the MZES. The Scientific Advisory Board (Wissenschaftlicher Beirat), composed of internationally outstanding scholars, reviews the Research Programme and provides advice on individual projects.
2.2 Resource allocation at the MZES

In its capacity as a research institute of the University of Mannheim, the MZES receives a budget of its own as part of the State of Baden-Württemberg’s financial commitment for the University of Mannheim. In 2014, the MZES resources included about 25 full-time positions. In addition, the MZES budget has an annual volume of 471,000 Euro for additional personnel and other expenses. While the situation seems to be stable through to 2014, nothing can be said yet about the subsequent development.

The personnel resources are used for the managerial, administrative, and infrastructural support (Eurodata, Library, Computing, Public Relations), on the one hand, and for research development, on the other hand. The research positions comprise four basic types: Each of the two departments has two Research Fellow positions (with a respective contract length of up to five years), aimed at outstanding postdocs who have already gathered significant research experience after their PhD; their major task is to develop grant proposals for larger research projects, which are of crucial importance for the Research Areas. In addition there are postdoc positions, which aim at fresh postdocs in the phase immediately after their PhD; they receive a two-year contract, mainly with the aim to develop research ideas and a grant proposal to finance their own position for an additional three-year period through third-party money. The number of these positions varies according to the medium-term financial leeway of the MZES.
The MZES also finances doctoral students of the CDSS in their second and third years; the respective programme is announced annually. Finally, the bulk of the MZES’ personnel resources is used for researchers in a phase of initial funding for the projects in the Research Programme; project leaders can apply for either a twelve-month half-time position or a six-month full-time position for a researcher to assist them in writing a grant proposal; the position can usually also be further financed in the bridging period until the final funding decision is made.

Next to the MZES staff, the second major personnel resource for the MZES is the academic staff of the School of Social Sciences of the University of Mannheim, consisting of more than 20 researchers, in particular the professors of sociology and political science. They represent the core of the Centre’s leading scientists who take responsibility for developing the MZES Research Areas, designing and directing specific research projects, acquiring funds, and doing research. Increasingly, younger scientists at the School of Social Sciences – members of the growing group of recently appointed junior professors, but also other advanced researchers with faculty positions – also assume responsibility for initiating and directing research projects. This cooperation between the MZES and a large part of the School of Social Sciences is absolutely vital for the MZES, as the Centre itself does not have the resources required to employ the necessary scientific capacities. The renewal and growth of the School of Social Sciences thus also has important effects on the development of the MZES.

While the basic budget of the MZES mainly covers its administrative and infrastructural costs and the costs of research development, the actual research within projects, and thus that of most of the researchers at the MZES, is as a rule financed by external research funding institutions. The large majority of specific research activities is financed through external grants from national and international funding agencies, in particular the German Research Foundation (DFG), Volkswagen Foundation (VolkswagenStiftung), Fritz Thyssen Foundation (Fritz Thyssen Stiftung für Wissenschaftsförderung), the Baden-Württemberg Stiftung, and EU research funds. Over the last three years (2011-2013) the MZES acquired 12.8 million Euro (or 4.3 million Euro per year on average) in such external research grants.

The highly successful track record of MZES applications for third-party funding in competitive grant programmes is due not least to the substantial support the projects receive during the planning stage and application process. As a rule, only those core projects can draw substantially on MZES resources (including research staff) in their preparatory phase that have passed the Scientific Advisory Board and will be evaluated by external peer review. After the preparatory phase, the MZES will further support projects only if they have been successful in mobilizing external funds. Thus, by employing its own resources, the MZES mainly provides an
excellent infrastructure for research and supports the preparation of research projects that aim to acquire external funds. The MZES considers this self-commitment to external evaluation and funding an extremely valuable mechanism to achieve high-quality research. The projects’ passing the test of peer review and winning external funds is the MZES’ main instrument of quality control.

2.3 Organization of Research

Research undertaken by the MZES focuses on two main fields: European societies and European political systems. This distinction largely parallels the organizational set-up of the MZES with its two Departments A and B. The present Research Programme follows this structure and – like the previous programme – concentrates research in each of the Departments in several more-specific Research Areas, each of which comprises several research projects. According to their role for the Research Programme, projects in the Research Areas are classified as either core or supplementary projects; the projects of the MZES postdoc fellows further contribute to the Areas’ agenda. Next to these project types within Research Areas, there are supplementary dissertation projects and associated projects within both departments.

2.3.1 Departments and Research Areas

The two Research Departments constitute the organizational units and define the two main fields of research at the MZES. Consistent with their main orientation towards the study of European societies and European political systems, they are mainly rooted in either sociological or political science approaches to the study of Europe and its integration. So far, the Departments are clearly defined by their disciplinary base, but interdisciplinary cooperation and exchange are growing and will be strongly encouraged in the Ninth Research Programme.

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

The Research Areas represent the major research topics pursued at the MZES in a mid-term or long-term perspective. In general these extend over more than one planning period.
## Department A: European Societies and their Integration

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<tr>
<td><strong>A1.1 Drahokoupil</strong> Weathering the Crisis? Adjusting Welfare States in Eastern Europe after the Crisis of 2008</td>
<td><strong>A2.1 Arránz Becker, Wolf</strong> Health-Related Inequalities: Historical Trends, Life Course Dynamics, and Social Contexts</td>
<td><strong>A3.1 Kalter, Kogan et al.</strong> Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Survey in Four European Countries (CILS4EU)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>A1.2 Hofäcker</strong> Determinants of Retirement Decisions in Europe and the United States</td>
<td><strong>A2.2 Bless</strong> The Psychological Consequences of Perceived Social Unfairness</td>
<td><strong>A3.2 Esser, Becker</strong> Preschool Education and Educational Opportunities among Migrant Children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>A1.3 Bahle, Wengt</strong> Developments of Social Care Services in Europe: A Cross-national Comparison</td>
<td><strong>A2.3 Kogan, Roth</strong> Social Networks and the Transition from Education to Work</td>
<td><strong>A3.3 Kalter</strong> Friendship and Identity in School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>A1.4 Bahle, Ebbinghaus</strong> Dualization or Individualization of Social Risks in Crisis-ridden Europe?</td>
<td><strong>A2.4 Kogan et al.</strong> Competence Acquisition and Learning Preconditions</td>
<td><strong>A3.4 Kroneberg</strong> Friendship and Violence in Adolescence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>A1.5 Ebbinghaus, Hofäcker</strong> Retirement at Risk in an Ageing Europe</td>
<td><strong>A2.5 Neugebauer</strong> The Bologna Process and Educational Inequality in Higher Education</td>
<td><strong>A3.5 Kalter et al.</strong> Education Acquisition with a Migration Background in the Life Course</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>A1.6 Rothenbacher</strong> The Welfare of Public Servants in European Comparison</td>
<td><strong>A2.6 Weber</strong> Social Networks in Labour Markets</td>
<td><strong>A3.6 Kogan</strong> Competencies and Educational Choices Across Gender and Immigrant Background in Germany</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>A1.7 Koos</strong> European Gift Economies. Explaining Philanthropic Giving in Comparative Perspective</td>
<td><strong>A2.7 Kreuter</strong> New Methods for Job and Occupation Classification</td>
<td><strong>A3.7 Kalter</strong> Ethnic Networks and Educational Achievement over the Life Course</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>A1.8 Hillmann</strong> Civic Integration through Economic Networks</td>
<td><strong>A2.8 Kreuter, Stuart</strong> Using Propensity Scores for Nonresponse Adjustment with Covariate Measurement Error</td>
<td><strong>A3.8 Kogan</strong> Inside Integration and Acculturation - Migrants’ Life Satisfaction in Europe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>A1.9 Weishaupt</strong> Changing Social Partnership in Europe: Revival or Demise of Organized Capitalism?</td>
<td><strong>A2.9 Tieben</strong> Educational and Occupational Careers of Tertiary Education Drop-outs</td>
<td><strong>A3.9 Gautschi, Hangartner</strong> The Effect of ‘Surplus’ Men on Xenophobia: Panel Data from the Neue Bundesländer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>A1.10 Gautschi</strong> Bargaining and Exchange in Social Networks</td>
<td><strong>A2.10 Gebauer</strong> A Sociocultural Motives Perspective on Self-Concept and Personality</td>
<td><strong>A3.10 Kogan</strong> Assessing the Effectiveness of Immigration and Integration Policies in Europe and Beyond</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td><strong>A3.11 Carol</strong> Educational Strategies of Muslim Minorities in Western Europe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td><strong>A3.12 Hillmann, Gathmann</strong> Occupational Licensing – Between Professional Closure and Labour Market Integration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td><strong>A3.13 Granato</strong> Ethnic Inequality in Educational Attainment and Selective Migration</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Core projects are highlighted in grey.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>B1 Conditions of Democratic Governance: Behaviour and Orientations of Citizens</th>
<th>B2 Contexts for Democratic Governance: Political Institutions</th>
<th>B3 Democratic Multilevel Governance and Europeanization</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B1.2 Rattinger, Schoen (GLES) Long- and Short-term Panel Studies</td>
<td>B2.2 Schmitt et al. Personal Campaign Strategies and Political Representation</td>
<td>B3.2 Carey Clarifying Responsibility in Europe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B1.3 Schmitt-Beck Political Talk Culture</td>
<td>B2.3 Bräuninger Electoral Incentives and Legislative Behaviour</td>
<td>B3.3 Schmitt The True European Voter (TEV)</td>
</tr>
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<td>B1.4 Tosun Cultural Pathways to Economic Self-Sufficiency and Entrepreneurship (CUPESSE)</td>
<td>B2.4 Debus Going Local: Determinants of Institutional Changes of Local Government</td>
<td>B3.4 Schmitt, Wüst European Election Study 2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B1.5 van Deth, Hörisch, Theocharis Social Capital Oscillations in Times of Economic Crisis</td>
<td>B2.5 Gschwend, Stiefelhagen Issue Salience and Legislative Responsiveness</td>
<td>B3.5 Theocharis New Arenas for Youth Engagement in Politics (NAYEP)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B1.6 Huber Field Experiments on Citizen Participation in Elections</td>
<td>B2.6 Baerg Signalling Good Governance</td>
<td>B3.6 Blom, König Public Opinion of European Societies in Change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B1.7 Schoen, Fischbach Political Communication on Social Media in the Run-Up to the 2013 German Election</td>
<td>B2.7 Däubler The Personal(ized) Vote and Parliamentary Representation</td>
<td>B3.7 Marinov Individual Responses to International Democratizing Action (IRIDA)</td>
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<tr>
<td>B1.8 Theocharis Social Media Networks and the Relationships between Citizens and Politics</td>
<td>B2.8 Greene Looking inside the Black Box: Intra-Party Policy and Party Policy Statements</td>
<td>B3.8 Zapryanova Framing Europe: Eurosceptic Cues and Citizen Attitudes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B1.9 Rattinger, Schoen Attitudes on Foreign and Security Policy in the U.S. and Germany</td>
<td>B2.9 Gschwend Making Electoral Democracy Work</td>
<td>B3.9 Wetzel The European Union in International Organisations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B1.10 Pappi, Bräuninger Spatial Models of Party Competition Applied</td>
<td>B2.10 Gschwend, Hönnige The Federal Constitutional Court as a Veto Player</td>
<td>B3.10 Kohler-Koch, Quittkat EUROLOB II - Europeanization of Interest Intermediation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B1.11 Faas, Schmitt-Beck Referendum 'Stuttgart 21'</td>
<td>B2.11 van Deth Participation and Representation</td>
<td>B3.11 Rattinger Redefining the Transatlantic Relationship and its Role in Shaping Global Governance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B1.12 van Deth, Schmitt-Beck, Faas Democracy Monitoring</td>
<td>B2.12 Wessler Mediated Contestation in Comparative Perspective</td>
<td>B3.12 Wessler Sustainable Media Events?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.3.2 Project Types

Currently, research within the MZES is organized in five different types of projects:

- Core projects
- Supplementary projects
- Postdoc projects
- Dissertation projects
- Associated projects

Core projects are those projects which are especially important for the overarching research aims in the Research Areas. The core projects collectively and comprehensively contribute to the major issues in a comparative European or European integration perspective, thus closely corresponding to the central mission of the Mannheim Centre. Therefore, they have top priority with respect to the allocation of the Centre’s major resources. Most importantly, core projects receive initial support in terms of research assistance (seed money) to carefully prepare the planned research and to develop a proposal for third-party funding. They also receive full infrastructural and secretarial assistance, and they can apply, under specified conditions, for additional funds to cover student research assistance, travel expenses, editing costs, etc.

Supplementary projects also examine research topics related to and important for a Research Area. However, they do not directly address a 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. They may also deal with methodological or theoretical sub-questions which are likely to increase the substantive knowledge in the Research Area in the middle run. Supplementary projects can also receive initial staff funding, and they frequently do. However, they have to stand back behind the core projects in times of scarcity. And, like core projects, they are supported in terms of materials, funds for student research assistance, and the use of the infrastructural resources of the MZES.

Postdoc projects are the individual projects of the postdoc fellows of the MZES. As outlined above, they ideally move from a two-year phase of funding by the MZES into a subsequent three-year phase of external funding. These projects also cover topics that are clearly related to specific Research Areas, and the fact that they fit into one of the Areas is an important criterion for selecting the postdocs. MZES Postdocs have their own budget to cover student assistance, travel expenses, etc. They receive full infrastructural and secretarial support.
Dissertation projects listed in the Research Programme are the individual projects of those PhD students who are funded via the MZES doctoral programme. Dissertation projects that are pursued within third-party funded (core or supplementary) projects, i.e. the vast majority of all running dissertation projects at the MZES, are not listed in the Research Programme.

Associated projects are concerned with issues that are not covered by existing Research Areas, but can be assigned to Research Departments. The incorporation of such projects is intended to enrich the overall range of the Centre and to open new opportunities for further international cooperation. These projects receive very little support beyond the use of infrastructural resources. Among others, the Ninth Research Programme lists several projects of the SFB 884 “Political Economy of Reforms” as associated projects.

The specific characteristics of the various types of projects (core, supplementary, postdoc, dissertation, associated) reflect the relevance of these projects for fulfilling the central task of the Mannheim Centre. In order to achieve a higher level of integration, resources of the MZES are considered to constitute relevant incentives. 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 instrument 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 summarized as follows (associated projects are not listed as they do not receive MZES support beyond infrastructural assistance):
## Relations with central research goals:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MZES funds and other support:</th>
<th>Core Projects</th>
<th>Supplementary Projects</th>
<th>Postdoc &amp; Dissertation Projects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Initial funding</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Possible</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Research assistants</td>
<td>Possible*</td>
<td>Possible*</td>
<td>Possible*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infrastructure:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Library</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Computers</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eurodata</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travel expenses, materials etc.</td>
<td>Possible*</td>
<td>Possible*</td>
<td>Possible*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secretariat support</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manuscript editing</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Offices</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Possible</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Available only for externally funded projects if no further external funding is possible.

### 2.4 The MZES Infrastructure

The MZES infrastructure comprises the research support unit Eurodata, the computer division, the library (including the statistics library), and a unit for public relations. The infrastructure primarily supports and promotes European research conducted at the MZES by collecting, providing, and updating various types of information, by offering services with regard to the collection, management and analysis of specific types of data relevant for research at the MZES, by providing access to and further updating of computer facilities at the Centre, and by creating and maintaining interfaces between scientists and the general public. The Managing Director is responsible for the daily operations of the infrastructure.

The MZES infrastructure has to be developed according to the needs of research done at the Centre. Infrastructural services are often best when those in charge of them are also involved in research activities. Therefore the Centre encourages the infrastructure staff with academic...
training to participate in research projects (with up to 50% of their time). Such projects need to be included in one of the Centre’s Research Areas.

### 2.4.1 Eurodata

Over the past years Eurodata has developed from a research archive into a data and methods support unit. Based on a four-pillar structure designed and implemented during the Seventh Research Programme, it aims at supporting current and planned MZES projects with in-house expertise on the gathering, processing, analysing and storing of data used in the projects of the two Research Departments. Experienced specialists in different types of data sources and methodologies facilitate access to and provide information on how to use and analyse the respective data for the researchers using them in their projects. Eurodata's purpose is to increase the Centre's research capacity through the provision of specialized expertise and support with regard to various kinds of data. The Eurodata unit consists of four sub-units:

I) **Socio-economic indicators and statistics library**: administration of the European social statistics periodicals and handbooks as part of the MZES research library; support for access to macro-level socio-economic indicators from international organizations and scientific use files; compilation and updating of comparative data handbook series.

II) **European and national social surveys / panels**: acquisition and management of micro-level data sources, in particular European (or international) as well as national survey or panel datasets relevant to the main research clusters and ongoing research projects; development of competency in, support of and training in micro-level data collection and analysis of ongoing core research projects, and monitoring of international trends in microdata access policies.

III) **Governments and legislation databases**: support for access to scientific databases and official text-based data sources on government composition, parliamentary decisions, and legislative output at both national and EU levels; development of competency in, support of and training in data collection, management and analysis of actors-related and textual data for ongoing core research projects.

IV) **European parties and elections (EU and national)**: support for access to scientific databases and official databases covering national and European parliament elections, political parties and their (election) manifestos; development of competences, support of and training in data collection, management and analysis of electoral and textual data for ongoing core research projects.

The establishment, further development, and maintenance of Eurodata are subject to the medium-term research planning of the Centre and are therefore oriented towards its research activities.
2.4.2 Library

Since February 2007, the MZES Library has been located on the first floor of the three library floors in A5, thus pooling several resources (including the front desk) and the journal collection with the social science branch of the university library. These libraries are now open nearly around the clock for seven days a week; thus, not only MZES researchers and faculty members, but also students and external visitors have access to MZES library holdings at more convenient hours. The MZES Library comprises the Europe Library and the Statistics Library. The Europe Library collects literature and information on textual sources in the field of comparative European integration research and on individual European countries. The Statistics Library collects official statistics from European countries, some reference countries, and from international organizations as well as censuses. The entire MZES collection has been integrated into the Online Catalogue of the Southwestern German Library Network (Südwestdeutscher Bibliotheksverbund Baden-Württemberg, Saarland, Sachsen: SWB). The library holdings can be accessed online using the online catalogue of the University of Mannheim. By the end of 2013 the library's holdings amounted to more than 40,000 books and other media, and it held subscriptions to 110 journals and yearbooks.

2.4.3 Computer Facilities

Efficient facilities for data analysis, for information access, for the preparation of publications, for administrative routines, and for modern communication require the 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 and the maintenance of the computer systems at the Centre (provision and maintenance of server services, of the in-house network, of individual computer workplaces, and of internet access) are the most essential tasks fulfilled by the computer department. Good technical solutions for documentation and library services and an informative and up-to-date presentation of the Centre and its products on a web server are other demanding tasks for the computer department. The last comprehensive renewal of the Centre's computer hardware was undertaken in 2011, financed jointly by the Centre and by the University of Mannheim. The next renewal will be due in 2015. Software is regularly updated when important revisions or new programmes that are crucial for the Centre's work become available.

2.4.4 Public Relations

In modern "media societies" the view has become commonplace that visibility to the general public is a vital requirement not only for political, social or business organizations, but also for
scientific institutions such as the MZES. All of the Centre's activities are based on public funding, and so the institute must show itself accountable to the general public by constantly providing information on what use it makes of its funds, and what rewards are gained from this in terms of scientific insights. Over the last few years, the MZES has thus intensified its efforts to make the Centre and its results better known not only in the scientific community, but also among political decision-makers and to the wider public in the Mannheim region, as well as at a national level and internationally. The Centre has created the position of a public relations officer to serve as an interface between its researchers and the legitimate interests of the public in profiting from its accumulated knowledge and understanding of recent developments in European societies and politics. In addition, public events are regularly organized that reach out to a general public and may involve several Research Areas and projects from both Departments. As a consequence, public awareness of the Centre has substantially improved during the past years, and journalists highly appreciate the expertise of its members.
3. Department A: European Societies and their Integration

The integration of European societies faces global challenges as well as socio-demographic changes. Research Department A has focused from the beginning on the development of market economies and welfare states, on social inequalities shaped by education and labour market institutions, and on social integration in ethnically heterogeneous societies. The new research programme continues the comparative analysis of living conditions and life chances in Europe from sociological, socio-psychological and economic perspectives. The Ninth Research Programme, while acknowledging the continued challenges due to ongoing globalization and Europeanization, considers in particular the more recent repercussions of the economic crisis since 2008 that has not only altered individual societal risks, but also accelerated pressures on institutions to reform. Our research investigates the consequences of international migration, demographic changes and an increasingly heterogeneous population. It seeks to combine the sociological understanding of long-term processes and cross-national institutional diversity with the analysis of current socio-demographic challenges to the integration of European societies. Analytically and empirically the Research Programme aims at integrating macro-level institutional and micro-level actor-centred perspectives; it also seeks to detect the social processes and mechanisms underlying cross-national, time-related and social group differences.

Research Department A consists of three Research Areas:

A1/ Institutions of Societal Integration: Market Economies, Organisations, and Welfare States
A2/ Dimensions of Societal Integration: Social Stratification and Social Inequalities
A3/ Focus Groups of Societal Integration: Migration and Ethnic Minorities

Research Area A1 studies the cross-national varieties and dynamic changes of the institutional structures and actor networks of market economies, organizations and welfare states in Europe that constitute crucial macro-contexts and meso-level processes of societal integration. Research in A1 thus combines comparative analyses of market economies, labour relations, civil society and welfare state policies as well as actor-centred network, organizational and experimental studies.

Research Area A2 addresses social stratification and inequality, particularly by studying the educational system and labour market, but also extending the analysis of social inequality to socio-cultural characteristics, attitudes and other non-economic aspects, like health. It thus
conjoins key open questions and methods from social stratification research, labour market economics, attitudinal research, and life-course analysis.

Research Area A3 focuses on immigrants and their children who provide an especially telling litmus test for the integrative power of societies. It studies recent patterns and processes of incorporation in education systems and labour markets, but also extends our understanding of social and cultural aspects of integration.

Although research in Department A adopts various theoretical and methodological approaches, a common concern is the better integration of sociological theory and empirical research. The comparative analysis of macro-level institutions and changing societal processes informs micro-level analysis of individual decisions and life chances, the action-oriented analysis of individual decisions, and collective action problems, which in turn contribute to the understanding of macro-level social processes. In addition to the sociological perspectives present in all Research Areas, several new projects integrate researchers within and outside the School of Social Sciences from a wider disciplinary background, in particular survey methodology, social psychology and economics. Importantly, many overlapping and mutually stimulating research interests exist between the three Research Areas. A series of projects in Department A compile or collect new elaborate large-scale, often longitudinal, data to give appropriate empirical answers to key open questions. Some projects are embedded into wider national or international research initiatives.

A1 Institutions of Societal Integration: Market Economies, Organisations, and Welfare States

Modern market economies and advanced welfare states are under global and socio-economic pressures to change, and the recent economic crisis has added the need for further welfare state reforms. Although these challenges seem relatively similar for all modern economies, historically evolved welfare regimes, state-society relations and market systems vary considerably across European and other OECD countries. The nexus between market and non-market institutions, between production and protection systems, is at the centre of this Research Area’s analytical and substantial focus. The theoretical starting point is the view that social action is embedded in specific social and institutional contexts that structure opportunities and constraints. Coordination, information, and influence capacities are shaped by networks, relating individual and corporate actors. Furthermore, institutional change in market economies and welfare states is partially dependent on societal support by collective actors and individuals,
while affecting the social relations and conditions on which they are based. Finally, these institutional differences and changes in welfare state and market economies entail immediate and long-term consequences for the life chances of individuals, social groups, and families.

Research Area A1 combines projects that investigate market processes and public non-market interventions in a comparative perspective, often using both macro-institutional and micro-level data. One major fundamental question is the social and civic support for market economic activities and for welfare state policies that alter market processes. A connected second major topic is the analysis of the conditions for and process of welfare state reform and marketization. Finally, the research agenda also includes a concern for the consequences of changing production and protection systems for the life chances and social relations in Europe and other advanced economies.

Several funded projects from the Eighth Research Programme will continue their research efforts. A comparative project on Eastern European transition economies (A1.1) studies the development of welfare states, in particular pension reform in the economic crisis since 2008. A further project (A1.8) studies the importance of social networks in economic activities from a comparative historical perspective. In addition, a project on transition to retirement (A1.2), formerly in Research Area A2, will become part of A1 due to its close link with research on welfare states. Further, a supplementary project on the reform of social protection in the public sector will also continue (A1.6).

Six new projects in A1 will complement and advance its long-term research agenda. Three projects continue the welfare state research cluster, the comparative analysis of social protection and their impact on life chances. One project combines an analysis of the social protection function of collective bargaining and social policies during the current crisis (A1.4). Another project analyses the “Development of Social Care Services” (A1.3) by comparing healthcare with long-term care and disability-related services. A third project continues past research on pension privatization and marketization by analysing its impact on current and future retirement income, given past and ongoing labour market flexibilization (A1.5). These three planned projects are comparative institutional analyses that will also use micro-level data to develop outcome measures for social risk protection. Hence, some projects in A1 also have a connection to the labour market processes and the social inequality topics studied in Area A2, but they focus more on the question of how institutional variations and changes affect individual life chances in respect to social risks.

Three further projects contribute to a second cluster of research by addressing the role of corporate or individual actors and their relations. A project on “European Gift Economies” (A1.7)
analyses philanthropic giving (money, volunteering, blood giving, and organ donation) by focusing on organizational structures and individual motivations. One project on “Changing Social Partnership in Europe” (A1.9) will study whether corporatist labour relations between employers and trade unions have played a role in coping with the current economic crisis in Germany and other European economies. Furthermore, a project using experimental research will explore bargaining and exchange processes in social networks (A1.10); these insights will also be relevant for understanding collective bargaining practices. This cluster of research is thus contributing to the study of market economies and organizations, also looking partly at the public-regarding aspects of labour relations or civil society.
## List of A1 Projects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Director(s)</th>
<th>Duration</th>
<th>Status</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>A1.1</strong> Weathering the Crisis? Adjusting Welfare States in Eastern Europe after the Crisis of 2008</td>
<td>Drahokoupil</td>
<td>2009-2015</td>
<td>core</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>A1.3</strong> Developments of Social Care Services in Europe: A Cross-national Comparison of Healthcare to Long-term Care and Disability-related Services</td>
<td>Bahle, Wendt</td>
<td>2015-2018</td>
<td>core (new)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>A1.5</strong> Retirement at Risk in an Ageing Europe: Employment Flexibilization, Pension Marketization, and Social Inequality</td>
<td>Ebbinghaus, Hofäcker</td>
<td>2015-2018</td>
<td>core (new)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>A1.6</strong> The Welfare of Public Servants in European Comparison</td>
<td>Rothenbacher</td>
<td>2011-2018</td>
<td>supplementary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>A1.7</strong> European Gift Economies. Explaining Philanthropic Giving in Comparative Perspective</td>
<td>Koos</td>
<td>2015-2018</td>
<td>postdoc (new)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>A1.8</strong> Civic Integration through Economic Networks</td>
<td>Hillmann</td>
<td>2011-2015</td>
<td>core</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>A1.9</strong> Changing Social Partnership in Europe</td>
<td>Weishaupt</td>
<td>2014-2018</td>
<td>core (new)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A1.1 Weathering the Crisis? Adjusting Welfare States in Eastern Europe after the Crisis of 2008

**Director(s)/** Jan Drahokoupil  
**Researcher(s)/** Dragos Adascalitei, Stefan Domonkos  
**Duration/** 2009 to 2015  
**Status/** Ongoing / Core

This project focuses on the key features of capitalist diversity in Eastern Europe: the differences in the systems of social protection and their political and economic determinants. In particular, it investigates the welfare-state adjustments that followed the crisis of 2008. The main research question is: How have the welfare regimes in Eastern Europe responded to the economic crisis and what explains variations in welfare state adjustments? The diverse impacts of the crisis have confirmed that the post-communist transformations have led neither to a convergence towards one of the European models nor to a rise of a single ‘post-communist capitalism’. Existing research has shown large differences between country groups both in economic structures and in social provision. The differences in production systems and the worlds of welfare appear to be linked, constituting distinct varieties of welfare capitalism. What remains to be understood is what explains the apparent coupling of economic and welfare-state structures. The crisis of 2008 has been followed by attempts at welfare reforms. These might change our understanding of the differences between country groups in Eastern Europe. At the same time, the processes of adjustment allow identifying the political and economic constraints and opportunities that condition the variety of welfare states in the individual countries. Going beyond the political economy of transition, this study employs a framework that draws on the conceptual frameworks developed in the study of advanced capitalist countries to understand the political and economic factors conditioning the welfare state outcomes in Eastern Europe.

Director(s)/ Dirk Hofäcker
Researcher(s)/ Moritz Heß, Stefanie König
Duration/ 2012 to 2016
Status/ Ongoing / Core

Up until the late-1990s, European labour markets were characterised by early employment exits of senior workers well before official retirement ages; a trend increasingly considered unsustainable in times of demographic ageing. However, despite recent policy reforms to prolong working life – often summarised under the concept of ‘active ageing’ – older workers’ employment has increased only moderately and their labour market integration remains deficient.

One obstacle for raising old-age employment has been a limited understanding of older workers’ employment vs. retirement decisions and of the different ‘drivers’ that influence them. Against this background, the project will analyse older workers’ retirement decisions and their complex set of determinants in 11 European countries, Japan and the U.S. In a first phase, nation-specific case-studies will reconstruct relevant ‘framework conditions’ of older workers’ retirement decisions, considering macro- (e.g. nation-state policies) and meso-level factors (e.g. workplace practices). Given these framework conditions, a second phase will focus on the empirical investigation of retirement decisions. For this phase, most recent data (SHARE/SHARELIFE/LFS) will be used to contrast possible changes in the timing and voluntariness of retirement decisions as well as its determinants before and after the political shift from ‘early exit’ to ‘active ageing’.
A1.3 Developments of Social Care Services in Europe: A Cross-national Comparison of Healthcare to Long-term Care and Disability-related Services

**Director(s)/** Thomas Bahle, Claus Wendt  
**Duration/** 2015 to 2018  
**Status/** Planned / Core

Social care services have developed differently in European welfare states both in institutional and quantitative terms. This project investigates in a cross-national and longitudinal perspective which institutional factors have fostered (or hampered) the growth of social care services and how the differences between countries and fields can be explained. The project compares long-term care and disability-related social services to healthcare, because the developments in the three fields are partly interdependent. The three fields are similar in functional terms, but developments and institutional boundaries between them vary cross-nationally. The project asks in particular whether these differences are due to variations in market-formation processes (including public regulation and financing), provider structures (public, non-profit or for-profit agencies) and professionalization forms and levels. The analytical focus is on the interdependencies over time between the three fields in these three dimensions. This perspective complements existing research that focuses mainly on individual social care service fields, on cross-sectional comparison and on demand-side factors for growth.

The project studies two main questions:

1. Which institutional factors have fostered (or hampered) the development of social care services in Europe?
2. What has been the impact of different processes of market-formation, different provider structures and forms and levels of professionalization on these developments?

Director(s)/ Thomas Bahle, Bernhard Ebbinghaus
Duration/ 2015 to 2018
Status/ Planned / Core

The income situation of social risk groups is shaped by collective bargaining and social security. The project studies how the protection of social risks in the labour relations and social policy arenas has evolved during the recent economic crisis. It seeks to evaluate whether there is a tendency towards a dualization of social risks due to a divergence in the protection of labour market insiders and outsiders or an individualization of risks due to lower social protection and higher uncertainty for everyone. The project aims at identifying these major trends in the two main interrelated arenas of social risk protection: the regulation of market incomes via collective bargaining and the secondary income distribution through social transfers (and taxation). In particular, the project analyses whether the economic crisis since 2008 has intensified or modified these trends, and whether particular regimes have been more or less affected. The focus is on the protective status and income situation of risk groups compared to persons in standard employment and low-risk households. The project compares Germany with other European countries with varying labour relations and social security systems.

The project studies three main questions: (1) What is the dominant development in social risk protection in European welfare states: is it a trend towards dualization, individualization or minimum income guarantees? (2) How do collective bargaining and social security systems interact in the protection of social risk groups? (3) What has been the impact of the post-2008 crisis on these developments?
Insecurities and uncertainties arising from labour market flexibilization and pension marketization are major challenges to ageing societies in Europe as these processes can intensify greater heterogeneity of retirement transitions and social inequalities in old age income. Increasingly, flexibilization leads to interrupted careers, non-standard employment, and incomplete pension coverage. Moreover, pension reforms towards marketization make old age income more dependent upon previous employment, contribution records and returns on investment. This comparative project analyses the social consequences of these developments over the last two and future two decades, investigating the changes in retirement expectations, transitions and income. From a sociological perspective, it focuses on social risk groups vulnerable to the hazards of non-standard employment (atypical jobs, low wages) and non-employment. From a political economic perspective it studies the impact of pension marketization on old age income insecurity in times of financial market uncertainty. The project specifically addresses social risks dimensions of cohort, gender, partnership, disability, and migrant status. Cross-national and longitudinal analyses examine employment, pension and old age income development in European countries. The project innovatively combines a retrospective analysis of employment trajectories and pension reforms, cross-sectional studies of individual retirement expectations and transitions, and a prospective simulation of future retirement income. By studying general and country-specific social risk groups, the analysis identifies those most likely disadvantaged in old age. Analysing best practices, it contributes to policy debates on reconciling flexibility and security.

Major challenges to the future of welfare states in ageing societies arise from the social consequences of labour market flexibilization and the marketization of retirement income. In comparative longitudinal analyses, this project will study how the interaction of employment flexibilization and pension marketization affects the retirement of vulnerable social risk groups with non-standard careers across Europe. It explores the fundamental question: to what degree does employment flexibilization and the marketization of pensions affect retirement expectations, transitions from work to retirement, and the income situation of pensioners? The project combines macro-sociological and micro-level survey analyses in a comparative and longitudinal approach.
A1.6 The Welfare of Public Servants in European Comparison

**Director(s)**/ Franz Rothenbacher  
**Duration**/ 2011 to 2018  
**Status**/ In preparation / Supplementary

The major aim of the project is to examine the welfare state arrangements of public servants in several European countries, their prerequisites and their effects. In the centre of the project are the institutions of social protection for public servants and their necessary adaptations to the changing environment. External pressures, such as the public employment expansion and subsequent state financial crises, the demographic ageing, among others, are analysed in relation to changes in the institutions of social protection for public servants. The extent of public employment and the structure of social protection strongly influence the objective living conditions and the quality of life of public servants. The project will investigate the effects of these adaptations in public employment and of these reforms of social protection for public employees on their social situation.

Two different ways are used for data collection and analysis: *first*, detailed and standardized country studies for the South and North European countries. These two groups of countries were chosen because they are *most different* and represent the *two extremes* with respect to their national public services. Such in-depth country studies are needed in order to hermeneutically ‘understand’ the historical development of the institutions of social protection for public servants and the legal position of public servants. Both factors are supposed to exert a strong influence on their living conditions. *Second*, comparative analyses for the whole of the European Union using large-scale social surveys (such as the EU Labour Force Survey (EULFS), ECHP, and the EU-SILC) with a view to the objective living conditions (income, pensions, working time, etc.).
A1.7 European Gift Economies. Explaining Philanthropic Giving in Comparative Perspective  

**Director(s)/** Sebastian Koos  
**Duration/** 2014 to 2018  
**Status/** In preparation / Postdoc

Adopting a comparative perspective, this research project focuses on the explanation of different types of philanthropic giving in Europe. Starting from large country differences in the giving of money, volunteering or the donation of human blood and organs, as well as the strong individualistic bias of existing research on altruism, the project seeks to arrive at a better explanation of philanthropic behaviour by focusing on different levels of analysis (individual, organizational and institutional) in the donation of low-cost (money and human blood) and high-cost pro-social goods (volunteering and organs). Analytically, the project combines an actor-centred approach with institutional and organizational theories. For the empirical analyses, surveys on the giving of money, time and blood, actual organ and blood donation data from Eurotransplant and the Red Cross will be complemented by institutional and organizational data.

A1.8 Civic Integration through Economic Networks  

**Director(s)/** Henning Hillmann  
**Duration/** 2011 to 2015  
**Status/** In preparation / Core

What are the social relational foundations that support the integration of divided communities and societies? Divided societies suffer from conflicts between opposing interest groups that compete for valuable resources and political influence. Conflicts typically arise from existing ethnic, regional, religious and similar boundaries that separate groups from each other. Extant research has shown that such conflicts lead to lasting political fragmentation, which in turn creates obstacles to economic development and growth. In this project we seek to identify (a) what type and (b) what patterns of social relationships are best suited to facilitate the bridging of political fragmentation. The main question we pursue is to what extent continuous relationships (e.g. economic networks) offer a more effective source of civic integration than relationships created from multiple categorical groups (e.g. crosscutting ethnic and regional networks). Empirically, we combine network simulations and a comparative analysis of longitudinal network data from salient historical settings (Britain, France, Russia) to advance the basic theoretical
A1.9 Changing Social Partnership in Europe: Revival or Demise of Organized Capitalism?

**Director(s)/**  J. Timo Weishaupt

**Researcher(s)/**  Mario Daum

**Duration/**  2014 to 2018

**Status/**  In preparation / Core

Labour relations in Germany and several other European countries have been marked by longstanding social partnership. This, however, has been challenged in recent decades with uncertain consequences for political economies and organized interests. Accordingly, this project seeks to disentangle analytical and political debates about the viability of organized capitalism. First, the project explores the question if, and if so how and why, the recent economic crisis has altered Germany’s labour relations and the social partners’ relations with the government. Second, it analyses the cross-national variation in the involvement of the social partners in governmental crisis politics in Europe, and it also investigates the subsequent effects on policy contents and organized interests for selected countries. Both project parts rely on an innovative mix of research methods and generate valuable empirical findings that will contribute to evaluating debates on institutional and organizational change of labour relations and welfare states.

A1.10 Bargaining and Exchange in Social Networks: Negotiation Outcomes and Structural Dynamics

**Director(s)/**  Thomas Gautschi

**Researcher(s)/**  Felix Bader

**Duration/**  2014 to 2018

**Status/**  In preparation / Supplementary

For about two decades, exchange theories have explained exchange outcomes as the result of bilateral bargaining on the distribution of a perfectly divisible surplus (e.g., money). The theories
explain how the structural positions in the bargaining network affect the exchange outcomes between adjacent actors. Power inequalities due to different structural positions thus manifest themselves in the negotiated distributions of exchange profits and, at least partly, in the actual trading patterns between connected actors. The focus on the structure only, however, is unsatisfactory, either from a theoretical point of view, but also if the focus is on understanding and explaining real world negotiation outcomes (e.g., wage bargaining, division of gains from joint-ventures). The project aims to identify those properties a sufficiently general theory of exchange networks should have. It studies, using experimental as well as non-experimental data, the effect of structural, normative, individual, and situational factors on exchange outcomes and the long-term dynamics of negotiation networks.

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**A2 Dimensions of Societal Integration: Social Stratification and Social Inequalities**

Research Area A2 focuses on the main processes in social stratification and their implications for social inequality across European societies. As in the past, the study of more or less differentiated education systems and more or less regulated labour markets in structuring life chances is at the core of the research agenda. Taken together, education systems and labour markets shape the way in which social positions and life chances are distributed within a society and mediate the degree to which specific social groups are being exposed to life course risks. They thus inherently affect the nature and dynamics of social inequality in Europe.

Education systems equip individuals with the necessary skills, qualifications, and competencies for future placement on national labour markets as well as the associated living standards, well-being, and income positions. Two projects looking at education systems will continue in Area A2. One core project investigates the mechanisms how teachers actually influence inequalities in the development of the competencies of children (Project A2.4). A further postdoc project that applied for a second phase will look at the educational and occupational careers of those not finishing their tertiary education (A2.9). A new postdoc project will investigate the consequences of the Bologna Process in higher education on the social mobility chances of graduates in Germany in comparison with other countries (A2.5). Another project will study the impact of social networks on the transition from education to work in Germany with NEPS panel data (A2.3).
A second cluster of research has focused on labour market processes in respect to social inequalities. One project will take an economic perspective on the role of social networks in the job searching process, extending the sociological network analysis of labour markets (A2.6). Two supplementary projects on survey methodological issues are pertinent for labour market research. In particular, one project on new methods of job and occupation classification (A2.7) has high relevance for individual surveys studying employment careers. Also, the second project on propensity scores of nonresponse adjustment (A2.8) will be an important contribution to labour market research in general.

A third, new cluster of research in A2 extends the analysis of social inequality by studying the phenomena in other life spheres (health) or in respect to attitudes, perceptions, and sociocultural dimensions. One new project will study health inequalities by combining comparative cross-national, longitudinal trend and dynamic life-course perspectives on the causes of social inequality in health (A2.1). From a social psychology perspective, another project will analyse the psychological consequences of perceived social unfairness with the help of comparative cross-cultural survey data and experimental research (A2.2). Applying a psychological perspective, an additional project (A2.10) looks closely at the notions of self-concept and personality as predictors of important life outcomes, focusing in particular on cross-national differences in these relations.

Research projects frequently follow a micro-analytical strategy, building on individual-level data in order to identify causal mechanisms at the individual level. Based on national or cross-national panel data sets, most projects explicitly take a longitudinal perspective in order to disclose the underlying social processes. At the same time, the research projects establish systematic micro-macro linkages by relating developments at the individual level to its institutional determinants at the nation-state level. The explicit cross-national comparative approach, taken up by a number of projects, additionally allows studying the differential effects of institutional arrangements on life course and labour market transitions. The continued and new projects thus aim to disentangle how life courses and social inequalities are affected by changing educational systems, labour markets, and other societal conditions.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Director(s)</th>
<th>Duration</th>
<th>Status</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A2.1 Health Inequalities: Long-term Trends, Life Course Dynamics, and Social Contexts in a Comparative Perspective</td>
<td>Arránz Becker, Wolf</td>
<td>2014-2018</td>
<td>core (new)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A2.2 The Psychological Consequences of Perceived Social Unfairness</td>
<td>Bless</td>
<td>2014-2017</td>
<td>core (new)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A2.3 Social Networks and the Transition from Education to Work</td>
<td>Kogan, Roth</td>
<td>2015-2018</td>
<td>supplementary (new)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A2.4 Competence Acquisition and Learning Preconditions</td>
<td>Kogan</td>
<td>2011-2015</td>
<td>core</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A2.5 The Bologna Process and Educational Inequality in Higher Education</td>
<td>Neugebauer</td>
<td>2015-2018</td>
<td>postdoc (new)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A2.6 Social Networks in Labour Markets</td>
<td>Weber</td>
<td>2015-2020</td>
<td>core (new)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A2.7 New Methods for Job and Occupation Classification</td>
<td>Kreuter et al.</td>
<td>2014-2017</td>
<td>core (new)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A2.8 Using Propensity Scores for Nonresponse Adjustment with Covariate Measurement Error</td>
<td>Kreuter et al.</td>
<td>2015-2017</td>
<td>supplementary (new)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A2.9 Educational and Occupational Careers of Tertiary Education Drop-outs</td>
<td>Tieben</td>
<td>2012-2015</td>
<td>core</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A2.10 A Socio-Cultural Motives Perspective on Self-Concept and Personality</td>
<td>Gebauer</td>
<td>2014-2019</td>
<td>core (new)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A2.1 Health-Related Inequalities: Historical Trends, Life Course Dynamics, and Social Contexts from a Cross-National Perspective

Director(s)/  Oliver Arránz Becker, Christof Wolf
Researcher(s)/ Lena Meyer
Duration/ 2014 to 2018
Status/ In preparation / Core

This project is aimed at examining social inequalities with respect to health from a comparative perspective, using repeated cross-sections and panel datasets from several countries within and outside of Europe. Where necessary, available datasets will be harmonised and merged in a first step in order to be used in subsequent comparative analyses. There are three main goals. First, trends regarding health outcomes will be described, using methods that estimate age, period, and cohort effects. Second, health trajectories across the life course are analysed in detail, drawing on the theoretical framework of cumulative advantage/disadvantage. Third, the impact of social environments (e.g., families, social networks, neighbourhoods) on health outcomes is examined. The outlined work packages are intended to contribute to the overarching research question of how health-related inequalities are shaped and reproduced through social interaction processes across the life course which is embedded in specific historical and societal contexts.

A2.2 The Psychological Consequences of Perceived Social Unfairness

Director(s)/ Herbert Bless
Duration/ 2015 to 2017
Status/ Planned / Core

The proposal focuses on perceived unfairness and inequality in society. The underlying assumptions hold that perceived unfairness is not fully determined by objective parameters (e.g., income, access to resources), but is strongly affected by cognitive aspects (e.g., information accessibility, comparison standards). The research addresses primarily how perceived unfairness is linked to psychological variables, such as subjective well-being, trust, attitudes towards redistributive tax policies, or investments in the future. Moreover, the proposed research
concentrates on how associations between perceived unfairness and the outlined variables are moderated (a) by further psychological aspects (e.g., individuals’ tendencies towards system justification) and (b) by structural aspects. To address this latter aspect, comparisons across nations are planned that differ with respect to structural aspects. The research combines analyses of existing large data sets with complementary experimental studies that focus on the potential causal relation between the investigated variables (by experimentally manipulating perceived inequality).

A2.3 Social Networks and the Transition from Education to Work

Director(s)/  Irena Kogan, Tobias Roth
Researcher(s)/  Tobias Roth
Duration/  2015 to 2018
Status/  Planned / Supplementary

The transition from the education system to the labour market is a crucial period in setting the course for the future working life. At the same time, there is general agreement that social relations are important for the labour market success of individuals. While there is substantial research on these topics, relatively little empirical studies exist which analyse the influence of social networks on the education to work transition. This is especially true for the German context. The aim of the project is to aid in reducing this research gap. In order to do so, effects of the actual mobilization of social contacts as well as of several network characteristics on the transition are analysed utilizing data from the German National Educational Panel Study. Apart from the extensity and the social composition of the network, the ethnic network composition of migrants as well as gender specific network aspects are also examined. Additionally, the question is addressed, if correlations between networks and search success can really be traced back to causal network effects. To gain a comprehensive picture, besides the transition from secondary school to vocational training, the transition of bachelor graduates to the German labour market is investigated. Social capital approaches serve as a theoretical foundation for the project.
This project deals with learning processes taking place in primary school. Which learning preconditions do children bring with them when they enter primary school? How do teachers shape the learning environment in view of heterogeneously composed classes? Which conditions are important for a beneficial contact between children and teachers? Which types of interaction between pupils and teachers support learning processes and thereby the acquisition of competences?

To answer these questions, we consider school-related as well as non-school-related factors influencing learning processes at the primary level. With regard to non-school-related factors, we take into account various individual preconditions, for example resources of the families associated with different social or ethnic backgrounds. The school-related factors we are interested in include characteristics of the interaction between children and teachers, such as the classroom management, the teaching structure, the classroom climate, and the teachers’ expectations and evaluations.

In order to examine the interaction processes, we will conduct a longitudinal survey in 30 primary schools in Essen, a medium-sized city in the west of Germany. The sample will contain about 800 children from about 60 classes. Seven steps of data collection, which can be classified into three phases, will be carried out in the course of the first school year:

(1) In the first phase, at the beginning of the first school year, the parents will be interviewed by telephone in order to determine the learning preconditions at home. In addition, linguistic and mathematic competences as well as the cognitive abilities of the children will be tested. Furthermore, the teachers will be interviewed in written form about their expectations and evaluations regarding their classes.

(2) In the second phase, which takes place in the middle of the school year, selected lessons will be filmed to gather information on the pupils’ behaviour and their interaction with the teachers within the everyday school setting. In addition to the videography, the children will be interviewed personally about their educational motivation, academic self-concept, and their perception of the interaction with their teachers.

(3) Finally, at the end of the first school year, we will again test the pupils’ subject-specific competences and inquire about the teachers’ evaluations and expectations. In this way, we seek to gain information about changes over time.
In the medium term, we intend to follow the progress of competence development up to the transition to secondary school at the end of the primary level. It is envisaged to carry out further competence tests and another parent interview, provided that an extension of the project beyond the current approval period can be ensured.

A2.5 The Bologna Process and Educational Inequality in Higher Education

Director(s)/ Martin Neugebauer
Duration/ 2014 to 2018
Status/ In preparation / Postdoc

In the course of the Bologna Process, European higher education systems underwent major reforms. In Germany, as in several other countries, the main novelty was a reduction of the length of study to get a first level degree, together with the introduction of a second level Master degree. One of the priorities of the Bologna Process is the so called ‘social dimension’, meaning that participation in higher education should be widened by fostering the potential of students from underrepresented groups, such as those from socioeconomically disadvantaged backgrounds. To evaluate this reform goal, this project studies the effect of the BP on educational inequalities in higher education. Did the shortening of the first degree cycle reduce inequalities? What is the effect of the introduction of a new transition barrier between Bachelor and Masters degrees? How did the socially unequal student mobility develop in the course of Bologna? While the project focusses on Germany, it may very well be developed into a comparative project, incorporating some of the other 46 countries which participate in the Bologna Process.

A2.6 Social Networks in Labour Markets

Director(s)/ Andrea Weber
Duration/ 2015 to 2020
Status/ Planned / Core

In this project we seek to empirically investigate how social networks operate in the labour market. Survey evidence has long indicated that personal contacts are important for transmitting information on job opportunities or referrals. On this basis, an elaborate theory modelling communication flows and aggregation of information in social networks has been developed.
But empirical evidence on the effects and mechanisms by which networks influence labour market outcomes is limited. We propose a novel dynamic measure of network capital that can be constructed in administrative data files, such as Social Security earnings data sets available for Austria and Germany. Based on the measure of network capital, we will investigate the impacts of social networks on labour market transitions, job-finding probabilities of displaced workers, and gender-differences in labour market outcomes.

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**A2.7 New Methods for Job and Occupation Classification**

**Director(s)/** Frauke Kreuter  
**Researcher(s)/** Malte Schierholz, Knut Wenzig (Berlin)  
**Duration/** 2014 to 2017  
**Status/** In preparation / Core

Currently, most surveys ask for occupation with open-ended questions. The verbatim responses are coded afterwards into a classification with hundreds of categories and thousands of jobs, which is an error-prone, time-consuming and costly task. When textual answers have a low level of detail, exact coding may be impossible. The project investigates how to improve this process by asking response-dependent questions during the interview. Candidate job categories are predicted with a machine learning algorithm and the most relevant categories are provided to the interviewer. Using this job list, the interviewer can ask for more detailed information about the job. The proposed method is tested in a telephone survey conducted by the Institute for Employment Research (IAB). Administrative data are used to assess the relative quality resulting from traditional coding and interview coding. This project is carried out in cooperation with Arne Bethmann (IAB, University of Mannheim), Manfred Antoni (IAB), Markus Zielonka (LIfBi), Daniel Bela (LIfBi), and Knut Wenzig (DIW).
A2.8 Using Propensity Scores for Nonresponse Adjustment with Covariate Measurement Error

**Director(s)/** Frauke Kreuter, Elizabeth A. Stuart (Baltimore)

**Duration/** 2015 to 2017

**Status/** Planned / Supplementary

The proposed project will advance knowledge about the use of propensity scores for nonresponse adjustment when measurement error is present in the covariates used for adjustment. In particular, this project will (1) demonstrate, via simulations, the consequences of covariate measurement error for nonresponse adjustments as they are currently performed, (2) investigate the amount and structure of measurement error present in readily available auxiliary variables and paradata collected through interviewers, (3) examine the effect of known differential measurement error on nonresponse adjustment, and (4) develop new methods to perform propensity score nonresponse adjustments in the presence of covariate measurement error. Addressing the issue of measurement errors in nonresponse adjustment variables will affect population estimates of key statistics spanning a wide range of topics, such as welfare reciprocity, reproductive behaviour, and health. Our goal is to understand the amount and consequences of these errors and to propose practical steps for addressing them. This work will also push propensity score methods more generally in important new directions, in particular by assessing the effects of measurement error on the performance of propensity score approaches, and by developing methods to handle differentially measured covariates.

A2.9 Educational and Occupational Careers of Tertiary Education Drop-outs

**Director(s)/** Nicole Tieben

**Researcher(s)/** Mirte M.M. Scholten

**Duration/** 2012 to 2015

**Status/** Ongoing / Core

Approximately 20-25% of all first year students in Germany never graduate from tertiary education. Tertiary education drop-out is often perceived as "failure", but the reasons for dropping out are as multifaceted as the subsequent educational and occupational careers. A number of studies exist that examine the reasons for drop-out and the short-term whereabouts of drop-
outs. The long-term development of their life-courses, however, is not explored. Equally untouched by empirical social research are the conditioning resources and restrictions, the resulting path-dependence and selection-mechanisms before drop-out and after. In the planned research project we aim to scrutinize the long-term educational and occupational pathways of tertiary education drop-outs. A special focus will be laid on the status and competence attainment through job-mobility and experience, as well as on further education in and outside the company. Furthermore, we strive to investigate the role of the drop-outs’ own and their family resources in the process of drop-out decisions and the subsequent pathways. We are especially interested to see if the lack of formal qualifications can be compensated for or substituted by the use or acquisition of alternative resources.

A2.10 A Sociocultural Motives Perspective on Self-Concept and Personality

Director(s)/ Jochen E. Gebauer
Duration/ 2014 to 2019
Status/ Ongoing / Core

The self-concept and the personality can predict important life outcomes, such as prosocial behaviours (civil engagement, volunteering) and ideologies (religiosity, political attitudes). Yet, there are substantial cross-cultural differences in these relations. For example, past research found a strong relation between communion-femininity and higher religiosity in Turkey, but this relation was altogether absent in Sweden. Cross-cultural variations of this kind have been described as major threats to the predictive validity of the self-concept and of personality. The present research develops a theory that can explain such cross-cultural variations. Specifically, our “sociocultural motives perspective” (SMP) assumes that certain self-concept and personality dimensions evoke the desire to swim with the socio-cultural tide (sociocultural assimilation motivation). Thus, these self-concept and personality dimensions should predict important life outcomes particularly strongly if those life outcomes are culturally common. By the same token, the same self-concept and personality dimensions should predict important life outcomes particularly weakly (or even negatively) if those life outcomes are culturally uncommon. The SMP further assumes that other self-concept and personality dimensions evoke the desire to swim against the socio-cultural tide (sociocultural contrast motivation). As a result, these dimensions should predict important life outcomes particularly strongly, if those life outcomes are culturally uncommon. At the same time, the same self-concept and personality dimensions should predict important life outcomes particularly weakly (or even negatively), if those life...
outcomes are culturally common. The SMP’s added value is that the theory can explain cross-cultural differences in the effects of self-concept and personality. Therefore, the SMP contributes toward restoring the crippled predictive validity of the self-concept and of personality.

A3 Focus Groups of Societal Integration: Migration and Ethnic Minorities

Immigrants and their descendants represent an increasing share of the population in Europe. Their social integration into increasingly heterogeneous societies is seen as a major societal challenge high on the political agenda. Indeed, there is evidence that the integration of immigrants and their descendants is difficult due to prevailing structural disadvantage, social segmentation, and cultural difference that seem persistent over time and generations. However, there are also patterns of success among some ethnic groups in some countries. This variation in group-specific and country-specific outcomes needs explanation; yet we still lack an understanding of the more detailed mechanisms behind the differentiated processes of intergenerational integration and their complex causal interplay.

This research gap is partly due to insufficient theoretical understanding, partly to a lack of adequate data. To disentangle the precise causal relationships between different sub-dimensions of integration, e.g. between structural, social, and cultural aspects of integration, longitudinal information at the micro-level is needed. The projects in Research Area A3 aim at closing this gap by studying the conditions and mechanisms of minority ethnic groups’ intergenerational integration, focusing on different aspects of integration and on different phases over the life course. They rely on an elaborated resource-investment approach as a common and integrative theoretical framework. Nearly all projects rely on large scale quantitative data to answer their key questions, almost all employ longitudinal data.

Projects A3.1-4 are mid- and long-term projects collecting new demanding panel data on their own since their start under earlier research programmes. The “Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Survey in Four European Studies (CILS4EU)” (A3.1) is the first comprehensive and strictly comparable panel study of immigrant (and native) youth in Europe. It sampled 14-year olds in 2010 and has been following them over the next formative years; the panel data collection will continue for Germany and two other countries thanks to continued national funding. The Preschool Education study (A3.2) started with 3-4 year old children in 2007 and has been re-
interviewing them yearly since then. The projects A3.3 and A3.4 aim at collecting network panel
data to study the co-evolution of social integration and ethnic identity or delinquency among
young immigrants.

Project A3.5 focuses on education acquisition of people with a migration background and is part
of the National Educational Panel Study (NEPS), which is directed at the University of Bamberg.
The Mannheim group is part of NEPS-pillar 4 and responsible for developing key migration-
specific instruments to be implemented in the several stages of the overall multi-cohort
sequence study. Projects A3.6 and A3.7 both continue to employ the unique opportunities of the
NEPS for integration research by studying the development of gender differences in competen-
cies and the specific role of ethnic networks for educational achievement over the life-course.

Project A3.8 will look at immigrants' life satisfaction in a comparative perspective, paying spe-
cific attention to the role of immigrants' selection and self-selection. Project A3.9 adds a focus
on the context of immigrants' reception by studying the impact of demographic change on
xenophobic attitudes, again in a longitudinal perspective. A further project (A3.10) is planned to
study the effectiveness of integration policies in European and other immigrant-accepting coun-
tries. In addition, supplementary project A3.13 continues to study lower educational attainment
of the second generation ethnic minorities in Germany.

While many projects in A3 continue, two new projects are planned. One project focuses on
educational strategies of Muslim minorities in Europe, looking at the effects of religious schools
on the integration of minority groups in society (A3.11). A second project that links research in
Area A2 on labour market processes with A3 will look at educational licensing in Germany as a
process of professional closure and its consequences for migrants (A3.12). Altogether, the
projects of A3 provide theoretically guided and novel empirical insights on pathways of struc-
tural, social, and cultural integration of immigrants and their offspring.
### List of A3 Projects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Director(s)</th>
<th>Duration</th>
<th>Status</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A3.1 Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Survey in Four European Countries (CILS4EU)</td>
<td>Kalter, Kogan</td>
<td>2009-2017</td>
<td>core</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A3.2 Preschool Education and Educational Careers among Migrant Children</td>
<td>Esser, Becker</td>
<td>2006-2016</td>
<td>core</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A3.3 Friendship and Identity in School</td>
<td>Kalter</td>
<td>2008-2015</td>
<td>core</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A3.4 Friendship and Violence in Adolescence</td>
<td>Kroneberg</td>
<td>2010-2015</td>
<td>core</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A3.5 Education Acquisition with a Migration Background in the Life Course</td>
<td>Kalter</td>
<td>2008-2016</td>
<td>core</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A3.6 Competencies and Educational Choices Across Gender and Immigrant Background in Germany</td>
<td>Kogan</td>
<td>2011-2015</td>
<td>core</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A3.7 Ethnic Networks and Educational Achievement over the Life Course</td>
<td>Kalter</td>
<td>2012-2015</td>
<td>core</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A3.8 Inside Integration and Acculturation - Migrants' Life Satisfaction in Europe</td>
<td>Kogan</td>
<td>2010-2017</td>
<td>core</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A3.9 The Effect of 'Surplus' Men on Xenophobia: Panel Data from the Neue Bundesländer</td>
<td>Gautschi, Hangartner</td>
<td>2012-2015</td>
<td>core</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A3.10 Assessing the Effectiveness of Immigration and Integration Policies in Europe and Beyond</td>
<td>Kogan</td>
<td>2014-2017</td>
<td>core</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A3.11 Educational Strategies of Muslim Minorities in Europe</td>
<td>Carol</td>
<td>2014-2019</td>
<td>core (new)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A3.1 Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Survey in Four European Countries (CILS4EU)

**Director(s):** Frank Kalter, Irena Kogan, Clemens Kroneberg, Anthony Heath (Oxford), Miles Hewstone (Oxford), Jan O. Jonsson (Stockholm), Matthijs Kalmijn (Tilburg), Frank van Tubergen (Utrecht)

**Researcher(s):** Jörg Dollmann, Konstanze Jacob, Hanno Kruse, Ninja Olszenka, Lisa Sauter, Markus Weissmann

**Duration:** 2009 to 2017

**Status:** Ongoing / Core

This project focuses on the intergenerational integration of the children of immigrants in four selected European countries: Germany, the Netherlands, Sweden, and the United Kingdom. Initially funded within the NORFACE programme, it is the first comprehensive and fully-standardized panel study on this topic in Europe. Between 2010 and 2013, three waves of data collection were conducted with children of immigrants and their majority peers starting at age 14, thus covering a crucial, formative period of their lives. Furthermore, parental as well as teachers’ surveys were realised during the first wave of data collection. Based on these data, it will be possible to investigate the complex causal interplay between the processes of structural, social, and cultural integration. The project started from the assumption that this is the only way one can account for the important differences between countries, ethnic groups, and domains of life, as revealed by prior research on the integration of the second generation in Europe. The project is the first to collect the data needed to uncover the mechanisms behind these diverse and complex patterns: large-scale, strictly comparative, theory-guided, multilevel and longitudinal data. Regarding the latter, the longitudinal aspect did not end after the initial NORFACE funding period in 2014. All country teams started – sometimes, as in the case of Germany, meanwhile successful – initiatives to prolong the project in the context of national research projects, still ensuring highly coordinated action between the different country teams.
A3.2 Preschool Education and Educational Careers among Migrant Children

**Director(s)/** Hartmut Esser, Birgit Becker (Frankfurt)

**Researcher(s)/** Oliver Klein, Franziska Schmidt, Simon Henke

**Duration/** 2006 to 2016

**Status/** Ongoing / Core

Results from the first stage of the project showed that ethnic educational inequality starts early in life and children of immigrants start their school career with clear disadvantages in some domains (esp. in the field of language). The current project stage analyses the long-term consequences of these early disadvantages for children of Turkish origin. A main research question is whether early ethnic skill differences (especially in the language domain) influence the transition after primary school or whether primary schools are able to compensate for these differences. Long-term consequences of preschool education (in combination with primary school effects) will also be analysed.

A3.3 Friendship and Identity in School

**Director(s)/** Frank Kalter

**Researcher(s)/** Lars Leszczensky, Sebastian Pink

**Duration/** 2008 to 2015

**Status/** Ongoing / Core

This project aims to study the mechanisms underlying the formation of and changes in adolescents’ social networks and their ethnic identifications. As a first step, based on previous research, we developed and tested a measurement of ethnic identification for students aged 11–16, which is now available at ZIS (gesis). In a second step, we used this measurement in a panel-survey comprising more than 2,000 students of the 5th, 6th, and 7th grades from schools in North Rhine-Westphalia. In terms of data collection, our study has two special features. First, at the school level, we interview all students in each of the three grades. Hence, we consider the students’ networks not only at the classroom but also at the grade level. Second, so far the students were interviewed at three time points, namely in April/May 2013, in January/February 2014, and in October/November 2014. We intend to extend the study to include further time points. The collected network panel data will help us to investigate the causal interplay between social networks and ethnic identifications. Specifically, we apply stochastic, agent-based
models for the co-evolution of networks and behaviour that have so far been rarely used in migration research.

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**A3.4 Friendship and Violence in Adolescence**

**Director(s)**/ Clemens Kroneberg  
**Researcher(s)**/ Harald Beier, Sonja Schulz, André Ernst  
**Duration**/ 2010 to 2015  
**Status**/ Ongoing / Core

The main research goal of this project is to explain the development and maintenance of violent behaviour as well as the desistance from violence among adolescents. Why do some youths become victims or perpetrators of violence? How can we explain why some adolescents only use violence in a few instances while others become multiple offenders, repeatedly committing acts of violence? Which adolescents solidify lifestyles encompassing acts of violence as everyday incidents? What possibilities exist to prevent violence and what interventions can help once adolescents have already committed acts of violence? The project seeks to contribute to answering these questions by mainly focusing on two well-known risk factors of violent offending: the endorsement of norms legitimizing violence on the one hand, and the peer group on the other hand. While previous research has shown that the endorsement of norms legitimizing violence, as well as the affiliation with a violent or criminal peer group, are strongly related to the commission of violent acts, little is known about how these factors are related, and in what ways they interact to explain acts of violence. Both the peer group and normative beliefs or attitudes are formed to a large degree during adolescence and are therefore crucial to prevention and intervention efforts targeting adolescents. A prerequisite, though, is a profound knowledge about how exactly these risk factors promote acts of violence. Applying an integrative theory of action, the research project “Friendship and Violence in Adolescence” therefore focuses on these exact mechanisms. In particular, we will address, among others, the following research questions: (1) Which social factors affect friendship formation? (2) In what ways does the peer group affect the development, maintenance and social diffusion of attitudes promoting violence? (3) How important are friendship ties in transforming attitudes promoting violence into actual acts of violence? (4) Which role do in-school and out-of-school factors, such as social status or a migration background, play in this regard?

To study these research questions, more than 2,600 seventh-graders from 5 cities in the Ruhr were interviewed for the first time in 2013. To adequately depict the development of those adolescents over time, participants will at first be accompanied and repeatedly interviewed over
Department A European Societies and their Integration

A period of two years. Provided that additional funding by the German Science Foundation (DFG) can be obtained, it is planned to extend this time span to a total of four years. To ensure the best possible support of the participating schools as well as the highest possible data quality, all interviews will be conducted in person by members of our research staff. The surveys are conducted in the students' classrooms using netbooks provided by the research staff.

A3.5 Education Acquisition with a Migration Background in the Life Course

Director(s)/ Frank Kalter, Cornelia Kristen (Bamberg), Petra Stanat (Berlin)
Researcher(s)/ Andreas Horr
Duration/ 2008 to 2016
Status/ Ongoing / Core

As part of Pillar 4 “Education Acquisition with Migration Background in the Life Course”, the project is a core component of the National Educational Panel Study (NEPS). Problems of ethnic penalties and their (causal) linkage to general mechanisms of educational inequality are emphasized in addition to other main foci of NEPS. Prior research has shown that pupils with a migration background show lower school competencies, end up in less advantageous educational tracks, and receive lower returns than peers without a migration background. Some hypotheses and mechanisms have been tested in recent analyses. Conflicting theoretical explanations of these inequalities have been proposed. But appropriate data for severe tests of these mechanisms are missing to date – at least in the case of Germany. Helping to close that gap is one central aim of this project within NEPS. To this end, the working group at the MZES designs and further develops instruments to measure ethnic resources and cultural orientations, especially social capital, segmented assimilation, identity, acculturation, religion, perceived discrimination, and transnationalism. These instruments are applied in several NEPS studies from kindergarten to lifelong learning.
A3.6 Competencies and Educational Choices Across Gender and Immigrant Background in Germany

**Director(s):** Irena Kogan  
**Researcher(s):** Tobias Roth  
**Duration:** 2011 to 2015  
**Status:** Ongoing / Core

The gender gaps in competencies, school leaving certificates and entry into vocational education that are known for native students also exist for migrants. Despite these similarities, the size of the gaps seems to differ across ethnic groups. Until now almost nothing is known about the underlying mechanisms responsible for these similarities and differences. Hence, beyond the description of trends in ethnic and gender inequalities of educational trajectories, the project plans to develop a theoretical model that will be able to explain the differences in educational success both in terms of educational achievements as well as educational and occupational aspirations and choices, and to test it with the first three waves of the NEPS data. To this end various educational stages will be taken into account to determine at what point, to what extent, in which areas, and, above all, why ethnic-specific gender differences emerge and evolve along the educational career and beyond. Without disregarding the importance of institutional conditions and structural constraints, we focus in particular on gender role socialization as one of the most important underlying mechanisms that shape the entire educational career and operate at various educational stages and in different educational areas via primary and secondary effects to create gender-specific patterns of educational inequalities.

A3.7 Ethnic Networks and Educational Achievement over the Life Course

**Director(s):** Frank Kalter  
**Researcher(s):** Andreas Horr, Benjamin Schulz  
**Duration:** 2012 to 2015  
**Status:** Ongoing / Core

The role of ethnic networks for the structural integration of immigrants’ children is of crucial importance for integration strategies and policies. The issue is, however, under heavy scientific dispute. While some scholars reason that reliance on ethnic ties constrains the advancement of
young immigrants, others argue that ties to co-ethnics can compensate for structural disad-
vantage. Empirically, there is evidence for both kinds of arguments, referring not only to rather
diverse immigrant groups in diverse receiving countries, but also to very different steps within
educational careers; whether ethnic networks have positive or negative effects seems to
depend, amongst others, heavily on the life-course.
This project aims to integrate these seemingly conflicting views by means of a more
comprehensive model of intergenerational integration across the life-span. Our theoretical
starting points are social capital theory, on the one hand, and the model of frame-selection
(MFS), on the other hand, that overcomes limits of standard Rational-Choice-Theories by
emphasizing the role of cultural norms and values. Our aim is to explain why the precise role of
ethnic networks depends crucially on specific characteristics of immigrant groups, on a specific
stage of educational careers, and on specific indicators of educational success.
To test respective hypotheses we will rely on data from the National Educational Panel Study
(NEPS) that provide a unique chance to test particular hypotheses, as it contains rich inform-
ation on ethnic networks and social capital of children and their parents at several educational
stages.

A3.8 Inside Integration and Acculturation - Migrants' Life
Satisfaction in Europe

Director(s) / Irena Kogan
Researcher(s) / Manuel Siegert
Duration / 2010 to 2017
Status / Ongoing / Core

It is planned to analyse which factors influence the subjective quality of life – defined as
satisfaction with life – of migrants in Europe and if immigration countries offer good conditions in
this regard for some migrants while offering unfavourable ones for others. Life satisfaction is
modelled as the outcome of an evaluation of the direct living conditions by the individuals using
a distinct standard of evaluation. This standard of evaluation depends, for example, on the
cultural imprint, significant others and individual preferences. Therefore, the life satisfaction of
population groups can vary, although they might face equal living conditions, due to varying
standards of evaluation. The living conditions of migrants, in turn, are influenced by the struc-
tural and cultural arrangements of the society: e.g., the welfare state regime or general attitudes
towards immigrants. In light of the increasing international competition for skilled personnel this
project can help to evaluate the attractiveness of immigration countries more precisely. First of
all, internationally comparable data will be used, and in a second step more detailed analyses will be based on appropriate national data sets.

A3.9 The Effect of 'Surplus' Men on Xenophobia: Panel Data from the Neue Bundesländer

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Director(s)</th>
<th>Thomas Gautschi, Dominik Hangartner (London)</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Researcher(s)</td>
<td>Alexander Scherf</td>
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<tr>
<td>Duration/</td>
<td>2012 to 2015</td>
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<tr>
<td>Status/</td>
<td>In preparation / Core</td>
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</tbody>
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In the absence of manipulation, both the sex ratio at birth and the population sex ratio are remarkably constant in human populations. In large parts of Asia and North Africa, the tradition of son preferences, manifest through sex-selective abortion and discrimination in care practices for girls, has distorted these natural sex ratios. The large cohorts of "surplus" males now reaching adulthood are predominantly of low socioeconomic class, and numerous studies express concerns that their lack of marriageability, and the consequent marginalization in society, may lead to antisocial behaviour, violence, prostitution, and HIV spread.

Although less dramatic in origin and size, qualitatively similar cohorts of "surplus" men have also emerged in the Neue Bundesländer, where disproportionally many women left rural municipalities during the last two decades since re-unification. We study the effects of these cohorts of "surplus" men by combining micro-level survey data on attitudes with municipality-level data on demographics. Using this new panel data set covering all former East German Landeskreise over the last 20 years, we can estimate the direct demographic effects of "surplus" men on cohabitation, marriage, and divorce rates, and the indirect sociological effects of social marginalization on xenophobic attitudes towards foreigners and support for extreme-right parties.
A3.10 Assessing the Effectiveness of Immigration and Integration Policies in Europe and Beyond

**Director(s):** Irena Kogan  
**Duration:** 2015 to 2017  
**Status:** Planned / Core

This research project is a comprehensive, multi-dimensional, and multi-method study aiming at assessing the effectiveness of immigration and integration policies for immigrants’ integration in the European countries and in other major immigrant-accepting societies. With the help of a comparative research design and several complementary data sources, the project first evaluates to what degree host countries’ integration policies are translated into immigrants’ actual participation in integration programmes. Second, we conduct a comprehensive assessment of the influence of such policies on immigrants’ labour market insertion, both from objective and subjective perspectives. Finally, we explore the role of the host-country’s institutional settings in mediating effects of policies at the individual level. We apply both large-scale and more in-depth oriented quantitative assessments, along with integrating cross-section and panel-data methods in order to arrive at a more comprehensive understanding of the analysed phenomenon.

A3.11 Educational Strategies of Muslim Minorities in Western Europe

**Director(s):** Sarah Carol  
**Duration:** 2014 to 2019  
**Status:** In preparation / Core

Children of immigrants from countries with a Muslim majority suffer significant disadvantages in the educational systems of Western Europe. This calls for studies that determine the conditions under which these children will be able to catch up with natives. Increasingly, Islamic schools have been established with the aim of equipping these children with equal chances and creating environments free of discrimination. This project addresses a pressing question: How do Islamic schools need to be structured in order to guarantee that students benefit from religiously segregated schooling? The aim of the project is threefold: In the first instance, the project takes an institutional perspective and studies whether religiously segregated schools mitigate educational disadvantages compared to other schools. Secondly, the project links religious attach-
ment and social capital generated in religious networks to educational achievements. In the third step, the project investigates the wider consequences of segregated schooling for inter-group relationships, tolerance and cooperation.

A3.12 Occupational Licensing – Between Professional Closure and Labour Market Integration

Director(s)/ Henning Hillmann, Christina Gathmann (Heidelberg)
Researcher(s)/ Franziska Lembcke
Duration/ 2014 to 2018
Status/ In preparation / Core

In many European countries, immigrants are not well integrated into the labour market. Integration might be more difficult if immigrants face professional barriers to entry, for example, through occupational licenses. Our project analyses how job entry restrictions affect professional careers in general and the career prospects of immigrants in particular. We study a reform of the German Trade and Crafts Code (Handwerksordnung) that came into effect in 2004. The reform reduced the number of trades in which a master craftsmen’s diploma was a prerequisite for opening up a business from 94 to 41. In the other 53 trades, a master craftsmen’s diploma is optional, but not required after 2004. For the analysis, we will use a difference-in-difference combined with matching to compare the development of careers and wages in trades that got liberalized in 2004 to similar trades in which entry barriers remained in place even after 2004.

A3.13 Ethnic Inequality in Educational Attainment and Selective Migration

Director(s)/ Nadia Granato
Duration/ 2011 to 2015
Status/ Ongoing / Supplementary

This project concentrates on the question whether the slow pace of the educational integration of the second generation in Germany has been induced – at least to a certain extent – by a widening gap in class origin. As it seems, lower educational attainment of the second genera-
tion results primarily from differences in class origin rather than from genuine ethnic traits. Given the fact that the relationship between social origin and educational attainment has been weakening over the past decades, one might expect ethnic educational inequality to disappear over time. But this would only happen if the gap in class origin were not widening either due to a negative educational selection in the replenishment process, i.e. the arrival of migrants, or due to an increase in the educational background of the indigenous population. The empirical analyses focus on changes in the composition of educational background and in the relationship between educational background and educational attainment as important determinants in the process of intergenerational educational integration.
4. Department B: European Political Systems and their Integration

The main focus of research in Department B is on the development of democracy in Europe by giving special attention to the conditions – in terms of the behaviour and orientations of citizens – and the institutional contexts of democratic governance. Several projects also focus on political behaviour and political decision-making in regions which are influenced by European states or the European Union. This common interest already provided the basis for previous research programmes and is continued with several modifications in the Ninth Research Programme (2014-2017). Moreover, the thematic orientation is linked to several projects in the SFB ‘Political Economy of Reforms’. Coherence of the research activities in Department B results from both the common interest in democratic governance in Europe and the methodological focus on theory-guided comparative empirical research in this area. The issue of democracy in Europe with its focus on the conditions and contextual factors of democratic governance is approached from different perspectives and organized in three Research Areas:

- B1/ Conditions of Democratic Governance: Behaviour and Orientations of Citizens
- B2/ Contexts for Democratic Governance: Political Institutions
- B3/ Democratic Multilevel Governance and Europeanization

Research Area B1 is focused on the development of democratic citizenship and its direct conditions. It concentrates on individual behaviour and orientations as the pre-requisites for democratic governance. Research is for the most part comparative in order to catch the importance of political and societal factors in European countries. Research Area B2 addresses the role of institutions as key organisations that structure the contexts and processes of democratic governance. Projects in B2 concentrate on the development of institutions such as political parties, parliaments, governments and courts in European countries. The focus is on changes in the patterns of party systems, the development of party competition, government formation and coalition politics at various levels of political systems, and changing behaviour of legislators. Research Area B3 is dedicated to the challenges of democratic governance in developing multilevel political systems, especially at the European level. It focuses on the impact of European integration for political decision-making and policy outputs on the European, national and regional level. Furthermore, Area B3 covers projects that deal with citizen’s perceptions of political decisions induced by aspects of multilevel governance. The latter is of key importance.

1 Further information on SFB-884 ‘Political Economy of Reforms’ can be found on: http://reforms.uni-mannheim.de/.
since we are in need of gaining more information on the degree of democratic legitimacy in times when the European Union is in a deep crisis and the support for further steps in European integration is decreasing.

B1: Conditions of Democratic Governance: Behaviour and Orientations of Citizens

Orientations, expectations and interests of individual citizens form the basis of democratic governance in modern democracies. With the enduring societal processes of modernization (especially rising levels of education), individualisation, and fragmentation, citizens have become increasingly reluctant to follow traditional norms or authorities. Besides, available modes of involvement in democratic decision-making processes changed rapidly due to the expansion of the repertoire for political participation beyond casting a vote. Examples are social media like twitter or Facebook, which help to organize political protests like in the Arab world in 2011 or in Turkey in 2013 and 2014. Although general societal developments are similar in many countries, from a comparative perspective it is clear that they do not simply result in a convergence of European political systems. Similarities and differences in orientations, expectations and interests of individual citizens provide distinct opportunities for good governance – which seem to develop differently in different countries. The main challenge of research in this area is thus to apply more general explanations in situations where differences at the individual level are apparent.

Research projects in Area B1 consist of eight core projects and four supplementary projects. These projects can be summarized under two main topics: (1) social and political participation of citizens – especially voting – in democratic decision-making processes and (2) conditions of democratic citizenship in terms of social and political orientations. Research in Area B1 is for the most part comparative in order to catch the importance of political and societal factors, which are still largely shaped by national conditions.

The social and political participation of citizens in democratic decision-making processes is studied in the following ongoing projects in B1. The analyses of campaign dynamics and voting behaviour – mainly based on the German Longitudinal Election Study 2009-2017 – are included in this Research Area (ongoing projects B1.1 and B1.2). The conditions of democratic citizenship in terms of social and political orientations are studied in the remaining ongoing core projects in B1.5, which focuses on variation in social capital during the economic crisis, and in B1.8, which explicitly addresses the impact of social media networks on citizen’s perceptions on
politics. Furthermore, the EU-funded CUPESE project (B1.4) studies the impact of cultural norms like family values on the social and economic behaviour of individuals. A further ongoing project deals with interpersonal communications about politics (B1.3).

Two new core projects are added to Area B1 in the Ninth Research Programme. Project B1.7 sheds light on political communication on social media before the 2013 German federal election. This project will address, inter alia, the potential of online communication to predict election outcomes, so that it will help to improve the understanding of political online communication in general. In a planned second step of the project, it will widen its perspective and will also study the role of social media at the election for the European parliament in 2014 and 2019. The second new core project, B1.6, adopts an experimental design and studies the participation of citizens in Germany in elections and referenda. It aims to implement large-scale “Get out the Vote”-field experiments in the multi-party context of Germany and will compare it to findings from the United States and the United Kingdom.

The four supplementary projects cover the two main perspectives in Area B1, too. Cross-national and longitudinal developments in political orientations and behaviour of citizens are studied in an ongoing comparative project on attitudes about foreign and security policies in the US and Germany (B1.9). Voter perceptions and preferences are also studied in supplementary project B1.10 by using issue and party preferences to construct a common policy space; it is funded by the German Research Foundation. Project B1.11 concentrates on the referendum of one regional, but highly politicised issue – the new railway station in Stuttgart – and its implications for political behaviour and decision-making in the state of Baden-Württemberg. Project B1.12 deals with the communication behaviour of individuals and concentrates not on the national, but rather on the European sphere. Project B1.13 studies the democratic attitudes and participatory orientations of citizens by focusing explicitly on the local level.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Director(s)</th>
<th>Duration</th>
<th>Status</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B1.2 (GLES) Long- and Short-term Panel Studies</td>
<td>Rattinger, Schoen</td>
<td>2009-2017</td>
<td>core</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B1.4 Cultural Pathways to Economic Self-Sufficiency and Entrepreneurship: Family Values and Youth Unemployment in Europe (CUPESE)</td>
<td>Tosun</td>
<td>2012-2017</td>
<td>core</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B1.6 Field Experiments on Citizen Participation in Elections and Referenda</td>
<td>Huber</td>
<td>2014-2017</td>
<td>core (new)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B1.7 Political Communication on Social Media in the Run-Up to the 2013 German Federal Election</td>
<td>Schoen, Fischbach</td>
<td>2015-2017</td>
<td>core (new)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B1.8 Social Media Networks and the Relationships between Citizens and Politics</td>
<td>Theocharis</td>
<td>2011-2015</td>
<td>core</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B1.9 Attitudes on Foreign and Security Policy in the U.S. and Germany: A Comparison at the Mass and Elite Level</td>
<td>Rattinger, Schoen</td>
<td>2010-2015</td>
<td>supplementary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B1.10 Spatial Models of Party Competition Applied</td>
<td>Pappi, Bräuninger</td>
<td>2012-2016</td>
<td>supplementary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B1.11 Referendum 'Stuttgart 21'</td>
<td>Faas, Schmitt-Beck</td>
<td>2011-2016</td>
<td>supplementary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B1.12 Democracy Monitoring</td>
<td>Van Deth, Schmitt-Beck, Faas</td>
<td>2012-2015</td>
<td>supplementary</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
B1.1 (GLES) Campaign Dynamics of Media Coverage and Public Opinion

Director(s)/ Rüdiger Schmitt-Beck
Researcher(s)/ Julia Partheymüller, Sascha Huber, Anne Schäfer, Sebastian Schmidt
Duration/ 2009 to 2017
Status/ Ongoing / Core

The 2005 German federal election marked a culmination point of changes that had been going on for decades as a consequence of general social change and that were additionally spurred by German unification. These changes concern the behaviour of voters, the instability of which has reached unprecedented heights, as well as the context within which voting decisions are made, including the parties and their candidates, the campaigns run by them, and the mass media. The confluence of these developments led to a substantial increase in the fluidity of the electoral process with potentially far-reaching implications for German representative democracy. Focusing on the three federal elections of 2009, 2013 and 2017, the German Longitudinal Election Study (GLES) observes and analyses how today’s mobile electorate adapts to this new constellation of electoral politics, which is characterized by a so far unknown degree of complexity. Using state-of-the-art methodologies, the project generates and extensively analyses a comprehensive, complex, and integrated data base that links cross-sectional with longitudinal data, both short-term and long-term. It combines surveys about voting behaviour with key dimensions of the context within which votes are cast, by means of analyses of media, candidates, and campaigns, and it spans several elections, covering both campaign periods and the time in between elections. All data generated by this hitherto most comprehensive programme of German electoral research are treated as a public good and made immediately accessible to all interested social scientists (via GESIS). Within the GLES network, this MZES project is responsible for conducting two components of the project for the 2009, 2013 and 2017 German federal elections: rolling cross-section campaign surveys (RCS) with post-election panel waves and content analyses of mass media coverage during the election campaigns.
B1.2 (GLES) Long- and Short-term Panel Studies

**Director(s)/** Hans Rattinger, Harald Schoen  
**Researcher(s)/** Jan Eric Blumenstiel, Thomas Plischke, Elena Wiegand  
**Duration/** 2009 to 2017  
**Status/** Ongoing / Core

At the occasion of the 2013 Bundestag election, the multi-faceted GLES research design has been realized for the second time. The project both provides an unprecedented wealth of high-quality data to the scientific community shortly after the election and produced numerous publications focusing on the 2009 and 2013 elections and electoral change from various perspectives. Among other things, a book-length study of electoral change in Germany was published with Oxford University Press, and comprehensive analyses of the 2009 and 2013 elections were published with Nomos. In the third funding period from 2015 to 2017, the well-proven design will be applied to the 2017 election, thus broadening the longitudinal perspective which is at the heart of GLES. The face-to-face long-term panel is an integral part of GLES that connects both to the cross-sectional surveys and to previous elections, thus providing comprehensive data to study the incidence and patterns of long-term electoral change in Germany at the individual level. About 1,300 respondents were interviewed in 2009 and 2013. Additionally, about 1,800 respondents from the 2013 cross-section were willing to be re-interviewed. In the third project period, annual re-interviews with the respondents from the 2009 and 2013 cross-section surveys will be conducted which will provide the base for analyses of long-term individual-level dynamics of public attitudes and behaviour over several subsequent elections. These annual interviews will be conducted in a mixed-mode design where priority is given to web interviews as a first step to merge the short- and long-term panel studies in the future. The short-term campaign panel is designed to analyse intra-individual developments of political attitudes and political behaviour during the electoral campaign. In 2013, a similar design as in 2009 was applied, enriched by the inclusion of three independent cross-sections as control groups. In total, 5,256 respondents participated in the 2013 campaign panel, 1,011 of which had already participated in the GLES campaign panel of 2009. Almost 3,500 persons completed all seven waves. Due to a number of measures, retention rates could be further improved when compared to 2009. Beginning in 2014, annual re-interviews will be introduced to this online-panel to add a longitudinal perspective to this component. With data from both panel studies, findings about the specific constellations and the short-term dynamics of a given election or electoral campaign can be integrated into a long-term perspective in search of broader generalizations or structural developments. Beginning in 2014, the annual re-interviews will be synchronized between both panels in terms of questionnaires and field times in order to further enhance such comparative analyses.
B1.3 Political Talk Culture. Interpersonal Communication about Politics in Citizens' Everyday Lives - Its appearance, Background and Consequences in East and West Germany

Director(s)/ Rüdiger Schmitt-Beck
Researcher(s)/ Anne Schäfer
Duration/ 2008 to 2018
Status/ In preparation / Core

Comparing East and West Germany, the project investigates how political conversations among ordinary citizens matter for democratic politics. It aims at a comprehensive exploration of citizens' "talk culture(s)" – the appearance and relevance of political discussion within their everyday lives. Particular attention will be directed at the differing roles of interpersonal political communication in the private and the public realm, but also at the interconnection between both spheres as well as their relationship to mass communication. The project will also analyse the preconditions that facilitate or impede people's utilization of their freedom of expression in both private and public contexts, and what consequences political discussion in its various manifestations entails for other facets of democratic citizenship. Based on a face-to-face survey expanded by a snow-ball component, the planned project is to provide a comprehensive view of the attributes, backgrounds, and consequences of ordinary citizens' political conversations in East and West Germany.

B1.4 Cultural Pathways to Economic Self-Sufficiency and Entrepreneurship: Family Values and Youth Unemployment in Europe (CUPESSE)

Director(s)/ Jale Tosun
Researcher(s)/ Jennifer Shore, Bettina Schuck, Felix Hörisch, Robert Strohmeyer
Duration/ 2012 to 2017
Status/ Ongoing / Core

CUPESSE brings together both young and advanced researchers with different disciplinary backgrounds (economics, political science, psychology, sociology, and statistics) from ten differ-
ent EU Member States and Associated Countries to analyse the determinants of economic self-sufficiency and entrepreneurship of young Europeans. It is based on a survey design and seeks to understand how the cultural context of family affects youth employment and economic and social independence. While the project’s focus is on family values, it also controls for the potential effects of other factors such as opportunity structures and education. The explicit focus on the inter-generational transmission of family values represents the key innovation of the project. In theoretical terms, the project aims to establish the pathways – or mechanisms – through which values and their inter-generational transmission shape the economic self-sufficiency behaviour of young men and young women (18-35 years). In empirical terms, CUPE SSE will produce an original dataset.

B1.5 Social Capital Oscillations in Times of Economic Crisis: The Case of European Democracies

**Director(s)/** Jan W. van Deth, Felix Hörisch, Yannis Theocharis

**Researcher(s)/** Peter Obert, Kyriakos Pierrakakis (Athens)

**Duration/** 2013 to 2017

**Status/** In preparation / Core

An economic downturn not seen since the Great Depression has shaken Europe. The recession has put at risk many European citizens’ once-sturdy lives and has challenged established democratic institutions (especially in fragile, South European nations). In addition, it increasingly leads to social turbulence and radical shifts in many countries’ domestic political landscapes. Neo-Tocquevillean approaches presume that social capital keeps the social fabric together and strengthens cooperation, trust, mutual support and institutional effectiveness. Do these presumptions hold in times of severe crises? Do economic hardships stir people’s social consciousness, prompting them to get together and act collectively engaging into voluntary work and mutual-aid initiatives, thus raising their countries’ overall levels of social capital? Or does despair trigger a different, negative effect, lowering the stocks of countries’ social capital, leading to more social incoherence, distrust, hostility towards institutions and corruption? Are there differences among classes with different economic backgrounds?

This project explores to what extent social capital is part of a ‘defence mechanism’ that works in a consistent way across societies in times of economic hardship. It does that in two ways: (a) by comparing the levels of social and institutional trust in European democracies before and during the ongoing financial crisis, and (b) by analysing the interactions between economic and social development and changes in the stock of social capital at the collective and the individual level.
B1.6 Field Experiments on Citizen Participation in Elections and Referenda

**Director(s)**: Sascha Huber  
**Duration**: 2015 to 2017  
**Status**: Planned / Core

Getting citizens to participate in elections and referenda is at the heart of democracies. With declining turnout rates across Europe, this seems to become ever more important. Yet very little is known about the short-term chances of mobilizing voters to turn out in Europe. One of the reasons for this research gap is methodological: with traditional survey research, it is very difficult to assess the short-term effects of campaign mobilization. In contrast, field experiments allow a precise test of the effects of various campaign stimuli. Building on recent advances of field experiments in the USA and the UK, this project aims to implement large-scale “get-out-the-vote”-field experiments in the multi-party context of Germany and thereby provide a comparative perspective on mobilization. Experiments will be conducted on both general elections at the state level and issue-specific referenda at the local level and will include different stimuli, such as inducing social pressure on citizens to participate or informing and educating citizens about the particular election or referendum.

B1.7 Political Communication on Social Media in the Run-Up to the 2013 German Federal Election

**Director(s)**: Harald Schoen, Kai Fischbach (Bamberg)  
**Duration**: 2015 to 2017  
**Status**: Planned / Core

This interdisciplinary project addresses political communication on social media in the run-up to the 2013 German federal election. Utilizing social media data, including data from Twitter and Facebook, the project tackles questions at three analytical levels. At the micro-level, it examines whether political predispositions shape individual-level online behaviour and whether their effect increases over the course of the campaign. At the meso level, the analysis explores the hypothesis that online communication networks with a focus on election-related topics become larger as well as more fragmented as a campaign wears on. At the macro level, the project explores the relationship between online communication and offline events – whether online
communication serves as some kind of indicator of offline events, and whether social media communication is powerful in predicting election results. In substantive terms, the project aims at a better understanding of the processes underlying communication on social media. In methodological terms, it seeks to improve the methods of online research.

**B1.8 Social Media Networks and the Relationships between Citizens and Politics**

**Director(s)/** Yannis Theocharis  
**Duration/** 2011 to 2015  
**Status/** Ongoing / Core

The internet has radically transformed traditional political mobilisation and participation: participation costs have become extremely low; the need for co-presence evaporated; flexible, horizontal institutional structures replaced conventional organisations; and content can be easily produced and distributed by everybody. Social media content provides direct access to networks and content produced by citizens. It can not only reveal their attitudes towards policy problems, politicians, elections, riots, protests and unrest, but also highlight people’s preferences, willingness to participate and mobilise others. The present project exploits this new type of information aiming to deepen our understanding of citizens’ decision to participate politically. The main research questions are (a) how do social media (re)shape the relationships between citizens and politics (communication), and (b) how do these media affect the willingness to become politically active (mobilisation). The project combines new methodologies and techniques for handling and analysing large-scale social media data in combination with survey data on political behaviour.
B1.9 Attitudes on Foreign and Security Policy in the U.S. and Germany: A Comparison at the Mass and Elite Level

Director(s)/  Hans Rattinger, Harald Schoen  
Researcher(s)/ Jana Pötzschke, Fabian Endres, Agatha Rudnik  
Duration/ 2010 to 2015  
Status/ Ongoing / Supplementary

This project seeks to compare foreign and security policy orientations of the public and of political elites in the United States and Germany over time since the end of the Cold War. Therefore, all available data from relevant mass and elite surveys are collected and analysed from a cognitive psychology perspective. Developments, structures as well as determinants of foreign and security policy orientations are investigated. We especially focus on the interrelation between public opinion and elite orientations. These analyses will contribute to answer questions of attitudinal research as well as of foreign policy research. They will shed light on how the foreign policy orientations of citizens and elites in the U.S. and Germany have responded to the changes in the international system and foreign affairs since 1989/90. In particular, we can address the controversial issue if, how and in which phases the two countries have drifted apart with regard to foreign and security policy orientations of citizens and elites. Furthermore, the project will clarify the relation between public opinion and elite orientations in both countries and will thus help to better understand the process of foreign policy formation.

B1.10 Spatial Models of Party Competition Applied

Director(s)/ Franz Urban Pappi, Thomas Bräuninger  
Researcher(s)/ Anna-Sophie Kurella  
Duration/ 2012 to 2016  
Status/ Ongoing / Supplementary

An application of spatial models of party competition presupposes the construction of policy spaces which encompass the important policy issues of an election. These are the basis of policy voting by the electorate and of strategic position taking by parties. In addition to policy voting, individual vote functions have to include party valences and long-term commitments of voters to parties. After having estimated such vote functions for several Bundestag elections, our aim is to study equilibrium dynamics of party competition under the impact of mixed electoral systems. For pure electoral systems the folk wisdom is that first past the post induces
centripetal party movements, and proportional representation induces centrifugal positioning, especially of low-valence parties. Our research question is how voters respond to the opportunity to cast two ballots and how parties come to terms with the possibly differing equilibrium dynamics of mixed-member electoral systems.

B1.11 Referendum 'Stuttgart 21'

Director(s)/ Thorsten Faas, Rüdiger Schmitt-Beck
Researcher(s)/ Julia Range
Duration/ 2011 to 2016
Status/ Ongoing / Supplementary

In 2011, the public conflict about the infrastructure project “Stuttgart 21” reached its height, raising fundamental questions concerning the modes of political participation and the legitimacy of political decisions. The discussions around “Stuttgart 21” and the democratic quality in Baden-Württemberg are still ongoing today. In this study we focus on the long term trends in acceptance, evaluation and interest accompanying „Stuttgart 21“ and thereafter. Additionally, we examine the attitude of citizens towards reforms of democracy and concrete projects of citizen involvement: How well do citizens feel informed? What level of participation do they want? To what extent should decisions made by the public be binding?

As a follow-up to the rolling panel project “Election Study Baden-Württemberg 2011”, respondents were invited to participate in a twelve wave online survey that was accompanied by five telephone surveys. The applied methods and collected data allow us to trace and analyse processes of opinion formation and decision making in the topic of direct democracy in great detail.

B1.12 Democracy Monitoring

Director(s)/ Jan W. van Deth, Rüdiger Schmitt-Beck, Thorsten Faas
Researcher(s)/ Sarah Perry
Duration/ 2012 to 2015
Status/ Ongoing / Supplementary

Democracy monitoring aims to collect and to analyse empirical data in order to assess systematically the functioning of democracy and to identify possibilities for improvements. It is based on a detailed description of democratic attitudes and participatory orientations of citizens,
as well as their assessments of the functioning of democracy. For that purpose usually two complementary instruments are used: representative surveys among the population (aged 15 and older) and focus group discussions on specific themes (understanding of democracy, expectations on municipal politics, performance assessments, etc.). The main goals of the project are (1) collecting data for a systematic evaluation of the functioning of democracy, (2) developing explanations for differences, and (3) analysing the quality of democracy based regional, national and international comparison, as well as European comparisons (using data from the most recent wave of the ESS). The project includes the Democracy Audit Mannheim (DAMA) and the Citizen and Democracy in Baden-Württemberg (BDBaWü).

B2: Contexts for Democratic Governance: Political Institutions

Research Area B2 addresses the role of institutions such as political parties, parliaments and governments as key organisations that structure the contexts and processes of democratic governance. Research projects are dedicated to two overarching themes: (1) party competition in the electoral, the parliamentary, and government arenas, and (2) changing roles of parties and their representatives in parliaments and governments in Western and Eastern Europe. Contexts for democratic governance are, however, not limited to parties, parliaments and governments, but also affected by courts and their decisions. Furthermore, projects in Area B2 do not consider parties, parliaments, governments or countries as unitary actors, but focus on processes within these bodies in order to obtain more pervasive explanations of the impacts of contextual structures on democratic governance. Voters and parties in the electoral arena are at the heart of the ongoing core projects B2.1, B2.2 and B2.3, which focus on voters’ perceptions on the one hand, and the party positions mentioned in their election manifestos in parliamentary debates and at party congresses on the other hand. While the determinants of success in parliamentary systems have been widely studied, the strategies of individual legislators are usually seen as consequences of party politics. Core project B2.4 studies the determinants of institutional reforms on the local level in several West European states. It aims at answering the question why and how political parties implemented more elements of direct democracy and what consequences these reforms had for patterns of political participation and satisfaction with democracy in the countries under study. Core project B2.5 focuses on the interplay between issue salience and the degree of responsiveness in the behaviour of members of parliament in the Baden-Württemberg state parliament.
Three of the eight core and postdoc projects in Area B2 are new and will start in 2014. Two new core projects – B2.6 and B2.8 – deal with intra-party politics in European democracies, and with the signals that governments in OECD countries send to other governments and the financial markets regarding their future spending plans. The new postdoc project B2.7 addresses the impact of one key institution of a democracy – the electoral system – on the legislative behaviour of members of parliament in European states. Thus, all new core projects are based on comparative research designs.

Research Area B2 encompasses six supplementary projects. Two projects focus on the relevance of electoral rules and voting systems (B2.9) and on the role of constitutional courts (B2.10). Project B2.11 concentrates on the connection between participation and representation in modern democracies and therefore takes a closer look at how institutions – like political parties – link citizens and their interests with the state and, thus, at outcomes of the political process. Project B2.12 focuses on patterns of mediated contestation and how they vary across institutional contexts. Project B2.13 deals, by contrast, with labour policy and seeks to analyse the impact of partisan preferences on policy outputs in this area by paying special attention to the policy preferences of parties, the partisan composition of governments and 'Varieties of Capitalism' in OECD countries. These supplementary projects were already included in the previous programme. A new supplementary project (B2.14) focuses on the impact of the decisions by the German constitutional court on the process of political decision-making. It leverages an existing database of decisions of the German Federal Constitutional Court and combines it with new information about the legislative processes as a reaction to those decisions.

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Director(s)</th>
<th>Duration</th>
<th>Status</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B2.1</td>
<td>Intra-party Heterogeneity and its Political Consequences in Europe</td>
<td>Debus</td>
<td>2009-2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B2.3</td>
<td>Electoral Incentives and Legislative Behaviour</td>
<td>Bräuninger</td>
<td>2012-2015</td>
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<td>Going Local: Determinants of Institutional Changes of Local Government and their Implications for Political Participation and Political Decision-Making in West European Democracies</td>
<td>Debus</td>
<td>2013-2017</td>
<td>core</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Issue Salience and Legislative Responsiveness</td>
<td>Gschwend</td>
<td>2014-2017</td>
<td>core</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Signalling Good Governance</td>
<td>Baerg et al.</td>
<td>2014-2018</td>
<td>core (new)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Personal(ized) Vote and Parliamentary Representation</td>
<td>Däubler</td>
<td>2014-2017</td>
<td>Postdoc (new)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Making Electoral Democracy Work</td>
<td>Gschwend</td>
<td>2011-2016</td>
<td>supplementary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Federal Constitutional Court as a Veto Player</td>
<td>Gschwend</td>
<td>2011-2015</td>
<td>supplementary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participation and Representation. A Comparative Study of Linkage Mechanisms between Citizens and the Political System in Contemporary Democracies (PartiRep-2)</td>
<td>van Deth</td>
<td>2012-2017</td>
<td>supplementary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mediated Contestation in Comparative Perspective</td>
<td>Wessler</td>
<td>2012-2016</td>
<td>supplementary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Varieties of Capitalism, Partisan Politics and Labour Market Policies in OECD Member States after the Financial Crisis</td>
<td>Hörisch</td>
<td>2013-2017</td>
<td>supplementary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Implementation of Constitutional Court Decisions</td>
<td>Gschwend, Hönnige</td>
<td>2014-2016</td>
<td>supplementary (new)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In much of the literature on government formation and party behaviour, parties are treated as "unitary actors". This assumption is problematic since parties represent divergent interests of various members in several regional and organizational units, and such ideological heterogeneity can have important political consequences. This project aims at measuring ideological heterogeneity within parties, and at exploring its causes and consequences. On the basis of theories on electoral systems and party systems, political socialisation, party organisation and the principal-agent approach, we explain varying levels of intra-party heterogeneity by taking individual features of MPs and ministers as well as institutional factors into account. In addition, the project explores some of the main implications of intra-party heterogeneity. It has been argued that intra-party heterogeneity influences the power and behaviour of political actors, and patterns of intra-party conflict should thus have important consequences on political decision-making. In this project we focus more specifically on the origins and effects of ideological heterogeneity. The project gathers data from parliaments in eight European countries (Austria, Czech Republic, Estonia Finland, Germany, Ireland, Norway and Sweden). Our main source of information is parliamentary speeches of members of Parliament (MPs), which are analysed using computerised methods of content analysis. Understanding the causes and effects of intra-party heterogeneity is important for our knowledge about the functioning of parliamentary democracies in general and for explaining behaviour and decision-making of partisan political actors in particular.
B2.2 Personal Campaign Strategies and Political Representation

**Director(s):** Hermann Schmitt, Thomas Gschwend, Wolfgang C. Müller (Vienna), Andreas M. Wüst, Thomas Zittel (Frankfurt), Bernhard Weßels (Berlin)

**Duration:** 2005 to 2018

**Status:** Ongoing / Core

The crisis of political parties stresses individual representatives as alternative linkages between citizens and the state. This project studies the election campaigns of individual candidates regarding a number of problems that become relevant in this respect. It puts a special emphasis on campaign styles and on the following research questions: How can we systematically describe individualized election campaigns? How do they differ from party driven campaigns? To what degree are we able to observe individualized campaigns in European elections? Which factors foster, which ones hinder the diffusion of individualized election campaigns? Based on a newly developed core questionnaire we coordinate surveys of individual candidates standing for office in national parliamentary elections across Europe and across different incentive structures that might matter to their campaigns.

B2.3 Electoral Incentives and Legislative Behaviour

**Director(s):** Thomas Bräuninger

**Duration:** 2012 to 2015

**Status:** In preparation / Core

While the determinants of the success of legislative processes in parliamentary systems have been in the focus of an extensive literature, much less is known about the individual level strategies of the process, e.g., MP sponsoring of bills on a certain topic. There is an apparent discrepancy in the literatures on voting behaviour and legislative politics, with the former arguing that votes are taken for many reasons, notably candidate, party and issue characteristics, while the legislative behaviour of (assuming vote-seeking) MPs is most often considered as being driven by party politics, but nothing else. Without doubt, party discipline is an essential feature in parliamentary democracies, leaving small leeway for MPs to create their own policy profile and/or represent interests of their geographical constituencies. Yet, parties are not the only factor generating motivation and restrictions for MPs. To understand legislative behaviour of individual MPs, their links and ties to constituencies and colleagues within parliament have
also to be taken into account. Hence, our research focuses on the connection of the legislative and the electoral arena. First, electoral systems and voter behaviour provide MPs with distinct electoral incentives to pursue reelection via legislative behaviour. Bill sponsorship, but also other activities, like parliamentary questions, could therefore be targeted at the electorate. Electoral incentives are expected to influence the number and content of bills an MP sponsors or of the questions an MP asks. Second, if MPs do not exclusively follow party directions, this does not mean that they act in isolation. In their legislative behaviour they interact with colleagues of their own or other parties. Especially the legislative activity of introducing bills reveals information on both contexts: on individual legislative activity that possibly relates to the constituency, and on ties between MPs who support bills together. The patterns of cooperation in bill (co)sponsorship can also be expected to be influenced by electoral incentives. The project will shed light on the following questions: In how far are legislative activities a means for gaining a personal vote? What are the electoral motivations for introducing bills or parliamentary questions? Is bill sponsorship about constituency interests? Or does the motivation rather lie in targeting some party faction or in building networks with similar minded MPs? In how far are (co)sponsorship networks affected by electoral incentives of the initiators?

B2.4 Going Local: Determinants of Institutional Changes of Local Government and their Implications for Political Participation and Political Decision-Making in West European Democracies

**Director(s)/** Marc Debus

**Researcher(s)/** Martin Gross

**Duration/** 2013 to 2017

**Status/** In preparation / Core

Throughout the 1980s, 1990s and 2000s a wave of local government reforms took place in many West European countries. These reforms changed both the administrative structures and the political institutions of local government. In addition, they set incentives for new patterns of political participation and for variation in the decision-making processes of political actors as well as in the outcomes of the political process across the local units of a political system. The first aim of the project is to analyse why and how political actors changed the local institutional setting. In a second step, we are asking what effects these institutional changes and their impact on the policy output have on the citizens’ degree of satisfaction with the political system
and on their degree of political participation. Furthermore, we seek to analyse the impact of partisan composition of local parliaments and governments regarding the policy-making process. To answer these questions, the project builds on theories on institutional change and local government reforms and combines this with a principal-agent perspective in multilevel systems.

B2.5 Issue Salience and Legislative Responsiveness

**Director(s)/** Thomas Gschwend, Rainer Stiefelhagen (Karlsruhe)

**Researcher(s)/** Dominic Nyhuis

**Duration/** 2014 to 2017

**Status/** In preparation / Supplementary

This project proposes a novel measure for studying the responsiveness of political systems to public preferences that is easily accessible for comparative research. In a research project carried out by the computer science department at the Karlsruhe Institute of Technology and the Department of Political Science at the University of Mannheim we introduce an innovative measure for studying the importance that political actors attach to particular pieces of legislation. Such data is essential to investigate where elite focus differs from public preferences.

As an indicator of the importance that parties attach to a given issue – its salience – we intend to analyse the political parties’ parliamentary attendances. To study attendance, the project proposes to automatically analyse the video footage that is commonly collected in parliamentary assemblies. Specifically, we propose to apply face detection and face recognition techniques to collect information on the degree to which parties attended plenary sessions – item by item. As an empirical test case, the project will investigate a ten-year period spanning from 2003 to 2013 of the debates in the Landtag of the German state Baden-Württemberg. It is argued that the measure we use is superior to previous attempts to study issue salience as 1) it can be collected automatically and hence inexpensively, 2) it resides at the level of individual legislative proposals, 3) it can be collected retrospectively and 4) it provides an absolute metric that is comparable across space and time.
B2.6 Signalling Good Governance

**Director(s)/** Nicole Rae Baerg  
**Duration/** 2014 to 2018  
**Status/** In preparation / Core

Central Banks send policy signals and these signals shape household and market behaviour. Good signals—signals that are clear and reliable—set household and market expectations, yielding a lower inflation risk and price-level stability. While this is a common understanding of how monetary policy works, less known are the effects of fiscal signalling. Can governments signal their future spending plans to households and markets? Do these signals matter? This project empirically evaluates fiscal signalling strategies across a sample of European countries as well as offering more in depth analyses of Germany and Israel. It contributes to an understanding of how political institutions condition fiscal policy signalling and how, when, and why fiscal signalling matters for good governance.

B2.7 The Personal(ized) Vote and Parliamentary Representation

**Director(s)/** Thomas Däubler  
**Duration/** 2014 to 2017  
**Status/** In preparation / Postdoc

Electoral systems define how voters choose among political parties and candidates, and, as a consequence, also affect how re-election-seeking representatives will behave in office. The design of electoral systems therefore shapes the extent to which representation is based on persons on the one hand and on parties on the other. Existing work on the consequences of electoral systems for personal representation has provided important insights, but suffers from both theoretical and methodological weaknesses. With regard to theory, it is usually assumed that re-election-seeking is the only motivation of representatives to appeal on personal grounds. Most studies consider only a single personal vote-seeking activity and also fail to explicitly address the implications of personal representation for party-based representation. In terms of methodology, cross-national studies struggle with separating the effects of the electoral system type from those of other country-level variables.
This project addresses the theoretical shortcomings by distinguishing two underlying motivations of representatives, looking at several types of representation efforts and treating personal and party focus as two separate, but interrelated dimensions of representation. The empirical analysis exploits intra-country variation in direct measures of electoral incentives by considering two countries that recently “personalized” specific rules of their flexible list electoral systems. The aims of the project are to understand how two motivations – pursuing re-election as such and fostering personal reputation through electoral performance more widely – shape incentives to focus on personal constituents on the one hand and on candidate selectors within the party on the other. The project examines how these general (and unobservable) incentives are translated into specific and observable choices of parliamentary actions. In order to realize these goals, the project develops formal principal-agent models that allow it to derive predictions for the number and type of activities chosen, the topics covered, and the policy positions taken. The predictions are assessed with data from the Czech Republic and Sweden. These countries use flexible list electoral systems, under which the relative value of list rank and personal votes depends on specific electoral rules and on the extent to which voters make use of the optional vote for candidates. Reforms of those rules, in interaction with the voters’ inclination to use the candidate vote option, create variation in electoral incentives within a country. This variation can effectively be used to study how “personalization” incentives affect what representatives do and to whom they respond. While giving voters more say in deciding which specific candidates will obtain seats is desirable as such, it is important to examine the wider consequences of such institutional designs.

B2.8 Looking inside the Black Box: Intra-Party Policy and Party Policy Statements

**Director(s)/** Zachary Greene  
**Duration/** 2015 to 2020  
**Status/** Planned / Core

Parties are diverse organizations with ideologically diverse memberships. However, scholars often treat campaign messages as if they were created in isolation from parties’ organizations. Differences in the preferences of groups active within parties and the structures organizing those preferences likely influence the content of parties’ election campaigns and behaviour. A lack of appropriate data impedes the study of the intra-party behaviour. By focusing on parties’ internal decision-making process, this project will explore the effect of intra-party group preferences and rules on party statements of preference and party behaviour. In particular, I propose
to collect speeches given, the documents distributed and the rules governing party meetings from a range of OECD countries over time to facilitate cross-national and temporal analyses. Using automated text classification techniques, I will then use these texts to study the party's decision-making structure, statements of preferences such as election manifestos and party behaviour more broadly. The results from this project will hold important implications for our understanding of democratic electoral competition and provide a useful instrument to study a range of political questions.

B2.9 Making Electoral Democracy Work

Director(s)/ Steffen Zittlau
Researcher(s)/ Thomas Gschwend
Duration/ 2011 to 2016
Status/ Ongoing / Supplementary

The project brings together a team of economists, political scientists, and psychologists from Canada, Europe, and the United States to undertake the most ambitious study ever undertaken on the impact of electoral rules on the functioning of democracy. The goal of the project is to develop a better understanding of how electoral rules shape the dynamic and reciprocal interaction between citizens and political parties. The project's research will have profound implications for understanding the relationship between the rules governing elections and the quality of democracy. The study will provide the first comparative analysis of the impact of electoral rules on party strategies, the most comprehensive assessment of the role of strategic calculations and expressive benefits in the vote calculus, and the most wide-ranging assessment ever of the implications of differing electoral arrangements for the satisfaction that citizens feel with the functioning of electoral democracy.

There are three inter-related data sources. The first one involves an intensive analysis of party strategies in twenty elections in five different countries. Our innovative approach combines qualitative and quantitative methods to throw new light on how electoral rules influence party strategies and, hence, the options that are available to voters at election time. Canada, France, Germany, Spain, and Switzerland have been chosen in order to maximize variation in electoral arrangements. The second component is a panel survey of voters in the same five countries. The same people will be interviewed in different elections at the national, sub-national, and supranational level. This will make it possible to determine how individual preferences interact with the salience and competitiveness of elections and electoral rules to shape electoral behaviour. The final component is a coordinated series of innovative experiments designed to
complement the analyses of party strategies and the voter survey by explicating the underlying causal mechanisms. The Mannheim research team is responsible for the German data collection.

B2.10 The Federal Constitutional Court as a Veto Player

Director(s)/ Thomas Gschwend, Christoph Hönnige (Hannover)
Researcher(s)/ Caroline Wittig
Duration/ 2011 to 2015
Status/ Ongoing / Supplementary

This project wants to investigate when and under which conditions the German Federal Constitutional Court annuls statutes and, in doing so, becomes an effective veto player in Germany’s political system. A veto player is a political actor that can obstruct changes in the law. Due to its power of judicial review, the Federal Constitutional Court is such an actor. Empirically it has remained unclear, however, how often and under which conditions the court exercises its power. Furthermore, it is still an unsolved puzzle to what extent the court’s actions within the complex institutional system of the Federal Republic of Germany contribute to stabilizing the status quo and to making the system incapable of reform.

So far, research argues that the Federal Constitutional Court does constitute a veto player. However, it explains the court’s behaviour almost exclusively by means of jurisprudential approaches. In contrast to these lines of arguments, the project introduces concepts used specifically in political science, namely judges’ political preferences, as explanatory factors. These are employed to predict under which conditions the Federal Constitutional Court declares statutes void and hence does or does not make use of its veto power.

There are differing constellations of actors which are expected to make the court more or less likely to act as a veto player. They can be observed when looking at government compositions, legislative procedures, majorities in the Bundesrat, and preferences of judges resulting in changing court majorities.

To examine this empirically, the project will conduct studies on the basis of legislative procedures and rulings of the Federal Constitutional Court from 1976 to 2009.
Democratic governance requires mechanisms and actors that link citizens to the state. Citizens should be able to voice their demands and political outputs need to be congruent with these demands. It is precisely the manner in which this desired match between citizens’ preferences and the state’s policies can be produced that discussions about the functioning of democracy in contemporary Europe voice concern. Traditional forms of participation and traditional partisan frames giving meaning to the democratic exchange appear to be under pressure. Both the institutional environment and the societal norms and values in which political actors have to make their choices have been evolving. The democratic dialogue has become more complex and more fragmented.

Changing patterns of participation and representation were already the theme on which the PartiRep network focused in the course of the years 2007-2011. As in the first phase, PartiRep-2 is a large-scale collaborative project initiated and funded by the Belgian Science Policy Office Belspo for a five-year period starting in 2012. All Belgian Departments of Political Science participate in the project, whereas the University of Leiden and the MZES collaborate as partners. The network has set up a variety of projects on patterns of political participation, political trust, political protest, political parties, political deliberation, and political representation. The starting point was the assumption that changing patterns of participation and representation were to be analysed and explained within a frame of decline and, therefore, increasing pressure on the good and legitimate functioning of democracy. The results of this research have, however, shown that this ‘decline’ angle is, at the least, very incomplete and probably quite biased. Research seems to point at a variety of strategies by which both citizens and politicians adapt to the changing context of participation and representation.
B2.12 Mediated Contestation in Comparative Perspective

**Director(s)/** Hartmut Wessler  
**Researcher(s)/** Eike Mark Rinke  
**Duration/** 2012 to 2017  
**Status/** In preparation / Supplementary

Mediated contestation is an important arena for the articulation of identities and interests as well as a crucial context for democratic governance and problem solving. This project aims at identifying the relevant macro-social and media-related preconditions of mediated contestation as well as systematically assessing them from different normative perspectives.

The extent, structure, content and style of mediated contestation over issues related to religion/secularism are analysed in six democracies (USA, Australia, Germany, Switzerland, Turkey, and Lebanon) and three media types (daily newspapers, news websites, and political blogs). The project tests hypotheses regarding the influence of two macro-social conditions and two important media attributes. The two macro conditions are (1) the structure of the political system (majoritarian vs. consensus democracies) and (2) the existence or non-existence of a deep cultural division (contested vs. uncontested secularism). The media attributes studied are (3) the degree of users’ opportunities to respond to media content (low for daily newspapers vs. high for news websites and political blogs) and (4) the level of opinion orientation (low for daily newspapers and news websites vs. high for political blogs). In the first part of the project representative and comparable samples of media material will be analysed using standardized content analysis as well as automated topic modeling. Data analysis will rely on multilevel regression models. A follow-up study will later be proposed for continued funding, in which a series of comparative case studies will be conducted following the logic of Lieberman’s nested analysis. These case studies will be based on extended media samples (including social media) and shed light on the causal mechanisms that underlie the formation and characteristics of mediated contestation. In a final step these empirical patterns are subjected to a multiperspectival normative assessment that uses standards derived from liberal, republican, deliberative, and agonistic theories of democracy.
In recent years, after the financial crisis, the degree and development of labour market regulation have varied substantially among the OECD member states. This research project aims to explain these differences in labour market regulation by combining insights of partisan theory and the Varieties of Capitalism literature. Thus, the aim of the research project is to explain the different labour market policies in different political economies of the OECD world – including eastern European OECD members - with regard to outcomes, like the degree of active labour market policies, employment protection and replacement rates in case of unemployment. To answer the research question, a two-tiered analytic process will be applied. In a first step, hypotheses derived out of partisan theory and the Varieties of Capitalism approach will be tested using fuzzy-set Qualitative Comparative Analysis. The second step will apply methods of process tracing in line with comparative case studies of carefully selected cases.

This project has the objective to explain if, when and why Constitutional Court decisions are implemented by the legislature. The Constitutional Court has a direct influence on policies only if decisions are implemented by the legislature or the government. Thus, the degree of implementation is indicative of the political influence of the court. While most of the decisions of the Federal Constitutional Court formally have the force of a law, there are numerous examples in which the implementation of the decisions is delayed, only partially implemented or even not implemented at all. A systematic overview of the degree of implementation does not yet exist. The project will provide such an overview and explain to which degree decisions are imple-
mented. It leverages an existing database of decisions of the German Federal Constitutional Court and combines it with new information about the legislative processes as a reaction to those decisions.

**B3: Democratic Multilevel Governance and Europeanization**

Research Area B3 is dedicated to the challenges of democratic governance in the developing multilevel political system and focuses in particular on the European level. The development of multilevel systems, however, is not restricted to the EU, since vertical relationships can be found in many other political systems as well. Analytical units under scrutiny in Research Area B3 are individual, corporate, and collective actors in regional, national, and EU arenas, which shape the outcome of democratic decision-making processes. In contrast to the Eighth Research Programme, Research Area B3 now also covers projects that deal with citizens’ perceptions of political decisions induced by aspects of multilevel governance. The latter is of key importance since we are in need of gaining more information on the degree of democratic legitimacy in times when patterns of political decision-making at all levels of the political system are considered to be in crisis. Projects in Area B3 thus focus on, first, the impact of European integration on the behaviour of citizens and institutional actors like parties or national governments. Second, projects in B3 address processes of political decision-making at the EU level and ask how they affect decision-making processes in third states and/or that of other political authorities from the national, regional or local level of EU member states.

Area B3 consists of seven core projects, two postdoc projects and five supplementary projects. The number of projects in Area B3 has not only increased because of three new core projects and two new postdoc projects, but also for the reason that four projects were moved from Areas B1 and B2 into B3 because of the slightly changed focus of Area B3. Four core projects are ongoing. All projects are based on comparative research designs and focus on one or more levels within specific multilevel systems. Project B3.1 studies the relationships among several levels of political systems by focusing on the connection between European regional policy, party competition, and European identity at the regional level. Core project B3.2 adopts an experimental design to uncover the causal effects of the attribution of responsibility to citizen support for the European Union when subjects are provided with evidence of the EU’s influence in a number of policy areas. In a similar manner as project B3.2, core project B3.3 focuses on the impact of European integration and further steps of European unification on the behaviour of voters, but also on the behaviour of political parties as the key actors that link citizens and the
state in modern democracies. Core project B3.4 sticks with this perspective and provides a database consisting of European electoral studies on the one side and encompassing election manifestos of parties on the European level on the other side.

Research Area B3 will cover three new core projects and two postdoc projects, which all adopt a comparative perspective. These projects deal explicitly with aspects of Europeanization and the impact of European integration on the behaviour, the attitudes and the patterns of decision-making of individuals, parties, and governments. The increasing relevance of social media is addressed by the new core project B3.5, which investigates young people’s political participation engagement and, more specifically, how the use of digital media strengthens traditional and non-traditional forms of political participation on the European level. More specifically, this project focuses on the indirect impact of political institutions of the EU on various forms of political participation and engagement. The core project B3.6 studies the opinion of individuals in European societies by performing internet panel studies and pays specific attention to political reform-making in Europe. This allows for studying the effect of current challenges imposed by the European sovereign debt crisis, climate change, and societal developments of ageing populations on the attitude of citizens towards further steps in European integration. Postdoc project B3.8 plans to study how different types of elite euroscepticism affect citizens’ attitudes.

The third new core project B3.7 has a different perspective on multilevel politics. It plans to study the behaviour and actions of foreign political actors – such as national governments or institutions of the EU or UN – in terms of influencing democratic freedoms or electoral competition in a country. Postdoc project B3.9 focuses on the role of the European Union in international organisations and studies the effect of EU participation with regard to changing actorness at the international level. All five supplementary projects in Research Area B3 are ongoing. Project B3.10 covers the impact of European business interest associations. Supplementary project B3.11 addresses a new perspective on multilevel systems by analysing transatlantic relationships and their role in strengthening global governance. Project B3.12 also studies an innovative topic by investigating how international conferences, such as global climate summits, effect climate debates on the national level in Germany, India, South Africa, the United States, and Brazil. The two remaining supplementary projects focus on the multilevel system of the EU. Project B3.13 focuses on tax harmonisation in Europe and how it is influenced by EU fiscal institutions. Supplementary project B3.14 adopts a different perspective and focuses on patterns of governance within the EU. In doing so, it pays special attention to the role of the EU Presidency and whether it has influenced the behaviour and policy positions of representatives of the member states in the council.
### List of B3 Projects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>B3.1</th>
<th>Party Competition and Policy Outcomes in Multilevel Systems</th>
<th>Debus</th>
<th>2011-2017</th>
<th>core</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B3.2</td>
<td>Clarifying Responsibility in Europe: How Increasing Awareness about the EU's Influence in Policy Making Affects Attitudes to European Integration</td>
<td>Sean Carey</td>
<td>2013-2016</td>
<td>core</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B3.3</td>
<td>The True European Voter: A Strategy For Analysing the Prospects of European Electoral Democracy That Includes the West, the South and the East of the Continent (TEV)</td>
<td>Schmitt</td>
<td>2009-2015</td>
<td>core</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B3.4</td>
<td>European Election Study 2014</td>
<td>Schmitt, Wüst</td>
<td>2012-2017</td>
<td>core</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B3.5</td>
<td>New Arenas for Youth Engagement in Politics (NAYEP)</td>
<td>Theocharis</td>
<td>2014-2018</td>
<td>core (new)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B3.6</td>
<td>Public Opinion of European Societies in Change</td>
<td>Blom, König</td>
<td>2014-20?</td>
<td>core (new)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B3.7</td>
<td>Individual Responses to International Democratizing Action (IRIDA)</td>
<td>Marinov</td>
<td>2014-2018</td>
<td>core (new)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B3.8</td>
<td>Framing Europe: Eurosceptic Cues and Citizen Attitudes</td>
<td>Zapryanova</td>
<td>2014-2017</td>
<td>postdoc (new)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B3.9</td>
<td>The European Union in International Organisations</td>
<td>Wetzel</td>
<td>2014-2020</td>
<td>postdoc (new)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B3.10</td>
<td>EUROLOB II - Europeanization of Interest Intermediation</td>
<td>Kohler-Koch, Quittkat</td>
<td>2010-2015</td>
<td>supplementary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B3.11</td>
<td>Redefining the Transatlantic Relationship and its Role in Shaping Global Governance</td>
<td>Rattinger</td>
<td>2012-2015</td>
<td>supplementary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Director(s)</td>
<td>Duration</td>
<td>Status</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B3.12 Sustainable Media Events? Production and Discursive Effects of Staged Global Political Media Events in the Area of Climate Change</td>
<td>Wessler</td>
<td>2012-2015</td>
<td>supplementary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B3.13 Tax Policy in the EU in an Environment of New Fiscal Institutions and Coordination Procedures</td>
<td>König</td>
<td>2012-2015</td>
<td>supplementary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

B3.1 Party Competition and Policy Outcomes in Multilevel Systems

**Director(s)/** Marc Debus, Jochen Müller  
**Duration/** 2011 to 2017  
**Status/** In preparation / Core

The aim of this project is to analyse the determinants and implications of party competition in the regional sphere in European multilevel systems. In doing so, the project addresses three main research questions. First, do parties on the sub-national level respond to the structural characteristics and ideological orientations of the regional electorate when formulating their election manifestos? In a second step, the project will deal with the question of what impact European regional policy and funding, the different types of regional authority, the patterns of national party competition and the programmatic profiles of sub-national parties have on the outcome of the coalition formation and portfolio allocation processes at the regional level. Third, the project seeks to analyse the impact of regional governments and their partisan composition on policy outputs. To answer these questions, the project builds on theories relating to party competition and government formation in multilevel systems and the principal-agent approach. To test our hypotheses, we use a dataset that covers information on issue saliencies and policy positions of political parties at the regional and the national level in nine European states.
B3.2 Clarifying Responsibility in Europe: How Increasing Awareness about the EU’s Influence in Policy Making Affects Attitudes to European Integration

**Director(s)/** Sean Carey  
**Duration/** 2013 to 2016  
**Status/** In preparation / Core

This study adopts an experimental design to uncover the causal effects of attribution of responsibility to citizen support for the European Union when subjects are provided with evidence of the EU’s influence in a number of policy areas. This project will investigate the effects of educating citizens about the EU’s roles in a number of policy domains when highlighting the differences in the extent of the clarity of responsibility in relation to other institutions at the national and subnational level.

B3.3 The True European Voter: A Strategy for Analysing the Prospects of European Electoral Democracy that Includes the West, the South and the East of the Continent (TEV)

**Director(s)/** Hermann Schmitt  
**Researcher(s)/** Rosa M. Navarrete  
**Duration/** 2009 to 2015  
**Status/** Ongoing / Core

For large-scale democracies, general elections are the ultimate link between societal interests and demands on the one hand, and governmental action on the other. In contemporary Europe, this link – the 'electoral connection' – is experiencing a number of threats. One is the European unification process itself due to its inherent diminution of political accountability. Another threat is a far reaching ideological depolarization of electoral choice options. A third results from the changes of European political parties over the last decades. Finally, effective political representation in post-communist societies is threatened by the legacies of communism. Due to diversities in the institutional make-up, socio-political development and recent history, these threats manifest themselves differently in different parts of Europe. Building on the achievements of the European Voter project, this project intends to advance the knowledge of the imperfections of electoral democracy in Europe, and to come up with sound conclusions and
policy recommendations. This shall be done by establishing a network of scholars and by building the necessary database for a comprehensive co-operative analysis of these threats. To promote the quality and robustness of the output of the project, a strong emphasis will be put on providing training opportunities for young scholars.

B3.4 European Election Study 2014

**Director(s)**/ Hermann Schmitt, Andreas M. Wüst
**Researcher(s)**/ Sebastian Adrian Popa
**Duration**/ 2012 to 2017
**Status**/ Ongoing / Core

The quality of democracy in the European Union is constantly being questioned, generally with very little supporting evidence. Those who would defend the functioning of democratic institutions in the EU are equally short of supporting evidence. Assessments of the way democracy works in the EU and suggestions for improvements are only possible on the basis of audits of the quality of electoral democracy at the time of European Parliament (EP) elections. Such assessments have so far been conducted only in an ad hoc fashion, with precarious funding that has hindered full assessments on all occasions. The 2009 study is a notable exception in that regard, and we are confident that the 2014 study will be judged similarly by the community of scholars. The 2014 study consists of several sub-projects: one is a representative post-election survey in all 28 EU member countries; another one is a two-wave panel survey in a subgroup of 12 countries, for which one panel wave is conducted immediately after the EP election and the other after the subsequent first-order election; third comes a survey among candidates standing for office in the different member countries; fourth is a party manifesto study covering all relevant parties in all member countries; fifth is media campaign study; and sixth and finally comes a new social media communication study.
B3.5 New Arenas for Youth Engagement in Politics (NAYEP)

**Director(s):** Yannis Theocharis  
**Duration:** 2014 to 2018  
**Status:** In preparation / Core

This project investigates young people’s shifting conceptions of citizenship and changing political engagement patterns. It places emphasis on how the use of digital media strengthens traditional and non-traditional forms of political participation and creates new venues and opportunities for young people’s engagement and interaction with diverse policy actors and institutions. NAYEP studies both the demand (young citizens) and supply (political institutions and organisations) side through a mixed methods approach that includes comparative surveys, focus groups, experiments and analysis of “Big” social media data. It provides insights into how young citizens understand, conceptualise and engage into politics, and how various political actors can play an active role in engaging young people in politics in general, and the European project in particular.

B3.6 Public Opinion of European Societies in Change

**Director(s):** Annelies Blom, Thomas König  
**Duration:** 2015 to 2017  
**Status:** Planned / Core

This project aims to collect micro-level data on public opinion about political reform-making in Europe, in order to cope with future challenges such as climate change, public and private debt as well as societal developments of ageing populations and unemployment of the young. However, both at the country and the European level, we observe considerable variation in the ways whether and how reforms are carried out. One of the main characteristics of reform-making is that processes are complex and take a long time in democratic systems, in which public opinion plays a crucial role and may vary over time. In addition to elections, decision-makers pay attention to public opinion polls, which are at best either cross-sectional data collections or build on convenience samples. For the study of reform-making we need probability sampling to infer to the general population, a longitudinal design for analysing long-lasting processes, and experiments for reliably evaluating implications of reform-making. We thus propose to set up, develop and find medium-term funding for a European network of probability-
based online panels of the general population. This promises to increase the reliability and validity of public opinion data about reform-making in Europe, which may support scholars and decision-makers alike in their evaluation of reform-making processes.

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B3.7 Individual Responses to International Democratizing Action (IRIDA)

**Director(s)/** Nikolay Marinov  
**Duration/** 2014 to 2018  
**Status/** In preparation / Core

This project focuses on the field of international democracy promotion and has three aims: conceptual innovation, data gathering and hypotheses testing. First, it conceptualizes the types of outside democratizing actions: evaluations (whether electoral competition functioned in a desirable manner) and interventions (conditioning benefits on the content of the evaluation). The project develops a theory of how the different combinations of actions impact individual attitudes toward the state of democratic rights, toward particular political parties and toward the outside actor/s. The theory suggests that a respondents’ attitude toward the governing party and toward the foreign actor, together with the expectation of benefits from agreeing with the outsider’s position, dictate individual responses. Second, in order to collect data, representative surveys will be conducted in Hungary, Slovakia, Serbia, Bosnia, Ukraine and Turkey. Third, the new data will allow researchers to test hypotheses about who changes their mind and in what ways if outsiders intervene in a democracy. European and German foundations (DFG) will be approached for funding this 3-year project.

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B3.8 Framing Europe: Eurosceptic Cues and Citizen Attitudes

**Director(s)/** Galina Zapryanova  
**Duration/** 2014 to 2017  
**Status/** In preparation / Postdoc

The central goal of this project is to study and explain how different types of elite Euroscepticism affect citizens’ attitudes. The subject of Euroscepticism has attracted significant attention in recent years given the more politicized nature of European integration. While Euroscepticism
has traditionally been confined to the political fringe, centrist and other mainstream parties have increasingly adopted EU-critical rhetoric into their political communications. Despite the expanded range of actors that disseminate Eurosceptic messages, we know little about the role of different types of Eurosceptic messages and different types of messengers in shaping public opinion. The project seeks to remedy this gap by investigating how variation in the content and source of Eurosceptic cues affects public opinion.

B3.9 The European Union in International Organisations

**Director(s)/** Anne Wetzel  
**Duration/** 2014 to 2020  
**Status/** In preparation / Postdoc

Over the past decades, the European Union (EU) has evolved considerably as an international actor and has worked towards increased involvement in international organisations (IOs). This project aims to show to what degree the EU, as the most advanced regional integration organisation and thus a ‘most-likely case’, has gained a formal or informal status in IOs, and to explain the observed variance. In a second step, the project will also deal with the EU’s effective status, i.e. the degree to which the EU can effectively make use of its status in an IO. It is known that, despite the same formal status, there is a broad variation in the actual rights that the EU enjoys in different IOs. In particular, two questions will be addressed: a) Why are there different arrangements between the EU institutions and EU member states in cases of joint IO membership and how can observed differences be explained? b) Why are there different arrangements for the EU as an observer in IOs and how can observed differences be explained? The project will compile a database on the EU’s status in IOs.

B3.10 EUROLOB II - Europeanization of Interest Intermediation

**Director(s)/** Beate Kohler-Koch, Christine Quittkat  
**Researcher(s)/** Christine Quittkat  
**Duration/** 2010 to 2015  
**Status/** Ongoing / Supplementary

EUROLOB II investigates if and how national and European business interest associations (BIAs) respond with modified strategies of interest intermediation to the new competitive situa-
tion caused by enlargement (reduced "ear-time") and the new consultation regime of the Commission, which institutionalised the principle of "participatory governance" and new procedures promoting the access of European NGOs. The research is based on the replication of an earlier survey (EUROLOB I, 1999), addressed to BIAs in Germany, Great Britain, France and the EU. For comparative reasons it has been extended to cover BIAs in Poland and European level general interest associations. The quantitative analysis is supplemented with a series of interviews.

B3.11 Redefining the Transatlantic Relationship and its Role in Shaping Global Governance

**Director(s):** Hans Rattinger  
**Researcher(s):** Jana Pötzschke  
**Duration:** 2012 to 2015  
**Status:** Ongoing / Supplementary

This project seeks to redefine the transatlantic relationship in the evolving international system and its role in the building of a viable, effective and accountable global governance architecture, as well as to elaborate robust policy recommendations. By combining an inter-disciplinary analysis of transatlantic relations, including in-depth interviews, elite surveys and sophisticated Delphi exercises, the project will take stock of the current state of transatlantic relations with regard to economic, security, environmental, and democracy/human rights issues.

Mannheim is mainly responsible for the design, implementation and analysis of elite surveys in the EU and the U.S. and for Delphi exercises with external experts from the EU and the U.S., from key transatlantic partners such as Turkey and Canada, as well as from each of the four BRIC countries. The elite surveys will add a substantive amount of empirical evidence that integrates research based on other sources. The aim of the Delphi exercises is to confirm areas of convergence and their ensuing policy recommendations, as well as minimise areas of divergence and elaborate new recommendations on this basis.
B3.12 Sustainable Media Events? Production and Discursive Effects of Staged Global Political Media Events in the Area of Climate Change

**Director(s):** Hartmut Wessler

**Researcher(s):** Julia Lück, Antal Wozniak

**Duration:** 2012 to 2015

**Status:** Ongoing / Supplementary

This project integrates two research perspectives on the emergence of cross-border media debates that have remained unconnected so far: research on the attention-grabbing characteristics of global media events on the one hand and research on longer-term shifts in the parameters of media debates on the other. Thus, the project investigates (a) how staged global political media events (i.e. the United Nations climate conferences in 2012 and 2013) are produced, and (b) which discursive effects these events have on national climate debates in the media of five leading democratic countries around the world, namely Germany, the U.S., India, South Africa and Brazil.

Module 1 of the project analyses the communicative production of the climate conferences via interviews and non-participant observation of central actors on site (communication professionals of government delegations and NGOs as well as journalists). The underlying hypothesis is that the climate conferences are co-produced by these actors in ways that temporarily suspend the adversary professional roles commonly assumed between them.

Module 2 investigates the possible discursive effects of the climate conferences by way of a large-scale multi-modal comparative media content analysis, looking particularly at the extent of cross-references between the five countries and possible convergences in actors’ issue framing, visual framing, and narrative features of news reports. The underlying assumption here is that the climate conferences drive national media debates in the same direction.
B3.13 Tax Policy in the EU in an Environment of New Fiscal Institutions and Coordination Procedures

Director(s)/ Thomas König
Researcher(s)/ Bernd Luig
Duration/ 2012 to 2015
Status/ Ongoing / Supplementary

The environment of EU tax policy has fundamentally changed in recent times. As a reaction to the European debt crisis, new fiscal instruments (EFSF, ESM), rules (Fiscal Compact) and coordination procedures (European Semester) have been established. These measures open new channels of Community influence on formerly autonomous fields of national policy making. We intend to develop an integrated theory on European tax harmonization under the new institutional environment, which we will examine empirically. In particular, the following questions will be addressed: How can we explain the integration of tax harmonization in Europe? How will new fiscal instruments, rules and procedures impact this tax harmonization? What are the implications of the European sovereign debt crisis – does it change the existing tax competition in Europe? And how will the new compensatory instruments for the EU budget influence tax harmonization?

This project is part of an interdisciplinary network within the Pact of Research and Innovation that was integrated into the Leibniz ScienceCampus “MannheimTaxation” (MaTax). Its main objective is to foster high-quality research in the broad field of taxation. MaTax particularly focuses on the question of how tax policy should be designed in the light of European integration and new economic and social challenges. MaTax brings together researchers from economics, law, business and political science. In addition to the investigation of EU legislative and national transposition activities, our contribution consists of developing a new database on EJC case law in the area of (direct) taxation. Based on this database, we will analyse judicial behaviour with regard to legislative gridlock and (professional) public support.
Every six months, the Presidency of the European Union (EU) Council of Ministers rotates to a different member state (MS), and there is some evidence that in the run-up to and during their tenure, MS sometimes change policy positions and (voting) behaviour in ways that defy established theoretical expectations. The Presidency has evolved from a merely administrative Chair into a key player in EU decision making with responsibility for representation, mediation/brokerage and agenda setting. Thus, this project examines the impact of the Presidency’s changing role(s) in the context of EU governance on the behaviour and policy positions of the incumbent MS, in order to determine to what extent tenure of the Presidency can explain changes in Council members’ policy positions and behaviour where other factors, including (power) resources, relative stakeholder positions, issue salience and (other) institutions cannot.

The compilation of a new, and the first, data set of the population of Presidencies to date (114 cases by 2015) will form the basis for a systematic comparison of the multi-faceted historical cases using a multi-method approach: Qualitative Comparative Analysis (QCA), supplemented where necessary by case studies, will capture the non-quantifiable aspects of Presidency roles, while statistical analyses can be used for quantitative aspects and alternative explanatory factors (such as economic performance and other power resources). The research goal is to establish those combinations of structural, institutional and ideational conditions that explain (changes in) member state behaviour in the Presidency.
### Associated Projects

#### AI.1 Welfare State Reform Support from Below: Linking Individual Attitudes and Organized Interests in Europe

- **Director(s):** Bernhard Ebbinghaus, J. Timo Weishaupt
- **Researcher(s):** Thomas Bahle, Julia Klitzke, Elias Naumann
- **Duration:** 2010 to 2017
- **Status:** Ongoing / Associated

#### BI.1 The Domestic Foundation of Governmental Preferences Over European Politics

- **Director(s):** Thomas König
- **Duration:** 2010 to 2017
- **Status:** Ongoing / Associated

#### BI.2 Legislative Reforms and Party Competition

- **Director(s):** Thomas König, Wolfgang C. Müller
- **Duration:** 2010 to 2017
- **Status:** Ongoing / Associated

#### BI.3 Reform Agendas and Intra-party Programmatic Position-taking

- **Director(s):** Thomas Bräuninger, Marc Debus
- **Researcher(s):** Markus Baumann, Matthias Haber
- **Duration:** 2010 to 2017
- **Status:** Ongoing / Associated
BI.4 "Strong" vs. "Weak" Governments and the Challenge of Economic Reforms

**Director(s):** Hanna Bäck, Wolfgang C. Müller  
**Duration:** 2010 to 2017  
**Status:** Ongoing / Associated

BI.5 Measuring a Common Space and the Dynamics of Reform Positions

**Director(s):** Thomas Gschwend  
**Duration:** 2010 to 2017  
**Status:** Ongoing / Associated

BI.6 Citizens in the European Public Sphere: An Empirical Analysis of European Union News

**Director(s):** Rüdiger Schmitt-Beck  
**Researcher(s):** Stefanie Walter  
**Duration:** 2011 to 2015  
**Status:** Ongoing / Associated Dissertation

BI.7 Repression and the Escalation of Violence (RATE)

**Director(s):** Sabine C. Carey  
**Duration:** 2014 to 2019  
**Status:** Ongoing / Associated