Seventh Research Programme
2008 – 2011
Seventh Research Programme

2008 - 2011
Introduction to the Seventh MZES Research Programme 2008–2011

Preface

The Research Programme is the major tool for planning and coordinating the long-term scientific activities of the Mannheim Centre for European Social Research (MZES). The present document is the seventh in a series of research programmes since the foundation of the MZES in 1989.

The MZES Executive Board prepared the Seventh Research Programme in close cooperation with the directors of the research projects and the coordinators of the six Research Areas within the two Departments. The present Board has been elected in September 2007 for a three year period (2008–2011) starting in February 2008, consisting of:

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<th>Position</th>
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<td>Director</td>
<td>Prof. Dr. Bernhard Ebbinghaus</td>
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<td>Head of Department A</td>
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<td>Head of Department B</td>
<td>Prof. Dr. Thomas König</td>
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The Seventh Research Programme was positively evaluated by the MZES Scientific Advisory Board on June 6–7, 2008. The MZES Supervisory Board (Kollegium) adopted the Programme on September 10, 2008.

This Seventh Research Programme (autumn 2008 to autumn 2011) is the result of intense cooperation of many people at the Centre. The new programme lists 57 projects, of which 15 are new initiatives and 42 are projects carried over from the Sixth Research Programme (2005–2008) as several of these projects have only recently received funding or are long-term projects that run beyond 2008.

More generally, the MZES continues well-established lines of research along now six Research Areas that were set up in an effort to further concentrate research clusters under the last research programme. Given the recruitment of new professors and postdoc researchers over the last two years, the Seventh Research Programme also provides a strong dose of innovation.

The MZES Executive Board is collectively responsible for the programme and will organise all research activities according to the plans presented in this document. The programme will be updated annually in consultation with the Scientific Advisory Board and the Supervisory Board of the MZES. The Executive Board thanks all faculty members and MZES researchers who have been involved in planning the Seventh Research Programme.
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1 Research Topics and Programme Goals

This section gives a general overview of the overall aims and research topics of the Seventh Research Programme (2008-2011). It includes the following main points:

- The Centre’s Mission
- Recent Developments
- Main Themes of the Research Programme
- MZES Research Areas
- Research Goals and Instruments
- Cooperation and Integration
- The Centre’s Strategic Goals

1.1 The Centre’s Mission

The central goal of the Mannheim Centre for European Social Research (MZES) is to do social science research on the development of European societies and their political systems, and to analyze the ongoing processes of European integration. The Centre thus studies the social and political structures and processes in Europe from both comparative and integration perspectives. It is committed – as the statutes of the MZES hold – "undertaking comparative European research and research into European integration and aims to combine the two". The Centre has a strong analytical empirical tradition, contributing to the theoretical development of the social sciences and it seeks to advance our substantial knowledge on Europe. This is not only an academic aim, but a better understanding of Europe's diversity and unity is also relevant to political actors and society at large.

Unity in diversity has been Europe's challenge. European societies developed under such diverse cultural, social, and economic conditions and have established their own national states that had to learn how to cooperate. Understanding Europe's social and political reality as well as its challenges and futures requires the comparative study of the societal and political units that constitute Europe. Comparative research provides the means to identify the common traits and differences of European societies and political systems. Cross-national comparison allows observing the converging and diverging social and political trends, and it serves as a systematic method of scientific explanation. The political measures taken towards European integration and the construction of the European Union have to take into account the existing cross-national diversity. But economic internationalization and political integration forcefully impacts on the development of national societies, it also fundamentally changes the conditions of government. These intertwined processes need the combination of comparative research and multi-level integration analysis.

When the Mannheim Centre was founded in 1989 it faced the task to bring together the main traditions of research done at the various chairs of the Faculty of Social Sciences into one
research centre, which would more specifically focus on Europe. The Centre started with a relatively small number of projects. The sociological projects were concerned with social inequality of living conditions and the development of welfare states in Europe. The political science projects mainly studied developments of democratic government. Later research projects concerning the political system of the European Community and on problems of European integration were added.

In 1998, after the first ten years of its existence, the Centre has reformed its organizational structure concentrating research in two instead of previously four Research Departments:

- Department A: European societies and their integration;
- Department B: European political systems and their integration.

This structure has been successfully implemented over the last decade. The research profile of the two departments has been consolidated in the Sixth Research programme to three research areas in Department A and four in Department B in 2005.

The Seventh Research Programme will further concentrate its research agenda in Department B, integrating research on Eastern Europe and beyond into the other research areas. In its first decade the MZES concentrated on the social and political developments of Western Europe, and one separate research cluster additionally focused on the history and the political development of the former German Democratic Republic. This research gradually shifted to the comparative study of conflicts and cooperation in Eastern Europe, including the analysis of nationalisms in the territory of the former Soviet Union. The research endeavours to study the new transition in the East was an important addition to the otherwise strong focus on Western Europe. In recent years, however, several MZES research areas and even individual projects in both departments became more encompassing in regional scope, including old and new member states of the European Union. Therefore the Seventh Research Programme has no longer a special research area for Eastern European developments thereby overcoming past regional area divisions.

1.2 Recent Developments

The MZES has become by far the largest research institute of the University of Mannheim. In the last years it has succeeded to obtain a first-rate position in European social and political research, repeatedly testified 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. Today around 20 faculty members and over 70 MZES researchers are working in more than 50 larger or smaller research projects at the MZES assisted by many student researchers. A staff of about 15 employees assures the smooth administrative, computer, library and Eurodata Archive services crucial for the ongoing research.
Today the MZES is a significant “player” in political science and sociological studies of Europe, as the work conducted at the MZES generally transcends national borders. Mannheim has become a place of intensive academic exchange within Germany and internationally. The MZES can look back on many initiatives to develop extensive research networks that have been undertaken in recent years, several continuing into the Seventh Research Programme. Over the next years, similar activities will have to be added to replace those past initiatives that have come to its planned ending. The following recent activities have been coordinated in Mannheim or networks in which the MZES is a major partner:

- the EU Network of Excellence “Efficient and Democratic Governance in a Multi-level Europe” (CONNEX), with 43 partner institutions from 23 countries ended in 2008;
- the EU Network of Excellence “Economic Change, Quality of Life and Social Cohesion” (EQUALSOC) continues until 2010;
- the EU Integrated Project “Integrated and United: A Quest for Citizenship in an ‘Ever Closer Europe’” (INTUNE) until 2010;
- the German team of the EU- and DFG-financed “European Social Survey”;
- the DFG-financed German network “Panel Analysis of Intimate Relationships and Family Dynamics (PAIRFAM)”;
- EU-financed cooperation with the Institute for European Studies of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences which ended in 2007.

In 2004, a committee of internationally recognized academics evaluated the MZES on behalf of the Land Baden-Württemberg. The committee’s report concluded that the MZES takes an “important position in the German research landscape” and “has developed into a centre of excellence in social science research”. The report also stated that the research carried out at the MZES is an important contribution to the profile of the University of Mannheim. The repeated university rankings by the CHE/Die Zeit (2002, 2005, 2008) showed that both the political science and the sociology departments are ranked among the top university departments in Germany not only in teaching but also in research and reputation. In April 2008 the Wissenschaftsrat (Science Council) released a research rating of German sociology, indicating that Mannheim (the faculty department and MZES Department A) was the only university with excellent quality of research, and was among the top rated universities in several other research indicators.

Over the last years, the MZES has been coping with the challenge of generational change, as all members that founded and built-up the Centre will have retired by 2009. In order to meet that challenge, the Faculty of Social Sciences has been recruiting vacant chairs in sociology and political science with a view to active participation in the MZES.

The MZES successfully completed its move to the social science faculty building in A5 in late 2006, allowing not only cost-saving synergies but also closer personal interactions between Faculty and Centre. Unfortunately, given the successful expansion in research projects, the
MZES has already reached the limit of available office space in A5 and additional offices in a nearby building (D7) have to be rented. Having brought two resourceful libraries, the Centre’s and the Faculty’s holdings, under one roof, allows further co-ordinating of acquisition policies and concentration of resources, allowing long hours of library access for researchers and students. The MZES Europe Library remains however a research library specifically designed to serve researchers at the MZES.

As the MZES relies heavily on the research initiatives and project coordination by the professors at the Faculty of Social Sciences, the high teaching obligations (which are excessive by international standards and indeed the highest in Germany) and the many administrative duties (at the Faculty, MZES and University) pose an important limitation. This situation has now been partially improved. In 2005, the Ministry of Science, Research, and Art of the Land Baden-Württemberg has eventually responded to continued suggestions made by both the Scientific Advisory Board and the evaluation committee to reduce the teaching obligations. The heads of the departments A and B are relieved of two hours teaching, the MZES director by four hours. On request of the Ministry, the teaching reduction has to be compensated by teaching of MZES researchers. Therefore the MZES converted one of its research positions in a junior professorship in political science; it is a non-tenure track position for a six-year term, teaching four hours. Together with the MZES Fellows who teach one seminar per semester, the eight hours teaching reduction of the MZES Executive is compensated. In addition, the MZES expects the Junior Professor to be research-active and to further add to the MZES research profile. The MZES Fellows are expected to initiate and coordinate larger externally financed research projects.

1.3 Main Themes of the Research Programme

Notwithstanding temporal backlashes, Europe is the world region that has been moving towards political integration and transnational exchange more than any other continent or group of states in the post-war period and since the 1980s in particular. Originally a project of maintaining peace in Europe via economic integration, European integration has been increasingly moving towards a political union with new trans- and supra-national forms of governance. It is probably unique in history that so many sovereign states are willing to transfer such substantial parts of their sovereignty to supra-national bodies. Although nation-states continue to be highly important political arenas – both in terms of legitimising political decision-making and with respect to the significance and political weight of the decisions actually taken – they lose in relative terms. Supra-national actors have emerged and are gaining ground. Sub-national regional actors and non-governmental organizations are also seen to increasingly compete with the nation-state and its central governments. At the same time, trans-national interdependencies and contacts intensify, a process that is facilitated by new communication technologies and opportunities.

While all this has gradually brought significant transformations in the political organization in the Western part of Europe, the collapse of Communism and of the power structure of the Soviet Union has led to rapidly transform the political landscape and the significance of politi-
cal boundaries and alliances in Europe. While this process is still in flux, the 2004 and 2007 enlargements have added another twelve EU member states. Accession processes have been started for Croatia, Macedonia and Turkey. Thus, the European Union has been radically transformed. In order to cope with this transformation the Constitutional Treaty had been signed, which, however was rejected in referendums in France and The Netherlands in 2005. The backlash caused by the recent Irish “no” referendum of the watered down Lisbon 2008 Treaty indicated again that domestic affairs intervene in referendums on European issues, and can lead to obstacles in political integration processes. The popular rejection of the elite consensus indicates that European integration remains contested and vulnerable. The fate of the EU reform process also underlines existing differences between the EU member states, as ratification was smooth and practically uncontested in some of them. All this testifies that the mission of the MZES is highly relevant from both an academic and practical perspective.

Many of the European societies face similar challenges: technological change and increasingly global market competition require changing individual qualifications, affect work opportunities, and lead to institutional adaptation. Gender roles, family structures, and other arrangements of close social relationships change. Low birth rates and increasing longevity lead to population aging and ensuing rising demands for health care and social services, thereby putting strain on the pension systems. Together with the challenges resulting from continued mass unemployment in some societies these demands heavily ponder on the public budgets. The inability to cope with these challenges put the legitimacy of the welfare state under stress, from both the interest groups, whose demands can no longer be met, and from the tax-payers, who have to carry ever larger burdens but are less convinced that they will ever enjoy the benefits themselves. Immigration is another challenge to many of the European societies. High levels of immigration lead to a decline in cultural homogeneity, allow for the “clash of cultures”, and require growing efforts in order to integrate the newcomers.

It is one of the major tasks of the MZES to contribute to a better understanding of the European societies and polities thorough empirical research based on solid theoretical foundations. Despite much progress over the last two decades, our knowledge on 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 very 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. Questions remain about where we are on the path towards a “European Society”, and what are the options, barriers, and potential setbacks on the integration track. 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 needed 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 the societal level.

Both comparative and integration research have their place in the present MZES Research Programme. Empirical research, however, often cannot combine both strands for practical reasons. Specific studies must satisfy themselves with approaching more limited research questions that can be answered with the available resources. Thus, depending on the research question, the state of the art, and the data and research tools available, many projects emphasis or focus exclusively on either the comparative or the integration aspect. Moreover, in some areas micro-level research must precede comparative studies. Only when a sufficient understanding of micro-level processes and social mechanisms has been achieved, it is meaningful to start large-scale comparative research. Some projects focus on the German society or political system in an effort to enhance research on Germany, contributing thereby to the international research community by providing the basis for further comparative analysis.

European integration research is generally less developed in sociology than in political science where longstanding research traditions exist in comparative politics and international relations. Most sociologists share the conviction that presently the most valuable contribution for understanding the potential integration of European societies can be made when comparative knowledge on these societies is improved or when basic mechanisms of social integration and their societal conditions (system integration) are better understood. Therefore, most research on European integration is concerned thus far with politics from a political science perspective. Nevertheless, the MZES-based sociological research is gradually increasing the share of explicit cross-national comparison and studying the impact of transnational processes such as economic globalization and migration.

The research topics contained in the present programme take up the challenges of the European project. The projects collectively aim at improving social science knowledge about core problems of the social and political conditions and structures in Europe. They address developments contributing to the further integration of Europe or strains resulting from it. In the two MZES Departments there is both continuity in research priorities from the last Research Programme and substantial innovation by including new research topics. As always, some projects from the earlier programme are finished, several projects of the sixth programme are brought forward to the seventh, and several new ones are initiated.¹

¹ Projects continued from the 6th to the 7th programme are labelled throughout as "ongoing".
1.4 The Research Areas

The Seventh MZES Research programme focuses on the following Research Areas that coordinate within the two Departments the various individual research projects in thematic clusters.

Department A: European Societies and their Integration
- A1 Changing Labour Relations and Welfare States in Europe (Bernhard Ebbinghaus)
- A2 Education, Labour Markets and Social Stratification in Europe (N.N.)
- A3 Family, Education and Ethnicity in Europe (Josef Brüderl)

Department B: European Political Systems and their Integration
- B1 Conditions of Democratic Governance (Jan van Deth)
- B2 Contexts for Democratic Governance (Wolfgang C. Müller)
- B3 Democratic Multi-level Governance (Thomas König)

Department A addresses some of the most crucial changes and challenges European societies have to face in recent years and in so doing the projects often apply a long-term perspective. The topics covered include the welfare states and their reforms as well as the changing labour relations that are addressed from a macro-sociological comparative perspective in Area A1. Area A2 addresses central questions of the social structure and its reproduction by a focus on education and labour market processes under varying institutional configurations. Area A3 focuses at family and other intimate relations and the social networks with which these are interwoven. It also includes research on ethnicity and migration, central topics for social integration. A2 and A3 share a micro-sociological perspective, but the projects are often explicitly tied to the macro-context in which these social processes and interpersonal relations are embedded. The projects of all three Research Areas represent a blend of continuing previous strength in research and introducing innovative research topics. More then ever, the macro-comparative and the micro-sociological approaches of the projects in Department A endeavour to be complementary.

In Department B all three Research Areas are concerned with the development of democracy in Europe. Overcoming the separation of Eastern European area research, the previous four Research Areas are now concentrated in three clusters that were slightly renamed. The three Research Areas distinguish themselves by their central research questions and the resulting methodological focus. Area B1 is concerned with the micro-foundations of democracy: the attitudes and modes of behaviour of the citizens and the ways in which these are acquired and shaped. Area B2 is devoted to the political organizations and institutions that link citizens to the making of authoritative political decisions: political parties and parliaments. Areas B1 and B2 necessarily overlap to some extent. On the one hand institutions shape the preferences and strategies of individual actors, while on the other hand parties and parliaments respond to
demands and strategies of voters. Yet, in B1 the research focus is on the individuals while it is on the organizations and institutions in B2. Area B3 is devoted to the problems of democracy resulting from European integration and the establishment of a multi-level system of governance. B3 shares an interest in intermediary organizations and institutions with B2 and, in a few projects, an interest in individual attitudes with B1, but it remains distinct by directing its main focus at the implications of multi-level governance.

1.5 Research Goals and Instruments

The broad range of research questions evidently also requires different modes and methods. The variety of methods used in the MZES projects also reflects the plurality of approaches that is characteristic of the social sciences and of different methodological traditions in the various disciplines. Projects 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. They may be based on large-scale population surveys, but also on the study of administrative records, expert interviews or qualitative in-depth interviews. They may be based on approaches of historical macro-sociology to understand long-term developments and path dependencies, but may also use micro-analytic models to explain individual action and decisions. All this variety notwithstanding, the MZES is clearly committed to answer research questions based on solid empirical evidence and to carry out primary research to this end.

The nature of the general thematic profile of the MZES also requires other specific characteristics of research. The MZES Statute defines 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 the top priority for MZES research:

- **Basic research:** Research at the MZES aims at scientific elucidation, aspiring 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. The individual research projects in each Research Area 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 achieve research of the scope and substantive domain addressed in the Centre. It needs cooperation among project groups within the Centre and very often with other researchers in international networks. Therefore the
MZES explicitly privileges such network-based cooperation and welcomes that many projects undertaken at the Centre form part of comprehensive networks (e.g. EU-sponsored Networks of Excellence).

- **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. Generally, the Research Areas pursue the central tasks of the Centre, that is, they carry out comparative research and research into European integration. While the MZES does not include among its core projects research that – by its very nature – cannot be comparative, it is ready to commit itself to include projects that can function as pilot studies for European comparison. These projects are basic social science research and have an international orientation as they contribute to the international debate; indeed they often take a leading position in developing a research topic. The MZES generally expects that these projects move to a comparative perspective after an initial pilot stage. Otherwise, projects restricted to studying developments in a single country are generally considered as supplementary projects.

- **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 specific disciplines. It combines not only political science, sociology, and social psychology, but also economics as well as legal, methodological, and statistical expertise.

Of course, not every project is characterized by all of these elements. Especially supplementary projects are usually much 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 corresponding to the above characteristics. Each Research Area may also include projects that are less encompassing.

### 1.6 Cooperation and Integration

Research of the scope and content 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 most advanced and highly developed within project contexts and Research Areas. Working on common topics within Research Areas and with researchers at the Faculty have historically led to strong cooperation within research clusters. The regular department colloquia and occasional workshops involving all Research Areas provide the forums for exchange between the projects within each of the Departments. In comparison to
earlier times, the Research Areas defined in the present Research Programme are less closely related to individual professors but aim at cooperation between colleagues, and a number of projects involve researchers from different areas.

The MZES is an institutional partner of the new Graduate School for Economic and Social Sciences (GESS) at the University of Mannheim, which received a five-year grant by the Excellence Initiative in November 2006. As one of the three units of GESS, the Social Science Faculty has set-up the Center for Doctoral Studies in the Social and Behavioral Sciences (CDSS), which provides doctoral programmes in psychology, political science and sociology. Similar Excellence Initiative schools exist in Berlin, Bremen and Bielefeld (plus a cluster school in Constance), as well as International Max Planck Research Schools in Berlin, Cologne and Rostock. Given this national competition, the Faculty of Social Sciences and MZES are committed to further develop the Graduate School. The MZES offers training workshops in cooperation with the Graduate School not only to CDSS doctoral students but also to all MZES researchers.

Besides its close links with the Social Science Faculty, 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 interdisciplinary research centre (SFB 504) “Concepts of Rationality, Decision-Making Behaviour and Economic Modelling”, established in 1997 at the University of Mannheim. The MZES has been involved in past applications for a research cluster in the Excellence Initiative during the period of the MZES Sixth Research Programme, though these efforts were not successful. In 2008 a new initiative is in the process to apply for a DFG interdisciplinary research centre (SFB) on reform processes in changing societies, including the Social Science Faculty and the Economics Department as well as the MZES and other research institutes (ZEW, MEA).

Over many years close contacts and exchange also exist with the Centre for Survey Research and Methodology, Mannheim (ZUMA), a GESIS institute. The Faculty of Social Sciences has been intensifying its institutionalized links with GESIS and ZUMA. The new GESIS President, Hans Rattinger assumed a professorship in political science at the Mannheim Faculty of Social Sciences in October 2008. In conjunction with the University of Mannheim, GESIS will appoint a Scientific Director of the department “Social Monitoring and Social Change” at GESIS/ZUMA, who will be appointed Professor of Analysis of Social Structure at the Mannheim Social Science Faculty.

As international cooperation is absolutely vital to the European research agenda of the MZES and also the Centre’s ambition to reach the international edge of research, past and current efforts to cooperate internationally need to be carried into the future. Also, the University of Mannheim and the Minister of Science of the State of Baden-Württemberg, who provide the basic funding for MZES, are expecting a strong international presence of the Centre and its participation in the EU-level programmes. The MZES continues to be active in various interdisciplinary and international networks (for example, EU-Networks of Excellence). Several of these projects are coordinated and directed by MZES researchers.

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 External Fellowship
Programme the Centre provides another opportunity to improve the conditions for international cooperation and the promotion of comparative research. Other routes to strengthen contacts are also regularly used, for example, by organizing short stays abroad, by supporting staff participating in Summer Schools, and, most frequently, by taking part in international conferences. Moreover, the MZES is an institutional member of the European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR), European Consortium for Sociological Research (ECSR), Council for European Studies, and European Political Science Network (epsNET). 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 The Centre's Strategic Goals

In the past three years the MZES has successfully worked along the aims set up for its Sixth Research Programme (2005-2008). Most of the general aims continue to be valid for the coming years as further improvement is possible and can be reached. In addition to the old challenges also new ones will have to be met in the years to come. In the Development Plan of the University of Mannheim (2008-2010), the MZES set out the following strategic goals for the coming years:

- maintaining a high level and extending the Centre's scientific position in European social research, fostering the inclusion of young scholars in this process;
- completion of the generational transition of professors and integration of the new generation of MZES researchers;
- further integration of the research clusters by recruiting postdoc researchers along the agendas of the research areas;
- intensification of international and interdisciplinary research activities, particularly by European and transatlantic cooperation;
- fostering young scholars by increasing postdoc positions and by supporting applications of excellent candidates for postdoc fellowships programmes (Emy Noether, Heisenberg, Schumpeter);
- optimizing the strategic research planning, particularly by fostering applications at EU-level and for DFG cooperative projects (e.g. SFB);
- continuing and extending the Centre's public relations initiative, in particular increasing the widespread diffusion and public visibility of MZES research outcomes and projects.

Generational transition and further expansion

The MZES depends largely on the research interests and priorities of professors at the Faculty of Social Sciences. It has been a major challenge to integrate their 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 MZES’ nearly twenty years, and the present Seventh Research Programme continues along this path. The Centre has used its resources to provide clear "incentives" to develop research that falls within the MZES research programme. Priority is given to research projects clearly in line with the general aim of comparative research on Europe and on European integration, and more precisely to research fitting into the chosen Research Areas in the two Departments. This task of the MZES becomes easier with the past and current generational transition at the Social Science Faculty as the new professors are recruited with a view to the research needs of the MZES. All calls for applications in sociology and political science explicitly state that participation in the MZES is expected. Indeed, many candidates for these professorships are attracted by the research profile, the available resources and stimulating environment of the MZES.

Over the last years, the Faculty of Social Sciences has been facing the challenge of generational transition as seven of its eleven professors of sociology and political science had retired by the end of 2007 and two more Chairs will become vacant by the end of 2009. Within a few years almost all professors who founded and built up the MZES will have been replaced. This process began in the autumn of 2003 with the appointment of Wolfgang C. Müller (succeeding Peter Graf Kielmansegg) as Professor of Comparative Government and Political Theory, continued with the appointment of Bernhard Ebbinghaus (following Johannes Berger) as Professor of Macrosociology and Markus Gangl (succeeding Walter Müller) as Professor of Social Research Methods and Applied Sociology in October 2004. Berthold Ritter (succeeding Egbert Jahn) as professor of Political Science and Contemporary History in February 2007 and Thomas König (succeeding Beate Kohler-Koch) as Professor of International Relations in August 2007, and most recently, Rüdiger Schmitt-Beck (following Franz Urban Pappi) as Professor of Political Science and Political Sociology in autumn 2008.

The professors emeriti Egbert Jahn, Beate Kohler-Koch, Walter Müller, and Franz Urban Pappi continued to make contributions to the MZES research profile after their retirement and will continue to do so. The Excellence Initiative finances a new method professorship at the Center for Doctoral Studies in Social and Behavioral Sciences (CDSS) of the University of Mannheim. Former MZES Fellow Dr. Thomas Gschwend was appointed Professor for Quantitative Methods in the Social Sciences in September 2007, reinforcing the political science department, while remaining active in several research projects at the MZES. A new professorship in Political Economy has been established by the university in 2008 and the recruitment process has been started. Not counting the GESIS president, the Faculty's Political Science Department will have seven full professors who will contribute to the MZES Department A.

The transition process in sociology is not finished yet as five new professors will be recruited by the Faculty in 2008/2009, expanding the sociology department to six professors by 2010 (not counting social psychology and the GESIS professorship) who will all contribute to the MZES Department A. Successors for the chairs in General Sociology (Hartmut Esser) and Comparative Sociology (Peter Flora) had been decided by the Faculty and University in summer 2008. Given the leave of Markus Gangl (joining the University of Wisconsin, Madison), the Chair of Social
Research Methods is vacant since autumn 2008 and will be soon recruited. The Faculty has aimed at finding scholars who will continue the successful work at the MZES and the commitment of their predecessors in Department A. In addition, the Faculty will be able to fill a new professorship in Economic and Organizational Sociology in early 2009 thanks to the university restructuring plan.

The Postdoc Fellows play an increasingly important role in initiating and coordinating research. One of four MZES Fellow positions had been transferred into a junior professorship in 2006. After only two semesters, Dr. Steffen Ganghof left for a Chair in Comparative Government at the University of Potsdam, and the Swedish political scientist Dr. Hanna Bäck (previously University of Twente) succeeded as MZES-financed junior professor in political science in November 2007. In February 2008, Dr. Marc Debus from the University of Konstanz has been recruited on the vacant MZES Fellow position in Department B.

In Department A, Junior Professor Marita Jacob at the Method Chair is also contributing to MZES research, including a recently granted project funded by the Landesstiftung. MZES Fellow Dr. Irena Kogan left the MZES for a professorship in sociology at the University of Bamberg in Fall 2007. A new Fellow in Department A, Dr. Jan Drahokoupil (with a Ph.D. from Central European University, Budapest) has been recruited by the Executive Board in order to strengthen the Eastern European comparative analysis as of October 2008. Since MZES Fellow Dr. Claus Wendt will be on leave for a year at the Center for European Studies of Harvard University thanks to a DAAD Kennedy Fellowship, J. Timo Weishaupt Ph.D. (U of Wisc., Madison) will be Visiting Fellow in the Department A for the academic year 2008/9.

Two further career transitions affect MZES research projects. PD Dr. Thomas Zittel assumed a new position as DAAD Visiting Professor in political science at Cornell University in Ithaca, NY for five years, but he will stay co-leader of his MZES projects. Similarly, Dr. Arndt Wonka who moved to the Bremen International Graduate School of Social Sciences (BIGSSS) will remain co-leader of his MZES projects. The MZES thus has proven again as a springboard for academic careers, and it continues to attract new young scholars. Having nearly mastered the generational transition of professors at the Faculty, the MZES will continue to have to cope with considerable turnover among its younger researchers, requiring special measures to integrate new researchers and maintain links with external ones.

In order to stimulate further exchange and collaboration and to open the MZES for colleagues from other institutes the last Executive Board followed the recommendation of the Scientific Advisory Board to introduce MZES External Fellowships for the Sixth Research Programme (2005–2008). These external fellowships allow inviting 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 Research Areas. The Sixth Research Programme supported as External Fellows: Thomas Poguntke (University of Bochum) and William Maloney (University of Newcastle, UK) were integrated in the MZES via these fellowships and were actively involved in some of the projects of the Sixth Research Programme. Since Dr. Irena Kogan has taken up a Professorship in sociology at the University of Bamberg in October 2007, the MZES has supported her as an External Fellow in
order to insure her coordination of several MZES research projects that remained at the MZES. With the Seventh Research Programme, the MZES Executive Board will consider applications for renewal or new nominations of External Fellows. The External Fellowship Programme will need to be adapted for each Research Programme due to the ongoing turnover among MZES researchers who move to other positions elsewhere and as new cooperations with external scholars develop. For one time visits, the MZES also invites internationally renowned scholars as Guest Professors for several months, starting with Prof. Karl Ulrich Mayer (Yale University) in December 2008.

Finally, over the last two years, the MZES has 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 in the wider public in the Mannheim region, at national level and internationally. The importance of public dissemination and media presence has been indicated by the recent Wissenschaftsrat rating of sociology as the sole items where Mannheim’s rating was unsatisfactory. The MZES plans to continue its public relations officer position and pool resources to enhance its public visibility. The 20-year-anniversary in autumn 2009 will be an occasion to further these efforts with a public event and a scientific symposium. The MZES also offers public events that reach out to a general public and that may involve several Research Areas and projects from both Departments, such as the “Long Night of Science” in the fall of 2007.

Promoting young scholars and a vibrant intellectual community at MZES

The MZES aims at promoting a vibrant intellectual exchange among its researchers, between senior and junior scholars, between political scientists and sociologists. 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 Graduate School with the MZES. In addition there are in-house meetings of young scholars of MZES and Faculty organized by the postdoc Fellows in both Departments. Together with the Social Science Faculty the MZES organizes a series of public guest lectures that are of interest to a broad social science community and serve the inter-departmental exchange. In addition to these regular events, the MZES organizes several activities that bring together researchers from different projects, Research Areas, and Research Departments. Researchers from both Departments are jointly participating in the EU Network of Excellence “Economic Change, Quality of Life and Social Cohesion” (EQUALSOC), several conferences have been organized at the Centre or MZES researchers participated in such EQUALSOC meetings abroad.

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 MZES, CDSS and Faculty. These activities formalize the longstanding practice of method oriented workshops at the
MZES. Not only do researchers get credit as part of their Ph.D. programme for taking part in these doctoral courses, the contribution of professors to CDSS courses is counted toward their teaching load. The MZES employs at times over 60 student research assistants who receive practical experience and on-the-job-training in conducting empirical research. The transition towards the Bologna-Process has thus also consequences for the MZES recruitment of student research assistants and potential future researchers. Over the next years, the Faculty of Social Sciences expands its graduate programme in addition to the now well established three-year B.A. programmes in political science (since Winter 2004) and sociology (since Winter 2005). The master in political science (since Autumn 2007) and the master in sociology (since Autumn 2008) are both research-oriented and thus will be very suited for the recruitment of student research assistants. Several of the master students will be interested in continuing doctoral education in the Graduate School programme. Every year, the Eurodata staff provides a master-level course on European data sources.

Thus far the MZES has contributed considerably to the support of doctoral candidates at the Faculty and about 30 doctoral students are currently working as researchers (with half-time employment contracts) in core research projects or supplementary Ph.D. projects. Once the supervisors, usually two professors at the Faculty, have accepted the proposals of their doctoral theses, these MZES researchers are formally included in the Faculty's list of doctoral candidates. In the future, doctoral researchers working in MZES research projects will be increasingly recruited from and integrated into the CDSS doctoral programme, completing their thesis (in English) with a Ph.D.

In the past the MZES had been running a 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. This scheme has been successfully completed with several dissertations. Continuing the intension of the programme and adapting it to the new context of the Ph.D. training provided by the Graduate School, the MZES will develop a new programme of support for CDSS doctoral candidates who work on a thesis project in line with the MZES research programme. It is planned to partially support two doctoral candidates in their second and third year of doctoral studies for each CDSS cohort starting in 2009. Doctoral candidates are expected to also teach one seminar per semester, funded by the Faculty's sociology or political science departments. The MZES Executive Board will select the doctoral fellows from CDSS doctoral students based on their dissertation proposal and recommendation by their mentor. The dissertation project has to be in line with the MZES Research Programme and no other funding through projects is possible.

In addition the MZES plans to extend its efforts to promote postdoc researchers, either attracting excellent young scholars internationally or providing a career path for doctoral candidates after successful completion of their thesis. Research institutes elsewhere have invested considerably in expanding postdoc positions, the successful moves of Mannheim doctorates shows the intensified competition for excellent young scholars. In addition to the long-term Fellowships, the MZES plans to extend a postdoc programme of one year to allow recruiting young scholars who seek to apply to external Fellowships (Emy Noether, Heisenberg, Schum-
It is the long-term goal of the MZES to increase the number of Fellows to at least six, matching the number of and in line with the orientations of the Centre's Research Areas. The postdoc fellows have not only gained an important role in initiating research projects but also will contribute to teaching as well as providing guidance to younger scholars. With these initiatives to promote doctoral and postdoc fellowships, the MZES will certainly further enhance its vibrant scientific community and intellectual exchange at the Centre.
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
- Resources of the MZES and resource policy
- Organization of research and project types
- The MZES infrastructure

2.1 Structure of MZES

The Mannheimer Zentrum für Europäische Sozialforschung (MZES) is an interdisciplinary research institute of the University of Mannheim, which has close connections to the Faculty of Social Sciences. The Centre is directed by the Executive Board, consisting of three professors of the University of Mannheim (the director and the heads of the Centre's two Departments A and B). The MZES Director and the heads of the two research departments constitute the Executive Board. The Executive Board prepares the three-year Research Programme, it 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 compensated with MZES resources. The Managing Director primarily oversees the infrastructure and the MZES administration. The Supervisory Board (Kollegium) represents professors of the Faculty and university as well as MZES researchers and staff, it elects for a three-year period the Executive Board. The Kollegium also adopts the Research Programme and decides the broad guidelines for the yearly budget as well as on long-term directives for the development of the MZES. The Scientific Advisory Board, composed of internationally outstanding scholars, reviews the Research Programme and provides advice on individual projects.

Figure 1: MZES organizational chart

* The Supervisory Board (Kollegium) elects the members of the Executive Board (Director and Head of the Research Departments)
2.2 Resource allocation of the MZES

The MZES draws on two types of personnel resources: the MZES staff, both permanent and temporary, and the professors and other researchers of the Faculty of Social Sciences of the University of Mannheim. The budget of the MZES consists of a block grant that basically covers the MZES infrastructure, seed money (starting grants) for core projects, and further resources to support specific projects financed by external research funding institutions (in particular German research foundations and the European Union).

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. During 2007 the MZES resources included about 24 full time positions for research, infrastructure (data and information archives, library, computing), researchers in both Departments, and administrative staff. In addition, the MZES budget has an annual volume of 485,000 Euro for additional personnel and other expenses. Unfortunately, budget constraints of the University have led to a cutback of the MZES budget by 60,000 Euro from 2004 onwards over the years. Thanks to the international reputation it has earned, the MZES had to face less severe cuts than other units of the university.

The second major resource for the MZES is the academic staff of the Faculty of Social Sciences at the University of Mannheim, about 20 researchers, in particular the professors in 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. Also, all members of the MZES Executive Board are faculty professors. Increasingly, younger faculty scientists also assume responsibility for leading Research Areas and directing research projects. This cooperation between the MZES and a large part of the Faculty of Social Sciences is absolutely vital for MZES as the Centre itself does not have the resources to employ the scientific capacities that are available in the Faculty. The renewal and growth of the social science faculty will thus also have important effects on the development of the MZES.

The third source that keeps the MZES running is the project grants. The large majority of specific research activities are financed by external grants from national and international funding agencies, in particular, the German Research Foundation (DFG), Volkswagen Stiftung, Fritz Thyssen Stiftung, the Landesstiftung Baden-Württemberg, and EU-research funds. Over the last three years (2005-2007) the MZES acquired 6.5 million Euro (or more than two million per year) in such external research grants.

The relatively successful track record of MZES applications is not least due 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 mobilising external funds. Thus, employing its own resources, the
MZES mainly provides an excellent infrastructure for research and supports the preparation of research projects that aim at the acquisition of 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. Projects that are exempted from these strict rules mainly serve the preparation of doctoral or postdoctoral dissertations. Persons working in these projects are mainly financed by personnel resources of faculty chairs or by the MZES Young Scholars Initiative and Postdoc Fellowships. Such projects that fit into the MZES Research Programme can be included as supplementary projects.

2.3 Organization of Research and Project Types

2.3.1 Main Structure

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 into its two Departments A and B. The present Research Programme follows this structure and — as 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 the nature of projects and the resources allocated to them projects are classified as core or supplementary (suppl.). The structure thus can be represented in the following way.
2.3.2 Departments

The two Research Departments constitute the organizational units and the two main fields of research at the MZES. Consistent with the main orientation of the Departments 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 marked by their disciplinary base, but interdisciplinary cooperation and exchange is growing.

Each Department has its own head, whose task is to coordinate existing research activities, 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.

2.3.3 Research Areas and Core Projects

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

1. The core projects, taken together, cover the main aspects of the Research Area that is clearly defined in terms of contents and scope.
2. Initial support from MZES research staff is available at the MZES for the preparation and development of core projects.
3. Core projects are carried out on the basis of external funding.
4. Externally funded core projects may receive additional financial and staff support from the MZES.

2.3.4 Supplementary Projects

Supplementary projects examine research topics related to a Research Area. However, they do not constitute 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. Work often is carried out by a single researcher and often is designed to lead to a doctoral or postdoctoral dissertation. Supplementary projects thus also serve the Centre’s aim to provide supportive conditions to promote young researchers. Finally, the category of supplementary projects also comprises projects that serve to prepare new Research Areas.
Supplementary projects typically do not enjoy staff funding. Rather, support is restricted to materials, funds for (student) research assistance, and the use of the infrastructural resources of the MZES.

2.3.5 Associated Projects

Associated projects are concerned with issues that are not covered by existing Research Areas. The incorporation of such projects is intended to enrich the overall range of the Centre and to open new opportunities for further international cooperation. With regard to access to MZES resources, associated projects enjoy the status of supplementary projects.

2.3.6 Organizational Features of the Projects

The specific characteristics of the various types of projects (core, supplementary and associated) reflect the relevance of these projects 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 as 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MZES funds and other support:</th>
<th>Core Projects</th>
<th>Supplementary Projects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Relation with central research goals:</td>
<td>Topic integrated</td>
<td>Supplementary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Initial funding</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Possible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staff support (research assistance or participation of full-time staff members)</td>
<td>Possible*</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Research assistants</td>
<td>Possible*</td>
<td>Possible*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infrastructure:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Library</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Computers</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eurodata</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travel expenses, materials etc.</td>
<td>Possible*</td>
<td>Possible*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secretarial support</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manuscript editing</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Offices</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Possible</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 computer facilities, the library (with the information archive QUIA), the research archive Eurodata, and a unit for documentation of parties and elections. The infrastructure primarily supports and promotes European research conducted at the MZES by collecting, providing, and updating various types of information and by providing access to and further updating of computer facilities at the Centre. The responsibility for the daily running of the infrastructure is assigned to the managing director.

The MZES infrastructure has to be developed according to the needs of research done at the Centre. Infrastructural services are done best when those in charge of them are also involved in research activities. Therefore the Centre motivates 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.

Bi-annually, the Managing Director prepares an *Infrastructure Plan* to adapt infrastructural services to the developments and requirements of European research at the MZES. This plan gives a detailed outline of the tasks to be performed in the different fields of infrastructure and highlights the relationships with current and planned research activities at the Centre.\(^2\) The Infrastructure Plan is modified and approved at least once every year, when the annual update to the Research Programme has been ensured. Infrastructural tasks mentioned in the present Programme are therefore restricted to their organizational aspects.

2.4.1 Research Archive Eurodata

The main tasks to be fulfilled by the research archive Eurodata are the compilation of meta-information (information archive), publications (statistics library), and computer-readable data (files archive) for European research at the MZES. Initially, the Archive was primarily oriented towards working with official statistics. Eurodata has widened its scope in recent years in order to acquire, archive, and make available selected sets of micro data that are of particular importance for ongoing research projects at the Centre. The establishment, further development, and maintenance of the archive are subject to the medium-term research planning of the Centre and are therefore oriented towards its research activities.

2.4.2 Information on European Political Parties and Elections

In several Research Areas of the Mannheim Centre elections and political parties are important fields of investigation. Therefore the MZES has established a unit in the infrastructure which is permanently observing the developments of elections and parties on the national as well as on

\(^2\) If infrastructure staff is to specifically support a research project of the programme, the share of working hours that they devote to the project is determined in the Infrastructure Plan.
the European level. This unit has evolved from the former “Zentrum für Europäische Umfrage-analysen und Studien” (ZEUS).

Among its permanent tasks are the collection and documentation of electoral results of European Parliament elections and of campaign-related material (e.g. party manifestos, content analyses of media broadcasts). Currently, the unit is close to completing a major data collection effort on party manifestos for European elections. In addition, this unit archives EU-wide representative mass surveys and has been contributing to the organization of such surveys at election time.

2.4.3 Library

Since February 2007, the MZES Library is 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 Faculty library. The A5 library is 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 more convenient open access to MZES library holdings. The MZES Library comprises the Statistics Library (cf. Research Archive Eurodata), the Europe Library and the Information Archive on Textual Sources. The Europe Library is collecting literature and information on textual sources in the field of comparative European integration research and on individual European countries. The entire MZES collection has been integrated into the Union Catalogue of the South West German Library Consortium (Südwestdeutscher Bibliotheksverband, SWB). The library holdings can be accessed online using the MZES OPAC which offers a lot of search alternatives, for example the MZES thesaurus search. Access is also possible by using the online catalogue of the University of Mannheim.

2.4.4 Computer Facilities

Efficient facilities for data analysis, for information access, for the preparation of publications, for administrative routines and for modern communication require continuous updating of hardware and software at the Centre and a wide range of services offered by the staff in the computing service group. Support for employees, a range of training courses offered at regular intervals, and maintenance of the computer systems at the Centre (provision and maintenance of server services, of the in-house network, of individual computer workplaces and of internet access) are the most essential task fulfilled by the computer department. Good technical solutions for documentation and library services and a well-informing and up-to-date presentation of the Centre and its products in the internet are other demanding tasks for the computer department. The last comprehensive renewal of the Centre’s computer hardware was undertaken by a special HBFG government fund in 2006. Software is regularly updated when important revisions or new programs crucial for the Centre's work become available.
3 Department A: European Societies and their Integration

European societies face new global challenges and ongoing social changes. The research department A has focused from the beginning on the development of welfare states and the changing social structures in Europe. The new research programme continues the cross-national comparative analysis of institutional and structural conditions of the individual living conditions and life chances of the European population. The Seventh Research Programme (2008-2011) acknowledges the new challenges due to increased European political and economic integration, international economic competition, and long-term social changes. It seeks to combine the sociological understanding of long-term processes and cross-national institutional diversity with the contemporary analysis of current changes and reform pressures in European welfare states, labour markets, and educational systems. Analytically and empirically the research programme seeks to integrate macro-level and micro-level perspectives.

Research department A consists of three research areas (coordinator in brackets):

A1 Changing Labour Relations and Welfare States in Europe (Bernhard Ebbinghaus)
A2 Education, Labour Markets and Social Stratification in Europe (N.N.)
A3 Family, Education and Ethnicity in Europe (Josef Brüderl)

In addition to activities in the three research areas, particular efforts should be made to allow for an exchange between the three research areas and among the two research departments. A platform to connect different research projects is the EU-financed network of excellence “Economic Change, Quality of Life and Social Cohesion” (EQUALSOC), locally coordinated by Walter Müller (see Project A2.1). The network brings together project leaders, researchers, and doctoral fellows from all three research areas in MZES departments A as well as from department B with colleagues from twelve other leading institutions in social research across Europe. EQUALSOC also provides new possibilities to foster the integration of doctoral students into an international network and provide additional opportunities for their participation in international workshops and summer schools.

Although the researchers in department A adopt various theoretical and methodological approaches, a common concern is the better integration of sociological theory and empirical research as well as the bridging of macro-level and micro-level analysis. The comparative analysis of macro-level institutions and structures informs micro-level analysis of individual decisions and life chances, the action-oriented analysis of individual decisions and collective action problems contribute to the understanding of macro-level social processes. The weekly colloquia of the research area with presentations by MZES researchers and invited guests provide a lively forum for exchange beyond the individual research projects and research areas. Additional efforts will be made to provide, through discussion groups and workshops for doctoral students with projects at the MZES, more opportunities to exchange ideas across research
areas and learn from each other. With the new research programme, department A continues its successful work. However, it has to set new pathways towards the future given the changes in five professorships in sociology during 2009/2010.

A1: Changing Labour Relations and Welfare States in Europe (Bernhard Ebbinghaus)

Welfare states and labour relations, the institutionalized social policies and collective bargaining practices, are under global and endogenous pressures to change. Although these challenges seem relatively similar for all modern economies, historically evolved welfare regimes and state-society relations vary considerably across Europe, with consequences for the particular problem constellation and national reform capacity. Current reform processes show thus varying patterns of more or less fundamental transformation, partly following path-dependent institutionalized patterns, but also partly departing from past trajectories. Although political factors and institutional logics have gained much recognition in comparative research in recent years, the role of the social partners – trade unions and employers’ associations – in shaping current reform processes has gained less attention. In particular, there is a lack of systematic comparative research that empirically validates often made claims on the veto power of organized interests. The main leading questions informing the A1 research projects are thus: To what degree are the differently established welfare regimes capable of reforming? And what role are the social partners playing in hampering or shaping current reform processes? Both questions are of interest not only in respect to comparative institutional theory but also to public policy making.

In general, the research area A1 concentrates on the varying reform processes of welfare state regimes and the changing relations between organized labour and capital. The research area will focus on the reforms in pension and employment policies. The Research Programme also adds a new pillar of research, the comparative analysis of labour relations, including the changing organizational landscape of trade unions and employers’ organizations. Bridging the often divided disciplinary fields, social policy analysis and industrial relations research, the research area A1 seeks to combine both perspectives by focusing on the role of organized labour and capital in current reforms of social and employment policies. Research in this area commonly adopts a comparative approach, looking at the cross-national institutional diversity of contemporary social protection systems and labour relations in Europe. The projects’ research designs also adopt a historical and process oriented outlook, reflecting on the impact of institutional legacies and the path-dependent processes of institutional change. In order to allow more in-depth analysis of institutional differences and policy changes, specific policy areas are selected for further study, in particular public and private old age insurance schemes and employment policies (unemployment insurance and labour market administration). In addition to the macro-institutional perspective, several projects also adopt a meso-level organizational perspective by studying the corporate actors, in particular trade unions and employers’ organizations. The study of changes in the organizational landscape,
such as varying membership levels, associational restructuring, and erosion of institutional power, informs the analysis of the capacity and role of social partners in social and employment policy reforms. In several A1 projects, micro-level survey data informs the analysis of changes in voluntary membership, in public support for welfare programmes, and in subjective well-being.

The role of social partners, trade unions and employers' associations in the social governance of welfare states varies across Europe; they are more or less involved in policy-making and implementation. Based on a pilot study on German labour market policy for an international project on by the Amsterdam Institute of Labour Studies (AIAS), it is planned to develop in cooperation with Werner Eichhorst (IZA, Bonn) a project proposal on European labour market regulation in the context of the project A.1.1 "Varieties of Social Governance". The project will compare with the help of country expert teams the different governance modes in the labour market policy field (unemployment insurance and labour market administration).

Closely related, the DFG-funded project A1.2 on the "Governance of Supplementary Pensions in Europe" investigates the scope for participatory rights and the extension of social rights, following the increased shift towards private pensions. The project asks to what degree social interests are allowed to participate in the governance of non-state pension funds and to what degree these schemes are regulated by collective bargaining or state regulation. Differences in insurance coverage, for instance the exclusion of atypical work, will have major repercussions for inequality and poverty in old age. The project studies the public-private mix of current and planned pension systems across Europe in order to reveal the differential impact on participatory rights and social coverage.

As a second pillar in research area A1, the project "Challenges to Membership Organizations" (A1.3) seeks to contribute to the better understanding of the changing labour relations in Europe, in particular the role of trade unions as collective membership organizations in a more difficult social, political and economic climate. Based on a past and proposed workshop financed by EQUALSOC the project seeks to collect papers for a special issue or edited volume focusing on problems of membership organizations, using macro-, meso- and micro-level data and comparing trade unions across Europe as well as comparing them with other forms of voluntary associations. Preliminary comparative analyses based on European Social Survey have been already undertaken.

Complementing the analysis of the changing welfare state landscape under current reform efforts, the planned project A1.4 on the "Quality of Life of Public Servants in International Comparisons" (Franz Rothenbacher) will continue an earlier project on employment conditions and social security for public servants. It will extend these case studies to the Nordic and Southern countries. An additional focus will be on the subjective well-being of public employees.
### List of A1 Projects

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</table>
1.1 Varieties of Social Governance in Europe: The Social Partners' Role in Pension and Labour Market Policies

Director(s): Bernhard Ebbinghaus with Werner Eichhorst (IZA, Bonn)
Researcher(s): N. N.
Duration: 2006 to 2011
Status: Ongoing / Core

The reform pressures on European welfare states have been widely recognized. However, the appropriate and actual roles played by the social partners, employers and trade unions in the current adaptation of both pension and labour market policies is much debated. Some observers deplore the potential veto power of these collective interest organizations in political decision making and policy implementation, while others claim that concertation with the social partners is necessary. Comparative studies have tended in recent years to focus on the veto points in political decision making processes, while the more hidden role of the social partners in delegated self-administration and subsidiaristic self-regulation have not received systematic comparative treatment. There is, however, a wide variety of social governance modes in the fields of state and supplementary pension insurance and labour market administration, both labour offices and unemployment insurance. The comparison between the two policy fields enables researchers to detect intra-national differences and particular sector-specific logics.
1.2 Governance of Supplementary Pensions in Europe: The Varying Scope for Participatory and Social Rights

Director(s): Bernhard Ebbinghaus with Giuliano Bonoli (IDHEAP/Lausanne)
Researcher(s): Isabelle Schulze (until February 2007); Tobias Wiß, Mareike Gronwald, Jean-Marie Jungblut, Jörg Neugschwender
Duration: 2005 to 2010
Status: Ongoing / Core

The shift towards non-state supplementary pensions across Europe raises fundamental issues regarding their governance in respect to guaranteeing basic participatory and social rights. The coverage, the benefit formula, the funding modes and other insurance features vary across supplementary pension systems as a result of different state or collective regulation. The project analyzes the development of the public-private mix and the governance of supplementary pensions for ten European countries (Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Netherlands, Italy, Sweden, Switzerland, United Kingdom). The international project compares in ten country studies, the evolution of supplementary pensions, focusing in particular on the role of the state, the social partners and employers in regulating supplementary pensions. Special studies analyze the changing public-private mix, the variations in governance modes, and social inequality in old age.
1.3 Challenges to Membership Organizations: European Trade Unions in Comparison

Director(s): Bernhard Ebbinghaus
Researcher(s): Claudia Göbel, Sebastian Koos
Duration: 2006 to 2011
Status: Ongoing / Core

Voluntary organizations face major challenges due to decreasing membership, and this is particularly true for trade unions across Europe. Trade unions are not alone in facing such problems in mobilizing people for collective interest intermediation. Comparative studies of membership trends have largely focused on business cycles as well as political ups-and-downs, on long-term, macro-level social changes from deindustrialization to individualization, and on national institutional contexts that are conducive to or impede union membership. On the other hand, micro-level approaches, such as the logic of collective action or social custom theory, explain the individual decisions to join (and stay with) a collective organization based on individual cost-benefit analysis (selective incentives), direct social pressure, or the importance of social norms. Very few case studies analyze the impact of strategies and capacities at the organizational meso-level. The project will analyze the problems of declining membership in trade unions from European comparative, multi-level (macro/meso/micro-level), and inter-organizational perspectives.
1.4 Quality of Life of Public Servants in International Comparison

Director(s): Franz Rothenbacher
Researcher(s): N.N.
Duration: 2005 to 2010
Status: Ongoing / Core

The first aim of this project is to examine the objective living conditions in the public services and their subjective perception by public servants themselves in several European countries by using large-scale comparative data sets like the ECHP and the Labour Force Survey. It seeks to give an answer to the open question if there really is a decline in the objective living conditions (income, pensions, working time, etc.) caused by reforms to stabilize public finances with regard to demographic ageing. Furthermore, it intends to analyse if the subjective perception of public employees is, too, that their social and work positions are declining. Thus: have public employees become less satisfied with their lives in general, with their incomes and working conditions, among others, during the last two decades? The second aim of the project is to establish detailed and standardized country studies for the South and North European countries, continuing the research work of the earlier project on the public service sector. Such in-depth country studies are needed in order to ‘understand’ the historical development of the institutions of social protection and the legal position of public servants which are thought of to exert a strong influence on their living conditions and cannot be covered by large-scale social surveys.
1.5 Attitudes Towards Welfare State Institutions: New Perspectives for the Comparative Welfare State Analysis

Director(s): Claus Wendt
Researcher(s): Monika Mischke, Michaela Pfeifer
Duration: 2006 to 2009
Status: Ongoing / Core

Welfare states are facing increasing external and internal pressures which are especially related to the processes of globalisation and demographic change. While the responsibilities of the welfare state have increased, the financial scope for social policy intervention has been limited. In the current context of permanent austerity social policy reforms go beyond simple cost containment measures and welfare states are more and more confronted with structural changes - a process that eventually will affect the legitimacy of the welfare state.

First, the project is therefore focused on public attitudes towards welfare state institutions and it is examined whether public support of the welfare state has declined during the last decade. The aim is to identify reforms that are likely to be accepted by the population and it is asked in which areas of the welfare state a restructuring or even a cutback would face widespread resistance.

The second aim of the project is to contribute to the advancement of institutional theory. A key hypothesis of institutional theory is that individuals orientate themselves at institutions and that social action is shaped by this process of orientation. Patterns of orientation will be analyzed by using public opinion data from The Eurobarometer Survey Series.

By comparing 15 member states of the European Union it is analyzed whether certain relations between welfare state institutions and patterns of orientation can be identified. Since institutions that integrate the total population are perceived in a different way than those that are targeted at specific periods of the life course or at certain socioeconomic groups, the project focuses on different welfare state institutions: first, health care systems, second, family policy measures, and third, social policy measures against poverty will be included in the comparative analysis.

During the first year the project has focused on developing the theoretical framework (based on sociological institutional theory) and on selecting institutional indicators for capturing the main characteristics of three fields of social policy. Furthermore, datasets for analysing public attitudes towards welfare state institutions have been selected (Eurobarometer, ESS). In a next step the analysis of public attitudes will be combined with the analysis of institutional regulations with regard to health care, family policy, and measures against poverty.
1.6 European System of Welfare State Indicators (EUWI): Political, Social and Institutional Change in Comparison

**Director(s):** Bernhard Ebbinghaus, Claus Wendt  
**Researcher(s):** N.N.  
**Duration:** 2006 to 2011  
**Status:** Ongoing / Core

The pace of welfare state reform has accelerated during the last decades. It is therefore an important field of research to study, firstly, under which political institutions and processes (welfare state) reform is possible. Secondly, it is essential to have a better knowledge about the effects of changing welfare state institutions on the objective living conditions and the subjective well-being of citizens throughout Europe. International data sets, however, provide only limited information with regard to welfare state institutions. The major aim of the project is therefore to develop a European System of Welfare State Indicators that will make it possible to analyze welfare state change and how these processes are related to political institutional conditions as well as the objective and subjective well-being.
1.7  Social Assistance in Europe. Indicators of Minimum Income Security Schemes

Director(s): Bernhard Ebbinghaus, Claus Wendt
Researcher(s): Thomas Bahle, Vanessa Hubl
Duration: 2008 to 2010
Status: New / Core

The project aims at a comparative analysis of social assistance schemes in Europe, their institutional design and quantitative development over the past fifteen years. It is part of the wider project EUWI (European System of Welfare State Indicators) (see A 1.6). First, the project will build up a system of indicators as a basis for comparative analyses. Secondly, trends and variations in social assistance schemes will be analyzed in the context of two major developments: the reform of welfare states and the changing structure of poverty in European societies.
This research area focuses on core institutions and processes which shape social stratification as well as the life courses and life chances of individuals in modern societies: educational systems, labour markets, and welfare states. Together they crucially affect an individual’s integration into society as well as the inequalities in life conditions that exist between individuals, families, and different population groups and that are largely reproduced from generation to generation. The qualifications and competencies acquired through education constitute the main resources through which individuals gain more or less advantageous and secure positions and work income on the labour market. The thus obtained unequal resources and outcomes then largely stratify the next generation’s educational opportunities and future. These processes are largely tied to market mechanisms, but institutional arrangements and welfare state provisions substantially condition their final results.

In recent decades these institutions have experienced major transformations, and they continue to substantially change in response to market pressures, political actions and policy reforms. Societies also differ in the concrete institutional arrangements and in their reform strategies and they are more or less successful in handling and solving pressing social problems such as unemployment, poverty, migrants’ integration or the fiscal crisis of the state.

The main theoretical challenge for the research projects in this area is to investigate how these core institutions are interrelated, how they operate, and why variant institutional settings shape differently individual actions and at the end lead to varying life course patterns and stratification outcomes. The projects of this research area concentrate on selected parts of these larger and more encompassing processes. The research design combines several features: It attempts to link macro- and micro-perspectives, if possible it uses longitudinal data to examine causal processes and it conducts the studies in a cross-national comparative perspective. In these projects, it is the cross-national comparison that typically serves as the key analytical vehicle to empirically address the potential impact of broader structural and institutional features of societies on both individual life chances as well as on broader patterns of social stratification. Significant cross-national variations with respect to the structure of educational systems, labour markets, and welfare regimes across Europe (and beyond) provide us with a “natural setting” from which to empirically address respective effects. Where suitable, projects, moreover, systematically pursue longitudinal analysis: at the micro level, using available panel datasets to address the development of life courses and status attainment over time; at the macro level, investigating into the effects of changing institutional arrangements on individual positions and social stratification.

With the cross-national comparative set-up of most of the studies, on the one side, the research area wants to contribute to systematic and comparative social science knowledge on the European social structural landscape and the similarities and differences between the European and other economically advanced societies. Several projects also compare change and development in various societies over time. On the other side, the projects take profit of the existing variation to assess the generality of the mechanisms that generate the basic pat-
terns and to identify the effects of varying institutions and of other factors potentially responsible for differences among societies, and for convergent or divergent developments between them. For this reason, the projects place emphasis on describing the institutional preconditions and the state-defined and other incentive structures that appear to be significant in each case.

As in previous years, a special emphasis is maintained on the role of education in the stratification process, both by studying social inequalities in educational attainment and the role of education for labour market outcomes. Project A2.2 concentrates especially on tertiary education and on the stratification consequences of its massive recent expansion. How does the increased institutional differentiation in tertiary education (that was implemented in most countries to channel the expansion) affect the social selectivity of obtaining different kinds of tertiary education and how does it affect labour market prospects of tertiary education graduates? What are the impacts of different forms of tertiary education organisations in different countries and what are the potential consequences of the Bologna reforms of tertiary education in Europe?

Project A2.3 will expand systematic comparative research of the transition from education to work conducted in Western Europe to Central and Eastern European countries. The project will build on the experience of the CATEWE (A Comparative Analysis of Transitions from Education to Work) project – earlier conducted at the MZES – to describe and to explain individual as well as country differences in patterns, nature and outcomes of young people’s transition from education to the labour market in Central and Eastern European (CEE) countries.

Finally, the research area A2 also coordinates the MZES participation in and contribution to the EU-financed Network of Excellence “Economic Change, Quality of Life and Social Cohesion (EQUALSOC). Its main aim is to create a network of cooperation between leading European institutes for social research in pursuing high quality comparative research on trends in, and the determinants of, social cohesion in the European societies.
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2.1 Network of Excellence "Economic Change, Quality of Life and Social Cohesion" (EQUALSOC)

Director(s): Walter Müller (local coordination)

Researcher(s): Thomas Bahle, Gerrit Bauer, Birgit Becker, Nicole Biedinger, Jörg Dollmann, Bernhard Ebbinghaus, Martin Eff, Michael Gebel, Claudia Göbel, Mareike Gronwald, Christian Hunkler, Marita Jacob, Jean-Marie Jungblut, Markus Klein, Irena Kogan, Sebastian Koos, Franz Kraus, Cornelia Kristen, Monika Mischke, Walter Müller, Clemens Noelke, Michaela Pfeifer, Nadine Reibling, David Reimer, Steffen Schindler, Julia Schrööter (Gesis), Stephanie Steinmetz, Volker Stocké, Nicole Tieben, Felix Weiss, Heike Wirth (Gesis), Claus Wendt

Duration: 2005 to 2010

Status: Ongoing / Core

EQUALSOC is a Network of Excellence of the 6th EU Framework Programme. It is coordinated by Robert Erikson (SOFI, Stockholm University) and will mobilise and develop research expertise across Europe in economics, social policy, sociology and political science on the implications of economic change for social cohesion and the quality of life. The network has four main tasks:

1. To create a network of cooperation between leading European Institutes for Social Research in pursuing high quality comparative European research on trends in, and the determinants of, social cohesion in the European societies. The central theoretical focus is on how economic change affects social cohesion through its implications for the differences between individuals and groups in the quality of life. Are there major differences in social cohesion between societies depending on the extent to which economic change is associated with increased or reduced differences between sectors of the population in the quality of life? An attempt to answer this involves a careful mapping of the empirical trends with respect to quality of life chances. It also raises as a key issue the efficacy of specific types of employment and welfare policy in mediating the impact of economic change.

2. To encourage the development of additional centres which are capable to carry out high quality research on these themes.

3. To provide an infrastructure for training the rising generation of young researchers in the skills of comparative research.

4. To facilitate access to the most recent results of research for the wider research community and for policy makers.

Six research groups address the general research topic, which crosscuts the different institutes involved in the network and focuses research and exchange on the following more specific issues:
1) Employment and the Labour Market
2) Income Distribution, Consumption and Income Mobility
3) Education, Social Mobility and Social Cohesion
4) Family and Social Networks
5) Cultural and Social Differentiation
6) Trust, Associations and Legitimacy

Researchers from MZES are cooperating in all research groups. They contribute with research papers to the network conferences and workshops, are involved in teaching at summer schools organised by the network and selectively do collaborative research with researchers from partner institutes.

The current partner institutes of the network (that will be extended) include:

- Swedish Institute for Social Research (SOFI), Sweden (co-ordination);
- Amsterdam Institute for Advanced Labour Studies (AIAS), in collaboration with the research group "Schooling, Labour Market and Economic Development" (SCHOLAR), University of Amsterdam, Netherlands;
- CNRS (CSTA, CIDSP, GRECSTA, GEMAS, IREDU, LASMAS, OSC, URA 928), France;
- Università degli Studi di Trento (Dipartimento di Sociologia e Ricerca Sociale, DSRS), Italy;
- Economic and Social Research Institute (ESRI), Dublin, Ireland;
- Mannheimer Zentrum für Europäische Sozialforschung (MZES), Germany;
- Nuffield College, Oxford, UK;
- Università degli Studi di Milano-Bicocca (Unimib), Dipartimento di sociologia e Ricerca Sociale, Italy;
- University of Pompeu Fabra (UPF), Department of Political and Social Sciences, Spain;
- Università degli Studi di Torino (Unito), Department of Social Sciences, Italy;
- University of Tartu, Estonia;
- Wissenschaftszentrum (WZB), Berlin, Germany;
- Centre for Social Policy, Antwerp University, Belgium.
2.2 Social Selectivity in Tertiary Education and Labour Market and Stratification Outcomes

Director(s): Walter Müller
Researcher(s): David Reimer, Steffen Schindler, Markus Klein
Duration: 2003 to 2010
Status: Ongoing / Core

Previous studies have consistently shown the eminent economic advantage of tertiary qualifications compared to lower level ones and the strong association of tertiary education with professional jobs. Obtaining tertiary education is also one of the main strategies through which children from upper class families obtain advantaged life chances. However, recent changes in tertiary education may have substantially altered the relationship between the higher education system, career outcomes and social stratification consequences. Most countries have experienced strong expansion of tertiary education, and – connected to expansion – the higher education systems have been differentiated through the introduction of new institutional forms (e.g. vocationally-oriented colleges) or the re-organisation of existing institutions (e.g. the integration of polytechnics into the system of universities in the UK). On the one side, the institutional differentiation and the various reforms have substantially increased the variability of institutional arrangements in tertiary education in Europe. The Bologna process, on the other side, induces substantial pressures towards harmonisation of tertiary education in the EU member states.

Against this background, the project studies, based on cross-temporal as well as international comparisons, how social selectivity in access to tertiary education and the impact of tertiary education on labour market outcomes evolved in the course of tertiary education expansion and differentiation. Particular attention is given to horizontal differentiation in fields of studies and its potential interaction with the different levels of education. Do students of different social origin move differently into the more differentiated structure of tertiary education and into the different fields of study? Given the highly gender specific nature of choice of field of study, the project also contributes to a better assessment of gender differences in labour market outcomes. To which extent do they result from differences in choice of field of study between men and women and how much from gendered opportunities and constraints in the allocation to jobs? Comparisons between strategically selected countries (most likely Germany, France, Spain and the UK) are conducted to study the implications of differences in the organisation of higher education systems and the consequences that can be expected from the present organizational reforms of tertiary education.

Empirically the project draws on a variety of newly available data sources. For Germany, the project relies on the panel data on tertiary education students and their study and post-study work careers (data available from the Higher Education Information System Institute (HIS)). For European comparisons, mainly data of the European Labour Force Surveys (ELFS) are analysed.
More detailed measures of education and specific topical modules on education introduced in the EULFS have considerably improved the potential of this data for the problems addressed in the project.

The project cooperates with several international researchers from France, Israel, the Netherlands, Sweden and the United Kingdom and is part of the research group that studies Education, Social Mobility and Social Cohesion within the Equalsoc Network of Excellence coordinated by Walter Müller.
2.3 Educational Systems and Labour Markets in Central and Eastern Europe

Director(s): Irena Kogan, Walter Müller
Researcher(s): Michael Gebel, Clemens Noelke
Duration: 2005 to 2009
Status: Ongoing / Core

The project aims at mapping CEE countries with respect to the organization of the education, labour market and welfare system, and consequently at studying educational attainment and job allocation in these countries. We intend to shed light on similarities and differences in linkages between education and labour market across the whole of Europe, to identify distinct country clusters in this respect, and, finally, to present an integrated picture of the structural and regional inequalities in the enlarged European Union. Tracing the variation in job outcomes of successive cohorts of school leavers, i.e. those who left education during the socialist period and more recent ones who entered the changing labour markets of the turbulent transformation years, will provide further insights into the growing inequality and changing stratification patterns in CEE countries.

The uniqueness of the experience in post-communist countries allows researchers an exceptional opportunity to explore the intervening role of institutional factors for social stratification. The fact that in the last 15 years CEE countries underwent historic transformations from planned to functioning market economies, simultaneously experiencing an expansion and reorganization of educational systems, allows us to learn more about the role institutions play in shaping education-job linkages and underlying stratification mechanisms.

A key research question of the proposed project thus pertains to the nature of the education-labour market linkages in CEE countries after the turbulent transformation years and particularly to the way in which national institutional arrangements, namely education and training systems and related modes of labour markets and welfare state provisions, affect the education-job allocation process and its outcomes both among young school leavers and more experienced workers.
2.4 Social Inequality in Educational Careers of Young Adults

*Director(s):* Marita Jacob  
*Researcher(s):* Felix Weiss  
*Duration:* 2006 to 2010  
*Status:* Ongoing / Core

In the last decades the transition process from school to work has become more and more complex in a lot of Western countries. Entering the labour market often is not a singular event, in fact the school-to-work transition consists of several steps, including prolonged education, training, employment and unemployment. In some countries we even observe young adults returning to full-time education or training several years after having left initial education (e.g. OECD 2000, 2004).

Against this background the main research interest of the project is on inequality in education and its development in early adulthood. On the one hand, theories on intergenerational status reproduction would predict that inequality is maintained or even growing. Theories on growing maturity of young adults on the other hand would come to different hypotheses how inequality evolves over time: they would rather expect processes of catching up of children from less privileged social backgrounds. These processes vary in different countries as the development of social inequality is also influenced by institutions which facilitate or hinder prolonged education or the return to education for particular social subgroups. In a comparison of Sweden, Germany and the United States we will therefore also look closely at the institutional and structural conditions shaping educational decisions in early adulthood.

The project intends to analyse these question by using longitudinal data to examine social selectivity in education and training in early adulthood. Thus, we extend previous research on the transition from school to work by looking at a particular aspect of complex transitions. Furthermore we complement comparative research on educational inequality by a longitudinal perspective going beyond general schooling and training.
2.5 European Labour Force

Director(s): Franz Kraus, Bernhard Ebbinghaus
Researcher(s): Franz Kraus, external collaborators
Duration: 2005 to 2009
Status: Ongoing / Core

Since the early days of industrialization living conditions and life chances have increasingly become dependent on labour markets. During the last two centuries, patterns of economic activity and the division of labour have been affected by a variety of profound socio-economic and political transformations. Somewhat astonishingly, comparative labour force statistics are quite rare, selective and limited in terms of comparability.

It is the major objective of this project to establish an adequate cross-national database on labour force with sufficient detail and high comparability for West- and Middle-Europe since the late 19th century. The collection addresses three major topics: patterns of labour market participation, structures of employment, and differentiation in employment status. Tables are collected mainly from population censuses; in addition, from 1983 onwards annual data will be computed from the European Labour Force Survey. In successive steps, three layers of tables will be produced: source tables, national time series tables, and tables for European comparisons. Due to profound and varying differences in concepts, measurements and classifications, major efforts must be invested in improving comparability and providing a detailed, structured documentation.

Based on this data collection, major developments in participation and employment structures will be analysed in the context of demographic changes and institutional configurations which have emerged as a result of national adaptations to emerging problems and innovations (educational expansion, welfare state regimes, etc.). The handbook will include a section on sources and problems of comparability, comparative chapters on European diversities, and national chapters written preferably by international collaborators, each accompanied by a set of core indicators on economic activity. The supplementary DVD will provide the entire material in machine-readable form. All three data layers (source data, national series, European series), along with structured meta-information, will be made available there in detail providing user-friendly interfaces to the databases.

The data handbook complements other historical handbooks already published in the MZES series 'Societies of Europe'. In the first place, the handbook adds to the empirical basis for a historical, macro-sociological analysis of unity and diversity of modern societies. It will also be of use, however, to other projects with a European orientation, be it as a source for systematic background information or for the standardisation of variables, as is required for studies of early retirement or the diffusion of welfare regimes.
A3: Family, Education, and Ethnicity in Europe (Josef Brüderl)

The study of the transformations in family structures and intimate social relations are of major importance for understanding social change in contemporary societies. The pluralisation of living arrangements can have major repercussions on population dynamics and labour markets. The family with its social and cultural capital is also of importance for the educational career and later life chances of children, starting with decisions about preschool attendance and the transition from primary to secondary school. The impact of differential social networks and cultural backgrounds is evident in the disadvantaged educational prospects of children from immigrant families compared to the native families. The different educational trajectories will also impact on the transition from school to work. Immigration at a later stage, such as migration after the end of communism, poses particular problems of integration into society, particularly into labour markets. Research in area A3 looks at these three different social processes: the consequences of changes in family and other living arrangements, the impact of family, social context and ethnicity on early educational decisions, and the integration of (first generation) immigrants.

Four projects (A3.1 – A3.4) concentrate on family change. Especially important by its sheer volume is Project A3.1 that is part of the German Family Panel. This panel will be funded by three million Euros per year. The Mannheim share being about 750 thousand Euros per year, this will be a major project over the years to come.

A second cluster of research (A3.5 – A3.7) focuses on the explanation of decisions in educational careers of children (from preschool to secondary school transition), studying in particular the decisions made by parents based on their aspirations and goals, their social and cultural capital, and the local and school environment. Looking at the impact of social class and ethnic background, the projects contribute to the understanding of the reproduction of social inequality in societies through decisions affecting educational trajectories. With increased reliance on knowledge and qualifications, modern societies will not live up to their potential if social background and ethnic origin present major obstacles to equal educational opportunities.

Finally, Projects A3.8 to A3.11 concentrate on the integration of (first generation) immigrants.
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3.1 Panel Study on Family Dynamics

Director(s): Josef Brüderl
Researcher(s): Laura Castiglioni, Ulrich Krieger, Klaus Pforr, Volker Ludwig, Jette Schröder
Duration: 2004 to 2010
Status: Ongoing / Core

This project is part of the research program “PAIRFAM” (Panel Analysis of Intimate Relationships and Family Dynamics) funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG). The main topics of this program cover the establishment and development of intimate relationships, family development and fertility, intergenerational relationships and the stability of couple and family relationships. Longitudinal data are necessary in order to model and empirically analyze the processes involved from an action theoretic perspective. These data will be gathered in the Panel of Intimate Relationships and Family Dynamics (Family-Panel), a long-term prospective panel survey.

From 2004 to 2007 the project in collaboration with several other projects associated with this research program conducted a three wave pilot panel study (Mini-Panel) to test the feasibility of a Family-Panel. The pilot was successful. Thus in 2008 we will start with our main study. The Family-Panel is a collaborative project by four principal investigators: Brüderl (Mannheim), Huinink (Bremen), Walper (Munich), and Nauck (Chemnitz). In the first wave we plan to obtain 12,000 interviews from a random sample from the German population registers (age groups 15-17, 25-27, 35-37). In addition, we will interview the partners of these anchor persons. One year later, we will re-interview the anchor persons. In addition, we will implement a multi-actor design and interview anchors’ partner, parents, and children. The questionnaires are developed to provide broad information on the topics mentioned above.

The Family-Panel is a long-term project. The first two waves (2008 and 2009) are now financed by the DFG. We are hopeful, however, that financing can be obtained for another 10 years at least.

The Family-Panel-Project is also in contact with similar panel projects in other countries. Several international conferences and workshops on family panel studies have been taken place at the MZES. In the future the Family-Panel perhaps could develop into a role-model for other European countries.
3.2  Social Embeddedness and Partnership Relations

Director(s): Hartmut Esser
Researcher(s): Thorsten Kneip
Duration: 2003 to 2009
Status: Ongoing / Core

The project is part of the research program “PAIRFAM” (Panel Analysis of Intimate Relationships and Family Dynamics, http://www.pairfam.uni-bremen.de) funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG). Our central task is the development of valid instruments for the measurement of crucial aspects of couples’ embeddedness in social networks: social capital provided by the network and the social mediation of orientations that may affect family related action. We refer to empirical findings in this field and a general theoretical model on relationship dynamics. Instrument development particularly includes the validation of proxy-information on network persons’ characteristics given by the respondents. We thus complement the data collected within the PAIRFAM framework in preparation of a planned long-term panel study with information gathered from additionally interviewed network persons. Apart from our goal to resolve issues of data validity, hypotheses about the mechanisms that link social embeddedness with the development of relationships and families are tested. Here, we focus especially on partnership stability. As the data collection has been completed, and the data is now available for all three waves of the conducted small-scale test panel study, we concentrate on further analyses. Results so far confirm our hypotheses regarding the influence of social embeddedness on couple stability.
3.3 Homogamy and Fertility – The Impact of Partnership Context on Family Formation

Director(s): Marita Jacob
Researcher(s): Gerrit Bauer
Duration: 2006 to 2010
Status: Ongoing / Core

The increase in female education, employment and work orientation is often used as an explanation for low fertility rates. In particular the (alleged) low fertility of highly educated women receives particular interest in public debates as well as in research on family formation as this very popular relation is not fully empirically assessed yet. Some recent studies analyzed the influence of certain characteristics of men on fertility pointing out that often men with very low education remain childless. However, fertility usually is a matter of couples but only a few studies focused on the two partners jointly and examined characteristics of couples. In our project we will extend previous research by taking characteristics of couples into account. Our focus is on the (educational) constellation of the two partners. First, we are interested in the relation between the overall educational level of couples and the decision and timing of childbirth. Second, we want to examine whether and in what respect educationally homogamous couples differ from couples with heterogamous educational qualifications. In particular, we want to figure out how the relation of individual educational level and fertility for women and men is mediated by the partner’s educational level. Third, by comparing homogamy and fertility rates in different European countries we study the influence of institutional settings of the welfare state that influence the impact of partnership context – again for both the overall educational level and the difference (or similarity) of the partners with regard to education.

Hence, our theoretical considerations are based on two approaches: On the one hand we use (family) economic theories based on human capital theory, on the other hand we focus on sociological theory of bargaining processes in partnerships. We therefore regard gender specific roles and/or role expectations as well as characteristics of the couple and the economic position of the partners, i.e. resources regarding occupational status and income. By pursuing a comparative study we also have to include the institutional settings with regard to couples of the countries we will look at.

For the empirical analyses we use already existing longitudinal panel data, e.g. the German Socio-Economic Panel (SOEP).
3.4 The East European Population since 1850

Director(s): Franz Rothenbacher
Researcher(s): N.N.
Duration: 2005 to 2009
Status: Ongoing / Core

The aim of the project is to write a historical data handbook on the East European populations. Twenty-one East European countries are covered since the middle of the 19th century until the year 2000. Together with the two earlier volumes on the West and Central European populations the whole of Europe will be covered, altogether 42 European countries. The book will be written on the basis of a comprehensive historical data collection which will be established during the project. The book will consist of written text with tables and graphs, accompanied by a CD-ROM containing the database in easily accessible form. The project not only intends to be an infrastructural task for the MZES and the academia in general, but also tries to answer theoretical questions in the realm of population and family research on Eastern Europe, such as: does there really exist a distinct East European population regime with respect to family formation and structure which differs fundamentally from the Western experience. Or, on the contrary, are the East European countries ‘only latecomers’ in the ubiquitous process of societal modernization.
Immigrant children attain, on average, consistently lower educational qualifications than their German counterparts. They are more likely to attend the lower academic tracks and are consequently underrepresented in the more attractive educational trajectories. In comparison to German children, they are also more likely to leave school without any school-leaving certificate and to not complete any vocational training. It is the purpose of the project to focus on the nature of these disadvantages: which processes produce such typical patterns? In order to answer this question it is necessary to examine the educational decisions that families take at different transition points in a child’s school career.

We selected the first branching point in the German school system as the object of investigation because this transition is of crucial importance to the child’s future educational career. We study the ways in which and the conditions under which immigrant families differ from native German families in their choice of different educational alternatives. Special attention is paid to the available resources in the different ethnic contexts, as well as to the families’ educational goals. Moreover, we take into account an important institutional feature, that is, the different regulations for the transition between different federal states.

The data collection and hence the second important stage of the project finished in mid-2007. We conducted 1,450 interview sequences with German, Italian-origin, and Turkish-origin families at three different points of time in the decision-making process. Along with the interviews, the study also examined the language proficiency of immigrant families in their first language as well as in German using standardized language measures. Furthermore, we conducted more than 4,000 scholastic achievement tests that covered abilities in school-relevant subjects such as German and Mathematics as well as cognitive performance measurements. Regarding the latter, we used language-independent tests, which seem to be particularly suited to the immigrant population. The evaluation of the collected information and the corresponding data entry ended in early 2008 and we are thus prepared to begin with the analyses which will last until the end of the project.
3.6 Educational Aspirations and Reference Groups

*Director(s):* Hartmut Esser  
*Researcher(s):* Volker Stocké  
*Duration:* 2003 to 2010  
*Status:* Ongoing / Supplementary

The aim of the research project „Educational Aspirations and Reference Groups“ is to explain those processes which lead to a class differentiation of students' educational success. Within the framework of the project, different explanatory approaches are utilized for this purpose and tested in a theoretically comparative way. These are the Rational-Choice Theory and the Model of Frame Selection as well as different resource-theoretical approaches. It is proposed to continue with the research project, which is funded by the German Research Foundation until the end of 2008, after the end of the current funding period. The “Mannheim Educational Panel”, in which about 800 families have participated since their children's 3rd grade, represents the core of the project. The children will, as a rule, attend the 9th grade at the end of the expiring funding period. At this point in time, the 6th interview wave with parents and children, the 4th wave of standardized achievement tests with the students, as well as one cross-section study with the parents' and one with the children's social network will be completed. In the project term up to now, first the decisions between the different secondary school types after primary school, and then the families' strategies of revision and stabilization of these decisions were the dominant research topics. Within the planned continuation of the panel study for at least two years, the intention is to analyze the changes between school forms during the 10th and 11th grades, the first transitions into labor market, and the decision to continue with an educational career after completing the chosen school forms.
3.7 Preschool Education and Educational Careers among Migrant Children

Director(s): Hartmut Esser
Researcher(s): Birgit Becker, Nicole Biedinger
Duration: 2006 to 2009
Status: Ongoing / Core

The proposed project targets the empirical study of the conditions for and the consequences of preschool education for the educational careers of migrant children, against the background of results of earlier work on educational decisions among migrants (Project Educational Decisions in Immigrant Families, Research Department A; Dollmann). These results clearly indicate that the foundation for the children's later educational career is laid well before their school education begins. It is very likely that native children and children of immigrants especially differ with respect to linguistic and cultural skills at school start which puts them at a clear disadvantage. Thus, the acquisition process of these skills is one main focus of the proposed project. Initially, all types of exposure to the host society at an early childhood stage are critical, as are the family and migration biographies of the parents, especially their interethnic contacts, life in an ethnically mixed or segregated environment, and interethnic contact to reference groups. Nonetheless, the attendance at some institution of preschool education seems to be particularly important. Very little systematic empirical research has been done to date and no international comparisons have been made until now. The proposed project aims at explaining the differences in preschool attendance on the basis of early investments made by the parents in the 'quality' of their children, or by means of the differing opportunities for interethnic exposure in the residential environment. It also aims to assess the consequences of preschool education for the later educational careers of the children, particularly in dependence on the structural conditions in the preschool institutions, such as ethnic concentration, quality and intensity of instruction, and the respective programmes. Thus, the project is designed as a panel study that is to run until the children reach school age (or even longer).
3.8 Social and Ethnic Differences in Residential Choices

Director(s): Hartmut Esser
Researcher(s): Andreas Horr
Duration: 2007 to 2011
Status: Ongoing / Core

While research on spatial ethnic segregation has a long tradition, little is known on the individual acts leading to the phenomenon: the residential choices of households. The task of this project is to explain these choices of households with and without immigration background in Germany.

Research starts with a general theoretical model explaining residential choices. These are seen as the result of several factors that lead to different sets of alternative residences among which households can chose: households differ in their preferences for residences and locations, they employ different search methods and they can realize their residential preferences in varying degrees due to competition and discrimination. Unequal distributions of economic, social and cultural resources between social and ethnic groups will lead to systematic differences in those aspects and thus to qualitative and spatial residential differences. Empirically, residential biographies, including recent moves and search behaviour, along with characteristics of Turkish and German households are examined by collecting data in Mannheim and Ludwigshafen am Rhein. The main focus is on the effects of the social and ethnic background on different search and move patterns and the resulting residential choices.
3.9 Young Immigrants in the German and Israeli Educational Systems

**Director(s):** Irena Kogan (MZES), Frank Kalter, Cornelia Kristen (Leipzig), Yossi Shavit, Noah Lewin-Epstein (Tel Aviv)

**Researcher(s):** Tobias Roth, Zerrin Salikutluk

**Duration:** 2006 to 2009

**Status:** Ongoing / Core

Education and a successful labor market entry are keys to general integration. Therefore, the question why immigrants and their descendants in many Western societies such as in Israel or Germany experience considerable disadvantages is of great concern. This research project aims at disentangling and empirically assessing the mechanisms, which account for the reproduction of ethnic inequalities at central stages in the educational careers of children and adolescents. More specifically, it investigates the processes which contribute to the emergence of ethnic differences at three important transition points in young peoples’ lives: (1) at the transition from primary to secondary school in Germany (grade 4) in comparison to Israeli fourth graders who do not yet face an educational transition, (2) at the transition from comprehensive school in Israel and the Hauptschule in Germany to the academic or professional/vocational path (grade 9), and (3) at the transition from the Realschule to academic or vocational training in Germany (grade 10) and with respect to the decision about the type of matriculation certificate (Bagrut) pursued in Israel (grade 11). The focus is on a more recent immigrant group coming from the Former Soviet Union (FSU Jews in Israel and FSU Aussiedler and FSU Jews in Germany), in comparison to ‘older’ immigrant or relatively poor performing groups (Turks in Germany and Mizrahim in Israel) and the respective reference population (Germans without a migration background in Germany and Ashkenazim in Israel). Particular emphasis is on the various resources available for educational investments. Since certain resources that are required for a successful career are specific to the respective educational context, we pay special attention to their distribution across groups and study the ways in which disparities in their disposal may contribute to differences in educational behavior. The comparison between the institutional settings of Israel and Germany has a number of strategic advantages. A basic institutional difference important to the reproduction of educational inequality concerns the early selection that takes place in Germany after four years of primary schooling and the lack of this regulation in Israel. At the same time, both settings are similar in the sense that FSU migrants are privileged in both countries and that they come from a comparable cultural background allowing for a comparison of integration patterns in two different institutional contexts. In a two-wave panel students and their parents are interviewed before and after each of the transitions.
3.10 Labour Market Integration: Aussiedler and Jewish Immigrants from the Former Soviet Union in Germany and Israel

*Director(s):* Yinon Cohen, Yitchak Haberfeld (Tel Aviv University, Israel), Frank Kalter (University of Leipzig)

*Researcher(s):* Irena Kogan

*Duration:* 2006 to 2009

*Status:* Ongoing / Supplementary

The labour market integration of immigrants depends on a range of factors, including immigrants' selectivity and the institutional settings of the receiving societies. The proposed research aims at advancing our understanding of the role of such factors by comparing immigrants from the former Soviet Union (FSU) in Israel and Germany. Jewish immigrants coming from the FSU to Israel since 1989 will be compared to two immigrant groups, ethnic Germans and Jews, arriving in Germany from the same country of origin during the same period. It is noteworthy that exactly these two groups of immigrants have become increasingly puzzling for German researchers. First, the German ‘Aussiedler’, although privileged per citizenship, seem to face severe problems to be integrated into the German labour market. Second, labour market situation of immigrants with citizenship of one of the FSU states – presumably many of them being Jewish – strongly deviates from the pattern of the ‘classical’ guest worker groups. In Israel at the same time integration of FSU Jews has been far more successful. Analyzing the fate of FSU immigrants in each of the two countries' labour markets separately is a worthwhile undertaking, if only for the challenge it represents to classical assimilation theory. Studying them in a comparative perspective, however, provides a strategic research design, as the comparison gives a unique opportunity to conduct a more rigorous test of arguments regarding immigrants' selectivity and further explore the role institutional and structural settings of receiving societies play in immigrants' labour market incorporation.

The comparison of FSU Jews in Israel with ethnic Germans will enable the study of immigrants' labour market assimilation in different settings while holding immigrant origin and the status of a “preferred immigrant” constant. (Both Jewish immigrants in Israel and Aussiedler obtain citizenship and other rights upon arrival.) The comparison of Jewish immigrants in both countries, on the other hand, is all but a natural experiment, where immigrants are given practically a free choice between two destination countries, Israel and Germany. Comparing the characteristics of those who immigrated to Israel and Germany will reveal much about the empirical status of prevailing theories of selectivity patterns, and about how such patterns, together with receiving societies’ structural and institutional characteristics, affect immigrant labour market progress.
3.11 Ethnic Identity and Interethnic Relations of Migrants

Director(s): Hartmut Esser
Researcher(s): Thomas Wöhler, Oshrat Hochman
Duration: 2008 to 2009
Status: New / Core

Transformed into immigration states, many EU countries are challenged by the existence of residents and citizens holding ethnic, transnational and other types of alternative identifications. Because these countries' legitimacy is based on collective membership these alternative attachments are threatening to undermine their authority and power. It thus becomes necessary to get a better understanding of the mechanisms through which social attachments are constructed, and their social outcomes. Recent publications link the emergence of identity to social networks, thus providing a causal link between social and emotional integration. We propose to test this assumed link and specify the mechanisms through which it occurs.

Therefore, the proposed project is concerned with two tightly interconnected aspects of migrant's integration: ethnic identity and social embeddedness. The aim of the project is to disentangle the bonds between the various dimensions of integration, particularly identification and social integration among immigrants in Germany.

To address both aspects, identification patterns and interethnic relations, we will develop a general theoretical model for the emergence of social relations that explains interethnic relations as a special case. Furthermore, we will provide a theoretical model connecting social relations and identification. As an empirical application for both research agendas, we propose to conduct a panel survey among immigrant adolescents. The panel structure will allow us to measure the dynamics of social networks and self-identification and to account for the problem of endogeneity. As we want to test the effects of structural conditions on ethnic identification and emergence of interethnic relations we survey young migrants experiencing a far-reaching status passage, the transition from school to first job.
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 and the contexts of Democratic Governance. This common interest – which is also expressed by the proposed SFB entitled ‘Reform Processes in Changing Societies’ – contributes to the coherence of research activities. The individual projects address a multitude of research topics, but they share a common interest that increases the already existing cross-cutting communication and collaboration between research areas and projects. The issue of democracy in Europe with its focus on the conditions and contextual factors on democratic governance is approached from different perspectives and organised in three research areas (coordinator in brackets):

B1 Conditions of Democratic Governance
   (Jan van Deth)

B2 Contexts for Democratic Governance
   (Wolfgang C. Müller)

B3 Democratic Multi-level Governance
   (Thomas König)

In addition to the thematic focus, the individual projects in each Research Area share several common aspects. Variations pertain to theoretical approaches, the perspective on democratic governance and to the methodology applied. The dialogue between approaches and the exchange of project-specific expertise is encouraged by regular meetings. The main forum is the colloquium of Department B which meets on Monday weekly during the term. Collaboration between projects is further encouraged by the joint involvement of MZES researchers in Europe-wide research networks. Internationalisation is a trademark of research in the MZES and scholars contribute and take the lead in several large collaborative research networks.

Research Area B1 is focused on the development of democratic citizenship. It is distinct from research in the other areas as it concentrates on individual behaviour and orientations, which are the pre-requisites of democratic governance. The research projects inside B1 cover two main topics: (1) the conditions of democratic citizenship in terms of social and political orientations and (2) social and political participation of citizens in democratic decision-making processes. Research 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. But attention is also paid to the institutional aspects of European integration which more and more become an integral part of the societal context of democratic citizenship. A new focus in B1 is the analysis of campaign dynamics and voting behaviour in Germany, based on the German Longitudinal Election Study 2009-2017. This study will be mainly conducted in Mannheim.

Research area B2 addresses the role of institutions like political parties, parliaments and governments as the key organisations that structure the contexts and processes of democratic governance. While some of the projects have a long-time horizon by covering the whole post-war period, most concentrate on the time period since the beginning of the 1990s which is
characterised by new challenges of Europeanization, new patterns in the development of party systems due to the emergence of new, sometimes short-lived political parties and the individualisation of the behaviour of elected officials. Research projects are dedicated to two overreaching themes. One focus is party competition, be it in the electoral or the parliamentary and government arenas, the other is processes of Europeanization and individualisation of political parties as well as of members of parliaments and governments in Western and Eastern Europe. Relaxing (parliamentary) parties as unitary actors allows for a more pervasive analysis of the effect of contextual structures on democratic governance, that is the identity of citizens, their representation and legislative activity.

Research Area B3 is dedicated to the challenges of democracy in the multi-level system of the EU on the one hand, and in decentralised organised European political systems on the other hand. Because of the increasing importance of the EU on national policy making, a central focus of B3 is on decision making in the EU and the impact of these outcomes on the conditions and contexts on democratic governance in the member states. Analytical units under scrutiny are individual, corporate and collective actors in the national and EU arenas which shape the outcome of decision-making processes.

B1: Conditions of Democratic Governance (Jan van Deth)

Research projects in area B1 cover two main topics. This is, first, the conditions of democratic citizenship in terms of social and political orientations (the ongoing projects B1.1, B1.3 and B1.6 as well as the new project B1.9) and (2) social and political participation of citizens in democratic decision-making processes (the ongoing projects B1.2 and B1.4 as well as the new projects B1.7 and B1.8. All projects have in common that they focus on the orientations, expectations, and interests of individual citizens, which form the initial point for democratic governance in modern democracies.
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1.1 Learning to Live Democracy (LLD)

Director(s): Jan W. van Deth
Researcher(s): Simone Abendschön (until May 2008), Meike Vollmar, Markus Tausendpfund (until October 2008)

Duration: 2000 to 2010
Status: Ongoing / Core

Starting from the basic assumption that crucial impulses for the development of democratic and civic attitudes are already effective at young age and not only during adolescence, the project “Learning to Live Democracy” (LLD) seeks to obtain information about the basic political orientations, involvement, and knowledge of 6-7 year old children regarding national and European politics and democracy. The empirical core of the study consists of a panel group with about 700 pupils, which are interviewed at the beginning and at the end of their first school year. Additionally, in order to estimate the relative impact of different socialisation instances, both the children’s parents and teachers are questioned and school context data will be collected.

During the initial phase of the project in-depth interviews with children of the respective age group, which normally cannot read and write yet, as well as discussions with teachers and other educational experts were conducted to develop an adequate, child-friendly questionnaire for standardised interviews. In 2004 the main research phase of the project was set off. A group of 800 children from 34 school classes as well as control groups were chosen from the population of primary schools in Mannheim situated in socially different districts. The children were interviewed during their first weeks in school. The second wave of the children panel and the parents’ and teachers’ interviews were conducted during 2005. In spring 2008 a third wave of the panel was carried out just before the children would leave primary school. For this renewed data collection the original questionnaire was completely modified and attuned to the extended competences and knowledge of the children. By including about 400 additional children at the same level, a cross-sectional sample of school children of about 10 years old is obtained.

Due to the complexities of working with young children and the multi-level research design required to assess the relevance of socialisation agents, the project has at present an explorative nature. However, contacts are established with scholars in France, Britain, the Netherlands, and Canada to develop further international co-operation in this research area. Especially the development of attitudes towards European democracy should be studied from a comparative perspective.
1.2 A Unified Model of Voting in Different Institutional Contexts

**Director(s):** Franz Urban Pappi, Christian H.C.A. Henning, Susumu Shikano  
**Researcher(s):** Michael Herrmann  
**Duration:** 2005 to 2010  
**Status:** Ongoing / Core

Policy voting in mass elections is traditionally modeled as proximity voting. Voters choose parties to whom they are closest in a policy space constructed from several one-dimensional policy scales. Policy scales are conceived as ordered sets of policies over which parties and voters have single-peaked preferences. An alternative to proximity voting is directional voting; originally, the directional model was based on a different interpretation of policy dimensions as Likert-type scales: voters are for or against a policy and choose the party they perceive as the most intense advocate of their preferred policy. Mixed models combine proximity and directional voting. When their behavioral interpretation is based on the original concept of a homogeneous space of separate ordered sets of policies, we define them as unified models. The directional component in this policy space indicates strategic policy voting, that is not voting one’s policy preferences by sincerely choosing the most proximate party, but voting for a more remote party to move the legislative status quo or the parliament’s anticipated mean voter into the preferred direction.

In this project, hypotheses about the relative weight of proximity and directional voting are derived and tested. In the first research period we found strong evidence for a conjecture raised in the recent literature that strategic policy voting is a characteristic of multi-party systems whereas sincere policy voting characterizes two-party systems. The relevant institutional contexts here are proportional representation and plurality electoral systems. An important consequence of this finding is that the policy preferences represented in PR parliamentary systems are not a simple result of sincere preference revelation as defenders of PR electoral systems would argue.

In the forthcoming research period we aim at deriving comparative static predictions about the effect of political environment on outcome oriented voting behavior. Specifically, we examine how party size, party extremism, party discipline, thresholds of representation and coalition building affect parties’ equilibrium bargaining power and, hence, voters’ expected impact on political outcomes. This allows us to derive hypotheses concerning the relative weight of proximity and directional voting in our unified model of voting. According to this model, both types of voting are derived for a Downsion voter who calculates how he can move the policy outcome in the next legislative period closest to his ideal point, given the expected electoral outcome.
1.3 European Social Survey

Director(s): Jan W. van Deth
Researcher(s): -
Duration: 2002 to 2015
Status: Ongoing / Supplementary

The European Social Survey (ESS) is an academically driven social survey designed to chart and explain the interaction between Europe's changing institutions and the attitudes, beliefs, and behaviour patterns of its diverse populations. The surveys cover several waves and more than twenty countries. The ESS employs the most rigorous methodologies in terms of sample design, fieldwork, and development of equivalent instruments. The questionnaire for each round consists of two elements: a core module of socio-demographic and substantive indicators (around 120 items); and two rotating modules of around 60 items each. Each rotating module covers a single academic and/or policy concern within Europe and is drafted by a team to be appointed following an open call. Data are immediately available for every researcher without any costs.

Fieldwork for the first wave was carried out in autumn 2002, and a fully documented multinational dataset was released in mid-2003. The second wave took place in autumn 2004, and the multinational dataset was released in 2005. In a similar way the fieldwork of the third wave took place in autumn 2006 whereas a first version of the data set was released by the end of 2007. Preparation for the fourth wave started in early 2007 and the fieldwork will be carried out in autumn 2008.

The coordination of the ESS was originally funded via the 5th Framework Programme, with supplementary funds from the European Science Foundation. Fieldwork costs in each participating nation are borne by the respective national funding agencies. As in all other countries a national co-ordinating team directs the German part. This team is led by Jan van Deth (official German co-ordinator) and consists of Oscar Gabriel (Stuttgart), Heiner Meulemann (Cologne), and Edeltraud Roller (Mainz).

The German part of the project was funded by the DFG in early 2002 for the first wave, in early 2004 for the second round of data collection, by late 2005 for the third wave, and by late 2007 for the fourth wave of the ESS. In order to guarantee the continuation of this project on a regular basis, the DFG included the German part of the ESS in its so-called "Long-term Support Programme" in 2005 on the basis of an extensive grant proposal developed by the German national team.
1.4 Migrants as Political Actors

Director(s): Andreas M. Wüst
Researcher(s): Andreas M. Wüst
Duration: 2006 to 2011
Status: Ongoing / Core

Political representation is a strong and often effective means to include minorities into democracies. Representation means acting responsibly in the interest of the represented, but physical presence is also of relevance. It is the primary goal of the project to find out whether MPs with a migratory background make a difference in the policy-making process. Does it matter whether immigrant minorities are physically represented? What are the issues migrant actors pursue in parliament? And whom do members of parliament (MPs) with a migratory background represent: The people, a specific party, their electoral district, their supporters or the immigrant group they belong(ed) to?

The project should shed light into the political representation of immigrants and their descendants in parliaments on the national and sub-national levels. This will be done by working out cross-national patterns for countries that show significant variation in immigration traditions and policies and in applied membership models. Similarities are expected to be found on the individual level (assimilation, adaptation) and on the party level (ideology, policy profile, opportunities).
1.5 Europe in Context

Director(s): Jan W. van Deth, Julia Rathke
Researcher(s): Markus Tausendpfund
Duration: 2007 to 2011
Status: Ongoing / Core

Citizens’ attitudes towards the European Union (EU) play an important role for the stability and further development of the EU political system. Research has shown that support for European integration is dependent on individual and contextual factors. The research project aims at explaining attitudes towards the EU not only on the basis of individual characteristics, but also on the context. Research will focus on the local context. It thereby distinguishes between three aspects of the local context, namely local politics, local civil society and local economy. Local opinion polls and expert interviews are planned to investigate socio-structural characteristics of local contexts. Data from various sources will be integrated in order to perform multi-level analyses.

In the preparatory phase of the project (2007) a model was developed combining individual characteristics of citizens and information of the relevant aspects of the local contexts. Furthermore, an all-embracing research strategy was designed to test this model empirically. The results of these activities were included in an extensive proposal submitted to the DFG in December 2007. Until support for the main phase of the project is secured, further research on the selection of specific local contexts is carried out.
1.6 Voter Turnout and Strategic Voting: Rational Calculus or Group Identity?

Director(s): Susumu Shikano, Bernhard Kittel
Researcher(s): N.N.
Duration: 2008 to 2010
Status: New / Core

For a long time, research on strategic voting has been confronted with two problems: empirically observed lower rates of strategic voting than theoretically predicted and ignorance of turnout. This project suggests a solution to these problems by integrating both decision processes in a game-theoretical model without common knowledge. A further key assumption of the model is a symmetric strategy profile. The term "symmetric" refers to the case that if any member of a given group uses a strategy then every other member of that group uses the same strategy. While this symmetric strategy enables equilibria with non-zero turnout as well as strategic voting, it also implies a kind of group identity. This view of group identity provides alternative explanations for both empirical puzzles above. That is, voters as group members are mobilized through selective incentives and they cast their ballots less strategically due to their group identity. The difference in implications between both explanations is apparent in terms of strategic voting. While a symmetric strategy facilitates strategic voting, group identity suppresses the incentive to deviate from one's own preference. To differentiate implications of group mobilization and symmetric strategy equilibria more distinctively, simulation techniques are applied to the integrated theoretical model which is otherwise difficult to solve. The implications drawn from the theoretical model will be tested using laboratory experiments.
1.7 German Longitudinal Election Study (GLES). The Dynamics of Voting – A Long-Term Study of Change and Stability in the German Electoral Process

_Director(s):_ Rüdiger Schmitt-Beck  
_Researcher(s):_ Sascha Huber  
_Duration:_ 2008 to 2020  
_Status:_ New / Core

In strong contrast to many old and new democracies worldwide in Germany there is no National Election Study in the sense of a comprehensive institutionalized research program which guarantees that at each federal election data are produced that are methodologically state of the art, theoretically up to date, and immediately available to the whole political science community. Since early 2007 the German community of electoral researchers has been engaging in a collective effort aimed at establishing such a research program in Germany. The newly founded German Association for Electoral Research (DGfW) serves as institutional basis for this endeavour. As current Chairperson of the DGfW Rüdiger Schmitt-Beck is coordinating these activities. At present the most important strand of them aims at obtaining funding from the DFG for the German Longitudinal Election Study GLES. Focusing on the next three federal elections (2009, 2013, 2017), the GLES will observe and analyze how today’s mobile electorate copes with the increasing complexity of contemporary electoral politics. The project will generate and extensively analyze a comprehensive, complex, and integrated data base that links cross-sectional with longitudinal data, both short-term and long-term. It will combine surveys about voting behavior with the examination of key dimensions of the context within which votes are cast, by means of analyses of media, candidates, and campaigns, and it will span several elections, covering both campaign periods and the time in-between elections. All data generated by this hitherto most ambitious and comprehensive program of German electoral research will be treated as a public good and made immediately accessible to all interested social scientists. It is a collaborative project involving four applicants, Rüdiger Schmitt-Beck being one of them, and, correspondingly, four universities as interconnected project sites.
1.8 Campaign Dynamics 2005. Mobilizing and Persuading Effects of Television News on Voters during the 2005 German General Election Campaign

Director(s): Rüdiger Schmitt-Beck  
Researcher(s): Ansgar Wolsing  
Duration: 2008 to 2009  
Status: New / Supplementary

The project aims at the first comprehensive analysis of campaign effects on electoral behavior in Germany. Pioneering the application of a combined Rolling Cross-Section and panel design at German elections it studies how party-related activities, events and developments impinge on electors’ perceptions, attitudes and ultimately voting decisions. During the final six weeks of the 2005 German General Election campaign voters’ orientations were tracked on a daily basis, generating an ideal data base for the study of the short-term dynamics of voters’ decision-making at this unusual election. The first phase of this project, funded by DFG, is due to end in April 2008, a proposal to obtain funding for an additional second phase is currently being prepared. While the first project phase was devoted to analysing the campaign-related dynamics of public opinion with regard to parties and their candidates, but also several dimensions of political support, and has furthermore investigated into the relationships between political orientations and exposure to various sources of political information, including the mass media, parties’ campaign communications, and political conversations between citizens, the second phase of the project will be devoted to collecting data on TV news’ coverage of the 2005 election campaign, and analysing media effects by combining these data with the RCS survey data. Linking content and survey data on a day-by-day basis it will provide a unique opportunity to study the consequences of the media’s campaign coverage for electors’ perceptions and evaluations of parties and their candidates.
### 1.9 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):** N.N.  
**Duration:** 2008 to 2012  
**Status:** New / Core

Most citizens talk at least occasionally to others about political matters, volunteering information and opinions, and listening to what others have to say. Most of these exchanges take place in private settings, but sometimes people also raise their voices in public, anonymous contexts. However, while research into the patterns, backgrounds and consequences of political mass communication on civic orientations and political cultures has a long and productive tradition in political science, the much more immediate, and also much older form of obtaining and disseminating political information through interpersonal communication has obtained surprisingly little attention so far. Only rather recently, and inspired by the ‘deliberative turn’ of democratic theory, has empirical political science begun to pay more than fleeting attention to this phenomenon. Most of the existing analyses have treated it as one among several forms of ‘conventional’ political participation, others have concentrated on its relevance for electoral behavior. However, this has begun to change in recent years, when researchers from the US, but also the UK have entered into broader inquiries of the role of political talk for democratic politics. Against this background the project aims at a comprehensive description of Germany’s ‘talk culture’ – the patterns of political discussion taking place among ordinary citizens both in private and public settings, with a special emphasis on comparing East and West Germany, guided by the assumption that citizens’ everyday communicative behavior is influenced by past experiences, including experiences of oppression of free speech. In addition, the project aims at investigating the background and consequences of everyday political conversation. Who is talking about politics, how, with whom, and to what effect? The project is to be based on a comprehensive, nationally representative face-to-face survey, including a snow-balling component to analyse political discussants’ ego-centered networks. Funding for this research will be sought from the DFG. Although at this stage not planned as a comparative project, it will be carried out in cooperation with international experts who have been or are currently engaging in similar projects in other countries. If successful, the project may serve as a baseline project for a broader research program. It may become the starting point for other studies, employing diverse methods, and studying selected aspects of citizens’ political discussion in greater depth.
B2: Contexts for Democratic Governance (Wolfgang C. Müller)

Research area B2 addresses the role of institutions like political parties, parliaments and governments as the key organisations that structure the context of democratic governance in European parliamentary democracies. While some of the projects have a long-time horizon by covering the whole post-war period, most concentrate on the time period since the beginning of the 1990s which is characterised by new challenges of Europeanization, new patterns in the development of party systems due to the emergence of new, sometimes short-lived political parties and the individualisation of the behaviour of elected officials. Research projects are dedicated to two overreaching themes. One focus is party competition, be it in the electoral or the parliamentary and government arenas, the other are processes of Europeanization and fragmentation of political parties as well as of members of parliaments and governments in Western and Eastern Europe. Relaxing the perspective of (parliamentary) parties as unitary actors allows for a more pervasive analysis of the effect of contextual structures on democratic governance, that is the identity of citizens, their representation and legislative activity.

Party competition in the electoral arena is at the heart of research project B2.6 which is a long-term study of the meaning of "left" and "right" by analysing voter's perception on the one hand and the party positions mentioned in their election manifestos on the other hand. Project B2.8 asks to what extent collective competition between parties is challenged by individual competition of MPs. Party competition in the parliamentary and government arenas is the subject of projects B2.1, B2.2, B2.3 and B2.4. Project B2.1 investigates the question to what extent reforms of the parliamentary rules of procedure can be explained as redistributive reforms, resulting from party competition by means of institutional engineering. Project B2.2 researches the relevance of European issues in parliamentary debates and questions and hence is concerned with the role of "Europe" in party competition. Project B2.3 is concerned with the trade-offs between office and policy goals of political parties in processes of coalition formation. In Project B2.4 the frequency and causes of coalition conflicts with special attention to intra-party causes is under scrutiny. Project B2.9 focuses explicitly on Green parties that have already taken or are ready to take the threshold of government participation. Research Project B2.10 goes one step further and asks for the impact of party competition on the Determinants of Success and Duration of German Legislation for a period of over 40 years. New proposed projects belonging to the category of party competition focus on the ideological cohesion of parliamentary parties in a comparative perspective (B2.12) and candidate selection inside political parties with respect to the electoral system (B2.11). Furthermore, the new proposed project B2.13 analyses the relationship between party competition and public opinion on nuclear energy in West European countries, while the new project B2.14 investigates political representation in the German mixed member electoral system.

The second theme of the projects in Research Area B2 is Europeanization. Project B2.5 analyses the relationship between the new member states of the EU and the political parties on the
European level. It is concerned with the attempts of Euro-parties to exercise influence on the emerging of the party systems in the new member states of the EU and the positioning of the parties with regard to European issues. Project B2.7 asks how the deepening of the EU and its enlargement affect the identity of citizens, their representation, and the practice of good governance.

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2.1 Parliamentary Rules and Institutional Design

*Director(s):* Wolfgang C. Müller  
*Researcher(s):* Wolfgang C. Müller, Ulrich Sieberer, N.N.  
*Duration:* 2008 to 2011  
*Status:* Ongoing / Core

Despite the theoretical importance of decision making rules in new institutionalist accounts of legislative politics, the development of parliamentary rules is largely unstudied in comparative perspective. The proposed project will work towards filling this gap with respect to European parliamentary democracies during the post-1945 period. It will analyze (1) the amount of change in parliamentary rules, (2) the character of these changes with regard to political competition, and (3) the conditions under which parliamentary rules are successfully altered. While the first step will provide a thus far unavailable descriptive account of the frequency of rules change, the second part distinguishes between efficient changes made with support of all or almost all members and redistributive changes which are passed in a partisan manner and directly influence the distribution of power between different actors in parliament. In the third step, the project wants to explain when different sorts of changes are likely to occur. We expect efficient changes to be triggered mainly by changes in the external environment of parliaments such as technological developments, professionalization of parliaments, specialization of parliamentarians, and the process of Europeanization. Redistributive changes should be tied more directly to the state of political competition and thus depend on factors like government format, the level of party competitiveness, future electoral prospects, and the level of party cohesion.

Overall, the proposed project will further our understanding of institutional design in general and processes of rules changes in parliaments in particular. These insights are not only relevant for understanding legislative politics in European democracies but can also contribute to the broader theoretical debate on the importance of institutions in comparative politics. In addition, the project will create a unique collection of parliamentary standing orders and their development over time that will be a very valuable resource for various kinds of comparative legislative studies.
2.2 Europe in National Parliaments

Director(s): Wolfgang C. Müller
Researcher(s): Marcelo Jenny, Wolfgang C. Müller, N.N.
Duration: 2009 to 2011
Status: Ongoing / Core

This project will investigate the Europeanization of parliamentary debates and questions in Western Europe. It will establish the relevance of European issues in the daily work of selected parliaments, show what kind of rhetorical frames the relevant actors use, and seek to explain the amount of Europeanization and the positions taken on European integration issues. In so doing, the project will employ quantitative and qualitative methods.
2.3  Government Formation as an Optimal Combination of the Office- and Policy-Motivation of Parties

Director(s): Franz Urban Pappi, Susumu Shikano, Eric Linhart
Researcher(s): Nicole Seher, Michael Stoffel
Duration: 2005 to 2009
Status: Ongoing / Core

Classical coalition theories distinguish office- and policy-motivation and emphasize the one or the other motive to enter a coalition government. For office theories, parties will participate in governments which promise them the largest share of portfolios etc., policy theories assume that parties will enter coalitions whose anticipated policy is closest to their ideal point. The next step is to combine both motives in one utility function as suggested by some recent coalition theories. An interesting research question to be answered is how parties vary concerning the relative weight given to office and policy motives in the final decision to enter a coalition government. In addition, we aim at improving these theories which postulate an additive utility function with the two separable motives of gaining the highest share of portfolios and a coalition position in a policy space most proximate to one's own ideal point. We argue that policy formulation and implementation are not simple consequences of coalition agreements negotiated before government formation. When parties anticipate legislative outcomes, they have to take into account the division of labor in government which is a consequence of the authority of ministers for different policy domains (ressort principle). The legislative outcome for a particular policy domain led by coalition party A may differ from the possible outcome for the same domain under coalition party B, even according to the same coalition agreement. Improved theories of coalition bargaining have to allow for this type of interaction effects between policy formulation and office authority.

Empirically, we test the hypotheses derived from theories of coalition bargaining with data on all German Land governments from 1946 to 2008 (282 governments). One big advantage of this data set is the relative stability of the institutional context and a comparability of parties between the German states (most similar case approach). An obvious disadvantage is that we have to reconstruct the policy spaces by our own content analyses of the relevant party manifestos (Landtagswahlprogramme). For this purpose, we develop a classification scheme which allows the measurement of the salience attached by the parties to the important policy domains which delineate the jurisdictions of the portfolios at the same time. In addition, the policy positions of the parties in these domains have to be recovered, preferably by automatic procedures of content analysis programs. An important byproduct of this project will be a description of the programmatic variance within German parties between their Land organizations.
2.4 Coalition Conflict and Party Politics

Director(s): Wolfgang C. Müller
Researcher(s): Bernhard Miller
Duration: 2004 to 2011
Status: Ongoing / Core

Coalition cabinets are the dominant form of government in Western Europe. This project sheds new light on coalition governance by a focus on manifest coalition conflicts. With the exception of terminal conflicts, coalition conflicts constitute an unstudied territory. The project aims at building a time series of coalition conflicts in post-war Europe and explaining their occurrence and management. In so doing the project will check a number of “standard” explanations, such as the diversity of policy preferences within the coalition and intra-party politics. Theoretical and empirical coalition research to this date has largely regarded parties as unitary actors (and hence party as the unit of analysis). Challenging the unitary actor assumption has potentially profound consequences for our understanding of coalition governance in a broader sense – in terms of formation and termination of coalitions and particularly the making of policy decisions. The research will include both coalitional systems and, as a control group, systems characterized by single-party cabinets.
2.5 Euro-Parties and the Politics of New Member States

Director(s): Jan W. van Deth, Thomas Poguntke
Researcher(s): N.N.
Duration: 2006 to 2010
Status: Ongoing / Core

The project will investigate the impact of the activities of Euro-parties on the politics of the new member states of the European Union. The new member states in East-Central Europe largely lack the traditional cleavage structures which moulded party systems in Western Europe. This raises the question of the role of Euro-parties in a possible 'export' of Western-style patterns of party competition. More precisely: What role have Euro-parties played in the establishment of democratic parties in East-Central Europe, to what extent have these attempts been successful, and which factors have influenced their success?

In an exploratory phase (2006) the opportunities were studied to expand the analyses to countries from Southern Europe with similar experiences of regime transformations and accompanying changes in their party systems. As it turned out, the East-Central European developments differ fundamentally from the Southern European developments. For that reason, the focus of the project is redirected again at the role of Euro-parties in East-Central Europe.

A limited number of adequate case studies (based on East-Central European parties rather than countries as units of analysis) will be selected. The project will use a methodological mix of document analyses, elite interviews and literature analysis in order to identify the relevant processes of influence by Euro-parties on East-Central European parties.
2.6 The Left–Right Ideology: Its Meaning Across Countries and Over Time

Director(s): Hermann Schmitt
Researcher(s): Hermann Schmitt
Duration: 2006 to 2010
Status: Ongoing / Core

The left-right ideological dimension has been structuring European politics over the past two centuries. There are reasons to believe that the meaning of “left” and “right” has been changing rapidly and extensively over the past few decades, as a result of an accelerating process of socio-political change. Is the left-right dimension still the structuring devise for political orientations that it used to be over the past two centuries? And what are the consequences of potential changes for the contemporary political process? These are the research questions pursued in this project.

This project will try to shed new light on the changing meaning of “left” and “right” by means of an imaginative secondary analysis of existing data. The core methodological idea is to relate voters’ perceptions of the left-right location of a political party to what this party says and does. In other words, we will regress political parties’ left-right public images on the contents of their election manifestos, and on the roll-call behaviour of their MPs.

Data analysis will need to be sufficiently complex to be able to test both for time-lags (programmatic changes of political parties might take some time to be realised) and individual phases of political learning (citizens views of political parties might be formed during certain phases of political socialisation and remain stable thereafter).
2.7 Integrated and United: A Quest for a Citizenship in an Ever Closer Europe (IntUne)

Director(s): Wolfgang C. Müller, Hermann Schmitt
Researcher(s): Wolfgang C. Müller, Hermann Schmitt
Duration: 2005 to 2011
Status: Ongoing / Core

The major aim of this research is to study the changes in the scope, nature and characteristics of citizenship presently underway as an effect of the process of deepening and enlargement of the European Union. It will focus on how integration and decentralization processes, at both the national and European level, are affecting three major dimensions of citizenship: identity, representation, and practice of good governance.

More than 30 universities and more than 100 individual researchers co-operate within this integrated project. The structure of the project foresees four research areas dealt with by different research groups:

- the attitudes of political elites (MPs, business) in the European Union
- the attitudes of European citizens
- the development of networks of policy experts
- changing political discourses and the media

The Mannheim team is particularly concerned with the first two topics.
2.8 Personal Campaign Strategies and Political Representation

**Director(s):** Hermann Schmitt, Thomas Gschwend, Wolfgang C. Müller, Andreas M. Wüst, Thomas Zittel

**Researcher(s):** Thomas Gschwend, Wolfgang C. Müller, Hermann Schmitt, Andreas M. Wüst, Thomas Zittel

**Duration:** 2005 to 2010

**Status:** Ongoing / Core

In Europe and beyond, political parties have been understood as crucial linkage institutions between citizens and the state. However, recent evidence puts a question mark behind this textbook version of political representation and accountability: individual representatives increasingly seem to emphasize their personal role and become more independent of their party. Our knowledge here, however, is of a rather impressionistic nature, or of only national-specific reach. To what degree these processes are indeed prevalent and, if so, what the causes and the consequences of this development are – these are the central research questions of this project. We aim to study this phenomenon in a systematic and cross-national comparative manner to understand and empirically test potential changes in the nature of political representation. Moreover, we intend to relate these potential changes in the nature of political representation to the interaction between elite strategies and voters' behaviour.

The research strategy is based on a series of surveys among candidates standing for office in national parliamentary elections in as many countries as possible. Pilot surveys in Austria and Germany were carried through by the Mannheim project team. Future German Candidate Surveys are an integral part of the German Longitudinal Election Study (GLES; see project B1.7). Further project members include Portugal, Spain and Italy. In order to maximize variation on two dimensions that are expected to interact with the candidates' campaign strategies – the electoral systems and the maturity of party alignments – particular emphasis has been put on convincing British, Dutch and Irish colleagues as well as colleagues from central and eastern European countries like Hungary, Poland or Romania. The project is scheduled for the years 2005 to 2010. This extra-ordinarily long period is due to the fact that the surveys are to be conducted immediately after national parliament elections; and that these elections are usually held every four or so years.
2.9 Ideology and Activism of Green Party Members in Western Europe

Director(s): Wolfgang C. Müller
Researcher(s): Wolfgang C. Müller, Peter Stefou, Bernhard Miller
Duration: 2005 to 2010
Status: Ongoing / Core

The project analyses the first cross-national survey of Green party members in Western Europe (14 countries) with respect to ideology and activism. First, the project analyses the relevance of those ideological commitments suggested by the literature and check for inconsistencies and internal lines of division. Second, the project describes and explains party activism and thereby test theories of party activism that have not yet been tested against data from Green parties.
2.10 Policy Change and Reform: The Determinants of Success and Duration of German Legislation between 1961 and 2005

Director(s): Thomas König
Researcher(s): Dirk Junge, Bernd Luig
Duration: 2007 to 2011
Status: Ongoing / Core

Our contribution to fundamental research will entail the production of a complete data set covering the procedural details of German federal legislation between 1961 and 2005. We will also create a corresponding data set covering the specific positions of the legislative actors across fourteen policy areas and five ideological cleavages. Furthermore we will use the two data sets in order to evaluate the usefulness of present theories explaining success and duration of legislation (veto-player theory and principal-agent perspective).
2.11 Electoral Systems and Party Personnel: The Consequences of Reform and Non-Reform

Director(s): Thomas Gschwend, Thomas Zittel
Researcher(s): N.N.
Duration: 2008 to 2011
Status: New / Supplementary

The principal question we address in this collaborative research project is: how do electoral systems influence the type of people political parties select as candidates for political office and for legislative committee and governmental positions. One of the innovations of the project is to connect the study of candidate recruitment (candidate quality) with the study of how positions in the legislature are allocated (legislative organization) under the unifying conceptual rubric of party personnel strategy. This project has three goals. (1) provide theoretical insight on a fundamental question of representation; (2) connect important literatures that are generally disconnected; and (3) create a large integrated dataset spanning eight countries with different political institutions. These academic literatures have developed in isolation despite the real-world connection: all legislators were once candidates and most of them will be again. The research design exploits cases of electoral-system change to isolate the causal impact of electoral systems, examining party personnel strategies before and after change. The study distinguishes between nominal electoral systems, in which seats are allocated exclusively based on votes cast for candidates, and list proportional representation (PR) systems, in which seats are allocated according to party votes. These systems create different incentives for parties to cultivate geographically concentrated or dispersed blocs of voters through the candidates they nominate. Nominal systems, such as single-seat districts, have geographically concentrated voters, whereas list systems may allow parties to appeal to more dispersed constituencies. Some electoral systems also are likely to privilege organized interests, whereas others may be more favorable to unorganized interests. The project will probe how electoral systems shape party personnel strategies along these dimensions in four countries before and after their major electoral-system change and four other countries with no such change. During this project phase we will assemble extensive data bases on constituency characteristics, candidate attributes and experience, and the allocation of party, legislative, and governmental posts in Germany.
2.12 The Ideological Cohesion of Western European Political Parties

Director(s): Hanna Bäck, Marc Debus, Wolfgang C. Müller
Researcher(s): N.N.
Duration: 2009 to 2013
Status: New / Core

Analyses of parliamentary voting behaviour in West European states show that a high degree of cohesion inside the party groups exists. There are, however, internal groups inside a parliamentary party with programmatic viewpoints that may diverge from the one of the party core. The aim of this project is to estimate the spread of programmatic positions on various policy dimensions inside political parties based on the parliamentary speeches of MPs and cabinet members.

By relaxing the assumption that parties are unitary actors we are able to answer the question if parties with strong organisational structures are programmatically more cohesive than parties that can be described as groups of notabilities. In addition, it allows for estimating whether ideological cohesiveness depends on being a member of the government or the opposition. Estimating the ideological cohesion of parties based on the individual policy position of each MP allows further for an analysis of the determinants of MP party switching in more detail. Moreover, combining our new data on ideological party cohesion with already existent data on legislative activity and - partly existing - data on roll call votes will bring deeper insight into the determinants on inserting law proposals, as well as on the decision-making on legislative bills. Furthermore, the extracted data will allow for a deeper analysis of (ad-hoc) parliamentary coalition formation, portfolio-allocation, and ministerial discretion by testing existent theories on coalition formation and cabinet decision-making.

The cases under consideration are Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Spain, Sweden, and the United Kingdom in the time period between the mid of the 1990s and the first half of the 2000s. For those countries and the respective time period, parliamentary speeches are available for at least two legislative periods that are characterised by a different partisan composition of the government. In addition, these speeches are provided electronically by the respective parliaments. To estimate the policy positions of MPs, and thereby intra-party cohesion, we refer to computer-aided content analysis techniques.
2.13 Comparative Phasing-Out Nuclear Energy: Public Policies, Party Competition and Public Opinion in European Countries

Director(s): Wolfgang C. Müller, Paul W. Thurner
Researcher(s): N.N.
Duration: 2008 to 2011
Status: New / Core

This comparative multi-country project investigates the dynamic interplay between party strategies and voter attitudes and choices in the policy-field of nuclear energy. It will combine policy analysis, the study of party decision-making, and experimental and survey research in order to study attitudinal change and electoral behaviour of voters. The theoretical focus of interest will be on party strategies and the effectiveness of competitive framing of public policies in different macro-contexts.
2.14 Representation in Mixed Member Electoral Systems under Changing Electoral Markets

*Director(s):* Thomas Zittel, Thomas Gschwend

*Researcher(s):* N.N.

*Duration:* 2008 to 2011

*Status:* New / Core

The electoral markets of western democracies are becoming more segmented in the process of socio-political change. The planned project is based on the hypothesis that weak parties in the electorate emerging in some geographical areas of a single country will translate into individualized forms of representational behavior, and thus less disciplined party organizations and parties in parliament, if electoral systems provide incentives in this regard. We will investigate this hypothesis on the basis of the German mixed member electoral system. This system provides us with institutional variation at the level of the electoral system as well as with socio-political variation at the district level. Both factors serve as independent variables in our research design. We will further operationalize the dependent variable, namely representational behaviour, in novel and innovative ways. The project firstly asks about the campaign behavior of candidates to the German Bundestag using data from the German Candidate Study 2005 (GCS 2005). These data will be supplemented through semi-structured interviews with a sample of 50 participants in the GCS 2005. The project secondly focuses on the parliamentary behavior of those participants in the GCS 2005 who have been elected to the German Bundestag (N=220). We will code for these MPs forms of low threshold deviation from the party line for the 16th Bundestag. We will specifically look at the formal use of vote explanations (Erklärungen zur Abstimmung) and the signing of inter-party resolutions (interfraktionelle Gruppenanträge). Both forms of parliamentary behavior provide subtle opportunities for MPs to distance themselves from their party and to communicate these differences to their constituents. Both forms of parliamentary behavior have not been analyzed in systematic ways for the German Bundestag so far. Both forms of parliamentary behavior have not been matched with campaign behavior to provide a more comprehensive understanding of representational behavior and to study the interrelationship between specific forms of political communication and specific forms of parliamentary behavior.

The project is comparative in a threefold sense: 1) It aims to contribute to a visible international debate on the functioning of mixed member electoral systems and on the impact of processes of socio-political change (dealignment) in Western democracies; 2) The German electoral system allows for a quasi-experiment comparing two types of electoral incentives under different socio-political contexts while holding many other external factors constant; 3) The project needs to be seen in the context of project B2.8 (Personal Campaign Strategies and Political Representation). This project includes other mixed member systems such as New Zealand and Hungary. The aim of the proposed project is to motivate these participants in the Comparative Candidate Study project to broaden their perspective and to study the interrelationship between campaign behaviour and parliamentary behaviour.
2.15 EuroPolis: A Deliberative Polity-making Project

Director(s): Hermann Schmitt
Researcher(s): N.N.
Duration: 2008 to 2011
Status: New / Supplementary

In a deliberative polling experiment that involves a sample of EU citizens ahead of the 2009 European Parliament election, EuroPolis will emulate a highly politicised and well informed European Public Sphere in order to demonstrate, what the likely effects would be of such drastic changes in public interest in and information about the European Parliament elections for the EU political process. The interviewing of a control group representative of the EU citizenry at large will enable to measure the effect of deliberative "treatment" both on attitudes and behaviours of EU citizens.
B3: Democratic Multi-level Governance (Thomas König)

Area B3 is devoted to the conditions and contexts of democracy in multi-level systems, such as the EU and its impact on politics in countries outside Europe. Two projects deal with policy-making and politics on the sub-national level. Project B3.1 explores the contamination effects between the different electoral arenas in the German multi-level system with respect to the outcomes of elections and government formation processes. Project B3.3 is different from the methodological direction of most other projects in area B3, because it reflects on the relevance of national memories for legitimising discourse on European integration. Project B3.4 analyses the impact of the preferences of national parties EU decision-making, while project B3.5 focuses on legislative and compliance research explicitly on the European level.

In Project B3.6 the effects of the European community law on the legislative activity and policy-making in the member states of the EU is under consideration. The new project B3.10 will establish an infrastructure for Research on Electoral Democracy in the European Union.

Two new projects that focus on the EU multi-level system deal with, first, agency governance and its challenges to the EU system of representation (B3.7) and, secondly, party competition, government formation and policy outcomes (B3.9). Project B3.8 asks for the legislative responses of the EU to international terror threats.

In addition, two projects analyse governance in multi-level settings from a different point of view. The ongoing project B3.2 wants to find out which characteristics of regional networks influence the effectiveness of rural development projects of the EU. In relation to the ongoing project B3.1, the new project B3.9 compares patterns of party competition, government formation and policy-making in EU member states that are characterised by different degrees of decentralisation.
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3.1 Contamination Effects in Multi-Level Systems of Governance

Director(s): Thomas Gschwend
Researcher(s): Thomas Gschwend
Duration: 2005 to 2011
Status: Ongoing / Supplementary

Most European democracies employ a multi-level system of governance. They provide several challenges and important opportunities for a representative democracy and electoral accountability. This project deals with the nature of the relationship between different levels of governance. Traditionally, political sociology studies elections without referring to the particular institutional context. The outcomes of elections are interpreted as if these elections were held in isolation—without referring to their status in a multi-level system of governance. We speak of “contamination effects” or “interaction effects” between two electoral arenas if the null hypothesis of independence between both arenas cannot be sustained, i.e., when one electoral arena “contaminates” the result in another electoral arena. For instance, the national electoral stage might have implications for a sub-national electoral stage, or presidential elections might have an impact on parliamentary elections. Nevertheless, political scientists have yet to build a body of knowledge about why or when one electoral arena plays a larger or smaller role in shaping other electoral arenas—an important first step in understanding the complex nature of preference aggregation in representative democracies through popular elections and accountability in systems of multi-level governance.

The starting point of this project is to conceptualize the decision-making process of citizens as a trade-off between their preferences and the incentives that are provided by the electoral context (e.g. institutions). A system of multi-level governance offers voters various incentives to act strategically what a focus on only a single electoral arena would not permit. Do voters strategically balance one level (vertically or horizontally) against another level? How do both processes, the expectation formation and the decision-making process, operate at the individual level and what are the electoral consequences of that?

The research question that will kick-off this project will focus first on the relationship between Bundestag and state elections in Germany. To what extent do sub-national elections play a different role at different times within a country? The first results of a comparative analysis of sub-national elections are expected to inform the literature on voting behaviour, electoral cycles and second-order elections. Second, a model that focuses on the interaction of Bundestag and state elections speaks also to the literature about coalition theory. Does the national arena have a greater impact on state elections if the majority in the upper house is at stake (horizontal balancing)? Third, a model predicting state elections might also be of interest to the media and public at large. From the experience of the hype, a related forecasting model generated around the 2002 and the 2005 Bundestag election, some publicity of the MZES can be assured. In order to validate the causal claims on which such a model will be based on, other federal systems will be subsequently studied. A comparative grant proposal will be drafted within the duration of this research program.
3.2 The Importance of Regional Networks for the Success of EU Rural Development Programmes

Director(s): Franz U. Pappi, Christian Melbeck
Researcher(s): N.N.
Duration: 2005 to 2009
Status: Ongoing / Supplementary

With this project we want to find out which characteristics of regional networks influence the effectiveness of rural development projects of the EU. The project is part of the EU-project "Development and application of advanced quantitative methods to ex-ante and ex-post evaluations of rural development programmes in the EU" (ADVANCED-EVAL) directed by the Institute of Agricultural Economics of the University of Kiel. Besides the Kiel Institute researchers from the universities of Bonn, Sussex and Utrecht, and from the Polish Academy of Science, Institute of Rural and Agricultural Development (Warsaw), the Institute of Agricultural and Food Economics (IAFE-NRI, Warsaw) and from the Research Institute of Agricultural and Food Economics (RIAFE, Bratislava) participate.

The Mannheim project belongs to working package 4, with the main focus on developing an adequate methodology and tools of quantitative network analysis applied to rural development. The task of our project is to identify the network structures that influence the efficiency of several RD-programs. Concerning the rural networks the aim is to support innovative RD-programs and to advance existing rural networks in order to improve the access to information, cooperation capacities and external markets. Those measures are important to integrate our network approach into the overall conceptual frame, on the basis of which the development of the rural socio-economic system will be described and explained.

In the first project phase, work concentrated on the preparation of the empirical study in four communities in Poland and in Slovakia. We developed the 'Policy Network Analysis'-Questionnaire and the Polish and Slovak project partners were responsible for data collection. For the most part data are available now. First we compare the global network indicators of the selected communities. As a second step structurally equivalent actors will be identified. Then market access, technical progress, cooperation and formation of opinion as functions of the networks will be ascertained on the micro level. Furthermore the network structure on the macro level will be linked to quality of life indicators in order to identify typical differences between well and poor performing municipalities. The aim of this procedure is to link network structures with the performance of local governments as agencies of rural development. Our contribution to the overall project will be the identification of optimal network structures for information exchange concerning programs of rural development and their successful implementation.
3.3 Confronting Memories in the Process of European Integration

Director(s): Fabrice Larat
Researcher(s): Fabrice Larat
Duration: 2005 to 2009
Status: Ongoing / Supplementary

In the preamble to the rejected treaty establishing a constitution for Europe, one could read an ambitious statement that sounded like a wishful prophecy: "CONVINCED that, while remaining proud of their own national identities and history, the peoples of Europe are determined to transcend their former divisions and, united ever more closely, to forge a common destiny..." The treaty of Lisbon does not contain such a statement any more. However, the necessity to transcend former divisions between Europeans remains of utmost importance. The bellicose rhetoric of the Polish PM Jaroslaw Kaczynski, at the EU-summit in April 2007 shows how the past can be instrumentalized for current political purposes in the EU.

Obviously, the dark shadows of the European past(s) still represent an invisible yet omnipresent wall dividing Europe's countries and people. Against this background, the project aims at analysing the role of legacies from the past, that in form of misunderstandings, prejudices, competing and conflicting memories lead to dissensions and sometimes to mutual accusations between different parts of the EU. Special attention will be paid to the phenomenon of asynchrony or time discrepancy regarding the process of integration that, according to us, characterizes the development of Western and Eastern Europe since 1940.
3.4 The Politics of Mobilization: National Parties and EU Decision-making

Director(s): Berthold Rittberger, Arndt Wonka
Researcher(s): N.N.
Duration: 2007 to 2010
Status: Ongoing / Core

This project investigates how national parties adapt their political activities to the growing weight of the European Union (EU) for shaping basic political parameters in the member states. This research question ties in with existing work that investigates the effects of the EU on member states' institutions and domestic political competition. The project adds to the existing literature, being the first to focus analytically and empirically on activities of representatives of national parties in EU politics. Analytically two forms of activities will be analyzed: first, activities which aim at obtaining information on EU policies and politics and, second, activities that aim at influencing policy decisions. With respect to party representatives' activities aiming at influencing EU policy decisions we will investigate 'inside' and 'outside' strategies. Regarding the scope of national party representatives' activities in the EU multi-level arena, we will take into account activities in the national arena, transnational activities and cross-level activities in the EU arena. Empirically, the project will investigate party representatives' behaviour in two countries, Great Britain and Germany. The research design combines a quantitative survey with semi-structured qualitative interviews. This allows including parliamentarians, party representatives in executive institutions and representatives of party organizations in the empirical investigation. Answers to the question of how national political parties adapt their behaviour to the growing weight of the EU are relevant for researchers interested in the quality of interest intermediation in the EU and the role of parties herein. The results of this project will also add to the literature debating the democratic quality of the EU's multi-level system.
3.5 Quantitative Legislative and Compliance Research in the European Union

**Director(s):** Thomas König  
**Researcher(s):** Brooke Luetgert, Bernd Luig  
**Duration:** 2007 to 2010  
**Status:** Ongoing / Core

The primary goal of our project is to gain a systematic empirical perspective on European political integration and member state compliance over the last twenty-five years. Our contribution will entail the production of the single most complete and cross-validated data set covering Community legislation across all policy areas from its initiation through adoption, member state transposition, Commission enforcement and ECJ decision. We propose the combination of multiple online and print resources into a machine readable dataset covering member state preferences (derived from party manifestos), the initiation and adoption of Community legislation, the national transposition process of all member states, other domestic legislative activity of selected member states, the infringement proceedings initiated by Commission monitoring of member state transposition and finally the documented European Court of Justice proceedings and decisions. These data represent an invaluable asset to the greater scholarly community and will allow the project team to analyze several innovative aspects of legislative conflict, consensus, compliance and enforcement control.
3.6 The Implementation of Community Law in the Member States

Director(s): Thomas König
Researcher(s): Lars Mäder, Alexandros Tegos
Duration: 2007 to 2009
Status: Ongoing / Core

The goal of this research project is to assess whether the member states of the European Union transpose EU directives correctly and in due time, and which factors might help to explain occurring transposition failures. Over the last twenty years an on-going debate on the extent and relevance of non-compliance has emerged in the EU integration literature. This discussion focuses on Community directives, which require explicit transposition into national law while leaving the choice of implementing measure to the member states (Article 249 EC). The binding nature of directives not only stipulates that directives be implemented, but that successful implementation occurs “in due time” and “correctly” (Prechal, 1995: 20). Due to complex nature of the content of directives compliance studies usually analysed the implementation quality of only a selected directive in selected member states or used rather indirect measures of the implementation quality such as data on infringement procedures issued by the Commission.

In order to answer the research questions and to give a quantitative insight into the implementation quality of the EU member states, this study analyzes the implementation record of 27 selected EU directives in all fifteen “old” member states. The quality of the national implementation record should be assessed according to two distinct criteria, namely the timeliness and the correctness of the national transposition measures. This, however, does not require the examination of the implementation of the whole content of the selected directives but only the examination of the implementation of specific issues of these directives. The required information about the main issues of the selected directives comes from the international research project “Decision Making in the European Union” (Thomson et al. 2006).
3.7 Agency Governance and Its Challenges to the EU System of Representation

Director(s): Berthold Rittberger, Arndt Wonka
Researcher(s): Berthold Rittberger, Arndt Wonka
Duration: 2008 to 2010
Status: New / Supplementary

The delegation of rule-making tasks to EU agencies and their remarkable growth in number over the past fifteen years mark striking developments in the EU’s institutional make-up. The growth in numbers and the growth in tasks of European agencies pose a challenge to the EU’s system of representation. In the literature, agency independence is considered to be a key condition for achieving regulatory efficiency and for enhancing policy credibility. At the same time, rule-making by independent experts poses potential challenges to notions of democratic legitimacy and accountability based on the premise of popular representation. Research on EU agencies is still in its infancy, however, there are first attempts to theorise agency governance and analyze its implications for democratic and legitimate governance in Europe. The proposed research project draws on these works and offers a conceptually and methodologically innovative and integrated perspective on ‘agency governance’ and its implications for the EU system of representation.

First, the question of agency independence is addressed by exploring the institutional make-up and overall embeddedness of EU agencies in the EU’s political system. This allows for an assessment of agencies’ formal institutional independence and lends itself to a first review of the normative and positive claims made by scholars on agency independence. Moreover, a case study on the politics of agency formation of a recently founded agency will be conducted to explore the interests of member states, the Commission and the European Parliament and the resulting conflicts arising over agency creation.

Second, a web-based survey to empirically investigate the attitudes of agency personnel and members of their governing bodies will be carried out in order to obtain information on their attitudes towards EU governance in general and representation in particular. Do actors perceive their role to be rather political or technocratic? What views are held on the legitimation of authority: Does legitimacy flow from expert-based apolitical judgments or from the notion of democratic accountability? Furthermore, information will be obtained about the channels and modes of consultation and thus the deliberative quality of agency decision-making in order to probe claims from deliberative democratic theory.
3.8 European Legislative Responses to International Terrorism (ELIT)

**Director(s):** Thomas König, Daniel Finke

**Researcher(s):** Ferdinand Teuber

**Duration:** 2008 to 2011

**Status:** New / Core

Following the events of 9/11 governments warn of the increasing threats by terrorism, strongly advocate counter-terrorist measures and demand more discretionary power in these issues. However, the scope and scale of anti-terrorism legislation differs across countries. This project intends to explain this variation and to provide empirical insights into the means governments are using to handle the issues of terrorism in the legislative arenas of the European Union. We hypothesize that governments may both link the issue to others on the domestic agenda and intensify the cooperation at the EU level. Both strategies can promote governmental dominance and risk to reduce direct representation of individual interests and rights. Accordingly, this project intends to determine 1) what kind of legislative initiatives are justified by referring to the increased threat of (international) terrorism, 2) and what role did the counter-terrorism strategy of the EU play in the development of domestic anti-terrorism legislation? For the purpose of analysis, we will compare the legislative responses in Austria, Germany, Denmark, the UK and Sweden. As a method we propose using computer-based analysis of legislative initiatives for the identification of counter-terrorist issues and positions.
Governance in multi-level settings has become a prominent research field in comparative political science. Generally, one can distinguish between two research perspectives. The first one concentrates on the impact of European integration on policy implementation in sub-national areas. The second perspective, by contrast, focuses on patterns of electoral and party politics in federal states. The analytical focus of the proposed research project corresponds to the second perspective since it analyses the relationship between party competition on the regional and national level. Along these lines, it poses four main research questions:

(1) What is the number and content of policy dimensions at the sub-national level? To which degree does the policy space at the regional level cover the same issues as at national level? Are the policy dimensions at both levels congruent?

(2) What are the determinants of party positions on the identified policy dimensions? To which degree vary the policy positions of state and federal parties on common policy dimensions?

(3) Do state parties adopt coalition strategies similar to those of their federal counterparts? What kind of influence have the state-level specific programmatic positions and dimension saliencies for the outcome of the government formation process?

(4) To which degree influences the federal government the negotiated policy goals at the sub-national level?

For addressing these questions, the project seeks to collect programmatic documents such as election manifestos, coalition agreements and government declarations of political actors of both the regional and the federal area. By applying various methods of computer-aided content analysis, the relevant policy dimensions as well the party-specific positions and dimension saliencies will be estimated. The countries under scrutiny represent both centrally and federally organised polity types. While The Netherlands represent an example for a centralised state where the regional governments have a very limited degree of competency, Spain and the United Kingdom are selected as centralised states were the sub-national units won more competencies over time. Belgium and Germany, by contrast, represent examples for federally structured states with relatively strong regions.
3.10 Providing an Infrastructure for Research on Electoral Democracy in the European Union (PIREDEU)

**Director(s):** Hermann Schmitt  
**Researcher(s):** Daniela Braun, N.N.  
**Duration:** 2008 to 2011  
**Status:** New / Core

Thus far, evaluations of European Parliament elections have been based on limited and fragmented empirical information and a lack of stable, centralized sources. The aim of PIREDEU is to create an infrastructure for an integrated database for research on electoral democracy of the European Union in which the data regarding both past and future EP elections will be brought together and made available for stakeholders and the research community. Such an infrastructure endows the social science community with the most essential information required for a recurrent audit of all important aspects of the electoral process in the European Union. The PIREDEU audit involves the activities of (i) parties (and their candidates), (ii) mass media and (iii) voters. The project is co-ordinated out of the EUI in Florence. The MZES is involved in most of the work-packages, but concentrates on election manifestos of political parties, and on contextual data.
Associated Projects

Bl.1 The Impact of the Comintern on the Western European Party System
Director(s): Hermann Weber
Researcher(s): Bernhard H. Bayerlein
Funding: BMI
Duration: 1999 to 2009

Bl.2 European and Other International Peacebuilding Activities in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in Kosovo
Director(s): Egbert Jahn
Researcher(s): Andrijana Preuss
Funding: Land Baden-Württemberg
Duration: 2005 to 2008

Bl.3 Transformation of the Political System in Azerbaijan
Director(s): Egbert Jahn
Researcher(s): Aser Babajew
Funding: Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung
Duration: 2005 to 2009

Bl.4 Formal and Informal Organizations of the Government in the EU-15: Description and Effects on the Decision-making Process Considering EU Intergovernmental Negotiations
Director(s): Franz Urban Pappi, Paul W. Thurner
Researcher(s): Martin Binder
Funding: Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung
Duration: 2005 to 2008

Bl.5 Children’s Political Knowledge: Comparative Relevance of Family and School Resources
Director(s): Jan W. van Deth
Researcher(s): Meike Vollmar
Funding: Land Baden-Württemberg
Duration: 2006 to 2009