



Sixth Research Programme 2005 - 2008



MANNHEIMER ZENTRUM FÜR
EUROPÄISCHE SOZIALFORSCHUNG

Sixth Research Programme

2005 - 2008

Mannheimer Zentrum für Europäische Sozialforschung
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Introduction to the Sixth MZES Research Programme 2005–2008

Preface

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

The MZES Executive Board prepared the Research Programme in close cooperation with the prospective directors of individual research projects and the leaders of the Research Areas in which the two Departments are broken down. The present Board has been elected February 7, 2005 for the three years period 2005–2008. It consists of:

Director	Prof. Dr. Wolfgang C. Müller
Head of Department A	Prof. Dr. Bernhard Ebbinghaus
Head of Department B	Prof. Dr. Beate Kohler-Koch

The Research Programme was evaluated by the MZES Scientific Advisory Board. The final decision on the Research Programme was made by the MZES Supervisory Board (Kollegium).

This Sixth Research Programme is the result of intense cooperation of many people at the Centre. As always, the new Research Programme carries over ongoing projects of the previous one. More generally, it continues well-established lines of research with new projects. With new projects from three professors who were appointed since the Fifth Research Programme was made and new research topics taken up by the remaining senior researchers, the Sixth Research Programme also provides a strong dose of innovation. The Executive Board of the MZES 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.

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1 Research Topics and Programme Goals

This section gives a general overview of the research topics and aims of the Sixth Research Programme. It includes the following main points:

- 1.1 MZES Mission and Recent Development
- 2.1 Main Themes of the Research Programme
- 3.1 Main Characteristics of the MZES Research
- 4.1 Cooperation and Integration
- 5.1 Main Goals of the Sixth Planning Period

1.1 MZES Mission and Recent Development

The central goal of the Mannheim Centre for European Social Research is to do basic social science research on the development of European societies and their political systems in the process of European integration. It studies the social and political structures and processes existing in European countries with special emphasis on the evolution of nation-states into a "European society". In view of these aims, the Centre is committed—as the articles of the MZES hold—"to undertaking comparative European research and research into European integration and aims to combine the two".

In no other similarly small area of the world as in Europe have modern societies developed under such varied cultural, social, and economic conditions and have established their own national states. Understanding, on the one hand, the European social and political reality and, on the other hand, the strains on it and the potential of its development requires the comparative study of the individual societal and political units that constitute Europe. Comparative research provides the means to identify the common characteristics of European societies and political systems as well as the main differences between these systems. Cross-national comparison allows observing the converging and diverging trends of their development, and it serves as a means 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 at the same time the economic and political integration forcefully impacts on the development of the national societies and fundamentally changes the conditions of government within them. These intertwined processes need the combination of comparative research and integration analysis.

When the Mannheim Centre was founded in 1989 it started with the challenge to bring together the main traditions of research done at the various chairs of the Faculty of Social Sciences into a research institute, which would more specifically focus research on Europe. The Centre started with a relatively small number of projects. The sociological projects were concerned with the social inequality of living conditions and the structure and development of

the welfare state in Europe. The political science projects mainly studied trends and developments of democratic government systems. Later research concerning the political system of the European Community and on problems of European integration was added. Quite separately from the focus on the social and political developments of Western Europe a considerable part of research in the first years of the Centre's existence was 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 and the tensions in the successor states of the Soviet Union in their orientation towards Moscow or Brussels as centres of political integration in Europe.

From these beginnings the MZES has become by far the largest research institute of the University of Mannheim and in the last years has succeeded to obtain a first-rate position in European social and political research. Over the years the Centre has been highly successful in expanding its Research Programme and in attracting external funding from various sources. Over the last few years the Centre has continually included some 60 researchers working in more than 50 larger or smaller research projects, building up a probably unique infrastructure for social science research in Europe. Today the MZES is a significant player in political science and sociological studies of Europe. The work conducted at the MZES generally transcends national borders. It aims at a better understanding of both the developments of European societies and their political systems as well as of European integration processes. The MZES also has become a place of intensive academic exchange within Germany and internationally. These activities include the coordination of important international and national networks, in particular

- the EU Research Training Network "Dynamics and Obstacles of European Governance";
- the "Efficient and Democratic Governance in a Multi-level Europe" (CONNEX), an EU Network of Excellence with 43 partner institutions from 23 countries;
- the German team of the EU- and DFG-financed "European Social Survey";
- the "International Network on Divorce Studies"; and
- the DFG-financed German network "Family and Social Relations".

The MZES also participates very actively in a number of further international networks and research projects, including

- the EU Network of Excellence "Economic Change, Quality of Life and Social Cohesion" (EQUALSOC) and
- the EU Integrated Project "Integrated and United: A Quest for Citizenship in an 'Ever Closer Europe'" (INTUNE).

The MZES also continues its EU-financed cooperation with the Institute for European Studies of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences.

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 since then. The research profile of the two Departments has been consolidated. At the same time exchange and cooperation between the Departments has gradually increased. The external evaluation of the MZES in 2004 (see below) has resulted in the recommendation to maintain the present departmental structure.

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.

Currently, the MZES is coping with the challenge of generational change, as all members of the generations that founded and built-up the Centre will have retired by 2009. In order to meet that challenge, the MZES and the Faculty of Social Sciences have developed a scheme for the early replacement of one professor in sociology and one in political science, allowing for an overlap between the incumbent chair holder and his or her successor, which is in its implementation phase now. The needs of the MZES are reflected in the recruitment policy of the Faculty of Social Sciences (see 1.5 below).

The MZES is currently engaged in preparing its move to the faculty building in A5 that is planned to take place in 2007. Moving the MZES closer to the Faculty of Social Sciences a long-term plan that was agreed long before the current Executive Board assumed office. Locating the MZES in a university-owned building will allow the University to save a considerable amount of money. For the MZES the move to A5 will bring advantages as well as disadvantages. On the one hand, the A5 building is less attractive and distinguishable as a research centre. While the present building is almost ideal for the needs of the MZES, as it was built for that purpose, this is less the case for A5. Although the building will be completely renovated, the existing construction can be adapted only to a limited extent to the needs of the MZES. The move also involves a great amount of transaction costs and has required a heavy investment of time and energy of the MZES director, the managing director, and the staff since the first moment after assuming office by the new Executive Board. As the move to A5 will have considerable long-term effects on the MZES this is considered an important investment and worth making. On the other hand, the move to A5 will reduce transaction costs in the daily running of projects and the management of the MZES to the extent that it involves the professors and other staff of the Faculty of Social Sciences. Bringing two resourceful libraries, the MZES' and the Faculty's holdings, under one roof and enhancing even more the co-ordination of their acquisition policies, will allow for greater economy. Given the ever-increasing

prices for books and journals and the general resource constraints, these synergies will hopefully allow maintaining the present high quality level of library services for the MZES researchers. The MZES library will also cooperate with the Faculty library in having a joint system of displaying journals and running the reading room operations. Yet, the MZES will not allow the economies of scale to undermine its function as a research library specifically designed to serve the mission of the MZES. Finally, the move to A5 will make it easier to engage in new projects that require a great amount of institutional cooperation and interpersonal communication between the Faculty of Social Sciences and the MZES such as a Ph.D. programme (see 1.5 below).

As the MZES relies heavily on the research capacity of the professors at the Faculty of Social Sciences, its single most important problem has always been the scarcity of this resource, given the professors' teaching obligations (which are excessive by international standards and indeed the highest in Germany) and their many administrative duties (filling Faculty, University, and MZES positions). This situation has now been partially improved. In 2005, the Ministry of Science, Research, and Culture 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 for the MZES Executive Board members. From the summer term 2005 the heads of the departments A and B will be relieved of two hours teaching. However, this reduction in teaching load does not fully reach the modest suggestions made by the Scientific Advisory Board and it remains marginal by international standards. When the partial teaching reduction becomes effective the MZES director continues to teach five hours and the department heads seven hours (not including the supervision of M.A. and Ph.D. theses), what still constitutes a very heavy teaching load given their duties at the MZES. At the same time, the Ministry has required that the reduction in the teaching load shall not affect the teaching programme of the faculty. Therefore the MZES is seeking to convert one of its research positions in a junior professorship, while a second junior professorship shall be established at the Faculty of Social Sciences. The appointments will be non-tenure track and made for six-year terms. Junior professors are obliged to teach four hours in Baden-Württemberg. Thus these appointments jointly will cover eight hours of teaching what exactly equals the Executive Board members' reduction in teaching load. In addition, the MZES expects the Junior Professors to be research-active and to further add to the MZES research profile.

1.2 Main Themes of the Research Programme

Notwithstanding temporal backlashes, Europe is the world region that has been moving towards political integration 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 government. These have a profound impact on the existing nation-states in Europe. 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-government 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 political boundaries and alliances in Europe. While this process is still in flux, the 2004 enlargement has added another ten member states to the EU with two more soon to come. Membership negotiations have been opened with Turkey. Thus, the European Union has been radically transformed. In order to cope with this transformation the Constitutional Convention has worked out the Constitutional Treaty, which, however was rejected in referendums in France and The Netherlands in 2005. Clearly, domestic affairs always intervene in referendums on European issues, but the popular rejection of the elite consensus nevertheless indicates that European integration remains contested and vulnerable. The fate of the Constitutional Treaty also underlines existing differences between the member states of the EU, 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 ensue 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.

Many of these and other developments may put similar pressures on the societal and political actors in all European countries. Notwithstanding these general trends that constitute common challenges to the European countries, there is still considerable variation between them in the prevailing economic, social, and cultural conditions. These are deeply rooted in the societies and nation-states with their historically widely different traditions, institutions, development paths, power resources of the relevant actors and relations between them. All this generates different configurations of interests within the individual societies and hence between them. It provides different options for choices to be made by individuals and social and political actors. And it makes similar options differently attractive or viable in different countries.

It is one of the major tasks of the MZES to contribute to a better understanding of the European societies and polities by thorough empirical research based on solid theoretical foundations. Despite much progress over the last decade or so, 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. Thus, not much is known 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, the 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.

The research topics contained in the present programme take up the challenges of the European project briefly outlined above. 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. In both Departments the Research Areas have been thoroughly reorganized for the present programme, with the aim of further concentration. As always, projects from the earlier programme are finished and several new ones are initiated.

The Sixth MZES Research programme focuses on the following Research Areas:

Department A: European Societies and their Integration

- A1 Changing Welfare States and Labour Relations in Europe
- A2 Education, Labour Markets and Social Stratification in Europe
- A3 Family, Education, and Ethnicity in Europe

Department B: European Political Systems and their Integration

- B1 Democracy and Citizenship
- B2 Democracy, Parties, and Parliaments
- B3 Democracy and Multi-Level Governance
- B4 Democracy and Conflict Regulation

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. 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 than ever, the macro-comparative and the micro-sociological approaches of the projects in Department A endeavour to be complementary.

In Department B all four Research Areas are concerned with the development of democracy in Europe. In so doing, Areas B1 through B3 focus on the established democracies of Western Europe and the consolidated democracies of the new member states in East-Central Europe while Area B4 has its geographic focus on the Balkans and Caucasus regions. While at least some of these states are potential future members of the European Union, currently they are still ridden by ethnic conflict and democracy is fragile if existing at all. The 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 organi-

zations 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. Area B4 is concerned with the relationship between democracy and peace building. All four Research Areas build on previous research carried out at the MZES but address fresh research questions.

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 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.

1.3 Main Characteristics of the MZES Research

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 thus not only differ in the extent to which they intend to develop theory or rather use existing theories to understand and explain phenomena, they also vary widely in the kind of data and the analytic methods 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, in addition to aspiring the highest quality of research possible, we conceive the following features to have the top priority for MZES research:

- *Basic research*: Research at the MZES aims at scientific elucidation. In the selection and definition of research topics and the allocation of funds, scientific arguments and the strength of methods used have priority over application-oriented arguments.
- *Long-term planning*: 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 and Integrated Projects, ESF-networks, research circles organized by the *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft* (DFG), etc.).
- *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.

1.4 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 groups and Research Areas. Working on common topics within Research Areas and the partial association between Research Areas and chairs at the Faculty have historically led to strong cooperation within research groups. The regular department seminars (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 and their chair. A number of projects involve researchers from different areas. Training workshops offered to all Centre researchers and the joint lecture series of the MZES and the Faculty of Social Sciences contribute to enhancing exchange between all parts of the Centre and beyond.

The MZES is the largest research institute of the University of Mannheim. It has its close links to the Faculty of Social Sciences and it contributes to various other research endeavours within the University of Mannheim and cooperates with other Mannheim-based research institutes. MZES researchers participate in the DFG interdisciplinary research centre (SFB 504) "Rationalitätskriterien, Entscheidungsverhalten und ökonomische Modellierung" (Concepts of Rationality, Decision-Making Behaviour and Economic Modelling), based at the University of Mannheim. Close contacts and exchange also exist with the Centre for Survey Research and Methodology, ZUMA e.V., Mannheim, in particular with the Social Monitoring groups at ZUMA. The Faculty of Social Sciences is currently making an attempt to institutionalize its links to ZUMA. Given the close ties between the MZES and the Faculty, this will, if successful, result in a closely linked cluster of social science research institutions.

In terms of national and international cooperation the MZES continues to be active in various interdisciplinary and international networks and cooperation projects (for example, ESF networks, EU-financed Integrated Projects and 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. The Fellowship Programme the Centre provides another opportunity to improve the conditions for international cooperation and the promotion of comparative research (see 1.5 below). Other routes to strengthen contacts are also regularly used, for example, by organizing short stays abroad, by supporting staff participating in Summer Schools, by organizing or 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.

1.5 Main Goals of the Sixth Planning Period

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

Strengthening of international orientation and cooperation of research.

Further integration of research activities and in-house cooperation.

Continuation of the Young Scholar Initiative and the Fellowship Programme to the extent that the MZES budget allows.

Active management of generational succession among professorial staff.

Steps towards enhancing Graduate training.

Strengthening of international orientation and cooperation of research

Several large international projects (such as the TMR programmes) have been terminated or will—as planned—come to an end soon (e.g., the research network "Dynamics and Obstacles of European Governance", that was funded in the 5th EU-Research Framework Programme). Yet, some other important international cooperation activities of the MZES will continue for a while. These include:

The German national coordination of the European Social Survey that conducts surveys in 15 European nations, directed by Jan van Deth. These surveys are designed to chart and explain the interaction between Europe's changing institutions and the attitudes, beliefs, and behavioural patterns of its populations. This means that the MZES continues to be involved in a leading role in one of the most important academic investments for comparative social research in Europe.

The "International Network on Divorce Studies" that is coordinated by MZES researchers will continue its activities in the period of the new Research Programme.

The MZES continues the cooperation activities in China, in particular with the Institute of European Studies of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and the University of Beijing, both

in research and teaching at MA and Ph.D. levels. EU and international governance is a focus of common interest.

As international cooperation is absolutely vital to the research agenda of the MZES and also the Centre's ambition to reach the international edge of research such efforts need to be carried into the future. Also, the Mannheim University 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-Framework Programmes. The Mannheim Centre is fully aware of these tasks and aspirations and actively supports initiatives of its researchers to this end. Indeed, several new projects have been successfully initiated in the last few years and several initiatives for new projects are on their way:

In the 2004–2008 period the MZES is the coordinating institution of the Network of Excellence "Efficient and Democratic Governance in a Multi-level Europe" (CONNEX) that includes 43 partner institutions from 23 countries. This new network allows for large-scale international cooperation and to create additional value by linking MZES-based research with similar or complementary research done at other institutions. The network holds regular workshops and seminars that bring together researchers from the different institutions and with various disciplinary backgrounds. The network also provides ample opportunity for extended visits of researchers at partner institutes for cooperative research.

In the 2005–2009 period several members of the Centre will participate in the EU Network of Excellence "Economic Change, Quality of Life and Social Cohesion" (EQUALSOC).

In the 2006–2010 period MZES researchers will participate in the EU Integrated Project "Integrated and United: A Quest for Citizenship in an 'Ever Closer Europe'" (INTUNE).

MZES researchers also participate in bids for EU money that are currently under review or will soon reach that stage. All these activities together will form a substantial part of MZES work in the coming years and will further strengthen its international position.

Further integration of research activities and in-house cooperation

The MZES to a large extent depends on the research interests and priorities of professors at the Faculty of Social Sciences. It is a major challenge for the MZES to integrate their research interests with the MZES research priorities and to develop a series of well-defined and inter-related Research Areas. Much has been achieved in this respect over the lifetime of the MZES and the present Sixth Research Programme continues this path. The MZES has used its resources to provide clear "incentives" to develop research that falls within the MZES research agenda. Most important is that priority is given to research projects clearly in line with the general aim of comparative research on Europe and on European integration, and more precisely to research fitting into the chosen Research Areas. This task of the MZES becomes easier with the generational change at the Faculty of Social Sciences, as the new professors are recruited with keeping in mind the needs of the MZES. Indeed, many candidates are attracted by the research profile and stimulating environment of the MZES.

The MZES tries to promote intellectual exchange among its researchers in many ways, including the following activities:

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.

Together with the Faculty of Social Sciences the MZES runs a series of guest lectures that are followed by discussions. The topics presented in these lectures are typically 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. To provide a recent example, in 2005 a workshop on quantitative and qualitative social science methods was held that brought together members of both Departments and external experts.

Researchers from both Departments will work jointly in the EU Network of Excellence "Economic Change, Quality of Life and Social Cohesion" (EQUALSOC).

The MZES also offers events that reach out to a general public and that may involve several Research Areas and projects from both Departments. Examples include a workshop on the "No" on the European Constitution in France and The Netherlands in June 2005 and one about the possible accession of Turkey to the EU.

Further development of Young Scholars Initiative and Fellowship Programme

Since 2000 the MZES is running a grant and support programme for young scholars who want to write their dissertation in close connection to one of the existing MZES Research Areas or research projects. This scheme is intended both as a contribution to enrich the Research Programme of the Centre as well as to prepare young scholars for future cooperation as well trained researchers in the research areas of the Centre. Presently four young scholars participate in this programme.

To further strengthen the training of young scholars the MZES has developed additional opportunities and has supported relevant bottom-up activities from the young researchers. These include:

Regular meetings of the Ph.D. students.

An in-house workshops on methodology, that meets regularly to discuss questions of research design and methods.

A Summer School on "Political Consulting and Strategic Campaign Communication" which was organised by Andrea Roemmele for the first time in 2005 and which shall be continued in the subsequent years.

An international Ph.D. Network on "Civil Society Involvement in European Governance".

The Ph.D. network is part of the CONNEX activities. It is organized in the format of regular (bi-annual) meetings over a period of two years (10/2005–10/2007). The objective is

- to link different strands of research on civil society involvement in the European Union,
- to improve the quality of Ph.D. research by offering mentoring from experienced scholars and through ongoing communication within an interdisciplinary group of young researchers, and
- to build up a cohort of young researchers in the field of civil society involvement and therefore to provide a basis for further academic exchange.

In order to stimulate further exchange and collaboration and to open the MZES for colleagues from other institutes the Executive Board followed the recommendation of the Scientific Advisory Board to introduce MZES Fellowships. These 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. Currently, Thomas Poguntke (University of Birmingham, UK), Douglas Massey (University of Pennsylvania, USA), and William Maloney (University of Newcastle, UK) are integrated in the MZES via these fellowships. Poguntke and Maloney are actively involved in some of the projects of the Sixth Research Programme.

Steps towards enhancing Graduate training

Over the next years, the Faculty of Social Sciences will develop and expand its graduate programme (M.A. and Ph.D.) in addition to the newly introduced three-year B.A. programmes in political science (since Winter 2004) and sociology (since Winter 2005). Currently the Faculty discusses plans to build up a Graduate School of Social Sciences that would provide two-year research-oriented Master programmes and subsequent enhanced Ph.D. programmes in the Faculty's disciplines. The MZES contributes considerably to the support of doctoral candidates at the Faculty. About 25 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, the MZES researchers are formally included in the Faculty's list of doctoral candidates.

Given the increased importance of an enhanced graduate programme, the MZES seeks to expand on its support for doctoral students and co-operate in future graduate activities of the Faculty of Social Sciences. First important steps to provide additional training and international exchange opportunities for MZES doctoral students are the two EU-financed networks of excellence, EQUALSOC (see Project A2.1) and CONNEX (see Project B2.1). Both of these EU networks include activities for Ph.D. students of participating institutions in Europe, such as attendance of network workshops and particular Ph.D. training sessions (summer schools). Both research departments of the MZES have received additional joint financial support from the university's 2005 strategic funds (*Zielvereinbarung*) to coordinate the MZES Ph.D. activities in the framework of EQUALSOC and CONNEX. In addition, the MZES will support research workshops on special topics of interest to Ph.D. students as well as ad hoc working groups that provide a forum for doctoral students to discuss their dissertations outside the more formal

research colloquia of the two research departments that discuss research projects by MZES researchers and outside guests.

Active management of generational succession among professorial staff

In the previous research period the Faculty of Social Sciences was beginning to face the challenge of generational turnover as seven of its eleven professors of sociology and political science will have retired by the end of 2007 and nine by the end of 2009. This group includes the most active professorial researchers and team leaders of the MZES. Therefore, this fundamental generational turnover represents one of the most serious challenges to the continuity of research at the Mannheim Centre. In order to meet that challenge the MZES and the Faculty of Social Sciences, with the support of the Rektor of the University of Mannheim, developed a scheme for the early replacement of one professor in sociology and one in political science, allowing for a substantial overlap between the incumbent chair holder and his or her successor, which is in its implementation phase now. Accordingly, Markus Gangl was appointed as successor of Walter Müller in 2004 and a replacement appointment for Beate Kohler-Koch should become effective in the spring of 2006. This scheme allows for the overlap of Walter Müller and Beate Kohler-Koch and their successors for several terms in order to smooth the generational change. Both will continue to make contributions to the MZES research profile while their successors can gradually establish themselves. In the course of "normal" generational change (i.e. without overlapping appointments) Wolfgang C. Müller and Bernhard Ebbinghaus were appointed in 2003 and 2004, respectively. As already mentioned, they have taken on important administrative duties at the MZES, and, like Markus Gangl, they also contribute to shaping the present research programme. All new appointments were made with the goal of ensuring that the new professors fit into the general research profile of the MZES, as can be seen from their projects. All three new professors now co-ordinate Research Areas. These Research Areas build on existing strengths of the MZES and, at the same time, introduce new research perspectives. Moreover, the needs of the MZES are reflected in the recruitment policy of the Faculty of Social Sciences. The MZES Fellowship Programme serves as an additional instrument to bridge the generational gap. Provided that the establishment of a Junior Professorship works out, it will also be useful in that respect.

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 Research Departments A and B). A managing director is responsible for the infrastructure and the administration of the Centre.

2.2 Resources of the MZES and resource policy

The MZES draws on two types of personnel resources: the MZES staff, both permanent and temporary, and the members of the Faculty of Social Sciences and other faculties of the University of Mannheim. The budget of the MZES consists of a block grant that basically covers the infrastructure and seed money for projects and numerous grants for specific projects from numerous institutions (in particular 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 budget for the University of Mannheim. In 2005 the MZES resources include 24,5 full time positions for research, infrastructure (data and information archives, library, computing), and administrative and secretarial staff, but will lose half a position in 2006. The MZES budget also contains 0,485 million 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. While these cuts are painful, it is noteworthy that the MZES, thanks to the international reputation it has earned, 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, in particular the professors in sociology and political science. They represent the core of the Centre's leading scientists who take responsibility for developing long-term MZES Research Areas, for designing and directing specific research projects, for acquiring funds, and for doing research. Also, all members of the MZES executive board (including the Director and the Heads of the two Research Departments) 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 high-powered scientific capacities that are available in the Faculty.

The third source that keeps the MZES running is the project grants. The large majority of specific research activities are financed by external research grants. As a general rule only those projects can draw substantially on MZES resources (including research staff) in their preparatory phase that are committed to be evaluated by external peer review. After their preparatory phase, the MZES only supports projects that 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. Core projects that have been positively evaluated and have received external funds may obtain additional MZES research staff support for accomplishing the research goals.

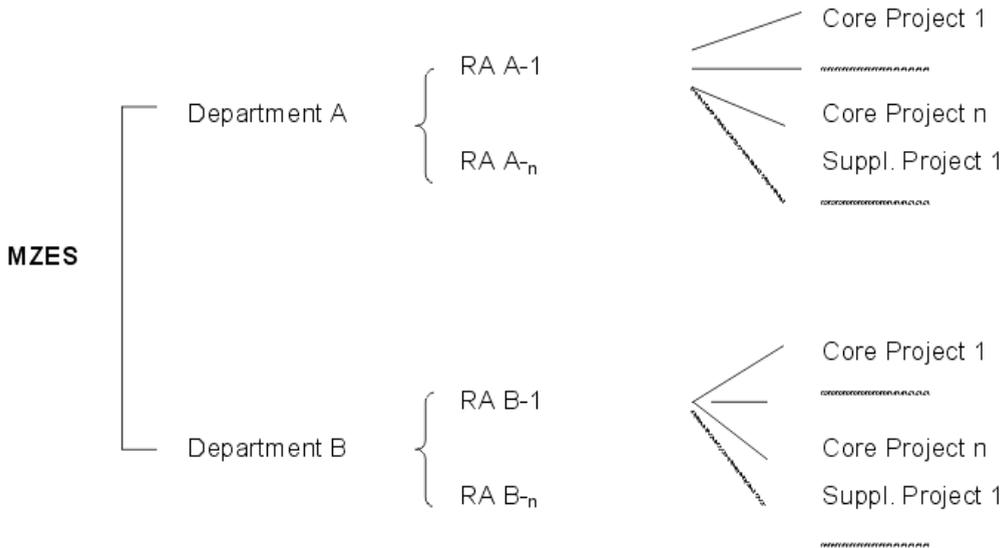
The MZES considers this self-commitment to external evaluation and funding an extremely valuable mechanism to achieve high quality research. The projects' passing the test of peer review and winning external funds is the MZES' main instrument of quality control. Projects that are exempted from these 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. If such projects fit into the MZES Research Programme they can be included as supplementary projects.

This combined strategy of resource mobilization and resource allocation proved to be highly successful so far. The MZES was able to obtain cooperation from many faculty chairs and also to be successful in attracting of external research money. On average over the last twelve years the Mannheim Centre has obtained ca. 1.4 million Euro of external research funds per year (in particular from the DFG, the Volkswagen- and the Thyssen-Foundation, the ESF and the EU-framework programmes).

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.



RA = Research Area

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:

	Core Projects	Supplementary Projects
Relation with central research goals	Topic integrated	Supplementary
<u>MZES funds and other support:</u>		
Initial funding	Yes	Possible
Staff support (research assistance or participation of full-time staff members)	Possible*	No
Research assistants	Possible*	Possible*
Infrastructure:		
Library/QUIA	Yes	Yes
Computers	Yes	Yes
Eurodata	Yes	Yes
Travel expenses, materials etc.	Possible*	Possible*
Secretarial support	Yes	Yes
Manuscript editing	Yes	Yes
Offices	Yes	Possible

* 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.¹ 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 the European level. This unit has evolved from the former "Zentrum für Europäische Umfrageanalysen 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.

¹ 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.

2.4.3 Library

The MZES library consists of the Europe library and the information archive QUIA. The library collects and organizes literature on European research and compiles studies concerned with individual European countries. The collections can be accessed in the library as well as online (via the South-West Germany Library Consortium, *Südwestdeutscher Bibliotheksverbund*, SWB). This also ensures inclusion in the OPAC system of the University of Mannheim. The monograph holdings of the MZES library are documented in these systems. In 2005, the mammoth task of including also the rich collection of official statistics in these systems has been completed.

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.

As the last comprehensive renewal of the Centre's computer hardware dates back to 2001, the MZES has applied for special government funds for another renewal in 2005 (HBFGE funds). Software is regularly updated when important revisions or new programs crucial for the Centre's work become available.

3. Department A: The 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 Sixth Research Programme (2005-2008) 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.

On the occasion of the Sixth Research Programme the research department A reorganizes its research profile on European societies and their integration in three restructured research areas. The new comprehensive and concentrated research areas will combine the five former research clusters of the Fifth Research Programme, continuing successful traditions in comparative analysis of welfare state development, social structures, and changes in family and social relations. The reorganized research areas will thus integrate several research projects that continue from the Fifth Research Programme, while adding new research projects. The reorganization provides the opportunity to reorient the current research focus and explore new lines of research. In particular, the comparative analysis of labour relations and the regulation of labour markets are topics that will be added thanks to the new recruitment of two professors in sociology. Both of these additional research specializations are combined with past and continued traditions. On the one hand, the new focus on changing labour relations, in particular the changes in organizational capacities of and the relations between employers' associations and trade unions, will inform the analysis of welfare state reforms in Europe by looking at the varying role of the social partners in this reform process. On the other hand, the in-depth analysis of labour markets strengthens the comparative analysis of social structures and its impact on life chances; it will also contribute to the understanding of reforms of welfare states, labour market regulation and educational systems.

The Sixth Research Programme (2005-2008) of research department A will thus be concentrated in 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
(Markus Gangl)

A3 Family, Education, and Ethnicity in Europe
(Josef Brüderl)

Given the challenges to European societies and economies, the institutionalized welfare state regimes are currently under reform, and the modes of collective interest intermediation are being transformed. The research area A1 "Changing Labour Relations and Welfare States in Europe" will build upon the longstanding research on European welfare states initiated by Peter Flora, refocusing the emphasis from a historical long-term perspective to the more contemporary analysis of recent reform processes. With the recruitment of Bernhard Ebbinghaus as a professor of macro-sociology, an additional second pillar of research on comparative labour relations will be integrated. The new projects will combine and bridge the two research subfields of social policy analysis and labour relations. Several projects will investigate the changing role of social partners, organized labour and employers in welfare state reform, studying the social governance in pension and employment policies, and the collective regulation of the growing non-state pension pillars. A planned doctoral research group will analyze the membership challenges facing today's organized labour and other voluntary organizations. A continued project from the former research cluster "Cultural Foundations of the Market Economy and the Welfare State (Johannes Berger)" will complement the understanding of the cultural foundations and social acceptance of welfare state reforms. A planned project on public servants by Franz Rothenbacher (Eurodata) will continue past research on the employment conditions and retirement income of public employees and extend research to survey analysis of their subjective well-being.

The life chances of individuals are shaped by institutions and processes beyond their own control, in particular the stratified educational systems, the regulation of labour markets, and the welfare state programmes. Variations in these institutional and structural features have thus an important impact on the process of social stratification. Several projects in the research area A2 "Education, Labour Markets, and Social Stratification in Europe" will build upon the former research cluster "The Development of Social Structure in European Societies", under the project leadership of Walter Müller. These projects will extend past research on the school-to-work transition by focusing on the impact of tertiary education, and by extending empirical comparison to Central and Eastern Europe. Further research on social mobility in a disaggregated class context and the development of a socio-economic classification will add to the MZES' excellent contribution to international collaboration in social stratification research. With Markus Gangl, the research area complements and intensifies its analysis of labour market processes in an international comparative perspective. Extending the research project on human capital effects of welfare states, the planned continued and future research projects link the varying institutional contexts of welfare states and labour markets to the individual life chances, in particular (un)employment, work income, and social transfers.

Of basic importance to our understanding of the transformation of modern societies are the changing social relations in family and intimate relations, as well as the impact of social background, social networks, and ethnic contexts for socialization and educational opportunities. The research area A3 will include several continued research projects from the former research cluster "Family and Social Relations (Hartmut Esser)". These continued projects on the pluralization of family forms investigate their impact on fertility and employment patterns, and on the mediating role of social networks in which partnerships are embedded. These projects are

part of and use panel data from the DFG-funded programme "Panel Analysis of Intimate Relationships and Family Dynamics". A continued and a new project under Hartmut Esser's direction will focus on educational decisions among migrant families in comparison to German families, investigating the transition from primary to secondary school as well as the preceding preschool phase. A planned collaborative research project on the differential integration of Jewish immigrants from the former Soviet Union in Israel and Germany as well as German "Aussiedler" will continue a line of research from the former cluster "Migration, Integration and Ethnic Conflicts" that ended after Frank Kalter had moved to a professorship in Leipzig. The planned project by Franz Rothenbacher (Eurodata), which adds a "Societies of Europe" handbook on "East European populations", prepares the empirical basis for a future extension of demographic research beyond Western Europe.

In addition to these 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 welcome opportunity to connect different research projects will be the EU-financed network of excellence "Economic Change, Quality of Life and Social Cohesion" (EQUALSOC), locally coordinated by Walter Müller (see New Project A2.1). The network will bring together project leaders, researchers, and doctoral fellows from all three research areas in MZES departments A as well as from department B (see table below) 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.

A second innovation in the Sixth Research Programme will provide links beyond the research areas. The planned research projects by Eurodata staff are now integrated as core projects (A1.5, A2.6, and A3.8) into the relevant research areas; in fact, the three planned projects distribute across all three research areas. In order to ensure the completion of the "Societies of Europe" Series, Bernhard Ebbinghaus has joined the editors for the remaining handbooks, Peter Flora and Franz Kraus. Eurodata will also take a coordinating role in helping to acquire and access micro-level datasets used in empirical research projects of all three research areas in department A.

With the new research programme, department A enters a new phase in building upon the past successful institutionalization of core research areas and in renewing its research agenda by bringing in complementary additions, such as the study of labour relations and labour market regulations. Over the next months, additional research initiatives will follow with the recruitment of a fellow in department A and a new junior professor in Methods at the Faculty of Social Sciences. 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.

Participation of Mannheim researchers in EU Network of Excellence EQUALSOC
(see Project A2.1)

Last name	First name(s)	Status / Degree	Gender	Equalsoc-Projects	Research Area
Researchers					
Brüderl	Josef	Professor	M	I, R	MZES A3
Ebbinghaus	Bernhard	Professor	M	I, R	MZES A1
Esser	Hartmut	Professor	M	I, R	MZES A3
Gangl	Markus	Professor	M	I, R	MZES A2
Kogan	Irena	Researcher	F	I, R	MZES A2
Kraus	Franz	Head of Eurodata	M	I, R, S	MZES Eurodata
Müller	Walter	Professor	M	I, R, S, M	MZES A2
Noll	Heinz-Herbert	Senior Researcher	M	I, R, S	ZUMA, Mannheim
Roßteutscher	Sigrid	Researcher	F	I, R	MZES B
Stocké	Volker	Researcher	M	I, R	SFB 504 / MZES A3
van Deth	Jan	Professor	M	I, R	MZES B
Wüst	Andreas	Researcher	M	I, R	MZES B
Doctoral students					
Becker	Birgit	Dipl.-Soz.	F	I, R	Uni MA
Biedinger	Nicole	Dipl.-Soz.	F	I, R	Uni MA
Dollman	Jörg	Dipl.-Soz.	M	I, R	MZES A3
Jungblut	Jean-Marie	Dipl.-Soz.	M	I, R	MZES Euro- data
Kneip	Thorsten	Dipl.-Soz.	M	I, R	MZES A3
Krieger	Ulrich	Dipl.-Soz.	M	I, R	MZES A
Kroneberg	Clemens	Dipl.-Soz.	M	I, R	Uni MA
Pollak	Reinhard	Dipl.-Soz.	M	I, R	MZES A2
Reimer	David	Dipl.-Soz.	M	I, R	MZES A2
Schäfer	Julia	Dipl.-Soz.	F	I, R	MZES B
Schröder	Jette	Dipl.-Soz.	F	I, R	MZES B
Steinmetz	Stephanie	Dipl.-Soz.	F	I, R	MZES A2
Ziefle	Andrea	Dipl.-Soz.	F	I, R	MZES A2
Zmerli	Sonja	Dipl.-Soz.	F	I, R	MZES B

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. Building upon past research on the development of welfare states in a comparative historical perspective, the research area will now refocus its perspective to the contemporary changes of European welfare states, in particular the reforms in pension and employment policies. The Sixth 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 employ-

ment 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. These "Varieties of Social Governance" will be studied in the research project A1.1, comparing eight selected European welfare regimes with varying degrees of social partner involvement that reflect national traditions in sharing "public space" between the state and societal corporate actors. The project compares with the help of country expert teams the different governance modes (consultation, concertation, self-administration, self-regulation) in two welfare policy fields: public and private pension systems and employment policies (unemployment insurance and labour market administration). While the project seeks to map the institutionalized forms in social governance and investigate the potential for shaping reform policies, it also looks at how government policies reorganize responsibility in social governance in order to enhance reform capacity.

Closely related, the 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. It also looks at the impact of EU regulatory and coordination policies in private pensions.

As a second pillar in research area A1, a graduate research group is planned (A1.3) 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. The project seeks to integrate under the topic of "Challenges to Membership Organizations" several projects by doctoral students and one post-doc fellow 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. The project will draw on and update the database collected as part of the "Societies of Europe" series; it will also include available international surveys (Eurobarometer, ISSP, ESS). This research topic would certainly profit from an exchange with research in B1 "Democracy and Citizenship", led by Jan van Deth.

The research area also integrates the continued research project A1.4, "The Acceptance of the Welfare State" (Johannes Berger/Carsten G. Ullrich) from the past research cluster on "Cultural Foundations of the Market Economy and the Welfare State". Taking Germany as a case, this project investigates the societal acceptance of solidarity-based welfare state arrangements and the public support for future policy reforms, using a specially commissioned survey. This study

could serve as the pilot study for a future comparative project that investigates the social acceptance of institutionalized social policies and the potential support for their reform across different welfare regimes in Europe.

Complementing the analysis of the changing welfare state landscape under current reform efforts, the planned project A1.5 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

	Title	Director(s)	Researcher(s)	Duration	Financing	Status	Core / Suppl.
A1.1	Varieties of Social Governance: The Role of Social Partners in Pension Insurance and Labour Market Administration	Bernhard Ebbinghaus	1 researcher (MZES) and country experts	2005-08		New	Core
A1.2	The Governance of Supplementary Pensions in Europe: Varying Scope for Participatory and Social Rights	Bernhard Ebbinghaus with Giuliano Bonoli (CH)	1 researcher (MZES), 1 researcher (CH) and country experts	2005-08		New	Core
A1.3	Challenges to Membership Organizations: European Trade Unions in Comparison	Bernhard Ebbinghaus	2-3 doctoral students, 1 postdoc	2006-08		New	Core
A1.4	The Acceptance of the Welfare State	Johannes Berger, Carsten G. Ullrich	Bernhard Christoph	2003-05	Thyssen	On-going	Core
A1.5	Quality of Life of Public Servants in International Comparison	Franz Rothenbacher (Eurodata)	N. N.	2005-07		New	Core

1.1 Varieties of Social Governance: The Role of Social Partners in Pension Insurance and Labour Market Administration

Director:	Bernhard Ebbinghaus
Researcher(s):	N. N. (Mannheim project coordinator); international research project with experts on eight countries
Duration:	2005 to 2008
Status:	New / 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 subsidiarity-based 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.

The collaborative research project will study the actual impact of social partners on pension and labour market policies within the national social governance modes. Eight European countries will be selected, representing four different regimes, and thus, crucially, enabling within-regime comparison: Denmark, Sweden; Germany, the Netherlands; France, Italy; and Great Britain, Ireland. The project's leading question will ask whether governments have sufficient capacity on their own to overcome blockage by interest groups or whether they have to rely on the cooperation of the social partners due to shared public policy space. Moreover, the project will study the development in self-administration/-regulation over the last two decades, asking to which degree the reform of social governance is a precondition for enhancing more collective responsibility in these two policy fields. A theoretically and policy relevant question to be answered by this project is: are these institutional arrangements path dependent (inert) or are there systemic opportunities for path departure from past governance modes?

1.2 Governance of Supplementary Pensions in Europe: The Varying Scope for Participatory and Social Rights

Director(s):	Bernhard Ebbinghaus (MZES) with Giuliano Bonoli (IDHEAP/Lausanne)
Researcher(s):	N. N. (Mannheim), N. N. (Lausanne); experts from 10 countries
Duration:	2005 to 2008
Status:	New / Core

The shift toward private pensions in Europe raises the issue of governance, the steering of these schemes by state and non-state actors. Supplementary pensions are regulated by various means, ranging from state regulation to collective agreements to voluntary codes of practice. Besides the state, the social partners, individual firms and the financial sector play major roles as non-state actors in regulating and administering occupational or private pensions. The coverage of insured employees and actual recipients of supplementary pension systems differs considerably across Europe, depending on the interventions of the state, the role of collective bargaining, or the state-financed incentives for individual participation. The lack of insurance coverage and exclusion from participation of particular social groups has major repercussions for social inequality and risk sharing in old age, particularly in systems that offer insufficient public pension provisions. The governance of supplementary pensions will thus be an important issue for current and future welfare states as they undergo important changes resulting from the shift from public to private old age provision.

This project compares the old and new governance modes of supplementary pensions in Europe, focusing particularly on social inclusion through participation and social rights through broad coverage and risk sharing. Twelve European countries with different public-private pension mixtures and governance modes will be compared by national country experts: the Czech Republic, Denmark, France, Germany, Hungary, Italy, the Netherlands, Poland, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom. The main results of the project will be (1) detailed country studies by these experts, and (2) a database on national supplementary pension systems that systematically joins quantitative and qualitative information following a standardized and comparable format. In addition, two special studies will analyze the differential impact on social inequality (using micro-level income data and benefit simulation analysis) and EU policy study of the influence of supranational regulation and coordination. Project results will be presented at an international conference and published as an edited volume and the database available to the public.

1.3 Challenges to Membership Organizations: European Trade Unions in Comparison

Director(s):	Bernhard Ebbinghaus
Researcher(s):	1 postdoctoral fellow (one year), 2–3 doctoral students (up to three years)
Duration:	2006 to 2008
Status:	New / 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 cluster of doctoral research projects will jointly analyze the problems of declining membership in German trade unions from multiple perspectives: European comparative, multi-level (macro/meso/micro-level), and an inter-organisational.

The project is planned as a junior research group comprised of three dissertation projects and one more comprehensive study to be completed by a postdoctoral fellow. A joint doctoral programme would provide enhanced joint support and training opportunities, as well as important opportunities for synergies and the continuous exchange of ideas within the project cluster. One subproject will examine changes in the organizational landscape across Europe that affect and respond to membership development. A second subproject will use micro-level survey data available for selected European countries to analyze the interaction of micro-logic individual factors and nation-specific macro-configurations in union membership decisions. The third project compares trade unions to other forms of voluntary organizations, most importantly political parties, social movements and religious organizations to delineate common or diverging trends. Finally, a postdoctoral fellowship given to an expert on developments in Central and Eastern Europe should provide the opportunity to broaden and discuss the findings for both old and new EU member-states. Alongside the monographs, the main joint results will be published and presented to wider interdisciplinary and public audiences.

1.4 The Acceptance of the Welfare State

Director(s): Johannes Berger, Carsten G. Ullrich
Researcher(s): Carsten G. Ullrich, Bernhard Christoph
Duration: 2003 to 2006
Status: Ongoing / Core

The acceptance or public support of the welfare state has been a major concern in theoretical debates and empirical research for a long time. It is widely acknowledged that at least a minimum of political support is a functional prerequisite for the effectiveness and stability of the welfare state. Furthermore, a broad acceptance is often regarded as the key justification for socio-political interventions. Nonetheless, the findings of national and comparative research, while substantiating high support for the key institutions of the welfare state, are problematic in many respects. It is the aim of this project to provide a better knowledge about the degree and the causes of the social acceptance of the welfare state. Therefore, a representative survey on the public support for the core institutions of the German welfare state has been conducted. This is the first time in Germany that acceptance judgements about substantial welfare institutions are generated by a survey especially designed for this purpose.

1.5 Quality of Life of Public Servants in International Comparison

Director(s): Franz Rothenbacher
Researcher(s): N.N.
Duration: July 2005 to July 2008
Status: New / 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.

A2: Education, Labour Markets and Social Stratification in Europe (Markus Gangl)

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 project 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 patterns 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.

The individual projects partly continue and conclude work started in the previous years; partly they address new issues. 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. In 2004 a project was started especially concentrating 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? A new project 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.

Two projects, already started in the last research programme, are primarily concerned with improving the conceptualisation and measurement of social class for stratification and social mobility research. One of these projects, in cooperation with a research team under the direction of David Grusky (Stanford University), tests the extent to which social mobility is governed by institutionalized boundaries between occupations rather than by aggregate interclass boundaries. The ESEC project (directed by David Rose, Essex), on the other side, contributes to the development and validation of a standard European socio-economic classification to be used in the large-scale surveys and data collections carried out by the European Statistical Agencies.

With Markus Gangl now holding the chair for research methods and applied sociology, these established fields of research will be complemented by new projects that focus more specifically on the linkages between welfare states and labour markets. As a first project in this area, the project "Human Capital Effects of the Welfare State (HCE)" addresses cross-national variation in the impact of critical events on workers' subsequent career prospects. Using national panel data, the project aims to empirically establish the long-run effect of events like unemployment and childbirth. These cross-national differences are explained by variations in the institutional environment of welfare states and labour markets. A second project, beginning in

2006, will address the broader issue of workers' economic mobility over the life cycle in different welfare regimes, building on and re-examining findings from the earlier sociological and economic literature that found surprisingly few indications of any significant variation across industrialized countries in that respect. Research efforts in these core projects will be complemented by a series of smaller projects, e.g. by Stephanie Steinmetz, on the role of institutions in facilitating women's integration into the labour market. Complementing these individual projects, the new Eurodata project of a data handbook on the European labour force will provide essential background data as well as providing a data infrastructure for future studies on the evolution of European labour markets.

Finally, the research area A2 also coordinates the MZES participation in and contribution to the new EU-financed Network of Excellence "Economic Change, Quality of Life and Social Cohesion (EQUALSOC). EQUALSOC succeeds and extends the earlier ChangeQual network and is expected to start in autumn 2005. 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.

List of A2 Projects

	Title	Director(s)	Researcher(s)	Duration	Financing	Status	Core / Suppl.
A2.1	Economic Change, Quality of Life and Social Cohesion (EQUALSOC), Network of Excellence	Walter Müller	(about 10 MZES researchers)	2005-09	EU	New	Core
A2.2	Social Selectivity in Tertiary Education and Labour Market and Stratification Outcomes	Walter Müller	David Reimer	2003-06	MZES	In preparation	Core
A2.3	Educational Systems and Labour Markets in Central and Eastern Europe	Irena Kogan, Walter Müller	Irena Kogan	2005-08		New	Core
A2.4	Human Capital Effects of the Welfare State: Institutional Resources, Work Histories and Social Inequality (HCE)	Markus Gangl	Markus Gangl, Andrea Ziefle	2003-05, 2005-07	DFG	New / Follow-up	Core
A2.5	Income Inequality, Income Mobility, and Social Stratification	Markus Gangl with Lane Kenworthy (UAZ) Joakim Palme (Stockh.)	N. N.	2006-08		New	Core
A2.6	European Labour Force	Franz Kraus (Eurodata) Bernhard Ebbinghaus	Franz Kraus, external collaborators	2005-07		New	Core
A2.7	The Development of a European Socio-economic Classification	Walter Müller	Reinhard Pollak, Jean-Marie Jungblut, Heike Wirth (ZUMA)	2004-07	EU 6 th FP	On-going	Suppl.
A2.8	Social Mobility in a Disaggregated Class Context: a Comparative Analysis of the Influence of Occupational Structuration on Mobility Regimes	Walter Müller, David Grusky (for international part)	Reinhard Pollak, David Grusky, Janne Jonsson, Mary Brinton	2002-06	Uni MA / US NSF	On-going	Suppl.
A2.9	Women's Labour Market Participation and Sex-specific Occupational	Walter Müller	Stephanie Steinmetz (Ph.D. candidate)	2005-08		New	Suppl. Ph.D

	Title	Director(s)	Researcher(s)	Duration	Financing	Status	Core / Suppl.
	Segregation in Europe						
A2.10	Social Inequality in Educational Careers of Young Adults in Europe	Marita Jacob	N.N.	2005-08		New	Core

2.1 Network of Excellence "Economic Change, Quality of Life and Social Cohesion" (EQUALSOC)

Director(s):	Walter Müller (local coordination; international collaborators: see below)
Researcher(s):	(see Table in Introduction Research Department A)
Duration:	September 2005 to August 2009
Status:	New / Core

EQUALSOC is planned to become 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 will have 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 and social mobility;
4. family and social networks;

5. cultural and social differentiation: ethnicity, urban inequalities and life-style differentiation,
6. trust, associability and legitimacy

Researchers from MZES are cooperating in all research groups. They will contribute with research papers to the network conferences and workshops, will be involved in teaching at a summer school organised by the network and selectively will 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
Duration:	2003 to 2006
Status:	In preparation / 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, the Netherlands, France, the UK, Sweden) are planned 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 will draw on a variety of newly available data sources. For Germany, the project will particularly rely 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) will be analysed. More detailed measures of education and specific topical modules on education introduced in the ELFS have considerably improved the potential of this data for the problems addressed in the project.

The project cooperates with several international research groups from Israel, the Netherlands, Sweden and the United Kingdom and is part of the "Education group" of the Equalsoc Network of Excellence coordinated by Walter Müller. A DFG research proposal, planned for submission in 2005, is in preparation at the MZES.

2.3 Educational Systems and Labour Markets in Central and Eastern Europe

Director(s):	Irena Kogan, Walter Müller
Researcher(s):	Irena Kogan
Duration:	2005 to 2008
Status:	New / Core

To date hardly any systematic studies exist on education-job linkages in general and on school-to-work transitions in particular for post-socialist Central and Eastern European (CEE) countries, although this topic has received much research attention in western industrialized countries. For reasons of both the different historic background and rapid transformation in recent years research on the specific conditions governing education-job linkages in these countries is urgently needed. The project aims at mapping CEE countries with respect to the organization of the educational system and the labour market, 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 Human Capital Effects of the Welfare State: Institutional Resources, Work Histories and Social Inequality (HCE)

Director(s):	Markus Gangl
Researcher(s):	Andrea Ziefle (MZES); with Dr. Mattias Strandh (Univ. of Umeå), Dr. Mikael Nordenmark (Univ. of Umeå), Madelene Nordlund (Univ. of Umeå), Brendan Halpin (Univ. of Limerick), John Hill (Univ. of Limerick), Dr. Richard Layte (ESRI), Dr. Helen Russell (ESRI)
Duration:	August 2003 to July 2005, extension to July 2007 planned
Status:	Follow up / Core

The project addresses the relationship between welfare state institutions and social stratification in modern societies. Overall, there can be little doubt that welfare regimes affect the extent as well as patterns of social inequality. Through redistributive as well as allocative effects, welfare state institutions affect patterns of labour force participation, family formation and intergenerational solidarity. Against this background, this project aims to improve social science knowledge on the role of welfare states in protecting and enhancing individual human capital as one particular mechanism through which welfare state institutions relate to individual well-being and social stratification.

We address the issue from an analysis of the impact of critical labour market events—in the sense of potentially devaluating individual human capital and reducing individual earnings capacity—on individual labour market careers. Identifying job loss and childbirth as two critical events, the project aims at three interrelated goals. First, it intends to provide reliable estimates of the causal impact of those events on workers' subsequent labour market prospects. The project deliberately uses available panel studies with long observation windows in order to be able to address potential long-term effects of employment breaks, in particular for women. Second, the project systematically conducts cross-nationally comparative analyses of labour market processes in order to assess the variation of outcomes under widely varying institutional settings and welfare regimes. Finally, the study relies on recent statistical and econometric techniques to attempt to isolate the causal impact of specific institutions as well as potential interactions of policy instruments.

2.5 Income Inequality, Income Mobility, and Social Stratification

Director(s):	Markus Gangl with Lane Kenworthy (U AZ), Joakim Palme (Stockholm)
Researcher(s):	N. N.
Duration:	2006 to 2008
Status:	New / Core

According to standard inequality measures, the United States exhibits the least egalitarian distribution of incomes and standards of living in the industrial world. The fact that the United States is also a country with a weakly developed, comparatively weakly redistributive and weakly decommodifying welfare state is one obvious and prominent explanation for this well-known difference to other, in particular European countries.

Liberal social theory poses a fundamental challenge to this received evidence, however. In fact, it might be argued that assessing inequality from a cross-section of the national population represents a misleading measure of (cross-national differences in) social stratification in the Western world. Comparatively large disparities in incomes or standards of living observed at a single point in time might be offset by equally significant income mobility over time that serves to equalize the distribution of permanent incomes in the long run. If so, European-style encompassing and redistributive welfare state institutions may achieve no less inequality over the life course than an American-style society based more strongly on the operation of market forces—and may potentially generate significant costs in terms of economic efficiency.

Against this background, the project intends to use available longitudinal data for three Western countries in order to set facts straight on cross-national differences in the extent of long-run inequality of incomes and standards of living. We will be drawing on longitudinal micro data for Germany, Sweden and the United States covering two decades and representing three ideal-type welfare systems of the Esping-Andersen typology. The project will establish the extent as well as the persistence of cross-national differences in income inequality over the life cycle and will attempt to shed light on some mechanisms by which European-style welfare states apparently achieve a more egalitarian, yet hardly less dynamic structure of social stratification.

2.6 European Labour Force

Director(s):	Franz Kraus (Eurodata), Bernhard Ebbinghaus
Researcher(s):	Franz Kraus, external collaborators
Duration:	2005 to 2007
Status:	New / 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 from population censuses, and, 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.

2.7 The Development of a European Socio-economic Classification

Director(s):	Walter Müller
Researcher(s):	Reinhard Pollak, Jean-Marie Jungblut, Heike Wirth (ZUMA)
Duration:	2004 to 2007
Status:	Ongoing / Supplementary

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

The project is carried out by a consortium of researchers from various European countries led by David Rose, Essex University. The Mannheim team is responsible for the development of the respective instrument for Germany and will validate it by a series of analyses studying the predictive capacity of the schema for various social issues, such as unemployment, earnings, standard of living).

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

Director(s): Walter Müller, David Grusky (for international part)
Researcher(s): Reinhard Pollak, David Grusky, Janne Jonsson, Mary Brinton
Duration: 2002 to 2008
Status: Ongoing / Supplementary

Research on social mobility traditionally relies on highly aggregated class schemes, that might be too broad to correctly assess mobility patterns. In this project we test the extent to which social mobility is governed by institutionalised boundaries between occupations rather than by aggregate interclass boundaries. In particular, the project re-examines at this disaggregated level the standard findings of extreme rigidities found at the top and bottom of the aggregated class structure and it analyses the structure of recent trends in inheritance, persistence, and inter-occupational mobility. It also examines macro-level causes of immobility (e.g. closure forms) among countries that are known for their high/low class structuration and for their high/low occupational structuration. Sweden is studied as example for a relatively high class structuration, but low occupational structuration; Japan as a country with low structuration on both dimensions; the United States with low class structuration, but relatively high occupational structuration; and Germany as a country with high occupational structuration and high class structuration. The design of the scheme will allow to decompose class effects from occupation-based effects and therefore to assess the strength of these effects within and across countries given the countries' specific institutional arrangements.

2.9 Women's Labour Market Participation and Sex-specific Occupational Segregation in Europe

Director(s): Walter Müller
Researcher(s): Stephanie Steinmetz
Duration: 2005 to 2008
Status: New / Supplementary (Ph.D.)

The aim of the project is to examine the factors causing the different occupational distribution of women and men on the labour market across European countries. It seeks to enhance the understanding of mechanisms underlying the so-called sex-specific occupational segregation in 15 European countries in the late 1990s. The issue will be approached from two perspectives: first, an analysis of the national institutional contexts will be conducted to clarify whether cross-national variations in occupational sex segregation follow patterns arising from labour market structures (like the female participation rate, the working time and the size of the service sector) which may be affected indirectly by the overall structure of welfare states. Second, an individual perspective will be implemented for selected European Countries to explore whether the consideration of factors, like education, marriage and the existence of children, improves the analysis of sex segregation structures within a country and the understanding of cross-national variations.

2.10 Social Inequality in Educational Careers of Young Adults in Europe

Director(s):	Marita Jacob
Researcher(s):	N.N.
Duration:	2005 to 2008
Status:	New / 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, e.g. in Sweden, Germany or the UK, 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. Pursuing a comparative endeavour 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 European 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.

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 into the labour market.

Three projects continue the research from the last research programme area "Family and Social Relations", based on the DFG research programme "Panel Analysis of Intimate Relationships and Family Dynamics". The projects investigate changes in family and social relations from different angles. Project A3.1 ("The Pluralisation of Living Arrangements") deals with the effects of female employment on fertility. Project A3.2 and A3.3 are involved in gathering new panel data in order to explain changing family patterns.

A second cluster of research 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.

The collaborative project A1.7 will take up a topic from the former research cluster "Migration, Integration and Ethnic Conflicts" led by Frank Kalter, who left the MZES for a professorship in Leipzig. The project will investigate the integration of first generation immigrants from the Former Soviet Union, on the one hand Jewish immigrants in Israel and Germany, and on the other hand ethnic German immigrants (*Aussiedler*) who had automatic claims on German citizenship. Thus comparing these similar/dissimilar groups, the project seeks to study the differential integration into employment. This project also contributes to the research concerns of area A2 in respect to labour markets.

List of A3 Projects

	Title	Director(s)	Researcher(s)	Duration	Financing	Status	Core / Suppl.
A3.1	The Pluralisation of Living Arrangements and Family Forms: Fertility and Employment	Josef Brüderl	Jette Schröder	1999-2006	Land BW	On-going	Core
A3.2	Panel Study on Family Dynamics	Josef Brüderl	Laura Castiglioni, Ulrich Krieger	2004-06 2006-08	DFG	On-going	Core
A3.3	Social Embeddedness and Partnership Relations	Hartmut Esser	Thorsten Kneip	2003-06	DFG	On-going	Core
A3.4	Educational Aspirations and Reference Groups	Hartmut Esser	Volker Stocké	2000-07	DFG (SFB)	On-going	Suppl.
A3.5	Preschool Education and Educational Careers among Migrant Children	Hartmut Esser	N. N.	1/2006-		New	Core
A3.6	Educational Decisions in Immigrant Families	Hartmut Esser	Jörg Dollmann, Rebecca Frings	2000-07	DFG	On-going	Core
A3.7	Labour Market Integration: <i>Aussiedler</i> and Jewish Immigrants from the Former Soviet Union in Germany and Israel	Yinon Cohen, Yitchal Habersfeld (Israel), Frank Kalter (Leipzig)	Irena Kogan	2005-08		New	Suppl.
A3.8	East European Populations	Franz Rothenbacher (Eurodata)	N. N.	2005-07		New	Core

3.1 The Pluralisation of Living Arrangements and Family Forms: Fertility and Employment

Director(s):	Josef Brüderl
Researcher(s):	Jette Schröder
Duration:	2004 to 2006
Status:	Ongoing / Core

This project started a while ago with a rather broad focus on "Pluralisation of Living Arrangements". Meanwhile the focus has been narrowed on "Fertility and Employment". The research project investigates the relationship between the employment of women and their fertility. Empirical results show again and again, that women who are employed have fewer children than women who are not employed, respectively that the employment-rate of women with children is smaller than that of women without children. But which are the mechanisms that lead to this relationship? On the one hand the change in women's labour force participation is the core of many explanations concerning the change of fertility—which means it is held that the employment of women has an influence on their fertility. On the other hand children are commonly seen as a main reason for the smaller employment rate of women. So, is it women's employment that determines their fertility? Or is it—the other way around—the fertility of women that determines their labour force participation? The causal relationship between fertility and employment is the focus of this project.

In the first project-phase the literature concerning this question has been sighted and a review was written. One research approach to solve this question is analysis on the macro-level. However, because of the basic problems that are inherent in the analysis of macro-data, the question cannot finally be decided on this level of analysis. For this reason research on the micro-level is presented additionally—on the one hand research investigating the impact of labour-force participation on fertility, on the other hand research investigating the impact of children on labour force participation. Within CHANGEQUAL the project also has been involved in the development of a module for the "European Social Survey" on "Family, Work, and Well-being in Europe". The data will be available in autumn 2005. This will enable us to give the project a European dimension.

3.2 Panel Study on Family Dynamics

Director(s):	Josef Brüderl
Researcher(s):	Laura Castiglioni, Ulrich Krieger
Duration:	2004 to 2008
Status:	Ongoing / Core

This project (the Mini-Panel-Project) is part of the research program "PAIRFAM" (Panel Analysis of Intimate Relationships and Family Dynamics) funded by the German Science 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 theory perspective. These data will be gathered in the Panel of Intimate Relationships and Family Dynamics (Family-Panel), a long-term prospective panel survey.

To prepare the Family-Panel 18 projects associated with the research program will develop new survey instruments to be tested in three waves of a smaller panel—the so called Mini-Panel. The Mini-Panel-Project will support the development of these new instruments, coordinate methodological aspects of the whole survey program and develop the survey design. Face to face interviews (CAPI) will be conducted with 600 respondents in three age groups (15–17 years, 25–27 and 35–37) in Bremen, Chemnitz, Mannheim and Munich. Partners or spouses, children and parents of these respondents will also be interviewed (multi-actor-design). The sample will be drawn from the population registers of the four mentioned cities.

The Mini-Panel-Project is a long-term project. From 2004 to 2008 it will organize the three waves of the Mini-Panel. In 2008 the Family-Panel should start. It is not yet decided, which institution will coordinate the Family-Panel. However, the chances are high that this could be the Mini-Panel-Project at MZES.

The Mini-Panel-Project is also in contact with similar panel projects in other countries. In 2005 an international conference on family panel studies will take place at the MZES. Further, there are plans to develop a European Family Panel. This is an initiative together with Jaap Dronkers (Florence) and Matthijs Kalmijn (Tilburg).

3.3 Social Embeddedness and Partnership Relations

Director(s):	Hartmut Esser
Researcher(s):	Thorsten Kneip
Duration:	2003 to 2006
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 Science Foundation (DFG). It is one of the concrete projects that emerged from project A-5.1 in the last research programme ("Panel Study on Family Dynamics"). In Preparation of the planned long-term panel study, a number of methodological pre-studies will be necessary, as the required instruments are partly not available and/or not tested for their reliability and validity. One of the theoretically and empirically most important preconditions for the development and (in-)stability of intimate relations is the figuration of social networks in which the partners are embedded in. These networks are important as a mediator for (family) orientations and norms. Moreover, they are a source of social capital that can be specific with respect to a particular relationship, depending on structural features of the network. When dealing with network data in surveys, one has to rely on the validity of proxy information about network members given by the respondent. To clarify this, we will conduct an own follow-up study after the first wave of the mini-panel, subsequently interviewing the respondents' alters. This will not only reveal whether respondents give proper proxy-information but also, in case they do not, whether it is the objective or the perceived properties of network members, that have a larger impact on relationship and family dynamics. In this respect, the follow-up study is complementing the data provided by the mini-panel with information on objective network features. The aim of the project is to develop and validate an instrument for the measurement of the aspects of social embeddedness that are relevant for relationship and family dynamics. This work is based on an elaborate theoretical model, as well as on empirical findings and observed measurement deficits, including own analyses of the Mannheim divorce-study and pre-test data. The instrument is to be included in the Mini-Panel that is conducted in preparation of the main study.

3.4 Educational Aspirations and Reference Groups

Director(s):	Hartmut Esser
Researcher(s):	Volker Stocké
Duration:	2000 to 2007
Status:	Ongoing / Supplementary

The project "Educational Aspirations and Reference Groups" deals with educational decisions. It analyses those processes through which parents' social status affects their decision as to the type of secondary school chosen for their child's further education. A longitudinal research design is used to test hypotheses obtained from the Rational Choice Theory (RCT) and the Frame Selection Model (FSM) in a sample of German parents of primary school pupils. These hypotheses concern the effects of objective, as well as subjectively perceived, costs; educational returns; and different determinants of the probability for successfully completing higher tiers of education. Tested in addition are the effects of parents' educational aspirations and their generalised attitudes toward higher education, as well as the effects of reference groups. In 2004 the fieldwork was completed to carry out 1,035 interviews with parents of primary school pupils in the third grade, standardised achievement tests with these pupils, and interviews with 1,800 members of the parents' reference groups. Furthermore, the questionnaire for the second wave of parent interviews in 2005 was developed and the validity of important measures used in the study was tested.

3.5 Preschool Education and Educational Careers among Migrant Children

Director(s): Harmut Esser
Researcher(s): N. N.
Duration: 2006 to 2008
Status: New / 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/Frings). These results clearly indicate that the foundation for a child's later educational career is laid well before his/her school education begins, either due to the information available to the parents or due to their specific competencies or to the child's linguistic abilities. Initially, all types of preschool exposure to the host society 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 planned as a panel study that is to run until the children reach school age (or even longer).

3.6 Educational Decisions in Immigrant Families

Director(s):	Hartmut Esser
Researcher(s):	Jörg Dollmann, Rebecca Frings, Nina Heyden
Duration:	2000 to 2007
Status:	Ongoing / Core

Immigrant children attain on average consistently lower educational qualifications than their German counterparts. They are more likely to attend the lower academic tracks and are consequently underrepresented in the more attractive educational trajectories. In comparison to German children, they are also more likely to leave school without any 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.

Based on a theoretical account of educational decisions, we are collecting data on the transition from primary to secondary schooling. We selected the first branching point in the German school system 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 in two exemplary federal states.

In the first part of the project, we developed and tested different measurement instruments in preparation for the main quantitative survey, which will take place in the ongoing second stage of the project. In May 2005, the main data collection will start. For each of the two institutional settings of interest, the survey includes several parental questionnaires, which will be administered to Turkish-origin and German families at different points of time in the decision-making process. We are aiming to realize a total of 1,400 interview sequences. Furthermore, we will conduct in schools standardized tests that cover achievement in school-relevant subjects such as German and Maths as well as cognitive performance measures. Regarding the latter, we will use language-independent tests, which seem to be particularly suited to the immigrant population. Moreover, we will collect at schools teacher assessments for each child, as well as information on school and classroom features. In the latter respect, contextual information about the student-body composition seems to be very important. Using aggregate data sources, we will extend this inquiry to include characteristics of the residential environment.

3.7 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:	2005 to 2008
Status:	New / 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.

3.8 The East European Population since 1850

Director(s): Franz Rothenbacher
Researcher(s): N. N.
Duration: July 2005 to July 2008
Status: New / 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.

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. This common interest is now contributing to a greater coherence of research activities. In view of the multitude of research projects a common problem orientation is of great benefit as it stimulates cross-cutting communication. Closer research co-operation has, in particular, been encouraged and supported by the launch of a European-wide "Network of Excellence" to which a large number of research projects contribute (see table "MZES participation in CONNEX").

The issue of democracy in Europe is approached from different perspectives and organised in four Research Areas:

- B1 Democracy and Citizenship (Jan van Deth)
- B2 Democracy, Parties, and Parliaments (Wolfgang C. Müller)
- B3 Democracy and Multi-Level Governance (Beate Kohler-Koch)
- B4 Democracy and Conflict Regulation (Egbert Jahn)

In addition to the thematic focus, each Research Area shares common aspects that characterise the individual projects. Variations pertain to theoretical approaches and methodology applied. The dialogue between approaches and the exchange of project-specific expertise is encouraged by regular meetings of researchers. The main forum is the colloquium of the department which meets weekly during the term. Collaboration between projects is further encouraged by the joint involvement of MZES researchers in Europe-wide research networks. Inter-nationalisation is becoming more and more a trademark of research in Department B, the senior scholars have either taken the lead or contribute in a prominent position to EU funded Networks of Excellence or Integrated Projects and to ESF sponsored collaborative research.

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. Research projects cover three main themes: (1) the development of democratic citizenship in terms of social and political orientations, (2) the impact of new technologies for citizens' engagement, and (3) 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 context variables 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 further common characteristic is the continuity of research in this area. Not just the on-going projects but also most of the new projects build on a longer history of cumulative research.

Research Area B2 addresses the role of political parties and parliaments as the key organisations for citizens' control of the political decision-making process. While some of the projects

have a long-time horizon, covering the whole post-war period, most concentrate on the last two decades which are characterised by the new challenges of Europeanisation, supply-side individualisation, and the emergence of new collective actors. Research projects are dedicated to two overarching themes. One focus is party competition, be it in the electoral or the parliamentary and government arenas, the other is Europeanisation ranging from the Europeanisation of parliamentary debates to the impact on national parliamentary reforms, the shaping of party systems in the new member states and in general the effect on the identity of citizens, their representation, and the practice of good government.

Research Area B3 is dedicated to the challenges of democracy in the multi-level system of EU governance. The MZES has been the hub in the national research programme on "Governance in the European Union" (DFG-funded Special Research Area, coordinated by Kohler-Koch) which has now been enlarged by the organisation of a European-wide "Network of Excellence" (funded within the 6th Research Framework of the EU and again coordinated by Kohler-Koch). The aim of "CONNEX" ("Connecting Excellence on European Governance") is the integration of research on the topic of "Efficient and Democratic Governance in a Multi-Level Europe". Several MZES projects, not only from Research Area B3, contribute to this large network. The thematic focus within the Research Area is twofold. One encompassing research question concerns the organisation of state-society relations with particular emphasis on the involvement of "civil society" organisations and its democratic potential. The other focus is on the development and performance of EU institutions.

Research Area B4 concentrates on conflict regulation and new democracies. It builds on past research which was dedicated to the analysis of nation- and state-building, nationalism and national movements, regional integration processes and the international management of ethno-national conflicts in Eastern Europe. Research now moves from the analysis of intra- and inter-state conflict to the exploration of approaches aimed at conflict transformation, conflict regulation and peace-building. A core question with high theoretical and empirical relevance is the interdependence between conflict regulation and peace-building on the one hand and the promotion of democracy on the other. Projects concentrate on three main research questions: (1) The perspective of authoritarian integration versus democratic co-operation in the countries of the Caucasus region, (2) the international support for democratisation processes in Central and Eastern Europe with specific emphasis on the role of the NGO sector, and (3) the European and other international peace-building activities in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in Kosovo. Research within the MZES will be closely co-ordinated with external associated research projects.

In addition to the four Research Areas described above, two associated projects are included. Hermann Weber continues his research on the impact of the Comintern on the Western European Party systems as a professor emeritus. Beate Kohler-Koch coordinates the cooperation with the Institute for European Studies of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences.

The research activities of Department B will certainly become expanded in the near future with the arrival of a new chair holder (Chair on International Relations and European affairs). In addition, a change in research agenda may come about because Frank Schimmelfennig, at present fellow at the MZES, will take a chair at the University of Zurich.

MZES participation in CONNEX

B1.2	Citizenship, Involvement Democracy: Private Networks for Public Action	Sigrid Roßteutscher	N.N.
B2.2	Europe in National Parliaments	Wolfgang C. Müller	Marcelo Jenny Wolfgang C. Müller, N.N.
B2.5	Parties and Democracy in the European Union: Euro-Parties as New Democratic Intermediaries?	Jan van Deth, Thomas Poguntke	Christine Pütz
B2.6	Euro-Parties and the Politics of New Member States	Thomas Poguntke, Jan van Deth	N.N.
B2.11	Comparative Analysis of Party Platforms for the European Election. (The Euromanifestos Project)	Hermann Schmitt	Andreas Wüst, Tanja Binder, Daniel Lederle
B3.2	Internet connected EU Research (IConnectEU)	Beate Kohler-Koch	Thomas Schneider
B3.3	Democratic Legitimacy via Civil Society Involvement? The Role of the European Commission	Beate Kohler-Koch	Barbara Finke, Kerstin Wilde, N.N.
B3.4	Local Europe: Impact of EU Governance on Local Civil Society	Beate Kohler-Koch	Nikola Jung, N.N.
B3.5	The European Intermediary System	Andrea Römmele	N.N.
B3.6	State-Society Relations in European Trade Policy: The Civil Society Dialogue of the European Commission	Dirk de Bièvre, Andreas Dür	Dirk de Bièvre, Andreas Dür
B3.10	Constitutional Politics in the European Union : Parliamentarization and the Institutionalization of Human Rights	Bertold Rittberger, Frank Schimmelfennig	Alexander Bürgin, Guido Schweltnus
B3.12	The European Commission: Controlled Agent of uncontrolled Bureaucracy	Franz U. Pappi	Arndt Wonka
B3.18	The Prospects for EU Democracy After Eastern Enlargement	Hermann Schmitt	Hermann Schmitt, P. Matthew Loveless
B4.2	International Support for Democratization Processes in Central and Eastern Europe: The NGO Sector	Susan Stewart, Egbert Jahn	Susan Stewart, N.N.

B1: Democracy and Citizenship (Jan van Deth)

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

Despite the ongoing process of European integration democratic citizenship is still largely shaped and determined by national political and societal environments. Therefore, national contexts (in structural and in cultural terms) are used as specific conditions for the development of different modes of citizenship in various countries. Resulting comparative analyses help to test general explanations and interpretations, and accentuate their context- and path-dependencies. From this perspective, institutional aspects of the European integration process are part of the rapidly changing context of democratic citizenship. Integration is conceptualised here as the possibility that the political cultures of different nations may grow closer. The basic premise is that the long-term social developments in structural terms will lead to a convergence of cultures at the national level as well as to increasing differentiation at sub-national levels. These processes of cultural convergence and differentiation can also be seen as important prerequisites, promoters or obstacles of European integration. From a methodological point of view all projects are to be considered as analyses of multilevel systems taking into account the institutional aspects of European integration as an integral part of the societal context of democratic citizenship.

Research projects in the area cover three main themes: (i) development of democratic citizenship in terms of social and political orientations (Projects 1.1, 1.3, 1.4 and 1.8), (ii) impact of new technologies for citizens' engagement (Project 1.5), and (iii) social and political participation of citizens in democratic decision-making processes (Projects 1.1, 1.2, 1.6, 1.7, 1.9 and 1.10).

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

- They focus on the orientations, expectations, and interests of individual citizens.
- The scope and meaning of specific modes of engagement for individual citizens are established in empirical ways.
- Engagement is a dynamic process; it starts at young age.

- Impacts of changing opportunity structures (institutional, cultural, technical) are deliberately taken into account.

Since projects in this research area concentrate on democratic decision-making and the process of interest articulation with an emphasis on individual behaviour and orientations, several links with other projects focusing on institutional and organisational aspects are evident. Clear links exist with the following projects: B2.1; B2.5; B2.6; B2.12; B3.4; B3.9; B4.2.

List of B1 Projects

	Title	Director(s)	Researcher(s)	Duration	Financing	Status	Core / Suppl.
B1.1	Welfare through Organisations: A Comparative Analysis of British and German Associational Life	Jan W. van Deth, Sigrid Roßteutscher	Sigrid Roßteutscher, Jan van Deth, William Maloney	2000-07	AGF (2000-2003); MZES	On-going	Core
B1.2	Citizenship, Involvement Democracy: Private Networks for Public Action	Sigrid Roßteutscher	N.N.	2006-08		New / follow up	Core
B1.3	Learning to Live Democracy (LLD)	Jan van Deth	Simone Abendschön; Meike Vollmar, (Marina Berton 2000-04)	2000-07	DFG	On-going	Core
B1.4	European Identity and Young People's Participation in School and Local (Social) Contexts	Jan van Deth	Julia Schäfer	2005-08	MZES	New	Core
B1.5	Parliaments, Representative Government and New Electronic Media Environments: An International Comparison	Thomas Zittel	Thomas Zittel	2000-06	DFG	On-going	Core
B1.6	A Unified Model of Voting in Different Institutional Contexts	F.U. Pappi, Christian H.C.A. Henning, Susumu Shikano	N.N.	2006-07		New	Core
B1.7	Expectation Formation and Electoral Decision-Making	Thomas Gschwend, F.U. Pappi	Michael F. Meffert	2005-07	DFG-submitted	New / follow up	Suppl.
B1.8	European Social Survey	Jan van Deth		2002-14	DFG	On-going	Suppl.
B1.9	Interactive Mechanism of Mixed-Member Electoral Systems with Two Ballots	Susumu Shikano	Susumu Shikano	2003-06	Emil-Kömmerling-Stiftung	On-going	Core

	Title	Director(s)	Researcher(s)	Duration	Financing	Status	Core / Suppl.
B1.10	Migrants as Political Actors	Andreas M. Wüst	Andreas M. Wüst	2006-08		New	Core

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

Director(s): Jan van Deth, Sigrid Roßteutscher
Researcher(s): Sigrid Roßteutscher, Jan van Deth, William Maloney
Duration: 2000-2007
Status: Ongoing / Core

The focus of this project is on engagement of citizens in a wide variety of voluntary associations. In particular, it explores (i) the density, range and diversity of the voluntary sector in different institutional and cultural contexts, (ii) the internal organisational structure of the voluntary sector in different institutional and cultural contexts, and (iii) whether differences in the internal structure and participatory opportunities explain differences between activists and volunteers concerning democracy, trust, citizenship, and welfare. An extensive mapping of all existing clubs, associations, and networks has been accomplished in Mannheim and in Aberdeen (as well as in various other communities in Europe). Besides, a postal survey of all organisations has been carried out as well as extensive interviews with members and activists of selected organisations. The combination of these types of information offers the opportunity to add local and organisational context to the development of citizenship within voluntary associations. From the perspective of possible contributions of local voluntary associations to the development of citizenship in Europe the results of these analyses are integrated in Research Group 5 of the CONNEX-Project (see B3.1).

1.2 Citizenship, Involvement, Democracy: Private Networks for Public Action

Director(s): Sigrid Roßteutscher
Researcher(s): N.N.
Duration: 2006 - 2008
Status: New / Core

Political engagement and social inequality are clearly linked: politically active citizens are often amongst those who are already privileged in terms of education, status or income. From a democratic perspective, this old and internationally valid observation is of high theoretical and political significance. Those with advantages accumulate further advantages through political participation. Because they are active their message will be heard by political incumbents and thus their political wishes will be realized to a great extent. Previous MZES research on social participation and citizenship showed that social participation, i.e. membership in voluntary associations, is an important avenue for political participation. Moreover, through membership in associations individuals learn how to trust, how to think and behave democratically and how to gain civic competences of all kinds. Consequently, the issue of who participates is of high relevance: Who has access to membership and how are members recruited by whom? If membership in social and political organization is such an important resource of skills and participatory chances, the recruitment process (and its fairness and openness) is of central importance. If resources explain part of the story, the motivation of individuals explains another. Why should one invest time, energy and money into a cause for which one has no interest? In other words, the mobilization pool of any organization (political and social) are those who support the major aims of an organization. Those are the natural joiners. However, not all join. Even amongst those who fully endorse the aims of an organization, the joiners are amongst the privileged in society. Why? Partly, because associations target their mobilization campaigns towards the better-off. More importantly, as some preliminary research on British ecological organizations showed, whether someone joins an organization is highly dependent on whether his or her close associates (partner, parents, children, close friends, work colleagues) joined as well. Those who join live in a network of joiners, those who remain passive exclusively relate to other passive individuals. And: joiner networks accumulate socio-economic privileges while those in passive networks belong to socially less advantaged groups. To understand the recruitment process and the reproduction of social and political inequality that goes with it, this project aims at examining recruitment into a wider range of voluntary organizations (environmental organizations, political parties, interest organizations, sports or hobby associations, religious groups). In each case the project aims at identifying an organization's mobilization pool. By holding constant the range of the potential recruits (those with high regard of an organization's aims), the project studies the process of recruitment through i) marketing attempts of the organization and ii) the mobilization through private ego-centric networks.

1.3 Learning to Live Democracy (LLD)

Director(s):	Jan van Deth
Researcher(s):	Simone Abendschön; Meike Vollmar (Marina Berton 2000-04)
Duration:	2000 - 2007
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 800 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 (2000-2002) the research design was developed and prepared. 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 had to be conducted to develop an adequate, child-friendly questionnaire for the intended standardised panel interviews. In 2004 the main research phase of the project was set off. The panel 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 and were interviewed during their first weeks in school. The second wave of the children panel and the parents' and teachers' interviews are conducted during 2005.

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. The research design of the project therefore allows for an extension both of countries (or cities) and of the survey period.

1.4 European Identity and Young People's Participation in School and Local (Social) Contexts

Director(s): Jan van Deth
Researcher(s): Julia Schäfer
Duration: 2005 – 2008
Status: New / Core

Considering the 'widening' and 'deepening' of the European Union, the question how European citizens support this process is of growing importance. As a result of the eastern enlargement the majority rule will become more and more common in European decision-making processes. To assure that the outvoted (e.g. regional or national) minorities also consider the majority decision as legitimate, a European consciousness or identity is therefore supposed to be the key factor of an evolving 'political union'. Already Karl W. Deutsch presumed that political identities emerge over generational learning processes. But where and how can political identification be learned? What are characteristic developmental features of European identities? What are the relevant 'schools of democracy' here?

This project aims at answering crucial questions of modern multilevel systems in Europe and hereby focuses on the 'next generation' of European citizens. It is assumed that participation of young people in diverse local (social) and school contexts will give them an idea of the complexity of European polity and will hereby produce a feeling of shared identities. Two broad research strategies will be applied. First, already existing data resources will be collected and examined with secondary-analyses techniques in order to get a first empirically based impression of the subject matter. Second, the orientations of young persons are studied in a quasi-experimental research design. Interviews will be carried out with young people taking part in carefully selected youth projects in several European states. The young participants are thereby questioned before and after their respective engagement.

1.5 Parliaments, Representative Government and New Electronic Media Environments: An International Comparison²

Director: Thomas Zittel
Researcher: Thomas Zittel
Duration: 2000 - 2006
Status: Ongoing / Core

New information and telecommunication media such as the internet provide new far reaching opportunities to increase the responsiveness of liberal democracy by bridging the gap between Members of Parliament and their constituents. This project asks whether political elites seize these opportunities for democratic change or whether they choose to remain within the limits of liberal democracy which emphasizes political parties as well as the electoral connection as crucial linkage mechanisms between parliaments and citizens.

Most aims of the project have been reached in its first phase in the context of the fifth research program. I developed a responsiveness model of representation that defines relevant uses of new digital media by MPs in terms of democratic theory, that generates measures for empirical comparative research, and that allows for hypotheses that can be empirically tested. The model is based on a synthesis of the literature on electronic democracy with well established theories on legislative behavior. It goes well beyond the case specific or over deterministic and abstract theories that dominated the debate on electronic democracy so far; I collected primary data to test this model and prepared them for analysis. All personal websites in the Swedish Riksdag, the German Bundestag and the US House of Representatives were downloaded, content analyzed and matched with statistical data between 2000 and 2002. I also conducted about 80 in depth interviews between 2001 and 2004 with MPs and staffers that allow for a more comprehensive perspective regarding the dependent variable and that shed light on the micro-politics of the relevant independent variables as well.

The process of analyzing the data and testing the model was under way when the project came to a halt for the reasons explained in the footnote. At present, the quantitative part of the analyses is most advanced and provided the basis for publications among others in the *Journal for Legislative Studies*, in volumes edited by Esser/Pfetsch and Gibson/Ward/Römmele and for an expertise commissioned by the German Bundestag. Main results of this analysis are that parliaments are under stress because of new digital media to become more fragmented in

² This project has been part of the fifth research program of the MZES and was scheduled to come to an end in 2005. In academic year 2004/05 its director accepted a position as an acting chair (Lehrstuhlvertretung) at the University of Duisburg-Essen and the DFG agreed to put off funding during this one year intermission. As a result, this project is integrated in the sixth research program with a new termination date of 2006. This extension of the duration of the project results in the addition of a further research aim as explained in the text body.

terms of constituency communication, that institutional configurations such as the electoral system moderate these effects and explain for differences between our three cases and that different linkage mechanisms to translate technological opportunities into political behavior explain for differences within our cases.

Two major tasks remain for the last part of the project in 2005/06: first, the qualitative data from the interviews will have to be analyzed and matched with the statistical analysis regarding the use of personal websites; second, I replicated the content analysis of all available personal websites in the three parliaments under study in April 2004. This new set of data allow for a comparison over time which was not an initial aim of the project and which will be in the focus of the last stage of the project.

1.6 A Unified Model of Voting in Different Institutional Contexts

Director(s): Franz U. Pappi, Christian H.C.A. Henning, Susumu Shikano
Researcher(s): N.N.
Duration: 2006 - 2007
Status: New / Core

We aim to test our theoretically developed model which unifies proximity and directional models. The most important difference of our approach from previous issue voting studies is that we go back to the basic of the Downs' theory. Accordingly, voters are guided by the output of their political system in their vote decision. In legislative processes each party's political power varies from each other. For a party with less political power, instrumentally motivated voters should be guided by utility in the directional model rather than in the proximity model.

We include to the model informal institutions besides formal institutions like electoral systems, presidentialism etc. With informal institutions, we mean e.g. party discipline, informal agreement on coalition after elections, existence/ absence of social networks around voters. All these factors have to do with the impact of an individual vote on future policy outcome as perceived by the voter. Therefore, based on our theoretical model we can derive hypotheses regarding the impact of formal and informal political institutions on voters' behaviour.

Our analysis of recent voting behaviour in the Federal Republic of Germany confirms central hypotheses theoretically derived from our model. However, due to the limited institutional variance in our empirical data only some hypotheses could be tested, yet. Therefore, we aim to test the unified model in broader institutional contexts in the envisaged project. For this purpose, we utilize survey data from various European and non-European countries.

1.7 Expectation, Formation and Electoral Decision-Making

Director(s):	Thomas Gschwend, Franz U. Pappi
Researcher(s):	Michael F. Meffert
Duration:	2005 - 2007
Status:	New / Follow up / Supplementary

In multi-party PR systems voters not only have the possibility to cast their vote for the most-preferred party but can also anticipate the coalition formation process and cast their vote strategically for a different party to most effectively influence the formation of a coalition government. The project "Electoral Systems and Coalition Governments as Incentives for Strategic Voting" of the previous research program changed its title to better reflect the current focus of this project. We found that the situational context of a parliamentary election, determined by the electoral system and the pre-electoral identifiability of party coalitions that might form a government, has an effect on the type as well as the frequency of strategic voting that can be observed across electoral systems. While we previously had to assume the causal process on the micro-level, the formation of "rational expectations" and their consequences for voting behavior at the polls, we now focus directly on the expectation formation process. This new goal consequently changes the focus of the ongoing project ("Expectation Formation and Electoral Decision-Making" will also be part of the Sonderforschungsbereich (SFB) 504 at the University of Mannheim). For the new research program the aim is to develop and test a micro-level theory of strategic voting. We are interested to learn how voters form expectations about the election. Using a sophisticated experimental design supplemented by secondary survey-data analysis we are interested in the degree to which the incentives provided by the situational context of an election systematically influence an individual's expectation-formation process. We expect to find that the modeling assumption about "rational expectations" of rational choice models is not sufficient. It will have to be augmented by dispositional variables that describe the processes more realistically by which voters form expectations and their consequences for their behavior in the voting booth. These findings should ultimately lead to a general theory of voting behavior in PR systems. The research project is therefore particularly tailored to the majority of national electoral systems within the EU.

1.8 European Social Survey

Director(s):	Jan van Deth
Researcher(s):	-
Duration:	2002 - 2014
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 covers several wave 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 will be released in 2005. The coordination of the study is funded via the 5th Framework Programme, with supplementary funds from the European Science Foundation. Fieldwork costs in each participating nation are borne by the respective national funding agencies. 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 and in early 2004 for the second round of data collection. In order to guarantee the continuation of this project on a regular basis, the DFG is willing to include the German part of the ESS in its so-called "Long-term Support Programme" and to make funds available for the next 8-12 years. An extensive grant proposal for the third wave of the ESS including a proposal for admission to the "Long-term Support Programme" has been submitted to the DFG by late May 2005.

1.9 Interactive Mechanism of Mixed-Member Electoral Systems with Two Ballots

Director(s): Susumu Shikano
Researcher(s): Susumu Shikano
Duration: 2003 - 2006
Status: Ongoing / Core

This project tackles an (implicit) assumption of studies on mixed electoral systems: Independence of the plurality and the proportional vote. Contrarily to the assumption, this project focuses on which kind of interactions between two ballots appear under mixed systems. The interactions are modelled not as one way but as reciprocal ones in various phases of decision making processes. To model the decision making process precisely, I rely on the multi-stage model of decision making in econometrics and the theory of political ideologies of Hinich/Munger. According to the model, mixed systems derived from the mechanism should have a centripetal effect on party systems. Thus, this project contributes to answering the question raised by Duverger, why the German party system is, despite of its proportional system, less fragmented.

To test hypothesis about the interactive mechanism of mixed systems and its effect on party systems, the project utilized secondary data collected in Germany, New Zealand and Japan. I expect a certain common mechanism and effect of mixed system across various settings. Individual level datasets are used to analyse individual decision making process, while political consequences of mixed systems are also studied with aggregate level datasets.

1.10 Migrants as Political Actors

Director(s): Andreas M. Wüst
Researcher(s): Andreas M. Wüst
Duration: 2006 – 2008
Status: New / Core

Political representation is a strong and often effective means to include minorities into democracies. Representation means acting responsively 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).

B2: Democracy, Parties and Parliaments (Wolfgang C. Müller)

The legitimacy of political regimes typically requires some combination of citizens' control of the political decision-making process and output efficiency. Providing output efficiency is generally considered the domain of political and administrative executives and of institutions that are linked to the citizens only indirectly (such as central banks or the European Commission). It is political parties and parliaments that are the key organizations linking citizens to the making of authoritative political decisions. Without political parties providing programmatic alternatives and structuring the vote, no meaningful elections could be held. Political parties also serve as vehicles for the permanent participations of politically interested citizens between elections. Turning to parliaments, in parliamentary democracies, such as the member states of the European Union, the executive cannot survive and govern without the support (or at least toleration) of parliament. Yet, ever since Bryce's famous "decline of parliaments" thesis (1922), parliamentary power has tended to be seen more formal than real. While Bryce responded to the rise of political parties, advocates of party democracy could satisfy themselves with the interpretation that old-fashioned individual representation had been replaced by modern collective representation. While the fusion of the parliamentary majority with the executive would prevent the parliament to hold the government accountable by the means of no-confidence votes, parliaments would still play an important role as the prime arena of party competition. Although unable to remove the government, the opposition would scrutinize its behaviour and present alternatives to its policies. The verdict of the voters would take into account both the relative merits of the government's deeds and the opposition's criticisms as well as the proposals of both the government and the opposition parties for the policies to be conducted in next parliament. Bryce's claim may have been too pessimistic for two other reasons: the cohesion problems of coalition governments and the frequent occurrence of minority cabinets. Yet, since the 1990s at the latest the traditional party-parliamentary channel of representation faces a number of new challenges that in the eyes of some observers eventually may make parliaments largely irrelevant institutions.

In recent years, another literature has developed under the label of "decline of parties". A wealth of studies indeed shows that the ties between citizens and parties have become weaker and parties face increasing competition by other organizations in setting the agenda of public debate and interest articulation. By definition, parties have remained the only mechanism that provides a *direct* link between the citizens and the political decision-making process. Yet, the establishment of new parties and, more significantly, new *types* of parties indicate relevant political change.

The projects in the Research Area B2 address the roles of political parties and parliaments in the European parliamentary democracies. While some of the projects have a long time horizon, covering the whole post-war period, most concentrate specifically on the 1990s and the first decade of the 21st century which are characterized by the new challenges of Europeanization,

supply-side individualization, and the emergence of new collective actors. Collectively, the projects will shed new light on a number of inter-related research questions, of which party competition and the effects of Europeanization on political representation stand out.

Party competition in the electoral arena is at the heart of research project B2.7 which is a long-term study of the meaning of "left" and "right" by analysing voters' perceptions and party manifestos. Project B2.9 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 four research projects. Project B2.3 is concerned with the trade-offs between office and policy goals of political parties in coalition formation. Project B2.4 researches the frequency and causes of coalition conflicts, giving special attention to intra-party causes. 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 B2.10, although not directly concerned with party competition, speaks to this topic as it analyses relevant features one of the new actors, Green parties, that have already taken or are ready to take the threshold of government participation. Finally, two projects carried over from the 5th Research Programme, address topics of party competition. Project B2.11 researches the supply-side of party manifestos in European elections. Project B2.12 is concerned with the impact of technological change on parties and other organizations.

The second overarching theme of the projects in Research Area B2 is Europeanization. Project B2.2 takes up the question of the Europeanization of parliamentary debates and questions. Project B2.1 touches upon the question whether Europeanization is driving efficient reforms of the parliamentary rules of procedure. Project B2.7 will show whether there has occurred an Europeanization of the understanding of "Left" and "Right" in the process of European integration. Project B2.8 asks how the deepening of the EU and its enlargement affect the identity of citizens, their representation, and the practice of good governance. Project B2.6, a following-up project to Project B2.5, takes the issue of Europeanization beyond the borders of the individual member state. It is concerned with the attempts of Euro-parties to exercise influence on the formation of the emerging party systems in the new member states of the EU and the positioning of the parties with regard to European issues. Finally, Project B2.11 provides a comparative analysis of the manifestos used in European elections, asking to what extent these platforms reflect common themes and priorities.

List of B2 Projects

	Title	Director(s)	Researcher(s)	Duration	Financing	Status	Core / Suppl.
B2.1	Parliamentary Rules and Institutional Design	Wolfgang C. Müller	Wolfgang C. Müller, Ulrich Sieberer, N.N.	2006-09		New	Core
B2.2	Europe in National Parliaments	Wolfgang C. Müller	Marcelo Jenny Wolfgang C. Müller, N.N.	2007-09		New	Core
B2.3	Government Formation as an Optimal Combination of the Office- and Policy-Motivation of Parties	Franz U. Pappi	N.N.	2006-08		New	Core
B2.4	Coalition Conflict and Intra-Party Politics	Wolfgang C. Müller	Bernhard Müller	2004-07	MZES	In preparation	Core
B2.5	Parties and Democracy in the European Union: Euro-Parties as New Democratic Intermediaries?	Jan van Deth, Thomas Poguntke	Christine Pütz	2001-06	DFG	On-going	Core
B2.6	Euro-Parties and the Politics of New Member States	Thomas Poguntke, Jan van Deth	N.N.	2006-09		New	Core
B2.7	The Left-Right Ideology: Its Meaning Across Countries and Over Time	Hermann Schmitt	N.N.	2006-08	MZES	New	Core
B2.8	Integrated and United: A Quest for a Citizenship in an Ever Closer Europe (IntUne)	Wolfgang C. Müller, Hermann Schmitt	Wolfgang C. Müller, Hermann Schmitt	2006-10	EU	New	Core
B2.9	Personal Campaign Strategies and Political Representation	Thomas Gschwend, Wolfgang C. Müller, Hermann Schmitt, Andreas M Wüst, Thomas Zittel	Thomas Gschwend, Wolfgang C. Müller, Hermann Schmitt, Andreas M Wüst, Thomas Zittel	2005-10	MZES, DFG	New	Core
B2.10	Ideology and Activism of Green Party Members in Western Europe	Wolfgang C. Müller	Wolfgang C. Müller, Peter Stefou	2005-07		New	Core
B2.11	Comparative Analysis of Party Platforms for the European Election. (The Euromanifestos Project)	Hermann Schmitt	Andreas Wüst, Tanja Binder, Daniel Lederle	2002-05	MZES DFG	On-going	Core

	Title	Director(s)	Researcher(s)	Duration	Financing	Status	Core / Suppl.
B2.12	New ICTs and the Innovation Capacity of Political and Commercial Organisations	Andrea Römmele		2002-05		On-going	Core

2.1 Parliamentary Rules and Institutional Design

Director(s): Wolfgang C. Müller
Researcher(s): Wolfgang C. Müller, Ulrich Sieberer, N.N.
Duration: 2006 - 2009
Status: New / 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, professionalisation 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: Wolfgang C. Müller
Researchers: Marcelo Jenny, Wolfgang C. Müller, N.N.
Duration: 2007–2009
Status: New / 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 U. Pappi
Researcher(s): N.N.
Duration: 2006 - 2008
Status: New / Core

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 theorists assume that parties will enter coalitions whose anticipated policy is closest to their ideal point. Itai Sened (1996) developed a formal model of government formation in which the parties base their behaviour on a utility function which includes both office perquisites and assumed policy losses. Itai Sened distinguishes between a coalition bargaining game and the legislative game. The outcome of the legislative game will be within the core of a multidimensional policy space or, when such a core doesn't exist, within other central areas like the uncovered set. Before a coalition government is formed the parties can therefore anticipate their policy losses and will enter a coalition which guarantees them the highest share of perquisites given the policy losses of the legislative game. The model allows different weights for the office and policy component of the utility functions for different parties.

2.4 Coalition Conflict and Intra-Party Politics

Director(s):	Wolfgang C. Müller
Researcher(s):	Bernhard Miller
Duration:	2004 - 2007
Status:	In preparation / 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 it will give special attention to the influence of 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 Parties and Democracy in the European Union: Euro-Parties as New Democratic Intermediaries?

Director(s):	Jan van Deth, Thomas Poguntke
Researcher(s):	Christine Pütz
Duration:	2001 – 2006
Status:	Ongoing / Core

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

2.6 Euro-Parties and the Politics of New Member States

Director(s): Thomas Poguntke, Jan van Deth
Researcher(s): N.N.
Duration: 2006 - 2009
Status: New / 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 members 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?

A limited number of adequate case studies (based on 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.

2.7 The Left-Right Ideology: Its Meaning across Countries and over Time

Director(s): Hermann Schmitt
Researcher(s): N.N.
Duration: 2006 - 2008
Status: New / 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 device 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).

2.8 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:	2006 - 2010
Status:	New / 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.

It is envisaged that some 32 universities and more than 100 individual researchers will co-operate within this integrated project. The structure of the project foresees four research areas dealt with by different research groups:

- the convergence of political elites in the European Union
- the development of networks of policy experts
- changing political discourses and the media
- the development of a European public opinion

2.9 Personal Campaign Strategies and Political Representation

Director(s):	Thomas Gschwend, Wolfgang C. Müller, Hermann Schmitt, Andreas M. Wüst, Thomas Zittel
Researcher(s):	Thomas Gschwend, Wolfgang C. Müller, Hermann Schmitt, Andreas M. Wüst, Thomas Zittel
Duration:	2005 - 2010
Status:	New / 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. The Austrian and German surveys will be organized by the Mannheim project team. 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 will be 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 extraordinarily long period is due to the fact that the surveys are to be conducted immediately after national parliament elections; these elections are usually held every four or so years.

2.10 Ideology and Activism of Green Party Members in Western Europe

Director(s): Wolfgang C. Müller
Researcher(s): Wolfgang C. Müller, Peter Stefou
Duration: 2005 - 2007
Status: New / Core

The project will analyse the first cross-national survey of Green party members in Western Europe (14 countries) with respect to ideology and activism. First, the project will analyse the relevance of those ideological commitments suggested by the literature and check for inconsistencies and internal lines of division. Second, the project will describe and explain party activism and thereby test theories of party activism that have not yet been tested against data from Green parties.

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

Director(s): Hermann Schmitt
Researcher(s): Andreas Wüst, Tanja Binder, Daniel Lederle
Duration: 2002 - 2005
Status: Ongoing / Core

What are the conditions under which political parties succeed in making their EP election manifestos known to the voters? And, what is more, under which conditions become these programmatic statements of competing parties relevant for participation and party choice in EP elections? Are these party manifestos representative of voters concerns? These are some of the questions that motivate this research. Any effort to answer them must establish content-analytical measures of programmatic statements of political parties issued at the occasion of EP elections and compare them with issue orientations of their voters. This is done in a way to allow for analyses of changes over time (1979-2004) and cross-level contrasts (parties and voters) for all parties that ever sent elected representatives to the European Parliament.

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

Director(s):	Andrea Römmele
Researcher(s):	–
Duration:	2005-2005
Status:	Ongoing / Core

From a normative point of view, legitimate politics can only be achieved by incorporating citizens into the political process. This holds true for national democratic systems as well as the EU multilevel system. Does the European intermediary system achieve this goal, is there a European intermediary system connecting leaders and led? The planned project aims at looking at intermediary organizations (political parties and NGOs) and their communication behaviour in the EU. Do they offer information on European issues as well as chances for citizen participation? Communication across borders has not only been a topic of party and interest group research, but also of comparative communication research focusing on new information and communication technologies (new ICTs). New ICTs have the potential to radically reconfigure the state-citizen-relationship. Empirically, the research question is to be tackled by analysing organizational websites (quantitative content analysis and web-crawler).

B3: Democracy and Multi-Level Governance (Beate Kohler-Koch)

Research in this area is characterised by a high level of continuity and numerous activities. Both developments have been supported by the launch of CONNEX (B3.1), an EU funded "Network of Excellence" dedicated to the question of "Efficient and Democratic Governance in a Multi-Level Europe". The thematic focus has been built up on past research at the MZES and, in particular, on the DFG funded "Forschungsschwerpunkt" (Focussed Research Programme of the German Research Foundation) which has been coordinated by Beate Kohler-Koch and already dealt with the topic of "Governance in the EU". CONNEX has been initiated and is now coordinated by Beate Kohler-Koch (Network Coordinator) and Fabrice Larat (Network Manager). Research in CONNEX clusters around four broad questions: (1) What drives the institutional dynamics of EU governance? (2) How can democratic governance and accountability be institutionalised in a multi-level system? (3) How does EU governance affect interest intermediation, civic engagement and the democratic quality of governance? (4) How do new modes of EU governance contribute to the transformation of the European policy space? Apart from the numerous institutions which participate in CONNEX, close co-operation has been organised with other Networks of Excellence and Integrated Projects dealing with related research topics. In order to improve this co-operation and to provide easy access to research output, CONNEX has initiated an application to develop a joint internet portal (IconnectEU; B3.2). Though the chief aim of CONNEX is to advance the creation of a "European Research Area", it also has a positive effect on the integration of research within the MZES, both within and beyond Research Area 3 (see the overview attached to the introduction of Research Area B).

The main focus of research within Research Area B3 is on the development and performance of EU institutions and on state-society relations with a particular view on the Europeanisation of civil society and its democratic potential.

"Participatory governance" has been pushed by the European Commission in recent years and would, with the acceptance of the Constitutional Treaty, become a new constitutional principle. A controversial theoretical debate has started questioning the compatibility with the principle of representative democracy and investigating the feasibility of introducing mechanisms of participation and deliberation that would live up to the standards of normative democratic theory. This debate hardly ever relates to empirical evidence and, indeed, theory oriented empirical research is scarce. In Research Area 3 several projects aim to advance our knowledge concerning the likely contribution of civil society to efficient and democratic governance. The effects of the "co-operation regime" of the Commission will be explored both on the European and the national level: Does it contribute to the formation of a European intermediary political space, does it advance "civil society" engagement and enhance the responsiveness and accountability of public authorities (B3.3; B3.4)? To what degree do intermediary organisations facilitate communication across borders and decision-making levels, and what is the potential of new information and communication technologies (B3.5)? Since the EU is firmly embedded

in international regimes, another pertinent question is whether international co-operation influence state-society relations and privilege certain actors over others (B3.6). Each project is or will be incorporated in CONNEX and thus become part of a larger setting of international research co-operation.

The research on "civil society" involvement fits well with projects that explore the public image of the EU legitimacy (B3.7) take a close look at the constituting elements of representative democracy within the EU. A PhD project puts the supra-national character of the EU party system under scrutiny (B3.8) and a new project will explore the "contamination effects" between the different electoral arenas in the multi-level system of EU governance (3.9). Last, not least, research takes issue with the gradual expansion of the EP's competence. In the perspective of rationalist institutional theories the parliamentarisation of the EU and also the institutionalisation of human rights is a puzzle that needs explanation (B3.10).

Research on institutional performance and the choice of governance instruments is another focus in Research Area B3. What is determining the Commission's role and what is influencing the EU's choice of governance instruments in individual policy fields? Is the Commission an agent controlled by member states or an uncontrolled bureaucracy (B3.11)? How does the EU rate in policy performance and how important are external context conditions? This question is pursued in a comparative perspective (comparing EU and US trade policy formation) and in relation to the development of the international trade governance in the World Trade Organisation (B3.12). The importance of judicialisation for the deepening of international positive integration will be investigated in a follow-up project looking at the WTO (B3.13). Comparing the EU with other international institutions has also been an issue in the project on "Flexibility and Stability of International Negotiation Systems" (B3.14). It has confirmed the explanatory value of the constructivist approach and the often claimed relevance of "ideational entrepreneurs". In a follow-up project the concept shall be elaborated further and tested in a comparative analysis of international ratification campaigns (B3.15). Though the project on "Intergovernmental Negotiations" is dealing with quite a similar issue, it is based on a distinctly different theoretical approach using a behavioural exchange model (B3.16). A methodological interest is paramount in the projects on regional networks in EU rural development programmes (B3.17) and on institutional structures of European health care systems (B3.18).

Yet another approach and a quite different perspective is dominant in a collaborative project with lawyers and historians reflecting on the relevance of national memories for the legitimising discourse on European integration (B3.19). Despite its "speciality" this project constitutes a part of the research programme of RA 3, whereas historical research on the impact of the Comintern on the Western European Party System is – as it has been in the past – an associated project. The same applies to research collaboration with CASS, the Chinese Academy for the Social Sciences.

List of B3 Projects

	Title	Director(s)	Researcher(s)	Duration	Financing	Status	Core / Suppl.
B3.1	Network of Excellence on "Efficient and Democratic Governance in a Multi-level Europe" (CONNEX)	Beate Kohler-Koch; (Network Coordinator) Fabrice Larat (Network Manager)	Dirk De Bièvre, Jan van Deth, Andreas Dür, Barbara Finke, Nikola Jung, Wolfgang C. Müller, Christine Pütz, Sigrid Roßteutscher, Frank Schimmelfennig, Hermann Schmitt, Thomas Schneider, Susan Stewart, Andreas M. Wüst	2004-08	EU	On-going	Core
B3.2	Internet connected EU Research (IConnectEU)	Beate Kohler-Koch, Fabrice Larat	Thomas Schneider	2006-07	EU submitted	New	Suppl.
B3.3	Democratic Legitimacy via Civil Society Involvement? The Role of the European Commission	Beate Kohler-Koch	Barbara Finke, Kerstin Wilde, N.N.	2003-04 2006-08	DFG submitted	In preparation	Core
B3.4	Local Europe: Impact of EU Governance on Local Civil Society	Beate Kohler-Koch	Nikola Jung; N.N.	2003-04 2005-07	VW submitted	In preparation	Core
B3.5	The European Intermediary System	Andrea Römmele	N.N.	2006-08		New	Core
B3.6	State-Society Relations in European Trade Policy: The Civil Society Dialogue of the European Commission	Dirk De Bièvre, Andreas Dür	Dirk De Bièvre, Andreas Dür	2005-07		New	Suppl.
B3.7	The Prospects for EU Democracy After Eastern Enlargement	Hermann Schmitt	Hermann Schmitt, P. Matthew Loveless	2003-06	MZES	On-going	Core
B3.8	Party Group Cohesion in the European Parliament	Franz U. Pappi	Janina Thiem	2004-06	MZES	New	Suppl. / PhD
B3.9	Contamination Effects in Multi-Level Systems of Governance	Thomas Gschwend	Thomas Gschwend	2005-08		New	Suppl.

	Title	Director(s)	Researcher(s)	Duration	Financing	Status	Core / Suppl.
B3.10	Constitutional Politics in the European Union: Parliamentarization and the Institutionalization of Human Rights	Berthold Rittberger, Frank Schimmelfennig	Alexander Bürgin, Guido Schwellnus	2003-06	Thyssen	On-Going	Core
B3.11	The European Commission: Controlled Agent or uncontrolled Bureaucracy?	Franz U. Pappi	Arndt Wonka	2003-05	MZES	New	Suppl. / PhD
B3.12	The European Union in International Trade Governance (EU RTN: "Dynamics and Obstacles of European Governance")	Beate Kohler-Koch	Dirk De Bièvre, Andreas Dür	2002-05	EU	On-going	Core
B3.13	Governance in International Trade: Judicialisation and Positive Integration in the WTO	Dirk De Bièvre	Dirk De Bièvre	2005-08	VW	On-going	Core
B3.14	Flexibility and Stability of International Negotiation Systems	Beate Kohler-Koch	Christoph Humrich	2003-06	DFG	On-going	Core
B3.15	Intergovernmental Negotiations. Comparative Dynamic Simulations	Franz U. Pappi, Nicole J. Saam	Frank Arndt	2004-06	MZES	New	Suppl. / PhD
B3.16	The Importance of Regional Networks for the Success of EU Rural Development Programmes	Franz U. Pappi, Christian Melbeck	N.N.	2005-07	EU	New	Suppl.
B3.17	Institutional Structures of European Health Care Systems: An Institutional-Economic Typology	Peter Kotzian	Peter Kotzian	2004-06	DFG	On-going	Core
B3.18	Confronting Memories in the Process of European Integration	Fabrice Larat	Fabrice Larat	2005-07	VW	On-Going	Suppl.

3.1 Network of Excellence on "Efficient and Democratic Governance in a Multi-level Europe" (CONNEX)

Director(s):	Beate Kohler-Koch (Network Coordinator), Fabrice Larat (Network Manager)
Researcher(s):	Dirk De Bièvre, Jan van Deth, Andreas Dür, Barbara Finke, Nikola Jung, Wolfgang C. Müller, Christine Pütz, Sigrid Roßteutscher, Frank Schimmelfennig, Hermann Schmitt, Thomas Schneider, Susan Stewart, Andreas M. Wüst
Duration:	2004 - 2008
Status:	Ongoing / Core

CONNEX is a EU-funded "Network of Excellence" in the 6th Framework Programme for Research. Starting with July 2004, the MZES has taken the lead to integrate research all over Europe (with additional participation from the US) on "Efficient and Democratic Governance in a Multi-level Europe". Stocktaking of ongoing research and an efficient structure of communication is aimed to improve access to accumulated knowledge and provide the necessary infrastructure for intensified research co-operation. More than 170 scholars have joined the network coming from 43 partner institutions located in 23 European countries.

A joint programme of activities has been developed to integrate research in four main thematic areas for the coming years.

- Institutional architecture of multi-level governance,
- Enhancing democracy in European Governance,
- Gains and challenges of including civil society in multi-level governance,
- Flexibility of governance through new instruments.

Researchers from the MZES are engaged in four of the six CONNEX Research Groups, two of which are coordinated by Mannheim directly (RG 3 on *The citizens perception of accountability*, RG 4 on *Civil society and interest representation in EU-Governance*).

3.2 Internet Connected EU Research (IConnectEU)

Director(s):	Beate Kohler-Koch
Researcher(s):	Thomas Schneider
Duration:	2006 - 2007
Status:	New / Supplementary

The EU's growing interest in tackling its own democratic deficit and gaining support among Europe's citizens has prompted the Commission to provide funding to relevant research. Under the last and the present Framework Programmes several large scale research projects have been initiated with considerable thematic overlap. In order to gain transparency over on-going research, stimulate communication and the early exchange of research results, CONNEX has suggested to make use of modern technology.

CONNEX is member of a consortium gathering 8 projects of research cooperation on EU governance funded by the European Union under the 6th Framework Programme of Research. The consortium is coordinated by GESIS, Bonn. An application has been submitted under the 3rd call for proposal of FP 6 to develop a Specific Support Action. The overall objective is to develop, test, and institutionalise a joint internet portal. It will be a model for the efficient and easy access to the research outcomes from different sources all covering the thematic field of governance and democracy in the EU.

The immediate objective of IConnectEU is to create a generic infrastructure to store and to retrieve research results and on-going activities concerning EU governance and democracy, consisting of a software platform, a reference model for integrated dissemination, and guidelines on how to implement the infrastructure in different domains.

3.3 Democratic Legitimacy via Civil Society Involvement? The Role of the European Commission

Director(s):	Beate Kohler-Koch
Researcher(s):	Barbara Finke, Kerstin Wilde, N.N.
Duration:	2003 – 2004 2006 – 2008
Status:	In preparation (submitted) / Core

In the last ten years, the European Union, in particular the Commission, has intensified its efforts to include societal actors into EU politics for a number of reasons: to profit from the expert knowledge of societal actors, to improve policy implementation by paying tribute to the differentiated interests at the local level, and "to bring the Union closer to its citizens". The resulting interplay between EU institutions and societal actors is a mixed motive game: Partly it is an exchange relation trading improved problem-solving capacity (Commission) against influence (interest groups), partly it is a supply-demand situation to create a European political space that provides open access for national, transnational and European level societal actors and allows for direct communication and cooperation between EU institutions and such societal groups.

Over time, the Commission has developed a regime that governs its relations with "civil society actors" defining principles and norms of cooperation and fixing rules and procedures of interaction. The institutional arrangements and instruments employed by the Commission are not only framing its own relations with societal actors but also have an impact on the formation of the EU's intermediary political space: The institutional setting and procedural interventions affect the ideas of what constitutes a "legitimate" representative of (European) societal interests, affect the distribution of resources by opening access, giving voice and providing financial means to strengthen organisational capacities and political resonance.

In the research project we want to explore the Commission's "cooperation regime", its character and its effect on the formation of a European intermediary political space. This space embraces relations (1) between different EU institutions and intermediary associations of different types and levels of organization, (2) amongst intermediary associations at the European political level and (3) between associations directly involved in European politics and national or sub-national societal actors. We are, however, not just interested in the unfolding patterns as such but we take a specific normative perspective: We are interested in the "civil society" quality of this intermediary space. In our understanding, it is not so much the presence of numerous "public interest" associations representing a plurality of societal concerns but their contribution to the emergence of a European public sphere which, in turn, is expected to enhance the responsiveness and accountability of political authorities. The research at Mann-

heim will be supported by complementary research projects originating from CONNEX (Research Group 4 on "Civil Society and Interest Representation in EU-Governance").

3.4 Local Europe: Impact of EU Governance on Local Civil Society

Director(s):	Beate Kohler-Koch
Researcher(s):	Nikola Jung, N. N.
Duration:	2003 – 2004 2005 – 2007
Status:	In preparation (submitted) / Core

The project is intended to explore and explain the success (or failure) of the EU in strengthening Europe's civil society and participatory democracy. The focus will be on voluntary associations at the local level which are recipients of EU support, have been given voice in public discourse, offered access to policy formulation and implementation or have been endowed with rights of political or legal control. Strengthening voluntary associations in such a way is generally considered to advance civil society and a vibrant civil society is regarded as a necessary prerequisite of democracy. Contrary to the political jargon, we do not equate civil society with organisations but define civil society as a particular sphere and kind of social action: It is the sphere of social action which is distinct from the political, the economic and the private sphere and it is a particular kind of action which has four key characteristics: 1. self-organisation, 2. action in the public sphere, 3. peaceful engagement, 4. the (subjective) orientation towards the common weal. The study shall explore if and to what extent EU activities prompt local associations to change their behaviour in line with or against 'civic' features as specified above and whether or not they give the local associations a European dimension. EU activities meet a high variety of social spheres in the different regions of Europe, which will be accounted for by a comparative research design.

The project will benefit from the research just completed by Jan van Deth and Sigrid Roßteutscher on "Citizenship, Involvement, Democracy: An International Comparison both in theoretical and empirical terms. Their findings challenge general assumptions with regard to input variables for political engagement which are of particular interest for our research. Furthermore, we will be able to draw on the data of this international project and even continue the research cooperation with some of the partners. The project will also contribute to CONNEX (Research Group 5 on "Social Capital s Catalyst of Civic Engagement and Quality of Governance").

3.5 The European Intermediary System

Director(s):	Andrea Römmele
Researcher(s):	N.N.
Duration:	2006-2008
Status:	New / Core

From a normative point of view, legitimate politics can only be achieved by incorporating citizens into the political process. This holds true for national democratic systems as well as the EU multilevel system. Does the European intermediary system achieve this goal, is there a European intermediary system connecting leaders and led? The planned project aims at looking at intermediary organizations (political parties and NGOs) and their communication behaviour in the EU. Do they offer information on European issues as well as chances for citizen participation? Communication across borders has not only been a topic of party and interest group research, but also of comparative communication research focusing on new information and communication technologies (new ICTs). New ICTs have the potential to radically reconfigure the state-citizen-relationship. Empirically, the research question is to be tackled by analysing organizational websites (quantitative content analysis and web-crawler).

3.6 State – Society Relations in European Trade Policy: The Civil Society Dialogue of the European Commission

Director(s): Dirk De Bièvre, Andreas Dür
Researcher(s): Dirk De Bièvre, Andreas Dür
Duration: 2005 - 2007
Status: New / Supplementary

How does international cooperation affect state-society relations? In this project, we want to contribute to the analysis of this question by exploring the effects of increased liberalisation in the wake of the Uruguay Round agreements on interest group influence in the European Union. The increased liberalisation led to the mobilisation of new constituencies – businesses as well as 'public interest' organisations – voicing their concerns to public authorities. In response, the Directorate General for Trade of the European Commission created the so-called Civil Society Dialogue (CSD), giving access to hitherto excluded societal groups. Our project analyses whether this move reflects a strengthening or a weakening of public actors vis-à-vis societal groups.

3.7 The Prospects for EU Democracy After Eastern Enlargement

Director(s):	Hermann Schmitt
Researcher(s):	Hermann Schmitt, P. Matthew Loveless
Duration:	2003 - 2006
Status:	Ongoing / Core

The objective of this co-operative project is to engage in primary research in order to enhance our understanding of the legitimacy and the democratic quality of European Union government and to explore the possibilities and prospects for a more democratic and legitimate European Union in the near future. This objective shall be reached by (a) the development of a normative theoretical framework of legitimate democratic government, encompassing three basic dimensions: identity, representation and accountability, and performance; (b) an empirical evaluation by means of public opinion surveys and content analysis of the performance of the present European Union on each of these dimensions; and (c) an evaluation of the prospects for the EU on these three dimensions in light of enlargement. This project is a joint endeavour of five European institutes: the EUI in Florence (Stefano Bartolini); the Central European University in Budapest (Gabor Toka), the University of Twente (Jacques Thomassen); the University of Stuttgart (Dieter Fuchs); and the MZES (Hermann Schmitt) and is integrated in CONNEX (Research Group 3 on "The citizens perception of accountability"). The Mannheim part puts the focus on the organisation of the content analysis of front page news of the 2 major papers in 25 countries over the 4 weeks preceding the European Parliament elections in 2004; the organisation of the mass survey component of the study; and the writing-up and co-edition of a book reporting on the major findings of the study.

3.8 Party group cohesion in the European Parliament

Director(s): Franz U. Pappi
Researcher(s): Janina Thiem
Duration: 2004 – 2006
Status: New / Supplementary PhD

The party system of the European Parliament is widely considered as 'supranational'. This conceptualization is based on the structure of party competition which is organized along the ideological left-right dimension and not along national lines. The character of MEPs as agents responsible towards two parliamentary principals – their party group leader and the leader of their national delegation – is derived from this competition structure. Due to high levels of party group cohesion, the supranational character of the party system seems to hold empirically. Therefore, it is concluded that national interests in the European Parliament are dominated by the interests of transnational party groups.

My dissertation aims at reconsidering the predominant conceptualization of the European Parliament's supranational party system. This is necessary for at least two reasons. First, the multi-agent status of MEPs is analytically misleading as a party group cannot be considered independently from its constituting national delegations. The analytical separation of party group and national delegation leads to an overemphasis regarding the importance of transnational party groups. Second, the empirical picture of high levels of party group cohesion is based on roll call votes. As the roll call sample suffers from selection bias, analyses relying on this sample are likely to overestimate party group cohesion if the strategic decision to request a roll call is endogenous to high levels of party group cohesion.

Starting from these considerations, I will test if the high levels of party group cohesion hold true after taking into account the selection effects of the roll call sample. In this way, I hope to gain more valid insights in the nature of the European Parliament's party system.

3.9 Contamination Effects in Multi-Level Systems of Governance

Director(s):	Thomas Gschwend
Researcher(s):	Thomas Gschwend
Duration:	2005 - 2008
Status:	New / Supplementary

Most European democracies employ a multi-level system of governance. They provide several challenges and important opportunities for 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 have been 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 play 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 does offer voters various incentives to act strategically that 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 be also of interest to the media and public at large. From the experience of the hype a related forecasting model generated around the 2002 *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 system will be subsequently studied.

3.10 Constitutional Politics in the European Union: Parliamentarization and the Institutionalization of Human Rights

Director(s):	Berthold Rittberger, Frank Schimmelfennig
Researcher(s):	Alexander Bürgin, Guido Schweltnus
Duration:	2003 - 2006
Status:	Ongoing / Core

The project examines two central processes of constitutional politics in the European Union, which are neglected in research on European integration and constitute puzzles in the perspective of current rationalist theories of international institutions and integration: the gradual expansion of the competencies of the European Parliament and the increasing institutionalization of human rights at the European level. To explain these processes and their results, the project analyzes EU constitutional politics as strategic action in the context of an international community. In an international community, strategic actors act under the constraint to legitimize their behaviour on the basis of the values and norms that form the community ethos. As parliamentary democracy and liberal human rights are constitutive elements of the EU's community ethos, actors interested in strengthening EP rights and the codification of human rights in the EU were able to exert effective social influence on those actors, which opposed such steps.

3.11 The European Commission: Controlled Agent or Uncontrolled Bureaucracy?

Director(s): Franz U. Pappi
Researcher(s): Arndt Wonka
Duration: 2003 - 2005
Status: New / Supplementary PhD

For the last 50 years, the European Commission was commonly characterized as the European Union's (EU) "engine of integration", whose goals and interests are often at odds with those of the member states. Yet, the political nature of the EU has changed considerably during the last two decades. It is therefore doubtful whether the Commission's common and static characterization is adequate.

This research project aims to develop a better understanding of the European Commission by taking into account the changed nature of the political space in which the European Commission and the other EU institutions act. Analytically, the European Commission will be dealt with as a non-unitary actor. The focus of the research projects lies in the empirical analysis of the Commission's structural interconnectedness with the member states, by the latter's right of nominating a Commissioner each and by appointing the Commission as a whole. In addition, the analysis of decision-making processes inside the Commission shall inform us on how the member states' appointment of Commissioners affects politics and decision-making inside the Commission. EU scholars accumulated considerable knowledge on the politics of decision-making inside the European Parliament and the Council, which helped us to arrive at a better understanding of decision-making processes in the European Union and of the political system of the European Union as whole. However, we still have scant knowledge on the executive politics taking place in the European Commission. By producing such knowledge, the research project aims on the one hand to increase our understanding of the European Commission as one of the EU's most important institutions, but also about the politics of decision-making in the European Union and the nature of the political system of the European Union.

3.12 The European Union in International Trade Governance (EU RTN: "The Dynamics and Obstacles of European Governance")

Director(s):	Beate Kohler-Koch
Researcher(s):	Dirk de Bièvre, Andreas Dür
Duration:	2002 - 2005
Status:	Ongoing / Core

The project investigates the determinants of the EU's external policies in the field of international trade. It is conducted in the framework of the European Research and Training Network "Dynamics and Obstacles of European Governance" to which the MZES is a partner. Two researchers tackle the following two questions. First, how does the judicialisation of international trade governance in the World Trade Organization affect the European Union's choice of governance instrument to pursue its goals in trade policy and other areas of external public policy (Dirk de Bièvre)? Second, what characterises the institutional form of trade policy formation *within* the EU seen through a comparative perspective (Andreas Dür)? Both projects conceptualise the EU as a political system like any other, leading to the identification of different types of governance mechanisms. An important derivative of this perspective has been the identification of a high degree of delegation to supranational agents as a response to constituency interests with a stake in trade policy.

3.13 Governance in International Trade: Judicialisation and Positive Integration in the WTO

Director(s):	Dirk De Bièvre
Researcher(s):	Dirk De Bièvre
Duration:	2005 - 2008
Status:	Ongoing / Core

Positive integration among states, defined as the correction of negative externalities from liberalisation, is generally assumed to be very difficult to achieve on the European level, let alone on the international or global level. The political transaction costs of achieving positive integration legislation indeed seem daunting in an organisation such as the World Trade Organization (WTO), which operates under conditions of unanimity and has a membership of over 140 sovereign states. Yet, member states seem to have crossed the Rubicon: They have concluded a number of agreements that impose positive obligations to adopt new policy measures in fields traditionally restricted to the sovereign nation-state. There has been consistent political pressure to graft other, non-trade issues onto the WTO framework, i.e. to enlarge an organisation that formerly dealt exclusively with trade into a governance structure that also has regulatory competences in other areas of public policy.

WTO member states have indeed introduced the obligation to protect intellectual property rights internationally, and they have concluded agreements on health, on technical barriers to trade, and on investment – each of these being fields of public policy for which more specialised agencies within the United Nations system would seem to have been the more natural locus for such agreements. Further, there have been – hitherto unsuccessful – calls to bring labour rights, environmental standards, or competition policy under the jurisdiction of the WTO.

This raises the question: why and under which conditions is positive integration possible in the WTO? This research project seeks to formulate theoretically embedded hypotheses that answer this question. I argue that judicialisation – the presence of binding third party enforcement – makes every single WTO commitment more credible. Because judicialisation facilitates enforcement, it exerts force on political actors in the legislative arm of the organisation to bring positive integration issues under the jurisdiction of the WTO. The aim of the project is to explore the explanatory force of this general hypothesis in empirical cases of positive integration (intellectual property, health, technical barriers to trade, and investment) and to come to new theoretical and empirical insights about the sources of and conditions for international cooperation. The project thus aims to contribute to interdisciplinary research on judicialisation in international trade governance and the impact of judicialisation on the emergence of global governing structures.

3.14 Flexibility and Stability of International Negotiation Systems

Director(s):	Beate Kohler-Koch
Researcher(s):	Christoph Humrich
Duration:	2003 - 2006
Status:	Ongoing / Core

The project "Stability and Flexibility of International Negotiation Systems" is the last in a row of three. Research on these three projects has been conducted within the DFG-sponsored research group "Institutionalization of International Negotiation Systems" (IINS). Through three two-year phases the projects aimed at developing the so-called reflexive-institutionalist approach to institutionalized international negotiation systems, which emphasizes the role and characteristics of ideas, the processes of their production and diffusion as well as the institutional structures, which enable or impede these processes.

In the third phase the attention of the project was shifted to the question of institutional change and adaptation to environmental challenges. Based on shared cognitive constructs, which are reproduced in day-to-day routines, institutional arrangements may become inflexible. Research focused on those characteristics of institutions and ideas, which enable or impede change or adaptation – the institutional actors as ideational entrepreneurs being the most important factor here. In the case of European R&T ideational change became evident in the context of the European Council meeting in Lisbon in the year 2000. As a result of an evaluation of its former policies, the EU Commission advocated an intensification of European R&T with the notion of a European Research Area. In the phase of constitution the Commission had played a moderating and coordinating role. Now being authorized to take a more active lead, it effectively assumed the role of an ideational entrepreneur. The Commission's publication and persuasion strategy based on the notion of the European Research Area resulted in the latter's official endorsement at the Council meeting and enabled structural changes in the Commission's framework programmes – the main instrument of European R&T policy. The case study on 'good governance' revealed that the EU-ACP partnership can be seen as a less successful institutional arrangement also in this regard. Although the partnership was challenged by apparent lack of effectiveness it proved difficult to develop a new common and coherent approach.

An additional case study on institutional change in the ILO was conducted in this phase in order to complement the work by other projects in the research group. Threatened by declining interest in regulatory approaches to labour rights and increasing lag between the adoption and ratification of its conventions, the ILO successfully adapted its routine-workings in the mid-nineties. Centring round the notion of 'core labour standards' a completely new strategy was advocated and implemented.

The cases of the three projects revealed that the institutional actors (EU Commission and International Labour Office) engaged in at least quantitatively significant activities of ideational management, which followed discernable strategic patterns. Moreover, they initiated, managed

and/or endorsed broad processes of opinion-formation, which surrounded the negotiations. In short, as ideational entrepreneurs the institutional actors exerted influence without which the negotiation processes and outcomes cannot be properly explained or understood.

To make full use of the results of these case studies in regard to the question of stability and flexibility a closer comparison between the cases should be conducted in a follow-up. The comparison would focus on the crises or problems requiring adaptive change. In each case the crises and problems were framed in a particular manner by the institutional actors and incorporated in focal ideas containing the rationale for and direction of required change. In the case of EU Research and Technology policy too slow progress on the way of becoming the most innovative economic area of the world necessitated a new strategy. This strategy was based on the notion of the European Research Area. It was not framed as totally new approach, but as logical extension of former policies. By contrast, in the case of EU-ACP relation, "good governance" was the new focal idea, which broke rather completely with the former paradigm of developmental and trade partnership when it became clear that conditions in the ACP countries were not improving at all. The ILO changed course in its fundamental cooperation-political idea: The regulatory approach with the goal of generating legally binding conventions was abandoned in favour of the active promotion of core labour standards (which still included, but did not exclusively rely on the generation of conventions). The comparison will yield further insights in the functions of ideas for institutional change and the different ways in which institutional actors can become significant players in multi-level governance.

3.15 Intergovernmental Negotiations. Comparative Dynamic Simulations

Director(s):	Franz U. Pappi, Nicole J. Saam
Researcher(s):	Frank Arndt
Duration:	2004 - 2006
Status:	New / Supplementary PhD

Intergovernmental Conferences play an important part in the integration process of the European Union. They constitute the institutional framework for supranational coordination and mediate between various national interests. The question is: how are individual (governmental) preferences aggregated in the special situation of unanimity decision? One possibility is political exchange (logrolling), enabling the actors to express differences in their preference intensities and so increasing the mutual gain of negotiations. Aim of this project is to specify this convergence process in a behavioural exchange model.

In particular the project has three parts: (1) The goal of the first part is the theory driven development of a formal simulation model. Game theoretic concepts are applied to model processes at the actor level, including cooperative (e.g. exchange, coalition formation) and non-cooperative (e.g. risk taking behaviour) aspects of negotiations. Besides these basic interactions informal institutional structures may be accounted for. (2) In the second part the model is confronted with empirical data. Using the data set on the Amsterdam Intergovernmental Conference 1996/97 the predictive power of the exchange model is tested. (3) In the third part further hypotheses on negotiation processes can be tested in simulation experiments. One possible question could be, which factors influence the risk taking behaviour of the actors to persist on their preferred bargaining position.

3.16 The Importance of Regional Networks for the Success of EU Rural Development Programmes

Director(s):	Franz U. Pappi, Christian Melbeck
Researcher:	N.N.
Duration:	2005 - 2007
Status:	New / Supplementary

With this project we want to find out which characteristics of regional networks influence the effectiveness of rural development projects of the EU. This project shall be part of a specific targeted research project of the EU directed by the Institute of Agricultural Economics of the University of Kiel. Thus we get access to indicators developed by other participating institutes on the effectiveness of concrete programs in their respective regions. In addition, the institutes from Poland and Slovakia will gather the necessary network data in their own projects.

The overall project aims at the development and application of advanced quantitative methods to ex-ante und ex-post evaluations of rural development programs in the EU. For this purpose, the participating institutes have to design and estimate econometrically an aggregate measure of the quality of life in rural areas (at local and regional levels). Besides the Kiel Institute agricultural economists from the universities of Bonn, Bratislava, Leeds, Warsaw and the Polish Academy of Sciences will participate. In addition, we shall collaborate with sociologists from the University of Utrecht who are also experts in network analysis.

3.17 Institutional Structures of European Health Care Systems: An Institutional-Economic Typology

Director(s):	Peter Kotzian
Researcher(s):	Peter Kotzian
Duration:	2004 - 2006
Status:	Ongoing / Core

It is assumed, for theoretical reasons as well as empirical findings, that the institutional setting is a major determinant of a health system's performance, resource consumption and output. Health systems differ extremely in the way the provision of health care is organized. For a comparative analysis of the impact of the institutional structures of health care systems, this raises the problem of high institutional variation in many features, leading to the small-n problem. Further, comparable institutional information on health systems is scarce and the number of health systems, for which institutional information is available all, is limited.

Based on the approach of 'theory guided comparisons', the project chooses the institutional economics approach, in particular the agency-relationship approach, as a basis for the selection of features on which the comparison is based. Health care systems can be seen as networks of delegation relationships, in which medical and organizational tasks are delegated to agents. The basic assumption is, that the organization of these delegation relationship determines the health system's performance. Aim of the project is the collection of institutional information on European health systems. As a first step, an 'inventory' of potential delegation relationships and possible control mechanisms in health care shall be developed, which will be applicable to all health systems. In a second step, the inventory will be completed for the health systems of the EU member states by way of expert interviews and reviewing existing case-study literature.

This compilation of immediately comparable institutional data on health systems will be analyzed with regard to similarities among health systems, using data-reducing methods in order to identify types and 'institutional syndromes'. The data can also be used for further research, for instance on the impact of the institutional setting on the performance of health systems.

3.18 Confronting memories in the Process of European Integration

Director(s): Fabrice Larat
Researcher(s): Fabrice Larat
Duration: 2005 - 2007
Status: Ongoing / Supplementary

The project is a follow-up of the project on "The Constitutionalisation of Europe in the Shadow of the Past" elaborated in collaboration with Christian Joerges, EUI and Hans-Dieter Grimm, Humboldt University and Institute of Advanced Studies, Berlin. The first project resulted, among others, in a special issue of the German Law Journal "European Bitter Experiences and the Constitutionalisation Process" with contributions by Fabrice Larat and Stefan Seidendorf.

The focus of the second, equally interdisciplinary project will be on the relevance of "national memories" and the redrafting of the past for the legitimising discourse on European integration and the accession of new members. The second project will take a longer time horizon and include more countries in the comparison. It aims at being more comprehensive in analysing the effects confronting memories have and have had on reasoning in favour of specific models of constitutionalising European cooperation and integration.

B4: Democracy and Conflict Regulation (Egbert Jahn)

The new research area can build on the work which has taken place at the MZES in past years on the analysis of nation- and state-building, nationalism and national movements (Sahm 1999, Stewart 2005; Jahn 1999, 2004, 2005) as well as on reintegration in Eastern Europe and pan-European integration (Jahn 1996, 2004, Bieniek 2005, Weichsel 2005, Peter 2005) within the framework of the research area "The Development of a European Regional System". A research project on "International Management of Ethno-national Conflicts in Eastern Europe" (Stewart) paved the way for the new research area, in which the proposed projects "International Support for Democratization Processes in Central and Eastern Europe: The NGO Sector" and "Authoritarian Integration or Democratic Co-operation? The Caucasus between Brussels and Moscow", which are currently being evaluated by the Volkswagen-Stiftung, can be integrated. Further projects on the South Caucasus and the Balkans are planned; these will be conducted in part in the relevant region and therefore outside the MZES. These external projects will, however, be coordinated via MZES research colloquia and workshops.

The goal of the new research area is to move from the analysis of intra- and interstate conflict conducted during the past decade to the analysis of approaches and possibilities related to conflict transformation, conflict management, conflict regulation and peace-building. Since democracy is a form of rule which not only approves of moderate, peaceful conflict, but actually institutionalizes it, it is especially suitable for the facilitation of conflict regulation. But non-democratic forms of rule are also capable of regulating conflict under certain circumstances. This raises the question of the degree to which conflict regulation and peace-building measures must be identical to the promotion of democratization. Especially since the Agenda for Peace elaborated by the UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali and the Dayton peace agreement it has become increasingly clear that the international community cannot allow itself to be content with peace treaties ending civil and interstate wars, but must be concerned with substantive peace-building and initiate or support national peace-building measures. For this purpose specially trained "peace-builders" are needed, who receive their training in newly created courses and centres. In addition to national and civil society organizations within the countries, international governmental and non-governmental organizations also participate in the peace-building efforts. Conflict regulation and peace-building thus is closely related to processes of state- and nation-building.

A fundamental distinction is made between peace-building to prevent war in zones of militant conflict escalation and the same process for the purpose of post-war conflict regulation. In the former case the polarization of the conflict parties and the division and enmity within the society are often not yet very advanced, there are still strong forces which are either interested in preventing war or politically indifferent, and these can be won over to the cause of active peace-building. In the latter case it is necessary to systematically overcome established patterns of conflict confrontation, which is characterized by the bitter experiences of large segments of society with war, genocide and massive political violence. In this case there must

be much more work in the field of practical cooperation and long-term reconciliation of those actors involved in war and genocide who have begun to understand the hopelessness of their maximum goals and do not see any real sense in continuing or renewing violent forms of conflict.

Previous studies on successful and failed conflict regulation and peace-building activities in numerous countries such as Mozambique, East Timor, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kosovo, Georgia (Ropwars 1995, Calic 1997, Theuermann 1999, Dedashti 2000, Pötner 2000, Stedman et al. 2002, Chesterman 2002, Ferdowski/Matthies 2003, Hippler 2004) have shown that the four abovementioned actor groups (governmental and non-governmental, national and multinational) fulfil in part complementary functions, but are also to some extent in detrimental competition with one another. Here one must distinguish between various task areas, in which one or another group of actors can enjoy particular success or failure. The often inadequate training level of the individuals involved in peace-building has proved, along with insufficient coordination of the optimal selection of actors, a further handicap of numerous missions engaged in international and European peace-building.

For the research at the MZES two European regions, the Balkans and the Caucasus, have been selected because of their extraordinarily high degree of ethnic diversity and national division as well as the presence of numerous small states. These features have in their previous history made them into zones of increased violence with a tendency toward war, but also, and simultaneously, into an object of great power competition. In very different ways they have since 1990 been zones of intrastate, societal and interstate competition between Brussels (EU, NATO) and Moscow (Russia, CIS). While the Balkan states can count on probable accession to the EU and NATO in the long term after successful peace-building, the development of secure state borders and of ethno-national minority rights and a democratic and market economic order, the states of the South Caucasus will probably belong for an extended period to the EU-periphery (like Belarus, Ukraine and the northwest regions of Russia), even after the potential accession of Turkey to the EU. This periphery is to be structurally developed in socioeconomic and political terms via the EU Neighbourhood Policy in order to avoid the emergence of a rigid new politico-economic West-East border. On the other hand the South Caucasus has received a key role in the realm of international energy policy, partly as a transit region and partly as an area of fuel extraction. Therefore one should expect differing levels of engagement from European peace-building policy in the Balkans and the Caucasus, and with reversed priority from US peace-building policy as well. In the projects conducted within the research area we intend to systematically describe and analyze the previous international and regional experiences in the two regions of conflict transformation, conflict regulation and peace-building, to discover potential approaches for future peace missions and on this basis to develop criteria for the evaluation of the prospects for success of potential peace-building measures in the violence- and war-prone zones of the Balkans and the South Caucasus. The projects are based on theoretical approaches on ethnic or ethno-national conflicts (e.g. Horowitz, Smith, Jahn), on conflict management (Ropers, Dedashti), conflict regulation (Dahrendorf, Drews) and peace-building (Lederach, Matthies).

The research will be organized in the form of a regular exchange of ideas between the internal and external members of the project group in a Mannheim research colloquium, occasional workshops with the external associates and other relevant colleagues, as well as through the intensive use of communication via the Internet.

Currently the following projects are foreseen within the research area:

1. Egbert Jahn, Wiebke Bachmann, Aytan Gahramanova: "Authoritarian Integration or Democratic Co-operation? The Caucasus between Brussels and Moscow" (proposal submitted to the VW-Stiftung, in addition start-up funding requested for one researcher from 1 July 2005)

The project will include external studies on the political systems of Georgia (Ilja Marjanidze), Armenia (N.N.), Azerbaijan (Aser Babajew, doctoral stipend starting on 1 April 2005; Zuleiha Mailzadeh)

2. Susan Stewart, Egbert Jahn: "International Support for Democratization Processes in Central and Eastern Europe: The NGO Sector" (proposal submitted to the VW-Stiftung)

3. Egbert Jahn, Andrijana Preuss: "European and other International Peace-building Activities in Bosnia-Herzegovina" (MZES-start-up funding requested from 1 July 2005). The project will be connected with dissertation projects of Mario Dragicevic and of Bastian Veigel on the United Nations Mission in Kosovo.

I am currently using MZES funds for the project conducted by Dr. Susan Stewart (1 May 2004 - 31 July 2005). For the period from 1 July 2005 through 31 December 2006 I would like to apply for start-up funding for one half-time position each for the projects to be carried out by Ms. Andrijana Preuss and Ms. Aytan Gahramanova.

List of B4 Projects

	Title	Director(s)	Researcher(s)	Duration	Financing	Status	Core / Suppl.
B4.1	Authoritarian Integration or Democratic Co-operation? The Caucasus between Brussels and Moscow	Egbert Jahn	Wiebke Bachmann, Aytan Gahramanova, N.N.	2005-07	VW sub- mitted	In prep- aration	Core
B4.2	International Support for Democratization Processes in Central and Eastern Europe: The NGO Sector	Susan Stewart, Egbert Jahn	Susan Stewart, N.N.	2004-07	VW sub- mitted	In prep- aration	Core
B4.3	European and Other International Peace-building Activities in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in Kosovo	Egbert Jahn	Andrijana Preuss, Mario Dragicevic, Bastian Veigel	2005-07	Deutsche Stiftung Friedens- forschung	New	Core

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

Director(s): Egbert Jahn
Researcher(s): Wiebke Bachmann, Aytan Gahramanova, N.N.
Duration: 2003-2007
Status: In preparation (submitted)

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

Based on research results about co-operation and integration on the territory of the former Soviet Union we put forward the assumption that an orientation towards the West accelerates and stabilises democratisation, while orientation towards Russia influences transformation processes in a way impeding democracy. All three Caucasian states adopted democratic constitutions after the Soviet breakdown. However, their further development points to the opposite of the abovementioned empirical results: co-operation with the West combines with authoritarian presidentialism in Azerbaijan and to a lesser extent and for some time in Georgia, while closeness to Russia at the least does not preclude the consolidation of certain democratic features in Armenia.

4.2 International Support for Democratization Processes in Central and Eastern Europe: The NGO Sector

Director(s): Susan Stewart, Egbert Jahn
Researcher(s): Susan Stewart, N.N.
Duration: 2004-2007
Status: In preparation (submitted)

Intensive examination of developments in the ongoing "third wave" (Samuel Huntington) of democratization has resulted in the crystallization of much of the research agenda around the question of differing trajectories. Why, it is asked, are some states relatively successful in making the transition to an increasingly consolidated democracy, while others have achieved only an incomplete transition or even appear to be sliding (back) into authoritarianism? This study attempts a partial answer to this question in the Central and Eastern European context with regard to one particular arena of democratization processes: the NGO sphere, with special attention paid to the role of external funders. We explore the extent to which this sphere has developed differently in the various countries and inquire into the reasons behind these differences. Furthermore, we specifically investigate the importance of external actors for developments in the NGO sector and therefore for democratization processes. Through the selection of countries and external actors to be analyzed, we pursue the hypothesis that EU-proximate countries have an NGO sector more capable of contributing to the consolidation of democracy than those further removed from the EU accession process. The project thus explores two of the issues highlighted by research on transition in Central and Eastern Europe in recent years: the role of civil society (here in the form of the NGO sector) and the impact of the international dimension.

4.3 European and Other International Peace-building Activities in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in Kosovo

Director(s): Egbert Jahn
Researcher(s): Andrijana Preuss, Mario Dragicevic, Bastian Veigel
Duration: 2005-2007
Status: New

The conditions under which peace-building projects are successful are still poorly researched. Among other things, the (federal) structure of a post-war state, as it is established in peace negotiations, forms the framework for peace-building. We therefore intend to investigate the question of how the separation of conflict parties within a federal system influences peace-building. The case of Bosnia and Herzegovina, due to its unusual state structure, makes it possible to compare the influence of differing degrees of separation on peace-building. For this purpose we will not only compare the success of peace-building measures in ethnically homogenous areas with that of such measures in ethnically heterogeneous areas, but will also consider the different degrees of autonomy enjoyed by these areas.

Associated Projects

	Title	Director(s)	Researcher(s)	Duration	Financing	Status	Core / Suppl.
B-A1	The impact of the Comintern on the Western European Party System	Hermann Weber			Ministry of the Interior	On-going	Suppl.
B-A2	<i>Cooperation with the Institute for European Studies, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences: The European Model and the World</i>	Beate Kohler-Koch	Bernhard Ebbinghaus, Fabrice Larat, Manuela Spindler	2006-08	EU-submitted	On-going	Suppl.

B-A1: The Impact of the Comintern on the Western European Party System

Director(s): Hermann Weber
 Researcher(s): Bernhard Bayerlein
 Duration: 1999 - 2006
 Status: Ongoing / Supplementary

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

The relationship toward Germany was given the highest priority within the Comintern as well as in the KPdSU. This is not only illustrated by the fact that the leaders of the German communist parties had private correspondence with Stalin, now published by Hermann Weber and Bernhard Bayerlein.

The expansion of the project by the German-Russian Historians Commission (financed by the Ministry of the Interior, Berlin) and its extension (from 2004 to 2006) allows for the publication of a book on "The End of the Communist International" on the Stalin-Hitler-Pact and its consequences for the overall research question in autumn 2005. A substantial publication on the project as a whole is planned for 2006 which will then also include Russian historians.

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

B-A2: Cooperation with the Institute for European Studies, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences: The European Model and the World

Director(s): Beate Kohler-Koch
Researcher(s): Bernhard Ebbinghaus, Fabrice Larat, Manuela Spindler
Duration: 2006 - 2008
Status: Ongoing / Supplementary

Within the framework of the EU-China European Studies Centres Programme, MZES scholars will continue their cooperation with the Institute for European Studies of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Peking. The forthcoming project will focus on the European Union as a model of regional integration and the impact of Europe's economic and political integration on world affairs.