



**UNIVERSITÉ
DE GENÈVE**

FACULTÉ DES SCIENCES
ÉCONOMIQUES ET SOCIALES
Département de science politique

Séminaire du Staff

Mardi 12h15-14h00, salle M 4276

Programme du semestre de printemps 2010

16 février, salle M 4276

Edwin Amenta (University of California, Irvine)

Discussant: Marco Giugni

Titre: Political Reform and Movement Persistence: Explaining the Historical Trajectories of U.S. Movements in the Twentieth Century

Résumé: Scholarship on social movements is limited because its theories are typically tested against data concerning only one movement or organization over brief periods. Here we address this shortcoming by appraising the major theories of movements on all major U.S. movements across the twentieth century regarding their coverage in the newspaper, which is correlated with measures of movement size and activity typically used by scholars. We also propose a political reform theory, a political and historical institutionalist argument holding that shifts in political structures, major partisan realignments, and dramatic policy changes influence movements and alter their struggles. We appraise this argument against the major macro perspectives in social movement theory, including resource mobilization, new social movement, and political process/protest cycle models, as well as controls that address newspaper effects. In examining approximately one-half million article mentions from two major national newspapers, the New York Times and the Washington Post, for more than 1200 U.S. SMOs in 34 SMO families over 100 years, we find some support for each theory, but that political reform theory best explains patterns in coverage. We discuss the implications of our arguments and findings for further research.

2 mars, attention, changement de salle: MS 030

Damian Raess (Université de Genève)

Discussant: Lucio Baccaro, Département de sociologie, Université de Genève

Titre: Small vs. Large? Economic Globalization and Institutional Change in Wage Bargaining in Germany

Résumé: This paper investigates the adjustment of wage bargaining institutions to economic globalization in Germany. International trade and investment, we argue, have destabilizing effects for industry-wide bargaining by sparking a

cleavage between *domestic-oriented* enterprises on the one hand and *export-dependent* firms on the other. Specifically, we explain how such globalization decreases aggregate collective bargaining coverage by *reducing* incidence of following collective bargaining agreements among *domestic-oriented enterprises*. We also explain how work-place employee representation through works councils mitigates this effect, such that the presence of *works councils* helps domestic-oriented firms to hold to collective bargaining agreements in the face of globalization. These claims find empirical support in the history of labor-relations developments in the metal industry since the early 1980s, and in extensive analysis of a 2002 cross-section of enterprises. The findings attribute major responsibility to the firms driving the globalization trend for (indirectly) undermining traditional bargaining institutions, and suggest an insider-outsider trade-off by organized labor under economic openness.

16 mars, salle M 4276

Manuel Fischer (Université de Genève)

Discussant: Sarah Nicolet

Titre: Explaining decision-making structures in Swiss politics: A combination of SNA and QCA

Résumé: My paper explains different decision-making structures in Swiss politics. Therefore, I compare 11 of the most important decision-making processes between 2001 and 2006. Decision-making structures describe the relations between collective actors collaborating and fighting for influence in a policy network. They have important consequences on the policy output and consist of mainly two dimensions, which are power and conflict. For the explanation of these dimensions of decision-making structures, the paper will rely on factors such as the degree of Europeanization, of mediatization, or the amount to which institutional factors such as federalism, the pre-parliamentary phase or direct democracy play a role. These theoretical factors postulate mechanisms from which the literature, for each of the factors alone, developed a number of hypotheses. However, I assume that these different factors interact with each other when they influence the decision-making structure. The analysis will rely on an innovative integration of two methods. In a first step, I rely on Social Network Analysis to describe the dimensions of decision-making structures. In a second step, in order to detect the different combinations of causes which lead to different structures, the 11 cases are compared by a Qualitative-Comparative Analysis (QCA).

30 mars, salle M 4276

Denise Traber (Université de Genève)

Discussant: Frédéric Varone

Titre: Winners and losers in Swiss legislative decision-making. The role of institutions and power

Résumé: This paper investigates the determinants of preference attainment in Swiss policy-making. It distinguishes between institution-specific and actor-specific factors. More specifically, it examines the impact of participation and reputation and hypothesizes that both have a considerable impact on an actor's ability to get the outcome he desires. The analysis is based on data for 11 legislative processes in various policy domains. The hypotheses are tested in several multi-level models which indicate that neither reputation nor participation have a direct effect on preference attainment. However, a strong interaction effect was found: actors with high reputation who are at the same time highly involved in the decision-making processes appear to be the most successful.

13 avril, salle M 4276

Daniel Sabbagh (Centre d'études et de recherches internationales, Sciences Po / CERI)

Discussant: Matteo Gianni

Titre: The Rise of Indirect Affirmative Action: New Strategies for Promoting "Diversity" in Selective Institutions of Higher Education in the United States and France

20 avril, salle M 4276

Simon Anderfuhren-Biget (Université de Genève)

Discussant: Simon Hug

Titre: Profiles of public service committed civil servants: Social antecedents of public service motivation in a multicultural setting

Résumé: Taking into account the will to "bring back in society" into motivation theory (Perry 2000), this study tests several social antecedents of Public Service Motivation (PSM).

Drawing upon social capital theory, we develop a framework into which organizational membership (political parties, trade union and professional organizations) and civic behaviours (democratic participation, volunteering, etc.) can be considered as antecedent of PSM. PSM is a multidimensional construct

defined as: "the belief, values and attitudes that go beyond self interest and organizational interest, that concern the interest of a larger political entity and that motivate individuals to act accordingly whenever appropriate" (Vandenabeele 2007a: 547). Attraction to politics and policy making, Commitment to the public interest, Compassion and Self-Sacrifice are the four dimensions constituting the construct.

Furthermore, because preliminary results shows that the linguistic cleavage do have impact on the mean level of the dimensions measured in Switzerland (Giauque, Ritz et al. 2010), the difference between German and French speaking respondents will be further investigated.

On the basis of a sample of 3'754 Swiss's public employees from the German (79%) and the French (21%) part of Switzerland corresponding roughly to the reality of Switzerland our results of descriptive statistics and regression analysis show that: (1) Antecedents of PSM are different depending on the dimension analysed. (2) The linguistic cleavage does have an impact on the configuration of the social antecedents of those highly public service committed civil servants. (3) Social antecedents can be considered as important predictors particularly for the "Attraction to policy making" and "Commitment to the public interest" dimensions of PSM. This article largely confirms previous studies and call for a cultural analysis, as well as investigations of the antecedents of PSM at the dimensional level.

27 avril, salle M 4276

Matteo Gianni (Université de Genève)

Discussant: Laurent Tischler

***Titre:* Banning Minarets, (Mis)recognizing Muslims ? An assessment of the public philosophy of integration in Switzerland**

Résumé: On 28 November 2009, Swiss citizens accepted the constitutional ban on the construction of new minarets. The analysis of the representations involved in the campaign shows that the debate on minarets has followed a metonymic logic: starting from the particular detail of the meaning of minarets it has led to very broad considerations on Islam, such its (assumed) lack of potential to fit with democracy or the risks of islamization and radicalism. At the level of social representations, such a trend broadly follows the same logic in other European where, as in Switzerland, the public debate on Muslims is, since half a decade, increasingly structured by narratives which construct Islam in terms of fear, distrust, hostility and otherness. What is nonetheless new and politically relevant about the Swiss case is that the dominant social representations have led, through direct democracy, to an actual legal and political act, namely the constitutional restriction of citizenship civil rights in the name of the protection of democratic principles and common values. In this paper I argue that the vote on minarets can be seen as the most visible requirement of assimilation required to Muslims. The peculiarity of this type of assimilation is to favour a conception of integration seen as entailing the mere adaptation (or normalization) to common

democratic and liberal norms. Such a view precludes the opportunity to symbolically and politically value a conception of integration conceived as an intersubjective process of negotiation of principles and values of common belonging - a processual conception of integration which is part of the Swiss political and institutional culture (i.e. what is usually termed consensus democracy). The main goal of the paper is to discuss some normative implications of such a public philosophy of integration.

11 mai, salle M 4276

Stephanie Hofmann (Institut de Hautes Etudes Internationales et du Développement, Genève)

Discussant: Stephan Davidshofer

Titre: One Foot in the Door: Regime Complexity in European Security

Résumé: Institutional overlap can create consequential inefficiencies. The densely institutionalized policy space of crisis management, for instance, is highly politicized in terms of membership, mandate and resources. The politics of crisis management in situations of institutional overlap are often characterized by blocked cooperation, long delays in sending troops, wasted resources and the absence of strategic dialogue. Because of these inefficiencies on the political level and on the ground, civilian and soldiers' lives are put at risk in crisis areas. This holds especially true in the European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP) overlap with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). The paper sets out to explain why we observe current inefficiencies of crisis management coming from ESDP and NATO. Asked otherwise, what impact does the shared institutionalized space have on the operation of these organizations? I argue that different institutional positions are instrumentalized by member states. The heterogeneity of preferences and institutional positions can result in inefficient institutional outcomes.

18 mai, salle M 4276

Amal Tawfik / Pascal Sciarini / Eugène Horber (Université de Genève)

Discussant: Alessandro Nai

Titre: The impact of age and gender on political participation: A longitudinal analysis of actual voter turnout

Résumé: Based on a novel and exceptional data-set of actual, individual turnout we highlight the separate and joint impact of age and gender on political participation in a dynamic perspective. Our data-set covers twelve years (1996-2007) and 58 elections or popular votes held at one of the three state levels (national, cantonal and communal) in the canton of Geneva, Switzerland. As each

citizen is identified through a – anonymized – numeric code we are able to model the participation trajectories over our twelve years period. This, together with the inclusion of additional control variables (e.g. marital status), helps us to disentangle the various age effects (generational, life cycle, ageing). Similarly, we also look at how the gender gap evolves over time and whether it is due to compositional effects. Methodologically, we innovate by resorting to hierarchical growth models, where citizens are on the one hand defined by their level-two, inter-individual characteristics (i.e. sex, age, marital status, residence duration) at the outset of the study in 1996, and on the other hand classified with respect to the level-one, intra-individual variables, namely to the temporal dimension.