

UNIVERSITY OF SIENA
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORICAL, JURIDICAL, POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCES



Annual Report

2008

CIRCaP

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Presentation

In the course of its 12th year, the Centre has continued to work towards goals that have characterized it since it was first founded: the development of broad empirical research, carried out with a notable receptiveness to international collaborations and an intensive, selective, and rigorous post-graduate teaching programme designed for both foreign and Italian students.

Beyond its specific and numerous activities, the central concern of the Center was to contribute to the creation of a “research community” around which different generations of students, from the most senior professors to Masters and PhD students, could meet in a fruitful exchange of research and comradery.

This report documents the principal activities that were carried out in the Center in 2008.

The Director

I. Research

Despite most of the center's research being concentrated on these large substantial European projects, a considerable amount of research was also dedicated to a series of international and domestic ones.

European Projects

“Integrated and United? A Quest for Citizenship in an Ever Closer Europe”

Financed by the European Union within the scope of the 6th Framework Program.

Coordinators: Maurizio Cotta and Pierangelo Isernia

The IntUne project is one of the few Integrated Projects on the theme of *Citizenship* financed by the European Union within the scope of the 6th Framework Program. IntUne is a four year project which officially started on the 1st of September 2005 and is coordinated by the University of Siena via the CIRCaP center. It involves 29 European Institutions and over 100 scholars across Central and Western Europe.

Its geographical and disciplinary integrating capacity as well as the joint effort of many scholars and practitioners specialized in different fields (political science, sociology, public policy, media, linguistics and socio-psychology) clearly represent a step forward in the strengthening of the European Research Area in social sciences and humanities in general. Along with the two main project coordinators, Prof Paolo Bellucci, Nicolo Conti and Prof Luca Verzichelli also played an important role managing some of the working groups and undertaking the project management itself.

IntUne aims at studying the changes in the scope, nature and characteristics of citizenship that result from the deepening and enlargement processes of the European Union. Now that the EU is facing an important number of challenges, and given that its democratic capacities and legitimacy are questioned, it is important to address the issue of *if* and *how* EU citizenship is emerging. The project focuses on how processes of integration or disintegration, at both the national and European level, affect three major dimensions of citizenship: identity, representation and scope of good governance. Problems of citizenship will be addressed under this threefold approach by looking at the relationship between both the public and elites and between European and domestic dimensions of political life.

From this primary question stem three further sets of questions representing the building-blocks of this research:

- In what way does a particular kind of political structure (the EU) shape citizenship? In such a complex system, how do/can different identities coexist?
- What sense of obligation is the EU citizenship developing? How do coexisting identities affect the relationship between elites and the public?
- What are citizens and Elites expecting from the EU as a level of European government?

2008 Activities:

All the research activities that took place for the project this year are listed (along with their main objectives and results) in the following set of work packages below:

Integrated Theoretical Framework:

The objective for this part of the research was to produce a theoretical review of the literature on relationship between the mass, elites, experts and the media regarding the activities of producing and reproducing identity, the mechanisms of representation and the functions of governance. Moreover, we provide the project with an integrated theoretical framework for the different levels of analysis.

A series of conferences were organised, or included the participation of some members of the project, in order to discuss the preliminary results of the analysis. Among these was the IntUne conference held in Granada (May 8-11) and the panel that was present at the annual conference of the American Political Science Association (August 26-30).

The results of the analyses conducted in this part of the research will be compiled in the following volumes of the next publication by Oxford University Press: *National Identity and European Identity*, edited by Bettina Westle e Paolo Segatti *Political Representation in the European Union: Mass-Elite Congruence Regarding Matters of Identity, Polity, and Policy*, edited by Hermann Schmitt e Lieven De Winter.

Secondary Analysis of the surveys and addition to the project "Beliefs in Government (BiG)"

A key phase in the project, prior to conducting the original analysis of public opinion, concerns the secondary analysis of a vast collection of data gathered through numerous projects and institutions, among which are Eurobarometer, the World Value Survey, BiG, ESS and ISSP, and others related to the political orientation of the European public.

The results of this analysis will be compiled in the forthcoming volume of *Citizens and the European Polity: Mass Attitudes Towards the European and National Polities*, **edited by** David Sanders, Pedro Magalhães, André Freire, and Gábor Tóka, also put out by Oxford University Press.

Mass Survey

The mass survey aims to analyze the impact of European integration on the political culture of its citizens. A particular emphasis is placed on the political support of citizens with reference to the problems of identity, representation, and levels of government. Throughout the course of 2008, the principle objective of this part of the research was

to empirically test the project's theoretical framework on the data from the first wave of the survey, which was conducted in 17 countries in 2007. A series of research reports were produced which were presented on various occasions at conferences both internal and external to the project, among which was the IntUne conference in Lisbon (November 27-30).

Elites Survey

The primary goal of the survey conducted on the national elite is to highlight the perceptions and visions of the EU of this particular portion of the population.

Over the course of 2008, the principal objective of this part of the research was to empirically test the project's theoretical framework on the data from the first wave of the survey, which was conducted in 17 countries in 2007. A series of research reports were produced which were presented on various occasions at conferences both internal and external to the project, among which was the IntUne conference in Lisbon (November 27-30).

Furthermore, the results of the analysis will be compiled in the next published volume of *The Europe of Elites. A Study into the Europeanness of Europe's Economic and Political Elites*, edited by Heinrich Best, Daniel Gaxie, György Lengyel, Oxford University Press.

Government and Party data Collection

The aim of this part of the research is to analyze the attitudes of national parties towards the EU and their specific preferences regarding the process of European integration. This study was conducted through a content analysis of a large number of official party documents, gathered specifically for this analysis.

In 2008, some of the results made their way into articles published in national and scientific journals.

Network and Elites Career Analysis

The main objective of this analysis is to understand: 1) if and to what extent the most specialized national political elites are involved and organized within the European network; 2) if a new model of the European political career is emerging in connection with the EU's system of multi-level governance.

To this end, a remarkable mass of data was gathered on the profiles and careers of the national political elites in 17 European countries. Over the course of 2008, the main results were presented in some conferences, among which was the IntUne conference in Granada (May 8-11). They were also compiled in a report and submitted in the form of an article to an international scientific journal.

Deliberative Polling

The experiences of deliberative polling which are organized by the project have as their main objective the elaboration of new forms of popular participation in decisional processes of the government. After the experience in Torino in 2007, the first of its kind in Italy, in 2008 an analogous initiative was organized in Kaposvár (Hungary). The results of the two research experiences were presented in the form of articles published in national scientific journals.

Media Analysis

This part of the research consists of compiling, codifying, and analyzing journalistic corpus and has as its aim understand how citizenship is represented in the public discourse of the media. Throughout 2008, an international event was organized in Rome (February 28-29) at which the preliminary results of the research were presented. Moreover, the final results will be compiled in the forthcoming volume of *European Identity: What the Media Say*, edited by Paul Bayley e Geoffrey Williams, Oxford University Press.

Project Management

The project is coordinated by the University of Siena vis à vis CIRCaP, which assumes all of the responsibilities/ accomplishes all of the tasks of project management and of the conducting of research regarding contracted work with the European Commission. The managerial activities specifically concern control over the management of organizational and financial procedures put into practice by the Consortium and the annual reporting to the commission both from a scientific and financial point of view. Moreover, the aspect of coordination consists in the involvement of all of the partners who are engaged in the project, in the distribution of resources within the consortium according to the research duties, in the development of solutions to potential problems that might be encountered during the carrying out of the 4 year research activity and the promotion of the activity of publishing its scientific results. Throughout 2008, among the activities of the ordinary handling of project, a few deserve a special mention: the international conferences at our partner institutions: Granada (May 8-10), Lisbon (November 27-30) and Cardiff (September 12-13), and the submission of the annual report to the European Commission.

EUROPOLIS: A Deliberative Polity-Making Project

Financed by the European Commission under the VII Framework Program and by a network of European Foundations.

<http://www.europolis-project.eu/>

Coordinator: Pierangelo Isernia

Europolis started on the first of September 2008 and brings together a team of European Universities all coordinated by the University of Siena, via the CIRCaP center. It is financed by the the 7th Framework Program of the EU and by a network of foundations headed by the Compagnia di San Paolo¹.

The project intends to test whether deliberative democracy can contribute to address the democratic deficit in Europe, with particular reference to the next European parliamentary elections.

Europolis is organizing an event which will take place on the 29th of May 2009 in Brussels . This Deliberative Polling (DP), the first to be held on a European level, will debate the themes of immigration, climate change, and the EU policy- making process- a unique experiment in informed decision-making.

A sample of 400 citizens will be invited to discuss these themes in small working groups, and then in plenary sessions with a battery of experts and election candidates. The participants will be interviewed before before, during, immediately after, and again a few days after the European Elections in 2009. Their opinions will then be compared to a to control group – a sample not present at the DP – who will also be interviewed during the sampling time and again after the Elections.

This post electoral survey should reveal whether or not the citizens present at the DP change their opinions towards the EU as a result of the DP experience. It should also reveal to what extent and how their voting opinions have changed.

The approach taken by EuroPolis provides a real opportunity to assess, in a vigorous way, to what extent the exposure to complete and balanced *policy* information as well as the deliberation and discussion undertaken during the Elections can influence the knowledge and voting behaviour and turnout of citizens.

¹ The project is also partly financed by the King Baudouin Foundation, the Bosch Foundation, and the Open Society Institute.

Other research projects on European Studies

- ***The process of European integration in a phase of institutional stalemate: changes in the sphere of political representation, decisional processes and social citizenship***

PRIN Project 2007-2009 financed by the Italian Minister of Education, of University Study, and of Research

National Coordinator: Maurizio Cotta

Launched on September 1, 2008, the project aims to explore, from a variety of perspectives, the transformation of Europe that is currently underway. The current phase, seen through the lens of the Constitutional “big change” that Europe had foreseen, appears to be one of crisis or even of failure. However, as demonstrated by the past experience of the development of a supranational European polity, less visible, incremental and intersticed changes are often as significant as more visible and dramatic ones. In light of this reality, the three related research units maintain that, in order to better understand the actual state of the European integration process and its evolution, the attention of researchers can be usefully focused towards some aspects that are less directly invested in the big constitutional issue but that are nonetheless important to the continual process of adaptation and transformation of the European political system.

In the context of this project, the Siena unit, represented by a group of CIRCaP's researchers, is developing a research plan related to the following problem areas: The “*variable geometry*” of representation in a complex polity: supranational and national representative actors and mechanisms in the context of an integrated Europe”. In general, Siena's research unit aims to analyze some strategic aspects of the “representative sub-system” of the European Union through the lens of multiple paths of European representation by analysing the role of leaders, parties and parliaments with particular attention to the relationships between the national and supranational consolidated dimensions of representation. The issue is of particular relevance, as there is a widespread discussion currently underway both in political and academic spheres. It centers on the political-constitutional aspect of the EU and its correspondence to standards of democracy that Europe has for some years begun to systematically adopt within the procedures of enlargement.

Given the nature of European construction it is also evident that the “representative sub-system” has a much more composite character and a less linear one than the national systems. It is articulated in fact in three fundamental “institutional paths” that can be identified within the process of community decision-making: within the community-technocratic path of relations between the Commission and the system of organized interests; in the community-Parliamentary path of elections and of the European Parliament, with the surrounding of the European party federations; and finally in the national-parliamentary-governing path based on the participation of national government leaders who are accountable at the domestic level through classic electoral and parliamentary mechanisms. The community representation therefore presents itself as a complex “composition” of the results of processes that are carried out within these paths of interaction.

The Siena research unit (Sabrina Cavatorto, Nicolò Conti and Maurizio Cotta) sets out to focus on some aspects which are essentially related to the second and third “institutional paths”. These paths have not yet been sufficiently explored and instead appear relevant for a better knowledge and comprehension of the trend and of the problems of European representation.

Public Opinion and Political Behaviour

Transatlantic Trends

Funded by the German Marshall Fund, Compagnia di San Paolo, Fundação Luso-Americana, Fundación BBVA, Tipping Point Foundation

www.transatlantictrends.org

www.gips.unisi.it/circap/ees_overview

www.gmfus.org/template/page.cfm?page_id=410

Since 2002, Pierangelo Isernia has been the scientific advisor of the Transatlantic Trend Survey, a project sponsored by the German Marshall Fund in the United States and Compagnia di San Paolo, with the support of Fundação Luso-Americana (Portogallo), of the Fundación BBVA (Spagna) and of the Tipping Point Foundation. The survey conducts a yearly analysis of the view that American and European citizens have of one another. Furthermore, it examines their respective opinions on a series of global threats, on foreign policy and on security, in the context of transatlantic relations.

Since 2006, CIRCaP also conducts a European Elite Survey, thanks to the financial support of the Compagnia di San Paolo. The survey uses a sample of members of the European Parliament of 9 states that already take part in the Transatlantic Trend Survey, as well as a sample of 100 high-level European functionaries recruited within the Commission and the Council. The survey anticipates that the *Transatlantic Trend* questionnaire will also be administered, with the aim of revealing the opinions of European Elites on a series of issues and creating the possibility for a comparative analysis with public opinion.

Furthermore, since 2007 the Transatlantic Trends on Immigration conducts a yearly examination of the attitudes and policy preferences on immigration issues in Europe, Canada and the United States. Pierangelo Isernia is one of the members of the Advisory Committee of the project (together with Susan Martin, Director of the Institute for the Study of International Migrations at Georgetown University and Claudia Diehl, Researcher in Migration and Ethnicity at the University of Göttingen).

In order to consolidate these experiences, in the course of 2008, an agreement was signed by the Compagnia di San Paolo, the US German Marshall Fund, and the University of Siena *vis a vis* CIRCaP. The goal of the agreement is the rationalization of the entire process of creation, management and data analysis related to the three aforementioned projects.

CIRCaP contributes to this initiative through the following activities:

- Scientific consultancy in the stages of preparation of the questionnaire and pre-test;
- creation of the European Elite Survey (with the support of Compagnia di San Paolo);
- organization of data banks;
- analysis of the data disseminated through research reports
- *data management* with the aim of making the data banks more widely available to the public.

It is worth mentioning the general agreement signed in December 2008 with TNS Opinion, through which a collaboration was effectuated with CIRCaP in scientific research and in the sector of public opinion and opinion surveys. The activities involve students enrolled in the programme at CIRCaP and will be coordinated by Pierangelo Isernia (Director LAPS, Laboratorio Analisi Politiche e Sociali) and Luca Verzichelli (Coordinator Master 2nd Level Politics and Society in Europe). The activity of cooperation will be financed by funding that TNS is making available to CIRCaP.

Italian National Election Studies (ITANES)

Financed by the Italian Minister of Instruction, of University studies and of Research and other agencies

www.itanes.org

ITANES is the acronym for the Italian National Election Studies (Italiano di Studi sulle Elezioni Nazionali) programme. The programme originated in the beginning of the 1990's when, in the context of a project on the transformations of the Italian political system, the Cattaneo Institute conducted two post-electoral surveys (in 1990 and 1992) and created a Standing Group on political transition. Since 1994, when the first elections were held with the plurality system, the group has been enriched by the researchers of many Italian universities who comprise the group ITANES.

Their principal goals are the following:

- a) produce surveys for each Italian election
- b) publish academic works
- c) make data banks accessible to the international community

Paolo Bellucci of Siena's CIRCAP is a member of the project's Steering Committee, along with Piergiorgio Corbetta (University of Bologna), Patrizia Catellani (Catholic University of Milan), Marco Maraffi (University of Milan) Paolo Segatti (University of Milan), Salvatore Vassallo (University of Bologna).

Furthermore, Prof. Bellucci is the Scientific Coordinator of a project of the ITANES group which is focused on the study of the electoral cycle 2008-2011 (*Electoral cycle and political change in a multilevel system: public opinion dynamics between European, National and Regional Elections*).

The end product of this research is the last volume of a recent ITANES programme, *The Return of Berlusconi*, which examines the electoral behaviour of Italians during the political elections of 2008.

Comparative National Election Project (CNEP)

Financed by the Mershon Center (Ohio State University) and Volkswagen Stiftung

www.cnep.ics.ul.pt/index1.asp

CNEP studies the political and social transformations in democracies (new and consolidated). The project involves an international group of scholars, among which Paolo Bellucci plays an important role. Prof. Bellucci prepares empirical studies of a comparative nature through the implementation of a common system of data-gathering in the context of the various researches of the National Electoral Study (NES).

The most recent research projects of CNEP focus on the study of the social determinants and of the intermediaries (groups, associations and media) of the vote in Europe, North and South America and Asia. Furthermore, research has been dedicated to such areas as that of democratic support, of cleavages, and of political behavior in a vast number of democratic and quasi- democratic regimes in Africa, Asia, Europe and America.

Comparative Analysis of Government Institutions

In 2008, CIRCaP created an Observatory on Institutional Change under the coordination of Luca Verzichelli, with the aim of harmonizing the numerous research activities on the elites and institutions currently underway in the Center. The principal focus concerns political and institutional change in Italy. Furthermore, the data and the research experiences available cover a more vast area of comparative knowledge. The scholars at CIRCaP are, in fact, experts on Italy in a wide number of research projects on an international scale. They coordinate studies for the Observatory in the context of these projects, among which are comparative studies.

The research interests and activities developed at the Observatory currently include:

- an archive on the members of parliament in Europe
 - an archive on the Italian political class
 - a study of the legislative activities of the Italian government
 - research on the popularity of the Italian government
 - a study of the relationship between political elites and their respective domains in Italy
 - an analysis of the normative reforms in the EU and of the normative agencies in Italy
 - a study of political discourse and of electoral manifestos
-
- ***The government in the legislative arena: commitments, actions and strategies***

PRIN Project 2007-2009 financed by the Italian minister of Instruction, of University studies, and of Research

Coordinator of the Siena Research Unit: Luca Verzichelli

The project, included in a research of national interest on decisional and legislative processes which is directed by Marco Giuliano (University of Milan) aims to develop the interpretation of the changes in the relations between Italy's government and its parliament, with reference to legislative production. Issues such as steering capabilities, the drifts of presidentialisation and the strengthening of the core executive are well-known by students of institutional comparative analysis. In the study of the Italian case, these phenomena currently find great expectations of

change, based on the efficiency of the relevant measures that have redefined the functioning of the government and also its interaction with the legislative without even retouching, up until today, the constitutional picture of the parliamentary system.

The Siena research unit has set as its objective the formulation and testing of its hypothesis about the evolution of government-parliament relations in the context of the legislative processes. In particular, the types of factors will be investigated are: 1) political-institutional factors (party veto-players, nature of the coalition and types of government); 2) procedural and strategic factors (the different rules within government-parliament dynamics and the different techniques that the government puts into play to develop its policy-making role, 3) factors related to the specificity of the interests at stake (political contingencies, political electoral cycles, the nature of decision-making and of policy).

In the course of 2008, research unit has begun to develop some research interconnected paths that have been largely unexplored in the major literature: 1) the study of legislative “commitments” and the classification of objectives advanced by the executive through a code-book derived from the methodology of the comparative analysis of policy agendas, 2) the study of action and of the strategies of the government in parliament; 3) the study of government-parliament relations in a sector limited under the procedural profile, but rather vast in terms of the number of acts and the scale of policy contexts: the process of balance.

II. Archives and Documentaion

Throughout 2008, CIRCaP continued to compile a rich documentation on the phenomena inherent to political change. Over the years, the numerous requests for access to these archives made by scholars in the international community have made CIRCaP a point of reference for the gathering and distribution of data for empirical research. The following is a more synthetic presentation of the principal resources which are available in the Centre:

- I. *International Poll Data archive* (surveys and research on public opinion in Europe and America). Currently, the archive contains 120 international surveys conducted between 1952 and 1999. Coordinator: Pierangelo Isernia.
- II. *Ministri in Europa (1945-1980)*. Data bank originally compiled by *Jean Blondel* and later developed under the coordination of *Luca Verzichelli*.
- III. *DATA CUBE, data bank on the recruitment of the parliamentary class in Europe from 1848-present*. The archive currently includes data on 12 European countries. Coordinators: Maurizio Cotta and Heinrich Best (University of Jena).
- IV. *PARLIT*. Archive on the parliamentary elite in Italy. Coordinators: Maurizio Cotta e Luca Verzichelli.
- V. *Government Programs in Italy (from 1976- present)*. Documents compiled in hard copy. Responsabile Luca Verzichelli.
- VI. *Electoral Programmes and documents on European Party Discourse*. The archive contains a myriad of documents among which are the Italian electoral programmes from the post-war period to the present as well as an abundant documentation of documents related to political discourse about Europe in 15 EU countries. Coordinator: Nicolò Conti.
- VII. *The Italian government and the critical junction*. Data bank on the positions of the Italian elite regarding the principle international and European challenges, mainly revealed through an analysis of the press. Coordinator: Sabrina Cavatorto.

III.

Postgraduate Teaching

In 2008, the two traditional programmes were carried out at CIRCAP: the Masters in 'Politics in Europe' (Director Luca Verzichelli) which reached its tenth year and the Doctoral programme 'Comparative and European Politics' (Director Pierangelo Isernia passed the torch to Paolo Bellucci), which completed its ninth year. Both programmes are taught in English and both are attended by European and non-European students.

Furthermore, the Center offers training courses specific to methodology and on the use of particular statistics software (i.e., SPSS, STATA).

All of these initiatives are supported by the Faculty of Political Science at the University of Siena and by the Department of Historical, Juridical, Political and Social Sciences.

For further information:

<http://www.gips.unisi.it/gradschool/master/27/faculty-and-courses>

<http://www.gips.unisi.it/gradschool/phd/24/faculty-and-courses>

Jean Blondel Tuesday Seminar in Political Science

Coordinator: Luca Verzichelli

The Centre organizes a weekly seminar with guests from outside the University. The themes treated cover a vast area of substantial and methodological interests.

The seminar creates an opportunity for the centre's staff and students to get to meet a large number of national and international researchers who are carrying out their work.

Appendix 2 illustrates the programme of Seminars for 2008. The list of seminars held in previous years can be downloaded from the following site: www.gips.unisi.it/circap/jb-tuesday-seminar

IV. Conferences, Visiting Scholars and other events

Conferences

SISP 2008

At the annual conference of the Italian Society of Political Science (Pavia September 4-6), there was, as always, a considerable number of representatives from CIRCAP (teachers, post-docs, research assistants, doctoral students) who presented a substantial number of papers. The proceeding and the programme of the conference are available on the association's website.

Website: www.sisp.it

ECPR 2008

Once again this year, students and researchers from CIRCAP presented their papers at the conferences organized by the *European Consortium of Political Research*. In particular, for the 2008 conference the *Joint Session of Workshop* took place at Rennes (April 11-16) and the *Graduate Conference* in Barcellona (August 25-27). The programme of the conferences is available on the association's website.

Website: www.essex.ac.uk/ecpr/events

• **APSA 2008**

At the Annual Conference of the American Political Science Association, held in Boston (August 28-31) some representatives from CIRCAP participated as organizers and speakers on the panel "Citizenship, Identity, Representation and Scope of Governance in the European Union".

Website: http://www.apsanet.org/content_2577.cfm?navID=5

Visiting Scholars Programme

With the aim of supporting the research of scholars of every age and level of experience in the fields of Political Science, Political Theory, of International Relations and of European Studies, CIRCaP has dedicated itself for some years to a Visiting Scholars programme. The scholars are hosted at the University structure in Siena, where they conduct their research independently and also have the opportunity to collaborate with the scientific community at Siena. Moreover, the programme promotes the movement of young researchers who are offered assistance and scientific supervision during their stay at the Center.

In 2008, the following scholars participated in the programme:

- Roula Nezi (University of Athens)
- Mathias Stendtner (University of Mittweida)
- Philippe Everts (University of Leiden)
- Anna Gwiazda (Trinity College Dublin)
- Anton Steen (University of Oslo)
- Stuart Soroka (McGill University)

Visits to European institutions and to the General Headquarters of NATO

As occurs every year, at the end of the second semester of study, the Centre's Graduate School organized a visit to Brussels for the Masters students and first year doctoral students. For the 2007-2008 academic year, the visits guided by Silvina Cabrera and Nicolo Conti were held at the European Commission, the Council, the European Parliament and NATO. Each visit was characterized by a programme of seminars in which the speakers were functionaries of the aforementioned institutions.

V. Publications

Principal publications by members of CIRCaP in 2008

Amato, S. (2008), *Aristocrazia politico-culturale e classe dominante nel pensiero tedesco*, in *Il Pensiero Politico - Biblioteca* n.30.

Amato, S. (ed.) (2008), *Classe dominante, classe politica ed /élites /negli scrittori politici dell'Ottocento e del Novecento*, Volume I, *Dal 1850 alla prima guerra mondiale* Firenze, Centro Editoriale Toscano (Laboratorio Nazionale di Studi sulla Teoria della Classe Politica "Mario Delle Piane").

Bellucci P. (with Bartle J.) (ed.) (2008), *Political Parties and Partisanship. Social Identity and Individual Attitudes*, Routledge.

Cavatoro S. (with A. La Spina) (2008), *Le Autorità indipendenti*, Bologna, il Mulino.

Cavatoro S. e Verzichelli L. (2008), *Italy and the strategy of political appointment*, in Fabbrini S. e Piattoni S. (eds.), *Italy in the European Union*, Rowman & Littlefield.

Cotta M. (2008), *Democracia, partidos e elites politicas*, Lisboa, Livros Horizonte.

Cotta M. e Verzichelli L. (2008), *L'Italie*, in J.M. De Waele e P. Magonette (eds.), *Les démocraties européennes*, Paris, Armand Colin.

Cotta M., Della Porta D., Morlino L. (2008), *Scienza politica*, Bologna, il Mulino.

Cotta M. e Verzichelli L. (2008), *Il Sistema politico italiano*, Bologna, il Mulino.

Conti N. (2008), *The Italian Parties and their Programmatic Platforms: How Alternative?*, in *Modern Italy*, Vol 13, 4.

Conti N. (2008), *On the political 'fragmentation': Stay in or stay out? The role of small parties in the Italian Centre-Left*, in *Journal*

of Modern Italian Studies, Vol 13, 3.

Conti N., Cotta M. and Tronconi F. (2008) *La thèse du Parti de Cartel en Question: Le Cas Italien* (2008), in Y. Aucante, A. Dézé e N. Sauger (eds.), *Les Transformations des Systèmes de Partis dans les Démocraties Occidentales. La thèse du Parti de Cartel en Question*, Parigi, Presse de Science Po.

Conti N. e Manca A. (2008), *L'Europa nel Discorso Politico degli Stati Membri: Un'analisi degli Euromanifesti*, in *Rivista Italiana di Scienza Politica*, Vol. 37, 2.

De Giorgi E. e Verzichelli L. (2008), *Still a Difficult Budgetary Process? The Government, the Legislature and the Finance Bill*, in *South European Society and Politics*, Vol. 13, 1.

Isernia P. (with Bobbio L., Fiket I., Manca A., Podestà N.) (2008), *La democrazia in un ambiente ostile: un quasi-esperimento deliberativo*, in *Stato e Mercato*, n. 3.

Isernia P. (2008), *Present at Creation. Italian Mass Support for European Integration in the Formative Years*, in *European journal of political research*, Vol. 47, 3.

Memoli, V. (2008), *Governance e democrazia in Europa*, in A. Gasperini, U. Gori (eds.), *Gli studi di previsione in Italia*, Quaderni di Futuribili, 12.

Memoli, V. (2008), *Fiducia e sostegno per la democrazia in Europa*, in *Quaderni di Scienza Politica*, 1.

Morley, J (with A. Partington) (2008), *The Perception of Citizenship in the English Press*, in *Investigating English with Corpora. Studies in Honour of Maria Teresa Prat*, Casa Editrice: Polimetrica, Monza, Italia

Morley, J. (with P. Bayley) (2008), *Wordings of War: Corpus Assisted Discourse Studies on the Iraq Conflict*, London e New York, Routledge.

Morley, J. (with A. Partington) (2008), *A few Frequently Asked Questions about semantic or evaluative prosody*, in *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics*, Vol. 14, 2.

Verzichelli L. (2008), *Portfolio allocation*, in K. Strøm, W. Müller e T. Bergman (eds.), *Cabinets and Coalition Bargaining: The*

Democratic Life Cycle in Western Europe, Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Verzichelli L. (with Papavero L.) (2008), *The election and the XV legislature*, in J. L. Newell (ed.), *The Italian general election of 2006. Romano Prodi's Victory*, Manchester, Manchester University Press.

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CIRCaP Occasional papers: www.gips.unisi.it/circap/occasional-papers

No. 20/2008 S. Citeresi
Il fallimento dell'intelligence nel caso iracheno

VI. Appendix

Appendix 1: Inauguration of the 2008-2009 Academic Year



GRADUATE SCHOOL IN POLITICAL SCIENCE
Master "Politics in Europe"
PhD "Political Science - Comparative and European
Politics"



Inauguration Academic Year 2008/2009

October 8th and 9th, 2008

University of Siena
Faculty of Political Sciences
Siena

Wednesday, October, 8th

Conference Room
Faculty of Political Sciences - Via Mattioli 10

9.30

Prof. Giovanni Minnucci (Dean of the Faculty of
Political Sciences)

Welcome and Opening of the Academic Year

Prof. Maurizio Cotta (Director of CIRCAP)

Introductory Speech

10.00 Awarding of Master Diplomas to Students
2007/2008

10.15 Awarding of PhD Diplomas to Students 2007/2008

11.00

Distinguished Lecture

Prof. Johan P. Olsen (Professor Emeritus at ARENA
Centre for European Studies, University of Oslo)

Institutional Sources of Change and Continuity

13.00

Buffet

18.00

Happy Hour offered by the CIRCaP Alumni
Association

Thursday, October, 9th

Aula Magna Storica

Rectorate University of Siena - Via Banchi di Sotto 55

10.45

Ceremony for the conferring of the Laurea specialistica *ad honorem*
in International Sciences to

Jean Blondel

Professor Emeritus at the European University Institute, Florence

Message of greeting from the Rector Prof. Silvano Focardi

Motivation of the Laurea by the
Dean of the Faculty of Political Sciences Prof. Giovanni Minnucci

Laudatio of Prof. Maurizio Cotta

Lectio doctoralis of Prof. Jean Blondel
Personalisation of leadership: parties and the citizens

Brindisi

Collegio Santa Chiara -Via Valdimontone 1

13.30

Buffet

CIRCaP Alumni Association

15.00

Prof. Stefano Bartolini (Director of Robert Schuman Centre,
European University Institute, Fiesole)
How to get published in the field of Political Science

16.00

Annual Assembly of the CIRCaP Alumni Association

Appendix 2: Tuesday Seminar Calendar



UNIVERSITY OF SIENA
GRADUATE SCHOOL IN POLITICAL SCIENCE



Tuesday Seminar in Political Science

Tuesdays at 14.30

Faculty of Political Science, Via Mattioli 10 - Aula 3B

11 March 2008	Klaus Goetz (University of Potsdam) <i>The EU Timescape: An emergent temporal order</i>
18 March 2008	Adriene Heritier (European University Institute) <i>The hidden transformation of co-decision: interstitial institutional change in the European Parliament</i>
8 April 2008	Uğur Ziyal (Ambassador of the Republic of Turkey in Italy) <i>Turkish Foreign Policy: a never ending challenge</i>
22 April 2008	Paolo Graziano (Bocconi University) <i>Europeanization. Redefining the Research Agenda</i>
29 April 2008	Philippe Schmitter (European University Institute) <i>What is EU today?</i>
6 May 2008	Lieven De Winter (UC Louvain) <i>Patterns of regional democracy</i>
13 May 2008	Laszlo Bruszt (European University Institute) <i>Transnational Integration Regimes as Development Programs</i>
20 May 2008	Paolo Mancini (University of Perugia) <i>Elogio della lottizzazione. Tra pluralismo, democrazia consociativa e partitocrazia</i>
27 May 2008	Stefania Panebianco <i>The EU as a global actor in the Mediterranean</i>
14 October	Stuart Soroka (University of Montreal) <i>Degrees of Democracy: Government Institutions and the Opinion-Policy Link</i>
21 October	Paolo Bellucci (University of Siena) <i>Why Berlusconi's landslide return?</i>
28 October	Pier Virgilio Dastoli (Direttore Rappresentanza Italiana Commissione Europea) <i>The perspectives of the European unification until 2014</i>
4 November	Francesco Zucchini (University of Milan) <i>Government alternation and legislative agenda setting</i>
11 November	Hans Peter Kriesi (University of Zurich) <i>West European politics in the age of globalization</i>
25 November	Amie Kreppel (University of Florida) <i>Legislative-Executive Relations in Italy: From Leggine to Decreti and Delege</i>
2 December	Silvina Cabrera and Pierangelo Isernia (University of Siena) <i>Deliberative democracy and European Elections: the EUROPOLIS project</i>
9 December	Pippo Ranci (Università Cattolica) <i>Deregulation of energy services in the EU and the members</i>

	<i>states</i>
16 December	Ettore Greco (Direttore Istituto Affari Internazionali) <i>America between Hegemony and Decline</i>

Appendix 3: IntUne Conferences



List of conferences

- General Assembly at Lisbon 27-30 Nov 2008
- Media Working Group Meeting in Bologna 19-20 September 2008
- Media Working Group Meeting in Cardiff 12-13 September 2008
- Elite and Mass Working Group Meeting - Granada 8-11 May 2008
- Portuguese Political Science Association Congress - 6-7 March 2008
- Media Working Group Meeting in Rome 28-29 Feb 2008

Further information available at: <http://www.intune.it/misc/events>

Appendix 4: Visits to European Institutions and the General Headquarters of NATO



University of Siena Centre for the Study of Political Change

Visit to the European Institutions and the Headquarters of NATO

Bruxelles - 2-5 June 2008

- Monday 2nd - Arrivals

14:00 – 18:00 flight arrivals and hotel check-in (Atlas Hotel, Rue du Vieux Marché aux Grains 30, +32 2 502 60 06)

- Tuesday 3rd - NATO

9.0 Meeting point at the lobby of the hotel
10.0 Visit to the NATO HQ. Briefings about the NATO mission and its relationship with the EU
16.30 End of the visit

- Wednesday 4th - European Commission and European Council

Morning: European Commission (meeting-room VM18 -2/36)

8.45 Meeting point at the entrance hall of the European Commission's building (VM18 church) in 18, rue Van Maerlant, 1049 Brussels.

Welcome and presentation of the programme by Mrs. Nicole Peil-Fort, Priority visits' service.

9.00 THE EUROPEAN INSTITUTIONS: STRUCTURES, TASKS AND FUTURE

Mr. Giovanni GORDIANI
Member of the external speakers team
Directorate-General Education and culture

10.30 break

10.45 THE STRUCTURAL FUNDS

Mr. Charles WHITE
Unit Communication, information, relations with third countries
Directorate-General Regional policy

11.45 break

12.00 THE EU RELATIONS WITH THE WESTERN BALKANS

Mr. José SANCHEZ ALEGRE
Deputy Head of Unit Albania, Bosnia & Herzegovina
Directorate-General Enlargement

13.00 End of the visit

- *Afternoon: **European Council (meeting room at Justus Lipsius Building)***

14.45 Meeting point at Justus Lipsius building: Rue de la Loi 175

- THE ROLE OF THE COUNCIL

Dr. Terkel PETERSEN
DGE-Balkans presso il Segretariato Generale del Consiglio dell'Unione Europea

- Thursday 5th - **European Parliament and Departure**

10.30am-1pm: European Parliament

Welcoming and round table with Michele Barneschi, EP Officer.

Afternoon: Departures to the Airport at 15.30