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Anna Bosco: South European Society and Politics

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FOCUS ON

The International Visibility of Italian Political Scientists

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Book Reviews
Section coordinated by *Stefania Panebianco*

FOCUS ON:
The International Visibility of Italian Political Scientists

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The current reform process of the Italian university system implicitly or explicitly assumes internationalization as one of the main assets conducing to an improvement of education and research quality. It has become one of the canons of innovative and efficient universities, and a relevant criterion according to which funds are distributed. The Italian Political Science community is deeply committed in the internationalization process; this includes, of course, teaching in English, double degrees, internationally funded research, and publications in English (on the internationalization of teaching and research see IPS, vol. 8, issue n. 2, 2013). But internationalization goes beyond this, and **Italian Political Scientists have a long tradition of international visibility**. This IPS issue focuses on the roles plaid by our colleagues to serve the international Political Science community. Not necessarily, this visibility is reflected domestically in the Italian academia.

By chairing International Associations (**Luciano Bardi** and **Leonardo Morlino** acted respectively as ECPR and IPSA chairmen), acting as member of the IPSA Executive Committee (**Carlo Guarnieri**), editing the IPSA Portal (**Mauro Calise**) or being the co-convenor of an ECPR Standing Group (**Francesca Longo**), Italian political scientists are contributing to the advancement of Political Science. Co-directing International Journals the international visibility of the Italian community is also strengthened; irrespectively of gender and generation gaps, **Anna Bosco**, **Maurizio Carbone**, **Donatella Della Porta** and **Giampiero Giacomello** contribute to the success of – respectively – South European Society and Politics, Contemporary Italian Politics, European Political Science Review and Defense Studies. Some Italian scholars made a life-choice: to settle in the UK and start an academic career abroad (**Lucia Quaglia** and **Claudio Radaelli**). Italian Political Scientists also publish regularly in international journals (see data illustrated by **Luca Verzichelli**); this is a consolidating trend, for the younger generations in particular. However, Italian journals are less attractive for foreign scholars who only occasionally adhere to Italian publication projects (see **Francesco Zucchini**'s contribution).

IPS interviews Luciano Bardi, former ECPR Chairman, and Leonardo Morlino, former IPSA Chairman

Luciano, IPS interviewed you in November 2009 (IPS vol. 3) at the beginning of your mandate as Chairman of the European Consortium of Political Research (ECPR). Now that your mandate has expired and the ECPR is chaired by another Italian (Simona Piattoni), we would like you to evaluate the role of Italian political scientists chairing the ECPR, taking into account the benefits for the individual serving in this post and for the entire Italian scientific community. We would also like you to comment on any improvements required and the visibility of the Italian political science community.

Leonardo, IPS interviewed you in April 2010 (IPS vol. 4) at the beginning of your mandate as Chairman of the International Political Science Association (IPSA). Now that your mandate has expired, we would like you to evaluate the role of Italian political scientists chairing IPSA, taking into account the benefits for the individual serving in this post and for the entire Italian scientific community. We would also like you to comment on any improvements required and the visibility of the Italian political science community.

IPS: What were the personal and professional benefits of serving the ECPR/IPSA community?

LB: There were significant personal and professional benefits: on a personal level, which at this stage in my life is by far the more important of the two, I was able to strengthen old friendships, such as the one with the current ECPR Director, Prof. Martin Bull, and to make many new ones with members of the ECPR Executive Committee, members of the enlarged ECPR community, such as the organizers of ECPR events, conference participants and, most importantly, members of the ECPR Central Services staff. In many ways this last group

LM: I basically don't like holding political positions, even only academic elected offices, as this one. All positions of this kind imply a strong commitment and high responsibility toward the community that elected you. However, I think that I learned a few lessons. Among them, I would like to mention just the accountability issue here. As we know, every elective position has to be accountable. But the actual working of accountability challenges any kind of simplification democratic theory would like to maintain. In my case, despite my

was probably the most important, as developing friendships with them allowed me to discover many new things about myself. Working as the ECPR Chair required undertaking extensive travel; I found it personally rewarding to have the chance to visit many places that I would not have otherwise visited. On a professional level, I achieved greater international visibility during my three-year term than I had been able to achieve in the previous three decades of my working life; this post allowed me to become part of new research networks, despite the position being only marginally connected to research. Finally, working as the ECPR Chair allowed me to broaden my professional skills as the post entailed skills such as personnel management, financial management, and inter-institutional relations.

intentions and declarations, while I was President I did something I didn't commit to and was not able to carry out decisions I committed. The reality changed my intentions and behaviour.

IPS: In your opinion, what have been the major achievements of the ECPR/IPSA under your mandate?

LB: I am very happy about the creation of the ECPR press and the consolidation of the EPSR. However, the decision to schedule the ECPR General Conference on an annual basis was probably the most important victory. It was a necessary decision because of the increased demand from the ECPR community; it also ensured the consolidation of the organization and operation of the ECPR Central Services (they now work on a much more regular schedule, which is organized on an annual basis) and increased ECPR funding, as the consortium now receives a much more regular income/expense flow.

LM: So following what I've just said, I was able to have the first change of IPSA Constitution since 1949 - its foundation date, mainly shortening from 3 to 2 years any elective office and have a world congress every 2 years as well. Something I didn't think of earlier, but once I was president it seemed to me necessary to keep a sounder, more stable financial situation and enrich IPSA activities. In addition to this, there was the new membership of the Mexican Association of Political Science, while the attempts of revitalizing the Indian Association was a partial failure and trying to have the Chinese Association a total failure. Something I had already committed and was additionally implemented was the development of methodological summer schools in different part of the world (now, in addition to Brazil, in Africa, Turkey, and Singapore).

IPS: Have any of your planned initiatives remained on paper?

LB: Not many I must say: ECPR membership reform is certainly one; I also planned to further institutionalize ECPR's internationalization by strengthening ties with important sister organizations, such as IPSA, APSA and ISA. The joint ECPR-IPSA conference in Sao Paulo was an initiative developed by Leonardo Morlino, then President of IPSA, and I – however, there was no follow-up on this activity.

IPS: How can the ECPR/IPSA contribute to the development of the Italian political science community and, conversely, how can the Italian political science community contribute to the development of the ECPR/IPSA?

LB: The ECPR contributes to the development of political science through all of its activities in all European countries and beyond. The Italian political science community can take advantage of ECPR's extensive services that are not readily available in Italy. Specifically, I am referring to the summer schools, the Graduate Conference, research sessions, Joint Sessions, and the General Conference. The Italian political science community has contributed to the ECPR through its participation in the ECPR's governing bodies; Simona Piattoni is the third Italian ECPR Chair, following Giorgio Freddi and myself; and, even more importantly, for many years we have had two members in the Executive Commitee (Luca Verzichelli and Simona Piattoni). This reflects our community's commitment to the ECPR. However, we must increase our participation in the Joint Sessions, the General Conference, and the research sessions.

LM: The main tool that can work both ways is through the IPSA Research Committees that allow establishing good networks among scholars who work on the same topic. Here, I don't mention the past when Sartori played an important role, again in both directions.

IPS: Due to limited funding, it is becoming more difficult for some departments to maintain membership. In your opinion, what are the advantages of being a member of the ECPR? Which tasks can the ECPR successfully fulfill?

LB: As previously mentioned, one of the shortcomings of my tenure was my failure to reform the ECPR's membership structure. The structure penalizes smaller departments due to the high membership costs. My idea to move to a mixed individual/institutional membership scheme intended to address that problem, however, the idea was not accepted. The benefits of membership remain considerable for larger departments, as they are able to take advantage of the membership opportunities. To enjoy the benefits of ECPR's summer schools, a sufficient number of young academics and/or graduate students need to attend. Likewise, only if a department is sufficiently large will it be

able to be represented regularly at the Joint Sessions or the General Conference, allowing its members to become prominent within international networks. While the ECPR offers these vital and unique services, the costs and benefits are not equally shared across all departments.

IPS: In your opinion, which are the advantages of being IPSA members in an academic society in continuous change? Which tasks can IPSA fulfil successfully?

LM: Despite conflicts and divisions, a globalized world needs an international, pluralistic organization to study and to understand it. The international networks can perform a critical role in this regard.

IPS: Over the last few months, the ECPR has launched a number of internal reforms to perform more effectively. Do you think further internal reforms are necessary in order to keep up with the changing times?

LB: I am not aware of the types of reforms that have been proposed. During the last 18 months of my post, we reformed the Central Services and the ECPR press in a comprehensive manner; as a result, the performance of both departments has significantly improved. It would not be appropriate for me to suggest any reforms other than the ones that I proposed (and were not accepted) when I was working as the ECPR Chair: namely, membership reform.

IPS: In an age of university reforms and shortage of research funds, in Italy and elsewhere, would you envisage any IPSA initiatives to keep up with the changing times?

LM: I don't think that IPSA can do much on this, and it's even very limited the role of European existing research funds. But as a professional association IPSA can be relevant in a second step to connect researchers and research, to create in this way an additional value to those activities and results.

IPS: In times of limited resources, many say that our discipline must be highly competitive and internationalized in order to survive. Based on your observations, how do you see the state of the Italian political science community in comparative terms?

LB: I see the Italian political science community as being potentially very competitive: we have many talented and well-trained young members who are successfully engaging in activities at the international level. The number of young Italian political scientists who are successfully working in international institutions and foreign academic departments is constantly increasing. Unfortunately, these positive indicators are in part due to the dismal state of Italian academia in general, and not only of Italian political

LM: The discipline or, better, the group of scholars who identify themselves with the Political Science community should be competitive and internationalized to have better research results. In this perspective, despite the small size of the Italian group, I think that comparatively speaking (say, France, Spain or even Germany) it is highly internationalized. The basic reasons go back to the beginning in early 1950s and 1960s when - directly with Sartori, and indirectly with Bobbio and Leoni - the attention and

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science. Over the past fifteen years, I have recruited almost as many young scholars who have successfully completed their PhD's. While only a couple of them have left academia and related fields, only *one* has a full-time job as a *ricercatore* in Italy. The rest are employed or looking for employment abroad.

knowledge of what was happening in the other countries, and especially in USA, was high and developed.

IPS: Over the last few decades, the Italian political science community has increasingly participated in international conferences, academic networks, research projects, editing of international journals, and joint MA and PhD programs. Last but not least, RISP - the Association Journal, is now published only in English. Would you say that these processes are strengthening the Italian political science community, both in terms of quality and visibility?

LB: Every little bit helps; even if these processes can help in different ways. English is the language of our international community; our members' command of the language has certainly been a key factor in its progress, including with regards to increasing its international visibility. All initiatives and activities that allow our membership to interact regularly with international groups and networks are to be welcomed as they help consolidate this very positive trend.

LM: Yes. Despite some short-sighted views, mainly coming from outside the discipline, all the mentioned transformations helped and are helping the development, the quality and visibility of Italian Political Science. Let me add another consideration. With an already international background in most of the political science community, Italian authors are more and more present on the main international journals. But this statement should be empirically supported.

IPS interviews
Carlo Guarnieri, IPSA

IPS: Congratulations for your appointment as an IPSA Executive Committee Officer. Which are your expectations from this position?

Italian political science has always been extremely well represented inside the IPSA: from Giovanni Sartori to Leonardo Morlino and Mauro Calise, just to name a few, Italian scholars have played a significant role in the association. Therefore, the challenge I have to confront is not easy! On the other hand, I hope to be able to exploit our good reputation, to follow the tradition of our previous representatives and to represent the best I could Italian political science at the IPSA level.

IPS: IPSA has been established in 1949. Over the years its structure has expanded IPSA governing institutions to include representatives from almost all regional associations and has increased the number of its Research Committees to cover most subfields and thematic issues of political science. Do you believe that IPSA is well equipped to fulfil its mandate of globally strengthening Political Science, favouring academic networks and promoting collaborations between scholars, as originally expected?

IPSA has to be considered as a pivotal element inside a wide network of international, regional and national associations – including, for instance, the International Studies Association (ISA), the European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR), the American Political Science Association (APSA) - sustaining the diffusion and the development of contemporary political science. The growth of IPSA activities in recent years is, without doubt, an element that makes its institutional role more effective. Today, more than 110 different institutions and 50 national associations are members of the IPSA. As you have pointed out, 51 Research Committees are active, covering almost all fields of contemporary political science: from Concept and Methods to Electronic Democracy or International Political Economy.

Moreover, since 2012 the world congress is held every two – instead of three – years: an engaging – and successful – organizational effort. The congress in Montreal, last July, has seen the attendance of more than 2300 participants, from more than 70 countries, with more than 500 panels in which almost 2000 papers have been presented and discussed. I think these figures are impressive and show the extent to which IPSA can be able to mobilize and support research initiatives.

IPS: In your opinion, looking to the future which are the main challenges IPSA will have to face?

Presently, the main challenge confronting IPSA is to support the expansion of political science beyond its traditional geographical base: Europe and North America. In recent years political science has significantly expanded in Latin America and in some areas of Asia, while Africa and the Middle East are still somewhat behind, although some interesting developments seem emerging also there. With its experience and organizational strength IPSA can play a crucial role in supporting the development of political science in those areas, where political science is still in its infancy, resources are often scarce and it can happen that the free development of academic research has to struggle a lot in order to be recognized. Some of the initiatives I am going to mention later are good examples of this positive role by IPSA.

I should also add that, in order to meet the above-mentioned challenges, the expansion of IPSA activities must be made sustainable also from the financial point of view, an aspect that the retrenchment of public support for university education in some countries often makes difficult. However, from this point of view, thanks to the growth of the membership and also to the success of several publishing initiatives, the financial state of IPSA seems so far rather good.

IPS: How can you contribute to accomplish the IPSA mandate, as stated in its constitution "to promote the advancement of political science throughout the world", and in Italy in particular?

I think that, first of all, support must be given to two IPSA initiatives, especially significant for "the advancement of political science throughout the word": the summer schools and the massive open online courses (MOOC'S). Let me shortly mention their content.

Since 2010, under the direction of Dirk Berg-Schlosser, the summer schools on concepts, methods and techniques in political science have provided young scholars of social science in Latin American, African and Asian countries with access to high-quality, cutting-edge, advanced training in qualitative and quantitative social science methods. Therefore, the summer schools are a significant tool for helping the diffusion of advanced methodology in countries where the discipline is still not well developed. The next school will be held in San Paulo at the end of January 2015, with a focus also on international relations, and more schools are foreseen for the future.

Described as a disruptive innovation, the MOOCs have become a focus of wide public debate in recent years. In fact, MOOCs are a new way of delivering open access, online courses that can be scaled up to reach potentially limitless numbers of users, crossing geographical confines to offer quality learning content to a global audience. Academic institutions all over the world are exploring MOOCs, also in order to understand the way learning and teaching environments are changing and what can be the impact of MOOCs on different countries and publics. Recently, building on the significant experience of IPSA portal - managed so far by Mauro Calise - IPSA has taken up the MOOC challenge by developing a pilot set of political

science courses in cooperation with Federica Web-learning, with a focus on the multicultural blend which is at the core of IPSA vision. The main purpose of IPSA MOOCs is to offer courses geared to Global South students and professors in French, English and possibly Spanish, and to teach basic concepts of political science. It is therefore clear the significance of this project for the development "throughout the world" of political science. Italian political science, thanks also to the experience already acquired by Federica at the University of Naples, can play an important role in the project and exploit this chance in order to improve its international visibility.

IPS: Do you think that the Italian Political Science community can benefit from your activities within the IPSA Executive Committee?

As I have already emphasized, IPSA today is an extremely useful instrument in order to get in touch with world political science and build real and fruitful transnational relationships. As for the benefit that the Italian community can draw from my activities, I don't think it is a question that can be answered now or in any case only by myself. Of course, I will try to do my best in order to be useful to Italian political science, but it is obviously up to the Italian scholarly community to be the judge of the value of my actions in the association. In any case, the already strong relationship between IPSA and the SISP must be preserved and, if possible, further developed. It goes without saying that IPSA can always play an important supportive role of SISP's actions in defence of the discipline in the Italian context: a never-ending battle, as many of you know very well.

IPS: Do you have any specific purposes to strengthen the international visibility of the Italian Political Science during your IPSA mandate?

I have already emphasized the chances offered by the IPSA MOOCs initiative. I also think that increasing the number and the role of Italian scholars participating to all IPSA initiatives must be the general goal of any Italian representative. More specifically, the 2016 world congress will be held in Istanbul and its theme will be "Politics in a world of inequality", an occasion to refocus the attention of political scientists on issues of redistribution and recognition in all their complexities. These issues are confronting political actors all over the world and to them political science can bring important insights. It is therefore an opportunity to once again demonstrate the relevance of political science to political practice. I hope that many Italian political scientists will not miss the chance. I may also add that, this time, the relative geographical proximity of Istanbul can allow a stronger Italian attendance to the IPSA world congress.

Would you like to belong to a Standing Group? Why or why not?

Francesca Longo
University of Catania

S ince 2001, I have been wondering about the benefits of engaging in a Standing Group (SG). My experience of acting as the convenor of the SISP Standing Group on the European Union (SGUE) and co-convenor of the ECPR Standing Group on Organized Crime (SGOC) has offered me a privileged perspective to understand the role of SGs as actors of the academic environment, and evaluate their performance in Italy and at the European level.

In 2001, the SGOC was established at the Joint Sessions of Workshops in Grenoble; further, various projects were discussed and launched between 2001 and 2014. For example, an electronic newsletter and a website were established during this time. Last year, the SGOC launched a review titled *The European Review of Organized Crime*. The group meets each year at the ECPR General Conference; it hosts a conference section that has produced several edited volumes. During the ECPR General Conference held in Pisa in September 2007, the SGOC decided to organize its own summer schools; to this end, comprehensive fund-raising activities were subsequently organized. As a result, the Intensive Summer School on Organized Crime (ISSOC) was established in 2009. The ISSOC is an advanced educational program offered to students, young researchers, and practitioners. During 2009-2014, the SGOC organized four summer schools that took place in Catania, Leuven, and Ohrid. Moreover, the ISSOC offers participants the opportunity to enrich their scientific background and to establish and consolidate networks with people with similar working or academic interests. It offers a new generation of researchers and practitioners the chance to engage in the topic of organized crime from a variety of different perspectives, disciplines, and geographical locations. These summer schools have invigorated the SGOC. A new generation of young researchers have been involved in the SGOC's activities; during 2011, a Facebook group was established in order to offer a less cumbersome version of the blog, and to provide an informal and participative way for people to keep in touch.

In 2014, the SGOC designed an editorial project titled: *The European Review of Organized Crime* (EROC). This publication was launched in order to provide a forum for the study and analysis of organized crime in its different local, national, and international manifestations by promoting dialogue between the research community and practitioners. How useful is this flood of activities for one's personal research activi-

ties and for the discipline? Actually, the SGOC develops the latest research; it enables participants to exchange ideas, discuss projects, clarify new findings and develop new comparisons on the topic of organized crime. European scholars who are involved in this research topic consider the SGOC to be a core actor, as it facilitates cooperation among stakeholders regarding activities that require the involvement of a network of people, such as the planning of research or educational projects with the aim of applying for joint funding. Most of the grants I have received from European research institutions have funded researches and educational activities that involve the SG on organized crime. These activities enhance the relevance of the SG with regards to broadening members' personal scientific perspectives. It is a virtuous cycle which is tremendously valuable. It is relevant to note that most of the 44 ECPR SGs have the same experience. They regularly organise common events, propose sections for the ECPR General Conference, and sponsor editorial projects.

My personal experience as coordinator of the SGUE within the SISP framework was a little bit different. I was the coordinator of the SGUE until 2010. It was a very exciting experience, which allowed me to make a contribution to strengthen European Union studies in Italy; it also enabled me to obtain expertise, suggestions, and incentives from Italian colleagues with an interest in European Union studies and who were willing to share their personal interests with the SG's members. Nevertheless, my personal perception is that the activities of the Italian SGs are less attractive to the Italian academic community, and as a result, less effective.

SISP has 13 different SGs; each SG is comprised of a core group of people who manage different activities. Nevertheless, during my involvement as convenor of the SGUE, my impression was that only a small number of Italian researchers believed (and still believe) that partaking in SGs is a beneficial way to share knowledge, activities, and experiences with scholars and researchers who work on similar topics. While SG convenors work hard to keep alive the SISP SGs, building a stable network of researchers who consider Italian SGs as a reference for their activities has been difficult. Italian SGs have sponsored few regular collective events and few editorial projects.

Why do the SISP SGs play a different role compared to the ECPR SGs? Do the differences stem from structural or cultural constraints? The ECPR has a very complex structure for governing the SG activities. First, one of the members of the executive committee is responsible for the ECPR SG policy and she/he provides a link between the ECPR central institutions and each SG. The ECPR's administrative personnel are appointed to manage issues related with the SGs organization details. Moreover, the ECPR supports its SGs by providing resources. In particular, each year, the ECPR offers grants to SGs of up to €500 to cover running costs and travel grants for selected participants in SG summer schools. A number of opportunities are provided, such as opportunities for SG meetings at the ECPR General Conference, an annual meeting of SG convenors and representatives of the ECPR Executive Committee - with travel grants for those convenors who are not involved in the scientific program of the conference, editorial facilities, and contacts with the main European publishers. Since last year, the ECPR established a new ruling system for SGs called the "SG Framework" - this represents a more centralized governance model for SGs. In fact, the SG framework defines some relevant details such as: membership requirements, governance model

for the SGs' internal organization, and financial management of the SGs' internal budget. On the one hand, it is a policy document aiming to offer SG financial and administrative support; on the other, it is a centralized model which considers SGs as an integral part of the ECPR structure.

SISP adopts a different policy model with regards to SG governance. This is based on minimal requirements; at the same time, it does not provide any resources or specific incentives other than the opportunity to hold SG meetings during the SISP Annual Conference and a dedicated section on the SISP website. It is a "light model" based on few resources and rules, versus a heavy model with additional resources and corresponding rules.

Is this structural difference useful for explaining the different perceptions of the SG's role in academic life between SISP and ECPR? More resources, more rules, more relevance? Or does the difference rely upon the cultural constraints in providing a possible interpretation of the different role played by SGs in Italy and at the European level? The habit of Italian researchers to work in small homogeneous groups, generally located in the same territorial areas, could explain the minimal role played by the Italian SGs in stimulating cooperation, facilitating information exchange, and providing a platform for the establishment of research networks. It may be a vicious circle: the less the SG is perceived as a useful tool for research activities, the less it is considered as deserving of resources. The less resources it receives, the less it will be able to increase its activities and its total and marginal utility.

In my opinion, the recent experience of the Italian SG of International Relations (SGRI) offers us some critical discussion points. Over the last few years, the SGRI obtained external funding that it used to organize common events. Its annual general conference in Trento is now considered to be very important among Italian political scientists researching international relations and global politics. This event has changed people's perception of the group: people believe it adds value for personal research and offers a venue for scientific debates. A virtuous circle has been activated.

Finally, my experience as member and convenor of an ECPR SG and a SISP SG is definitely positive and allows me to draw some conclusions. First, the answer to the question: "Would you like to belong to a SG; why or why not?" is definitively positive. SGs are a useful tool for broadening your personal horizons and promoting your individual research experience to a larger number of people, including colleagues and young researchers; this experience is professionally enriching. Second, SGs need to be provided with resources in order to be efficient and effective, however, resources must be raised and translated into appealing activities. Third, SGs are what researchers make of it!

The Academic Revolution
in the Cyberspace:
the IPSA Portal goes MOOCs

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After Plato, transmission of know-how in the higher learning environment has been made through a mix of two media: written material and instructions for its use, which in academic parlance has been commonly understood as teaching. In the cyberspace, both media have undergone a major transformation. The first one has concerned the learning and research material at large, with books, journals, data banks and all sorts of archives turned into electronic sources. The second has taken more time to develop, yet it is hitting the university world with the force and speed of a disruptive revolution. Over the last three years, MOOCs, an acronym which stands for Massive Open Online Courses, have enrolled more than 50 million students to open access courses offered by a growing number of high ranking universities worldwide. Stirring a spirited debate about the consequences for the transformation, if not survival, of the university system.

In this paper, we shall present two projects that have been developed to understand, interact and cope with the new frontier of electronic studying. Both projects have an experimental focus. That is, while they rely on intensive background research, their main aim is to provide services and tools that may help the academic community to make a better use of the tremendous opportunities offered by the new cyber environment. For purposes of diffusion and communication, both projects have found a valuable hub at the International Political Science Association, thus resulting in a joint-venture between IPSA and the University of Naples Federico II, where they have been developed and funded.

Due to space constraints, we shall provide only a brief presentation of the projects' main features, which shall be introduced by an overview of the key changes occurring in the larger electronic scholarly universe where both IPSAPortal and IPSAMOOCs are positioned.

IPSAPortal: a PS Gateway to the Electronic Alexandria

Through its past 2.5 millennia of glorious progress and diffusion, text has suffered from two major limitations: accumulation and access. Written text was bulky and, though things had greatly improved from scrolls to paperbacks, the amount of text available to the individual reader had strong space constraints. As a consequence of accumulation limits, easy access was available only in specialized sites. All through the Middle Ages, monasteries were the privileged depositories of written culture. Large cities added locations. However, a huge collection of books would still remain inaccessible if no consistent guide were provided to its contents and disposition. Catalogues soon became the indispensable companions to any larger library. Yet, browsing through authors, titles and subjects offered but a minimum insight into the hidden maze of pages ordered by bookbinding. You could search for a single book. Not for a single page or sentence, let alone individual words. The written universe remained, to a large extent, unexplored territory.

In the new reading environment created by the Web, the limitations of accumulation and access have disappeared. On a screen we now have immediately available the whole world of electronic publishing, one that is fast outgrowing the volume of all text written or printed throughout the previous 25 centuries. This universal library without walls can be browsed at the speed of light through any of the last generation all-powerful search engines.

The new electronic Alexandrias are making books, articles, official documents, research activities accessible to larger and larger sections of the world population. A tremendous chance for mass intellectual progress which can only be compared to the birth and diffusion of printed books. Yet, it is not just a question of a lot more knowledge for a lot more people. Well beyond quantity, there is a quality leap at stakes in this process of electronic mass access to knowledge. A discontinuity in the scholarly brainframe, to use Derrick de Kerckhove's paradigm about human understanding.

The International Political Science Association has developed IPSAPortal as a contribution to help scholars worldwide make the best of this new frontier, by selecting, reviewing and introducing extraordinary wealth and variety of sources that can now be accessed on the Web as a «library without walls».

Aim of IPSAPortal, an IPSA official publications, is to foster on-line research, providing authoritative guidance to students and scholars worldwide. With a special concern for political scientists from developing countries, where access to electronic sources can become a formidable substitute for the lack of adequate libraries.

In its present format, the Portal hosts over 300 relevant reference sites for on-line research in political science. Each site is listed under one subcategory of five main headings and is provided with a short abstract, a link to its actual location and an in-depth site evaluation. A quick look at IPSAPortal classification offers a preliminary insight into the variety and scope of online sources:

ACCESS SERVICES. An Access Reference Service provides access to specialized data banks for third parties, on the basis of a special agreement with the publishers.

- *Library Catalogues*: The Library Online Public Access Catalogues or OPAC are integrated databases provided with their own search engines.
- *Indexes and Abstracts*: are reference services providing access to specialized data banks containing brief descriptions of journal articles or table of contents, with links – in many cases – to the original full text source.
- *Articles and Books*: are reference services providing access to specialized data banks containing full-text journal articles, books and book reviews.
- *Encyclopedia*: refers to online reference and information services providing proprietary content in the format of simple and concise information in the various fields of knowledge.

DATA BANKS. Data Banks are perhaps the fastest expanding category in the universe of electronic text. They offer direct access to a variety of sources: from newspaper articles to juridical archives, from statistical publications to polling records.

- *Official records*: are databanks that contain governmental outputs as laws, statutes, regulations and court opinions at various levels of the political system (from congress to courts and beyond).
- *Media Sources*: refer to online access to newspapers, magazines, wire services and electronic media. Thousands of worldwide newspapers, magazines, journals, financial data, public and legislative records are accessible via these databanks websites.
- *Statistical and Data Archives*: offer access to a variety of demographic, economic, political and social statistics.
- *Special Collections*: are websites collecting highly specialized materials in different formats.

INSTITUTIONS. This category presents here an overview of how Political Science organizations conceive their own presence within the web environment.

- *Associations*: lists a sample of professional transnational, national and subnational Political Science associations.
- *Schools and departments*: presents a selection of faculties, schools and departments more active in the online presentation – and management –of Political Science teaching and research activities.

THEMATIC SITES. We have grouped under this heading websites reflecting a core research focus, relating to an institutional centre or an individual scholar. In many cases, thematic sites develop as/into networks of people/organizations sharing a common interest.

- *Research Institutes*: are research structures inside or outside of universities focusing on a specific field of activity.
- *Thematic networks*: are joint undertakings of institutions and/or persons sharing research projects and activities.

E-LEARNING. e-Learning has rapidly achieved a prominent position in all major universities, with online teaching and distant education becoming a standard feature of university degrees curricula.

- *Comprehensive*: This sub-category refers to major educational institutions active in providing e-learning courses/degree as well as information about on-line teaching methodologies and technological platforms.
- *Courseware*: Under this label are syllabi and other electronic teaching materials provided by individual scholars and/or faculties/departments to be used as e-learning objects.
- *Videolectures*: This section deals with the multimedia developments in scholarly environment: lessons, lectures, seminars in video format.

The MOOCs Challenge

Much as the electronic Alexandria may offer tremendous opportunities for cultural advancement worldwide, there has been a missing link for a full-fledged use of open access scholarly sources. This link is authoritative guidance. Projects as IPSAPortal may contribute to popularizing what is available on the Web, and how to find one's own way through such an unlimited maze. However, the century old formula of higher learning calls for a more structured path for selecting and sharing education: the path of university teaching. After two decades of controversial experimentation of various e-learning platforms, the academic electronic environment seems to have at last found a successful format, by bridging the delivery of top quality content with the huge numbers of students made available through the Web 2.0 social networking. The format is MOOC, Massive Open Online Courses.

Although the first MOOCs experiments date back to 2008, it was in 2012, with the development of bespoke MOOCs platforms that the phenomenon gained momentum prompting the New York Times to dub it the year of the MOOC. MOOCs are a new way of delivering open access, online courses that can be scaled up to reach potentially limitless numbers of users, crossing geographical boundaries to offer quality learning content to the global market. MOOCs are offering great opportunities to improve teaching and learning methods as well as a new environment for cooperative efforts to generate and spread knowledge around the world. While different positions on the nature and outcomes of such transformation have been presented in the public debate, many among the most authoritative US and European universities are investing a significant amount of financial and organizational resources to take up the new weblearning challenge.

The International Political Science Association has recently launched a pilot set of PS courses in cooperation with Federica Web-learning, the portal of the University of Naples Federico II, with an established record of 300 e-learning courses and over 5000 lessons. The IPSAMOOCs program will benefit from previous Ipsa projects, such as IPSAPortal, the IPSA official publication dedicated to the retrieval and evaluation of web sources for Political Science. The launch of IPSAMOOCs is scheduled for late Spring 2015, with two courses already in an advanced production stage: Comparative Political Systems by Gianfranco Pasquino and Comparative research designs and comparative methods by Dirk Berg-Schlosser.

In IPSAMOOCs, each course will follow a common format to enhance user experience across different PS subdisciplinary areas. Special attention will be devoted to the integration of traditional video and audio material with an intensive use of web

sources. With an innovative interface, the portal will offer interactive classes to students, with no geographical constraints. The platform will also include a tool to analyze data from students' online activities to provide a better understanding of teaching and learning political science in a digital environment.

In a first step IPSAMOOCs will cover the basic skills and "conceptual maps" of studying political science, followed by a high-quality (core) curriculum of political science as a second step. The "basics" include:

- basic introduction into the subfields of political science, in particular into comparative politics, public policy, international relations, and political theory (afterwards, particular MOOCS on parties, NGOs, parliaments, public administration etc. can follow for all branches of political science);
- basics of epistemology and methodology of political science (from concept formation and operationalization to data collection and data analysis, and from there to theory building (could later be easily connected with IPSA summer schools);
- introduction into the art of finding books, articles, data, relevant websites etc. (into which could be integrated the present IPSAPortal).

The audience of IPSAMOOCs may include European and North American scholars or their well-trained graduate students, but the primary targets are political scientists in the global south and students in their first years of academic education. Therefore, MOOCs need to be clear and easily understandable. The standard IPSAMOOC format shall consist of:

- short video lectures by the author, made especially for use in MOOCs (no "real life lectures"). These should be starters for each MOOC, sometimes even for each part of the MOOC. Authors should note that videos cannot be updated as easily as texts and diagrams, and therefore should be limited to general and lasting issues;
- PowerPoint slides which accompany the video lectures and contain the core of the essential information. It is important to include hyperlinks to relevant websites (sources, data, illustrations, videos / audio clips, websites, further readings, etc.) in these "slides", because this makes the exuberant information in the internet available for well-directed teaching;
- audio clips that accompany – and explain – illustrations, pictures, diagrams, tables …. In general, audio clips are preferable to video clips, since users are inclined to listen while looking at additional items, but not to watch the same speaker for more than a few minutes;
- a list of further readings, (ideally referring to texts available on the internet or as e-books);
- exercises, based on the information provided by MOOC materials.

The first MOOCs shall be in English, while in the course of the whole enterprise MOOCs in French and Spanish might be produced as well, including translations of already existing MOOCs.

A Moving Frontier

Electronic work comes as no news for the contemporary scholar. We now take for granted that most if not all of our writing takes place in front of a computer, as well as a large amount of our reading. Not to count the ever expanding mass of emailing, with their endless feedbacks and attachments. To the extent that our mind, à la Pierce, is but an extension of our means of expression, we are all becoming electronic thinkers. Yet, when it comes to teaching, the classroom has remained a stronghold of traditional face-to-face interaction between the students and their professors. With the advent of MOOCs, teaching too seems to be due for its own cybertransformation.

IPSAPortal and IPSAMOOCs offer an integrated platform for experimenting, interacting and sharing this new challenging environment. It is open to the political science community and beyond, to all citizens with a quest for understanding how the study of politics can improve their own lives. Welcome aboard.

CO-DIRECTING EUROPEAN JOURNALS
Donatella Della Porta:
European Political Science Review

IPS: How would you define internationalization in your field?

Internationalization is of growing importance, with a varied balance of pros and cons, related with the definition we give to it. The most positive aspects I see in internationalization are understood as experiences in different countries, academic institutions, and cultures. This internationalization by personal experiences often brings about an awareness of a plurality of approaches, methods, styles, and practices. This is extremely useful in order to put one's own national experience in comparative perspective; it helps a critical look and (hopefully!) some methodological pluralism based on the knowledge of the many ways in which social and political sciences developed.

There is, however, also an internationalization that I found extremely risky: an internationalization by homologation to a specific tradition (or evolution of that tradition). This is the homologation to the Anglo-Saxon system, with its emphasis on competition and evaluations. While in the very countries where these conceptions developed, critical voices are becoming more and more audible on the limits of these practices; the risk is that emulation is done uncritically, absorbing one and only one academic culture. This, I believe, would jeopardize the very richness of our disciplines in Europe.

IPS: How has internationalization impacted your career?

My career has been international since the very start—with my DEA (equivalent of an MA) at the EHESS in Paris. Even though I saw the limits of the French system, with its (at the time, at least) closed schools, I started, however, to appreciate the stimuli coming from experiencing diversity, the excitement in learning a language, and getting in contact with a broader culture. I continued to experience (and to enjoy) internationalization during my Ph.D. times at the European University Institute. I was, paradoxically, blessed by the delays in the Italian academic system. In 1983, when I was admitted at the EUI, it was the very first year in which Italy (as one of the last countries on the continent) started a Ph.D. system. As I got the letter of acceptance from the EUI, the first competition to enter an Italian Ph.D. program had not finished yet. So, I happily went to Fiesole. While less international than nowadays— there were only Ph.D. candidates from the founding members of the European Union then—the EUI was quite internationalized for Europe at that time. Writing

my Ph.D. there gave me not only language skills, but especially, once again, the curiosity for foreign cultures.

Once again blessed by the nepotism of the Italian academia, when I finished at the EUI, I was told by several members of Italian universities (not by all, though) that choosing the EUI had been a bad choice—because now, I didn't have any patron to help my career. This was again a (paradoxically) lucky circumstance as I was pushed to take positions in other countries' institutions (among which, at the Social Science Center in Berlin), where I learned much and broadened my international knowledge. Internationalization also impacted on my career when I went back to the EUI, having the chance of mentoring Ph.D. students and post-doctoral fellows coming from as many as 27 different countries. Although I did not visit all of them at home, I learned from them immensely about the potential for comparative politics and sociology, as well as about the immense need to go beyond the "classic" comparative strategies. But, I also learn about different cultures, histories, arts... and this is great fun.

IPS: From your experience as the general editor of the *European Political Science Review*, what are the efforts that are necessary to forge the internationalization of a journal?

Internationalization of a journal is not easy—at least if you consider it important to have a balance between the various areas of Europe (not to speak of the world). Despite the efforts of Guy Peters, my co-editor—and I put in the attempt to spread the call beyond the Anglo-Saxon world since the very beginning, our success was important, but not total. For sure, since the very first issues (where we had invited contributions from authors with different national backgrounds), we could indeed involve an international milieu of collaborators. We easily got beyond the Anglo-Saxon world—unfortunately, with some weaknesses, however. In particular, Southern and Eastern European scholars were more difficult to attract than those from Central and Northern Europe. We dealt with this problem pragmatically, trying to balance participation in the editorial board, as it was indeed balanced among the associated editors. I would say we have improved a bit, but there is still much to be done. We had also fewer submissions than we would have liked from the American continent. An explanation I was often given for that is that (as a young journal), we didn't have an "Impact factor," and this was a problem, especially for American colleagues whose departments ask them to publish in journals with IF... notwithstanding the San Francisco Declaration, signed by dozens of academic associations (especially in the hard sciences), which has strongly criticized the use of a journal's IF to assess the contribution of specific articles...

IPS: From your perspective, how internationalized is the Italian academia? And what are the improvements to be made?

I think that, in general, the degree of internationalization of the Italian academia is extremely low. I was just asked to fill a questionnaire about my experience with my Advanced Grant of the European Research Council—as the granting authority

wanted to understand why so few applications come from Italy. In participating in selection procedures for Ph.D. in Italian institutions, I was quite surprised by the number of Italian students who pursue all their university career within the same institution. On this, they compared indeed very badly with their colleagues in other European countries. While this might have, of course, an economic reason—in a country in which incentives for students and their mobility are among the lowest in Europe—I think there could also be cultural barriers to mobility—in particular, in the belief that, if you go abroad, you lose your contact with a/your potential patron...

IPS: What would be your suggestions to a new generation of scholars who want to incorporate an international dimension into their career?

I don't want to make it too simple, but I would suggest to actively search for all the possible occasions to go abroad, and learn how other systems work. Start with Masters abroad—true, some institutions are making a business of Masters education, and this increases class selectivity; but there are still many countries (e.g., in Northern Europe), where a Masters degree is economically accessible, and even grants are available for that. I would say, continue with a post-doc abroad—not necessarily to leave Italy for good, but to try other systems, learn other lessons, enjoy other cultures... For me, it was not only useful to my career, but also extremely gay!

Co-Directing European journals
Anna Bosco:
South European Society and Politics

IPS: How would you define internationalization in your field?

Internationalization, in my opinion, has at least two main dimensions, involving the content of research and the communication of its results. The first dimension implies awareness of the theories, methods, and publications produced by the international scholarly community on a specific research topic. The second dimension, instead, concerns the ability to make your ideas, research results, and works known within that very community. Internationalization in short, is an exciting exercise in knowledge-sharing across national borders.

IPS: How has internationalization impacted your career?

As a comparativist I've learnt soon the importance of internationalization. First, I spent a semester at Rutgers University to finish my undergraduate dissertation, which addressed the return to the barracks of the armed forces in Latin America. Later, I spent research periods in Spain and Portugal, preparing my Ph.D. dissertation. Those early experiences made clear to me that to gain expertise and understand politics in other countries, three steps are necessary: first, to go for field research whenever this is possible; second, to master foreign languages; and third, to discuss your work with as many colleagues as possible.

IPS: From your experience, how internationalized is the Italian academia? And what are the improvements to be made?

If I consider the second of the two aforementioned dimensions, that is, the ability to share works and ideas within the international community, I would say that Italian political science has improved its internationalization record in recent years. However, there is still room for further improvements. Internationalization involves activities such as attending conferences, spending research periods abroad, inviting foreign colleagues in your own department, and also participating in international research projects, publishing in international journals and books, and so on. Nowadays, the lack of financial resources—due to the Eurozone economic crisis—is hindering these activities. The consequences are particularly negative for junior scholars, who lack the economic support to internationalize their CV when it is most important—in the formative years of their careers.

But, internationalization also faces a second obstacle, concerning the ability to write in standard English. In my experience as journal editor, submissions by Ital-

ian scholars often present more linguistic problems compared to those by academics from Spain, Portugal, Greece, or Turkey. This problem could be solved at an individual level—learning to write in English, or resorting to private professional editors. Even better, in my opinion, the problem could be solved at an institutional level, should a university decide to set up a linguistic center devoted to language editing (such as the one at the EUI). I believe that investing in such structures would greatly help the internationalization of the Italian academia.

IPS: From your experience as the general editor of *South European Society and Politics*, what are the efforts that are necessary to forge the internationalization of a journal?

In the case of SESP, four ingredients were important for its internationalization; these are: the journal's mission statement, inclusion in the SSCI, online publication, and, of course, hard work.

First, SESP is a macro-regional journal, which covers seven South European countries (Portugal, Spain, Italy, Greece, Turkey, Cyprus, and Malta). Internationalization, therefore, has always been part of the journal's DNA. Moreover, Susannah Verney (my co-editor) and I tried to give the journal a more defined profile. Nowadays, SESP's aim is to enhance the knowledge of the changes taking place in the politics and societies of Southern Europe and in each of the seven countries that, in our definition, make up the region. In so doing, SESP has succeeded in carving out and consolidating a specific role in the publications market, serving a particular niche in the academic community.

Second, a boost to the internationalization of the journal was given by its inclusion in the Social Science Citation Index in 2008. This meant that, beginning in 2009, SESP was yearly evaluated with an impact factor. Inclusion into the SSCI resulted not only in doubling the number of submissions, but also in submissions now coming from all over the world.

Third, on electronic publishing and online accessibility, I would only like to remark that these tools are changing the nature of journal readership. Nowadays, scholars have access to article databases and research engines that make an article on a specific topic or by a specific author as visible as anything anywhere. This, of course, also increases a journal's visibility and internationalization.

The last ingredient is hard work; this comprises actively looking for the best authors, commissioning articles on subjects of topical interest and promoting special issues, giving special attention to the referee process of each and every article, and finally, helping authors in marketing their published works. A constant effort is required, but worth it. The journal, in fact, has grown up, becoming a point of reference for the international community interested in Southern Europe—so much so that, in 2014, our editorial team acquired new members. Fabio Bordignon (as assistant editor), Leire Salazar, and Lorenzo Mosca (as associate editors for Spain and Italy, respectively) joined me, Susannah, and Senem Aidin (associate editor for Turkey), in the journal's direction.

IPS: What would be your suggestions to a new generation of scholars who want to incorporate an international dimension into their career?

I would give them two suggestions. First, try and spend a research period abroad, possibly during the work for the Ph.D. dissertation or immediately after. Second, invest time and effort in mastering foreign languages, and especially English, not only spoken but also written. I believe that these are important assets for further integration within the international scholarly community.

IPS: What other obstacles are hindering the internationalization process?

Apart from lack of funding and the English language problem I mentioned above, I see another major obstacle: the mismatch between the need for internationalization and the limited value assigned by the Italian evaluation systems (both ASN and VQR) to edited works. Edited books and journal special issues are the typical publication outlets for the results of international research projects. For this reason, they should be highly regarded. Instead, they are overlooked and no specific credit is awarded to editors who organize the project, review the writing of the individual articles/chapters, and coordinate the whole project from the start to final publication. For example, North American and UK universities consider peer reviewed, edited volumes relevant publications for tenure applications and review processes because they demonstrate the maturity and networking ability of the book editors. I believe it's time we followed their example.

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CO-DIRECTING EUROPEAN JOURNALS
Maurizio Carbone:
Contemporary Italian Politics

IPS: How would you define internationalization in your field?

The first definition that comes to mind - not least because this is a very prominent issue where I currently work (the University of Glasgow), sees internationalization as "recognizing the power and importance of international collaboration in teaching, scholarship, and service". First, we are encouraged to boost the profile of the university in international contexts and promote its reputation as a center of excellence. A decent amount of funds is available not only to participate in international conferences, but also to visit potential partners with the view of forging new links for both staff and students. It is important to point out that we are encouraged to internationalize our individual profiles, but without forgetting the common good.

So, it is not only about how we, as individuals, engage with colleagues in other parts of the world and how our research can profit from these interactions, but it is also about how all members of the university could potentially benefit from them. There is also another important aspect to mention: we seek exchange opportunities for our students, which at times has created some problems because we tend to attract a larger number of visiting students than we can actually afford. Finally, we have a good program of lectures, seminars, workshops, which allows us to attract top scholars in the field, and successfully engage with them. Let me also cite a more recent event. In September 2014 we hosted the General Conference of the European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR), attracting more than 2,000 scholars, and received very good feedback contributes significantly to the internationalization process of any university.

IPS: How has internationalization impacted your career?

Enormously. Interestingly my specialization when I completed my undergraduate degree was public administration. My aspiration back then was to work in one of the ministries in Rome. I was coming from Ceramida, a small village in Calabria, so Rome was international enough for me. Then I went to the USA and completed my PhD under the supervision of Alberta Sbragia and Guy Peters – everybody knows them as great scholars, but they were also great supervisors and put me in touch with various prominent scholars in the USA and Europe. At Pittsburgh, both the European Union Centre and the Centre for International Studies attracted a large number of scholars coming from all over the world, either for lectures or for longer

research periods. We all benefited from their presence. I was also lucky enough to be in a place with specific budget lines for research travels, so I travelled a lot, for fieldwork and to present my research in various types of international settings. My experience at the University of Glasgow has been similar. I have received great support in my attempts to create partnerships with other universities. In less than ten years I have held official visiting positions at Duke University, European University Institute, University of Cambridge, University of Cologne, Science Po Paris, and have presented my work everywhere in the world (from Norway to Fiji, from Canada to China). Finally, through my service in several learning societies – APSA, PSA, EUSA – and the organization of the 2014 ECPR General Conference I have been able to interact with a vast number of scholars. I have no doubts that both my research outputs and profile has benefited from these opportunities.

IPS: From your experience as general editor of Contemporary Italian Politics, what are the efforts that are necessary to forge the internationalization of a journal?

Well, our journal is by definition internationalized. When Jim Newell and I started this project, now six years ago, we had several objectives, but probably the most important was that of providing a space for scholars working in Italy and for scholars working abroad, mainly in the UK and in the USA. Both Jim and I are members of the executive committees of the Italian Politics Specialist Group (IPSG) of the PSA and the Conference Group on Italian Politics and Society (CONGRIPS) of APSA. First with the *Bulletin of Italian Politics*, a sort of 'homemade publication' appearing both on the website of the University of Glasgow and in print, and now with *Contemporary Italian Politics* published by Routledge three times a year, we have been able to attract a number of high quality articles. I am happy to say that we have received contributions from both established scholars and junior researchers. I believe that *Contemporary Italian Politics* has contributed, in a minimal part, to the internationalization of the Italian Academia.

IPS: From your perspective, how internationalized is the Italian Academia? And what are the improvements to be made?

I have been away from Italy for almost twenty years now, so I do not have a full understanding of how the Italian system functions. So, what I say here is rather impressionistic, also because I do not have figures at hand. Let me start with the positive developments which I have noticed since I completed my Laurea in 1996. First, I see a generation of young scholars who draws from a wider range of schools and approaches, goes to international conferences, and publishes in international journals. Second, I am happy to see that the *Rivista Italiana di Scienza Politica* appears in English. This is a great achievement, and I want to congratulate Luca Verzichelli, Fabio Franchino and Amie Kreppel for their efforts in making the journal more international. Then, two areas where I think there can be some improvements. First, universities could provide more opportunities for international students who want to study in Italy and for international professors who want to spend a research period in Italy. I am sure that both students and researchers liv-

ing in Italy would find this very beneficial. You do not necessarily need to go abroad to profit from the EU's mobility programs. Second, a further effort should be made to make the annual meeting of the *Società Italiana di Scienza Politica* more international (and in some cases to run it more professionally). It is not only about having panels in English if all people in the room are Italians. Section chairs, for example, could do more to attract international scholars. But of course the burden should not be placed only on them, it should be a collective effort.

IPS: What would be your suggestions to a new generation of scholars who want to incorporate an international dimension into their career?

I have been very fortunate in my academic career: both Pittsburgh, during my PhD programme, and Glasgow, since my arrival as lecturer in 2005, have supported my aspirations. In Italy the situation may be a bit different. The amount of resources available for internationalization is very low when it is compared to most European countries (not to mention the USA). But there are a few little things that can be done easily. I do not want to sound disrespectful, but I'd like to see some young scholars being more emancipated from older professors. In other words, I'd like to see them pursue their own research agenda and find a niche, if possible. Another important issue is to really take full advantage of international conferences: true, we go to conferences to present our work, but we should invest more of our time in networking. I tend to go to any social activity, drinks, dinners because in these contexts people are generally more relaxed, so it is easier to discuss how to forge new links: I do not refuse to go to social activities because I am tired; also I do hang out with colleagues from my university (we actually meet almost once a week in one of the wonderful Glasgow pubs). Finally, there are a number of opportunities for visiting fellowships, international workshops, with grant attached: in my experience Italians do very well, but they need to apply more.

Co-Directing European journals
Giampiero Giacomello:
Defence Studies

IPS: How would you define internationalization in your field?

Apparently, by the number of articles in English that you publish and the conferences you attend abroad. Of course, it's deeper than that. It's a matter of raising our standards, both in teaching and doing research, at the level of the most advanced universities. It's more like an attitude, rather than counting this or that. Clearly, if you do not publish in English, nor you go abroad to conferences and seminars (and possibly, as visiting lecturer too), there's no way you can understand what "internationalization" means.

IPS: How has internationalization impacted your career?

A lot. When I first attended the Johns Hopkins Bologna Center, I remember that I thought, "Uh, so this is International Relations!" I had graduated in IR and had only a vague idea of what it was. So, I learned the basics of IR in English and it's still easier for me to think that way. Of course, when I started, there was no Internet and nobody knew what to do. It was all trial and error. And, of course, it has taken me a lot of time. I soon learned that I had nothing less than my foreign colleagues and that I actually enjoyed challenging them and seeing who was better. And I loved to beat them! This experience has led me to consider competition with foreign colleagues as the yardstick with which to evaluate the quality of my research. I still think that way.

IPS: From your experience as general editor of Defense Studies, what are the efforts that are necessary to forge the internationalization of a journal?

Running a journal is quite difficult today. Yes, you have plenty of submissions because everybody wants to publish in English scholarly journals, but it is not that easy to always find quality papers. There's a lot of competition among journals too, except for the very top ones. The problem with the latter is that they tend to replicate themselves, that is, they are quite reluctant to change their editorial policy, even if they change the editorial team.

Online and open source journals will probably change that. There's already a lot on the Web, some of good quality too, and it will grow in number and relevance. This will put pressure on the top journals to adapt as well. Last, but not least, within the Political Science discipline, IR will become more and more fragmented in terms of topics and methodology. Pluralism is the catch-word in IR today. Hence,

comparing your research to what others are doing will become even more central to ensure overall quality. Otherwise, we'll go back to "national" disciplines, which would be a disastrous mistake.

IPS: From your perspective, how internationalized is the Italian academia? And what are the improvements to be made?

Delicate question. Very delicate. Let's see. On the positive side, unlike other disciplines, Political Science is, overall, quite internationalized. Some of the founding fathers—I'm thinking of Bobbio and Sartori—were quite international themselves and set a positive example. But then, some complacency set in. Soon, some of the less smart and innovative of their students figured out that they could command respect and secure benefits with minimum effort, by "staying" inside, that is in Italy. Then, other generations of scholars followed their examples.

Of course, it is always difficult to generalize, but we have to admit that only a few departments of Political Science in Italy have tried—with shrinking funds and fighting bureaucracy—to stay at the highest level of quality. I know that I'm saying something that probably will bother some colleagues, but I firmly believe that those departments should be rewarded for their efforts, even at the cost of shifting resources from the least competitive ones. Clearly, this policy should be applied to all disciplines and departments. And if this means a new classification between "research universities" and "teaching universities," well, it's ok. Nobody will prevent a department for trying to "move up" and those that are in the premier league will strive even more to stay there. However, I am very, very skeptical that Italian universities will ever be that brave. I hope I'm wrong, but...

IPS: What would be your suggestions to a new generation of scholars who want to incorporate an international dimension into their career?

Very simple—publish in English and attend international conferences. The more, the better. I started attending the International Studies Association (ISA) Annual conference long ago, and the number of Italians participating was ridiculously low. And some of them were from foreign universities. It's a little better now; younger scholars do go to the ISA and are much appreciated. But, they are still a minority. The truly smart ones. There are still too many in the discipline who do not dare, either because they have not been properly trained or because they are lousy scholars (I don't attend APSA, the American Political Science Association's conference because I have to make choices with my poor funds!).

IPS: How do you see the future of Political Science and International Relations?

Let's stop looking at the United States (and I owe a lot to that country's scholars) and Europe and start focusing on China, India, and Asia. The most challenging, and of course, interesting questions will arise there and will be addressed by scholars there. It would be a real pity if, for contemplating ourselves too much, we were to miss them.

The academic career of an Italian scholar affiliated in the UK:
the experience of Claudio Maria Radaelli

Claudio Maria Radaelli
University of Exeter

Manuela Moschella kindly asked me to reflect on my experience and compare Italy and the UK. I must confess I know next to nothing about academic careers in Italy. The fact is that when I finished my five-year degree in economics and social sciences at Bocconi University, I was told it was foolish to try to become a political scientist because there were no openings in Italy. A mentor said, jokingly: "Until one of us dies there won't be any position in political science, and, at least for the time being, we have no intention of passing away". So for seven years I worked for research institutes (including Censis, where my boss was the inspirational Paolo Bellucci, now at the University of Siena) and the federation of Italian industry (Confindustria). True, I kept an honorary position of research fellow at Bocconi and published some articles, but I thought it would be impossible to start an academic career in political science. The fact that I was kind of changing route from economics to political science was yet another reason to abandon plans to become a professional political scientist: I felt I knew too little about parties, governments and political systems in general.

Seven years after my graduation at Bocconi, I realized that... you are bound to become what you already are! No matter how I rationally rejected the academic option, my heart and soul were pushing me into political science. At the age of 32 I decided to become more professional in my fascination with political science, and started a PhD at the Cesare Alfieri in Florence with Leonardo Morlino as supervisor. Incidentally, Leonardo has a special quality of finding potential where others would not have found anything, especially in mature students like me who seemed 'lost' for the cause of academia. However, towards the completion of my PhD I was offered a position of lecturer at Bradford University, hence I did not go through the usual post-doc / early researcher phase in Italy. Thus, I did not work in any Italian department of politics after the PhD — although I taught some classes at the University of Milan, where I had my mentor and intellectual guide Gloria Regonini — my other maestro was and is Bruno Dente, to whom I owe everything I am as professional social scientist. UNIMI is where I still have some of my best friends and academic colleagues today.

All this is to say that I cannot really compare the UK with Italy. But hopefully I can still say something useful to the readers. Let me first explain what I saw when I started working in the UK. Next, I will tell you which features of political science as career in the UK have changed during the last five years or so, because things have been changing fast indeed.

When I took up my first academic job at the University of Bradford, Department of European Studies, in September 1995 (so, note, this was a long time ago!), I was struck by the intellectual freedom I had in designing the content of the modules and in pursuing my research ideas. A lecturer was — and still is — a full citizen of the department. The department has some *desiderata* of course and the head of education makes clear where the teaching priorities are. But you develop the content of your teaching and your research agenda independently from what the big Profs in the department are doing or want to do. After 12 months I had my courses, my graduate students, my first grant ...briefly, I was in full control of my teaching and research agenda. If I wanted the advice of the powerful political science chairs in the department, I was of course free to ask for it, and indeed I benefitted immensely from it. But this was mentoring rather than hierarchy.

Even more important, after years of listening to my friends in Italy talking about 'research money starvation', I was immersed in the 'bonanza' of research funding: ESRC, Nuffield Foundation, British Academy, British Council's grants for bilateral cooperation with this or that country. There was so much that for three years I did not even think of going for the European funding schemes. By contrast, I heard that my Italian colleagues at that time had either the European Framework programme or some small funds made available by the CNR. Another important feature of my first three years in the UK: I was not asked to take on any administrative responsibility. My department told me to concentrate on research and teaching. On research, at that time there wasn't even pressure to get a large amount of grants: my mentor at Bradford, Professor Kenneth Dyson, was genuinely impressed with the ESRC grant I got to carry out empirical research on international taxation right after my PhD completion. When I told him that the monetary value was limited, he responded: "you are expected to raise the amount of money that is appropriate for your research at this time and sufficient to publish in the best journals in the profession". At Bradford we had a teaching term and a non-teaching term, which meant that I could do all my teaching between September and early January, and be free to dedicate all the other working weeks to my research projects.

At that time I also got intrigued by what I called, perhaps naively, 'knowledge utilization': unlike most colleagues, I thought of research and dissemination as one integrated process, and participated in several task forces and research groups put together by the research institutes (like Ceps in Brussels) or international institutions (e.g., Oecd and European Commission) and governments. To illustrate, Ceps ran two task forces on international and EU taxation that allowed me as rapporteur to meet regularly with some 30 policy-makers from the business community, the OECD and the Commission, once every six weeks approximately. I was sharing my research ideas with the members of the task force, and could use these influential people as

sounding board. At the same time, this increased the policy relevance of my ideas and research.

Sounds good to you? Wait a minute. Things have changed. Well, all I said about individual freedom on teaching content and your full control of the research agenda is still valid today. But... there are a few important changes.

Teaching has become much more (in quantity) and more important (in quality) with students and their families investing up to 9000 pounds per year to go to university. If you teach a large year-1 or year-2 module, you may have more than 100 students, actually in some cases 200 or 300. This means you are given 2-3 even 4 graduate teaching fellows to help you: the consequence is that at the age of 26 you are already a manager of teaching fellows and have to learn on the road how to coordinate their work and their expectations. Good thing? Bad thing? I cannot tell, but it's a responsibility I did not have in my early years at Bradford, where I was given small courses. Today we also teach to students from different continents, and this requires some understanding of cultures and expectations in cross-sections of students that are not homogeneous at all. I guess all social scientists like variation! But this variation requires preparation, respect and tact.

Another difference: nowadays, the new members of the profession are asked to take on administrative roles since their early days in the department. Some roles are OK-ish, others develop your professional skills greatly, but they are... heavy stuff! I have seen young colleagues moving from their jeans to a white shirt, suit and tie in four months, and going to the 'executive' meeting of this or that body of the Faculty with loads of bureaucratic paperwork. The consolation prize? Well, at least you become a big name in the Faculty administration at the age of 30!

Finally, the whole agenda of public engagement, dissemination and impact (of our research) has become prominent with the Research Excellence Exercise, and it is bound to increase its role in the next REF. In this 2014 REF, units of assessment (like Politics for us at Exeter) receive 65% of the funding for the publications, 15% for the vitality and sustainability of their environment, and 20% for impact in terms of reach and significance. Everyone says that the percentage and political significance of impact can only increase in the future.

Yes, everyone says we have that in the UK: you have to publish a lot. I disagree. The only question we ask in our departmental executive meetings to young colleagues (actually, to all colleagues) is to produce four internationally excellent publications every six years, for our Research Excellence Framework. If you publish 10 conventional, non-inspiring pieces in a year, for us the tally is ZERO, we only return to the REF four outputs for each member of staff. In exceptional cases, like a monograph on Machiavelli that took you years and years of work, we are allowed double counting, meaning that your Machiavelli will count for 2 of the 4 REF entries. To be clear: I am totally addicted to publishing, because this is where I build a conversation with my colleagues and a reputation, but my head of research only cares about whether I have the 4 REF entries or not. So, publish a lot if you like to see your name appearing in this or that journal, but in terms of your career quality is the thing to go for, not quantity. And remember that the REF Politics panel does not use metrics or lists of journals – in contrast with what some of my friends on the continent believe.

Make your choice wisely: if you pack your suitcase and join a department of politics here in Albion, be prepared to multitasking: teaching, administration, research, and impact are simultaneously on your screen. You have to watch them all, at the same time. University management has become more concentrated at the top than in the past. Departmental cultures like the one we had at Bradford — where we set our own expectations about funding, teaching and the publication/dissemination/engagement nexus — matter less in the hyper-concentrated faculties and in top management discussions. Across the country, the senior managers (from Deans upwards) are unambiguous in demanding research plans that also bring money to the university. And they want us to innovate substantially in teaching, covering the three terms with content (currently many universities teach in terms 1 and 2 only) with the 'paying fees' agenda.

Some years ago a friend of mine said to an Italian friend: "you want to know the difference? Well, here in the UK, universities are managed like a business. The university *is* business". There are objective un-pleasant implications for certain (romantic?) ideas about working in academia, but overall this has more positive than negative implications. It makes us reflect on the costs and value of what we do – and impact is not only about making money, but about making our research count in the real world. It makes us as professional as people who work in a company or manage public policies. But consider the practical implications too. There are daily pressures: new members of staff are constantly nudged to put in an application for this or that scheme, and questions are raised if you have not prepared a serious, strong application in your first three years. Profs like me are bombarded by our research administrators with mails saying how good a new nation-wide research scheme is, and asked why are we not going for it? Some of us reason that the whole balance between input (research money) and output (publications) is getting lost. But you can still get decent buy-outs of teaching and administration if you bring research money.

One more thing: you are supposed to engage, disseminate and find out ways in which your research is likely to generate 'impact'. As I said, I was personally fascinated by the whole knowledge utilisation thing! And yet, I realize that the pressure on new members of staff is objectively high, especially if they are not working in the field of comparative public policy. Colleagues in political theory or public opinion can fare well in engagement and dissemination, but to 'prove impact' is, for them, a tall order indeed.

If this is the state of academic affairs we live in, then, we ought to speak the truth to new colleagues, make sure that they understand the deal, and support their professional growth consistently - with an academic management that is oriented towards the researcher-as-client-of the-administrator, not oriented towards red tape. Training and academic mentoring of new members of staff are vital – the pressure is high, and it's easy to see how young colleagues can get frustrated if they have to climb the mountain in solitude. And, also, as department we do help new members to modulate their efforts: if every year we get at least one big grant across Politics, there is less pressure on the new members of staff 'to raise money'. Research centres like our interdisciplinary Centre for European Governance provide platforms to support collaborative research across disciplines, and can exploit research opportunities better than

the classic 'politics department'. Platforms like Q-step at Exeter bring in the capacity and infrastructure for new colleagues to work in a stimulating, cooperative research environment.

Conclusion: do you still want to pack and come to Britain (if so, be aware of some fundamental differences between Scottish universities and the others, I will tell you some other time) or stay at home in Italy? It depends on the kind of motivation you have. The English grass may look greener to political scientists of a certain ilk, but others may want to stay away from they see as 'greedy new public management' model. And by the way, the grass here is greener than in Italy, but because it always rains.

The academic career of an Italian scholar affiliated in the UK:
the experience of Lucia Quaglia

Lucia Quaglia
University of York

I was awarded a first class (110/110 cum laude) degree in Political Science by the University of Padua in 1997. During my undergraduate studies I was lucky enough to spend one year as an Erasmus student at the University of Bradford in the United Kingdom (UK). It was a thrilling experience that very much broadened my academic horizons and, not less importantly, it improved my then rather weak English. The countryside in Yorkshire is beautiful (it is sometimes likened to the Tuscany of Northern England) and I fondly remember my cream teas and scones at the end of (generally rather wet) hiking trips in the birthplace of the Brontes' sisters.

After my undergraduate degree in Italy, I decided to do my post graduate studies in the UK and enrolled for a Masters in Contemporary European Studies at the University of Sussex, which had a strong programme in this field. My Masters was partly funded by a postgraduate grant of the University of Padua. While completing my masters degree at Sussex, I was accepted in the doctoral programme there and I was also awarded an Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) grant for my doctoral studies. While working on my doctoral thesis I gained some teaching experience as seminar tutor as well as a formal qualification for teaching in higher education institutions, which is required in order to teach in British universities. I enjoyed my time in Brighton, the 'London by the sea' with its distinctive regency style architecture on the seaside promenade, which provided the setting for one of Jane Austin's novel.

I completed my doctoral studies in three years. As I discovered then, and became even clearer to me later once I became a supervisor of doctoral students, a successful completion rate for doctoral studies as well as timely completion in 3 years are very important in British Universities, especially for doctoral studies funded by public granting bodies, such as the ESRC. I was awarded my DPhil (the name given to PhD at the University of Sussex and University of Oxford) with no correction and afterward I took up a one year Jean Monnet Fellowship at the Robert Schumann Centre for Advanced Studies at the European University Institute in Florence. The time spent on the picturesque hills near Fiesole gave me time to get some good publications out. Indeed, the completion of my doctoral studies in three years while teaching part time had its toll: I ended up with no significant publications at the end of my PhD, which, on reflection, was a bit short sighted. The imperative in British academia was and is 'Publish or Perish'. This is because every 5-6 years there is the so called Research Assess-

ment Exercise or Research Excellence Framework (the name has changed over time) that is designed to evaluate the research performance of each university and each academic department within it, mainly (but not only) on the basis of research output (publications), fund raising, as well as general 'research environment'.

After what was de facto a post doc at the EUI (at that time the Max Weber fellowships for doctoral studies did not exist), I took up my first full time lectureship at the University of Limerick (IRL), followed by a permanent lectureship at the University of Bristol. Unlike in many other British universities, the university 'precinct' was located near the city centre and the department of politics was hosted in a characteristic Edwarding style building. I then moved back to Sussex as senior lecturer and was awarded a major start up European Research Council grant (ERC), followed by a fellowship of the *Hanse Wissenschaft College* in Germany. Indeed, the second main imperative in British academia is to get external research funding.

On the one hand, fund raising is becoming ever more competitive because funding for research is shrinking. On the other hand, British universities are very successful in attracting funding. For example, the vast majority of grants from the ERC (included mine) are awarded to academics working in the UK, but who are not necessarily British nationals. Recent data provided by the ERC suggest that in absolute terms the main recipients of ERC grants are of German nationality, followed by Italians working abroad (mostly in the UK n.d.r). British universities are very well organised and very professional in dealing with fund raising both at the application stage as well as once the grant is awarded. In each university there is a (at time very large) research division, and in the most research oriented departments there is a departmental research officer who assists academics in the preparation of grant applications and management of grants. Of particular importance for someone like myself not very skilled in budgeting is the preparation of the budget for each grant application, which is taken care of by the research support staff. In my case, at Sussex first and York later, I was extremely fortunate in this respect and my good track record in fund raising should be ascribed in no small measure to the research officers who collaborated with me.

In 2012 I took up a professorship (chair in political science) at the University of York, where I am currently based. I was under the age of 40, non British and female. In my opinion, if evidence is needed about the equal opportunity and meritocratic system in place in British academia, this is a clear example. British universities can also be rather flexible and accommodating for research related purposes. I am currently on research leave in Luxembourg, working on a research project funded by the *Fonds National de la Recherche* here. I am very grateful to my department that allowed me to take up this fellowship.

So, all is bright on the other side of the channel? I would say that as far as research and fund raising is concerned, British academia provide a very dynamic (and competitive) environment. Perhaps the main shortcoming is that over the last few years university fees have substantially increased. This has had three negative effects. It has reduced access to higher education for students of less advantaged backgrounds. It has de facto transformed students into customers, which is not necessarily a good pedagogical approach. It has increased the contact hours with students, their

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expectations about teaching without increasing the number of people delivering that teaching, de facto substantially increasing the workload of staff members. Hence, there is increased pressure on universities and ultimately on academics to juggle teaching, administration, dissemination, and research at the same time. In the end, I suspect that the last one, research, might have partly to give way, at least in the short term.

Signs of Competitiveness?
The presence of Italian research in international political science journals

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Introduction[1]

A weak international impact has been often indicated as one of the deficiencies in the process of institutionalization of Italian political science. Indeed, a sort of inconsistency has emerged between the unquestionable growth of political science in Italy, grounded by the pioneering work of Giovanni Sartori since the late fifties (Morlino 1992), and the slow international penetration of the research produced by the Italian community, particularly in terms of research outcomes published by top level international journals.

Such deficiency has been illustrated in an article that was published about ten years ago by Plümper and Radaelli (2004). This work analysed the amount and the impact of the articles published by the Italian tenured political scientists in the most relevant political science journals. The main implications of this research can be summarised within two points: the overall small presence of articles written by Italian scholars, especially within the top-level Political Science journals, and the parochial inclination of their research, focused mainly on the Italian politics with a relative concern for the European and international debate. A few years ago, Tronconi (2009) replicated an analogous empirical test, which reached to very similar conclusions. According to his research, between 2003 and 2007, the Italian political science had not improved significantly in terms of internationalization of its research, notwithstanding the recent increase of this academic community. However, some promising appearances in relevant journals and a relatively broader dispersion of the Italian "expertise" in new fields of research emerged, as elements of moderate optimism.

More recently, new difficulties have emerged with the process of academic recruitment due to the increasing financial constraints caused by the economic crisis. Nonetheless, other factors could concur in explaining some improvements in terms of internationalization of the Italian research: the increasing institutionalization of a few PhD schools (Panebianco 2009, Capano and Verzichelli 2010), the diffusion of the English lingua franca among the younger generations, and the prestige of many Italian scholars involved in the international disciplinary organisations.

A few years after these first assessments conducted on the internationalization of the research produced by the Italian political science community, a new in-depth analysis of this fundamental aspect of the discipline's institutionalization seems to be appropriate. In the present contribution, I pursue a two-fold goal. At a descriptive level, I will discuss comparable diachronic data, in order to evaluate the improvements done so far. Then, I will propose a first overview based on a greater comprehensive set of information about the international visibility of the Italian research. The next two sections will present, in sequence, an updated analysis of the amount of articles published by the Italian political scientists on the international journals and some bivariate analysis aiming to explain the diachronic changes. In the conclusive section, I will refine some interpretative hypotheses that can be offered for future analyses.

The international impact of the Italian research.
A longitudinal analysis

As explained above, I want to provide an updated illustration on the presence of contributions offered by the Italian political scientists for the international debate. In order to do that, I have calculated the number of articles published by the Italian lecturers and professors belonging to the SPS/04 (political science) grouping in a collection of 89 journals included in a panel defined by Plümper and Radaelli (2004).[2] Conducting such a selective strategy (limiting the data collection only to "tenure" academics and to a very selective group of journals) left us with a number of doubts already discussed by Tronconi (2009). Thus, it convinced me to move to a more comprehensive survey for our further exploration (see below). However, I will start with the simple update of Plümper and Radaelli data, in order to get a clear description of the diachronic trend. This picture, depicted in Figure 1, shows the summary of the average number of publications per year including the panel of international journals and a ratio publications/number of tenure positions since 1995.[3]

As one can see, from the low and uncertain measure of internationalisation recorded during the nineties and confirmed up to the mid-2000s, the time line seems to show an increasing trend of Italian political scientists' contributions. It is important to remember that the peaks reached in specific years (i.e. 1996 or 1998) are due to the decisions made by a couple of top journals like European Journal of Political Research and West European Politics to plan a single issue dedicated to the Italian case. Same case was applied to Journal of European Public Policy in 2004, another year in which we observed the peak of publications by the Italian scholars. After 2006, the number of pieces published by the Italian political scientists has increased more continuously, and the same trend is confirmed when looking at the number of publications written by tenure positions.

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[2] The list of journals included in the panel in available in the appendix of the article by Plümper and Radaelli (2004).
[3] 1995 was the first year in which we were able to retrieve the exact number of tenure political science positions in the Italian universities.
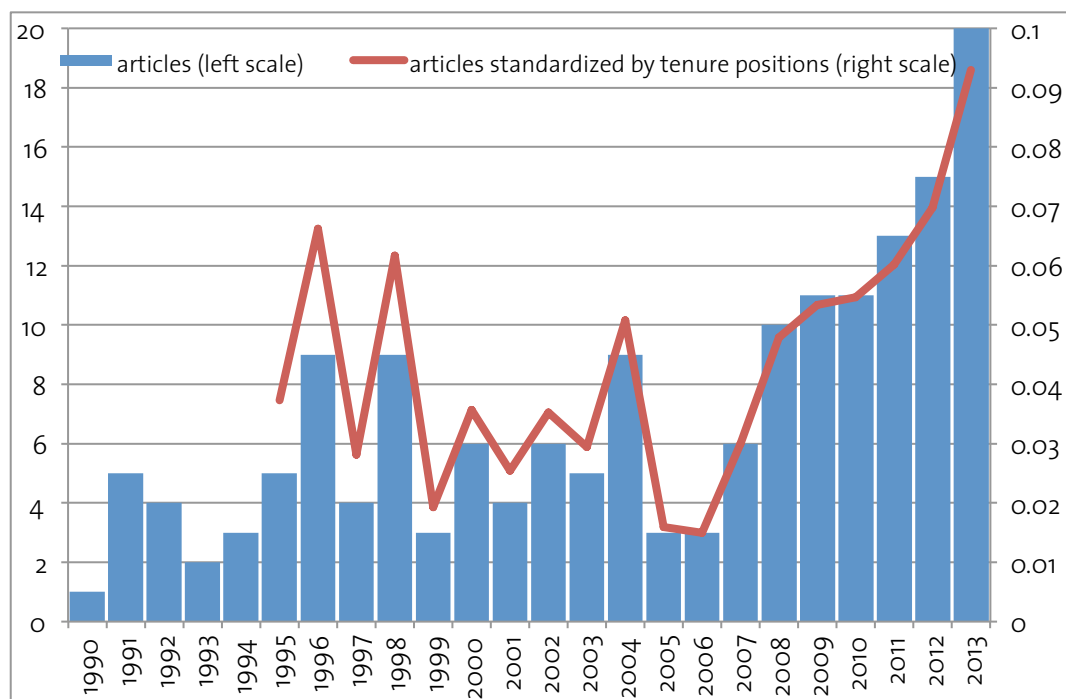
FIGURE 1.
Publications per year (1990-2013) and ratio publications/tenure positions.

Therefore, we can reasonably argue that during the last ten years the attitude of the Italian political scientists to publish their research pieces at the international level has significantly improved. Such an expansion would probably be more evident if the figure included the broad universe of non-tenured post-doc fellows and researchers. Indeed, during the last five years, the academic recruitment has been very limited due to the budget cuts for public university resources, while the number of PhD graduates in political science in Italy has been increasing. Extending the data set to the publications of junior and "precarious" researchers is beyond our possibilities now, thus I decided to focus on the sole "tenure positions". However, I have rearranged the strategy of data gathering, and I tried to correct the other weakness of the researches conducted since now, widening the pool of journals considered.

In order to cope with this problem, I have collected all the pieces published on a list of 216 International journals (see appendix) between 2003 and 2013 by 215 lectures and professors from the grouping "political science" recorded by the Italian Ministry of Higher Education on October 30th, 2014. In this research, I considered the single researcher as a unit of analysis, and I intended to gather an extensive set of data, allowing us to match a number of possible alternative factors explaining the degrees of success for internationalization[4]. A first descriptive discussion of the data, in their current shape, is available in table 1.

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[4] The data on internationalization of research is just one of the dimensions of a broader effort based on the study of the changing role of political scientists in the Italian «public sphere» (Capano and Verzichelli 2014).

TABLE 1.
International publications of Italian Political Scientists (2003-2013): a summary.

Number of articles included in the panel	539			
Number of items in the database	591			
Number of articles included in ISI ranking journals	288			
Number of articles included in Scopus ranking journals	393			
	Mean	*St. Dev.*	*Range*	*Median*
Distribution articles per political scientists	2.8	3.88	0-24	1
Distribution articles (ISI+Scopus) per political scientist	2.1	2.96	0-17	1
Political Scientists with an average of 1 article per year	14 (6,5%)			
Political Scientists with no international articles	70 (32,7%)			

International publications by Italian political scientists. Some bivariate analysis

Overall, the summary provided in Table 1 confirms that internationalization remains a difficult challenge for the Italian researchers: almost one third of the tenure academics seems to be out of the international debate, while only a slight minority of 6.5% proves to publish regularly (on annual basis) on greater sets of International journals. However, the average number of articles published (2,8) and also the average number of articles included in ISI/Scopus journals (2,1) confirms the signs of improvement above mentioned.

TABLE 2.
Number of articles published in international journals. Cross-tabulations.

	Number of articles	Articles in ISI–Scopus journals	N
Born in the 40s	3.0	1.6	27
Born in the 50s	2.0	1.6	40
Born in the 60s	2.8	2.2	71
Born in the 70s	2.9	2.2	70
Born in the 80s	5.0	3.9	7
Lecturers	2.4	1.8	102
Associate Professors	2.6	2.1	62
Full Professors	3.7	2.5	50
Universities from Northern regions	2.5	2.0	86
Universities from Central regions	3.6	2.5	89
Universities from Southern regions	1.7	1.1	40
Small size PS units	2.4	1.7	59
Medium size PS units	2.8	2.0	58
Large size PS units	2.9	2.3	98
Policy analysis /Public administration	2.0	1.7	48
International Relations /European studies	2.7	1.7	36
Political systems /comparative politics	3.2	2.4	85
Total	2.8	2.1	215

How can we explain these signs of improvement? For the limited and descriptive purposes I have in this short article, I will employ some bivariate analyses measuring the relative impact of a few potential explanatory factors. Table 2 shows the average number of publications produced by different cohorts of scholars. Younger academics tend to be more motivated and successful than their predecessors in publishing articles at the international level. Therefore, there is a handful of scholars born after 1980, already being recruited in the Italian universities, showing a rate of international publication almost twice than the average of the whole population.

More consistently with the past, the rate of international publications of the scholars from small and peripheral universities is lower than the average, and this also applies to the universities from the South, although remarkable exceptions can be found. The traditional problem of the difficult advancement of empirical political science in the smaller universities and, in general, the asymmetric and still comparatively poor consolidation of the discipline, are still evident findings if one looks to the international visibility of the research. However, if we include in the analysis another indicator like the overall impact of the research produced by this academic community (here operationalized with the H-Factor measured between the period 2009-2014) a couple of positive elements of development emerge. First of all, the average measure of H-factor is, overall, proportionally distributed among the different generations, with a very good result for the youngest cohort as well[5]. The second positive sign is the fact that the sensibility to a truly internationalised orientation is no more limited to the few large communities like the "historical" groups of Bologna and Florence (Plümper and Radaelli 2003) or the more recently developed schools of Milan or Turin.

The scatterplot in Figure 2, reporting the distribution of these couple of indicators for the units from the universities with at least 5 political scientists, corroborates such a dynamic picture, showing that most of the universities where a sufficient "critical mass" of political scientists is at work are characterised by at least a minimum rate of internationalisation (an average of at least one article on an "impacted journal" every ten years, and a minimum average of 2 as H-factor in the last five years). Some universities get actually much higher rates of internationalisation, and it is interesting to note that among these latter we find mid-sized groups located in pro-active universities like LUISS in Rome, Siena or Trento. The figure reports the label of the five units with the highest scores in both the indicators.

Conclusion

Compared to five years ago, the overall level of internationalization of the Italian political science production seems to show relevant signs of competitiveness. However, many incongruities and uncertainties remind us that some of the problems emerged in the past are still existing, thus confirming that the process of institutionalisation of the discipline is still weak and not irreversible. More precisely, Italian political scientists are very much divided between different types of "productivity": notwithstanding the presence of some well established and internationally active scholars, many

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[5] Indeed, and as expected, the H-Factor is strongly correlated to the distributions of the two measurements introduced above: the overall number of articles published internationally (Pearson coefficient = ,687) and the number of ISI/Scopus articles (Pearson coefficient = ,640).

of the tenure academics do not pay attention to the relevant journals, and others focus on alternative outcomes like monographs or edited volumes. Some scholars simply do not publish extensively, looking for other kinds of "social" impact – for instance media visibility, engagement with university management or even a role as "advisor" in some policy making processes – without paying a sufficient attention to their presence in the international scientific debate (Capano and Verzichelli 2014).
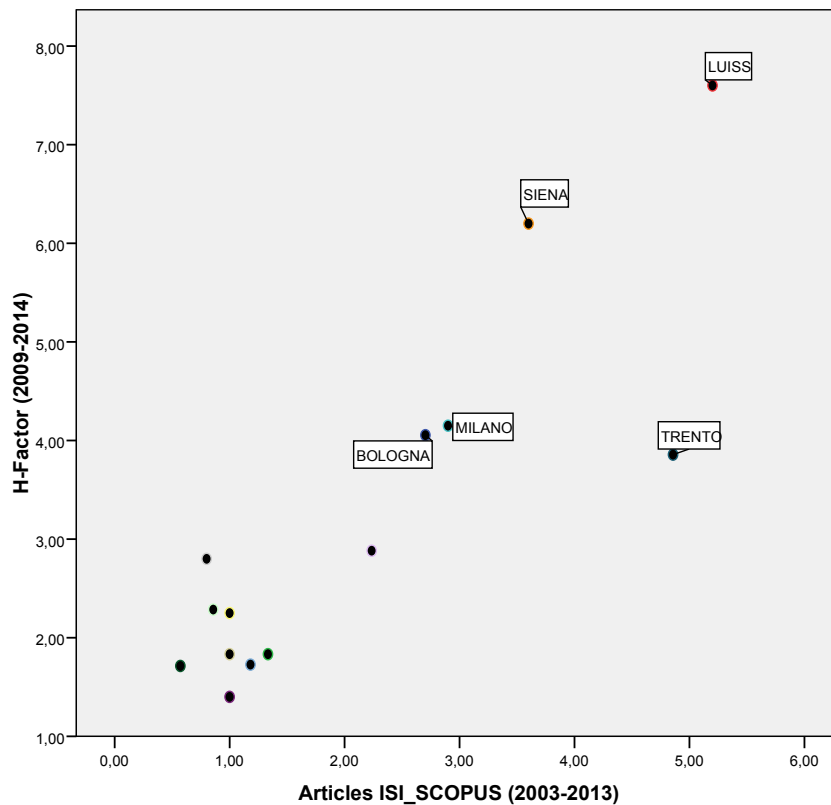
FIGURE 2.
Average number of articles (ISI/Scopus journals – 2003-2013) and average measure of H-index (2009-2014). Universities units with at least 5 political scientists.

Other elements of continuity to be stressed are the traditional disparity between central and peripheral university locations and, to some extent, the asymmetric distribution of resources between the academic institutions of the Centre-North and those from the South. Beyond these signs of continuity, however, the efforts to expand the political science research units in a number of university sites, beyond the traditional "founding" schools of Florence and Bologna seems to have determined some good elements of competitiveness. In fact, the progressive establishment of the discipline determined a spread of promising internationalisation in a number of universities, where large or even mid-sized units of political scientists are at work.

However, the most impressive finding we have revealed here is the growing propensity of the younger generation to move to an ambitious and competitive "publication plan". The consolidation of new and internationalised PhD programmes, and the

role of international association in socializing fresh scholars by means of conferences and summer schools are the crucial factors explaining such a promising development. We cannot exclude, in this provisional list of explanatory factors, a process of academic recruitment more and more inclined to consider international visibility as a crucial pre-requisite for a candidate to a tenure job in the discipline of Political Science.

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Foreign Authors in Italian Journals. Few and Expected Guests

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The ability of Italian researchers in Political Science to publish in international journals (and therefore, to participate in the international scientific debate) is an important sign of internationalization of the discipline. However, it is not the only one. It is also interesting to investigate how the main Italian journals in Political science are open toward (and attractive for) the contributions of foreign scholars. We, therefore, conducted a little research on the articles published by the main Italian journals in Political Science in recent decades.

The period taken into consideration starts in 1990 for the Italian Journal of Political Science (RISP) and from the year of their first publication with regard to "Quaderni di Scienza Politica (QUASP)" and "Rivista Italiana di Politiche Pubbliche (RIPP). They were started in 1994 and 2004, respectively. The last numbers that we considered are the issues already published in 2014. We considered, within each issue, the total number of articles (excluding the introductions and the editorials), the number of foreign authors, the number of articles with at least one foreign author and their percentage over the overall number of articles and the number of articles written in English. In Table 1, the data grouped by year are reported.

TABLE 1.
RISP, Quasp and RIPP articles by language and author nationality, 1990–2014.

Year	Tot. Articles			Tot. foreign authors			Articles w/ at least one foreign author			Articles in English			% of articles with foreign authors		
	RISP	QUASP	RIPP	RISP	QUASP	RIPP	RISP	QUASP	RIPP	RISP	QUASP	RIPP	RISP	QUASP	RIPP
1990	17			3			3			0			17.65		
1991				0			0			0			0.00		
1992	13			5			5			0			38.46		
1993	14			2			2			0			14.29		
1994	18	13		3	0		2	0		0	0		11.11	0.00	
1995	14	15		6	2		5	2		0	0		35.71	13.33	
1996	17	15		3	0		3	0		0	0		17.65	0.00	
1997	14	15		3	0		2	0		0	0		14.29	0.00	
1998	15	12		5	1		5	1		0	0		33.33	8.33	
1999	15	13		6	1		5	1		0	0		33.33	7.69	
2000	15	15		3	1		2	1		0	0		13.33	6.67	
2001	17	15		2	2		1	1		0	1		5.88	6.67	
2002	14	18		0	6		0	5		0	1		0.00	27.78	
2003	17	21		8	6		6	6		0	0		35.29	28.57	
2004	18	17	16	6	4	4	5	4	2	0	3	2	27.78	23.53	12.50
2005	19	16	14	1	3	0	1	3	0	0	3	1	5.26	18.75	0.00
2006	17	13	15	1	2	1	1	2	1	0	2	2	5.88	15.38	6.67

Year	Tot. Articles			Tot. foreign authors			Articles w/ at least one foreign author			Articles in English			% of articles with foreign authors		
	RISP	QUASP	RIPP	RISP	QUASP	RIPP	RISP	QUASP	RIPP	RISP	QUASP	RIPP	RISP	QUASP	RIPP
2007	15	18	17	4	3	2	4	2	2	0	2	0	26.67	11.11	11.76
2008	15	19	16	5	2	9	4	2	7	0	0	2	26.67	10.53	43.75
2009	15	23	16	3	4	4	3	3	3	0	0	3	20.00	13.04	18.75
2010	16	19	16	2	3	3	2	3	1	2	2	1	12.50	15.79	6.25
2011	16	18	19	5	1	0	3	1	0	3	0	2	18.75	5.56	0.00
2012	21	23	15	2	2	0	2	2	0	3	7	0	9.52	8.70	0.00
2013	16	16	17	6	0	4	3	0	3	13	0	9	18.75	0.00	17.65
2014	8	5	10	2	0	0	2	0	0	8	0	7	25.00	0.00	0.00

We tried to answer three questions: 1) is there a trend in Italian journals to attract, over time, a greater number of articles written by foreign authors? 2) How are they presumably selected? 3) Does the acceptance of articles written in English increase the number of publications written by foreign authors?

1. An erratic and downward trend

In at least two out of three journals, the best time for the publication of foreign authors seems to have passed. RIPP reached its peak of publications by foreign authors in 2008 (7 articles) and QUASP in 2002 (5 articles). Since then, the trend has been downward. In both journals, since their start till early 2014, the articles of foreign scholars published during a year have averaged about 10% of the total number of articles published. However, the variability from year to year has been very high. Such a percentage is slightly higher if we consider the articles published by RISP, and it reaches 18%. Even in this case, there is considerable variability, and since the beginning of the period, the trend is slightly downward.
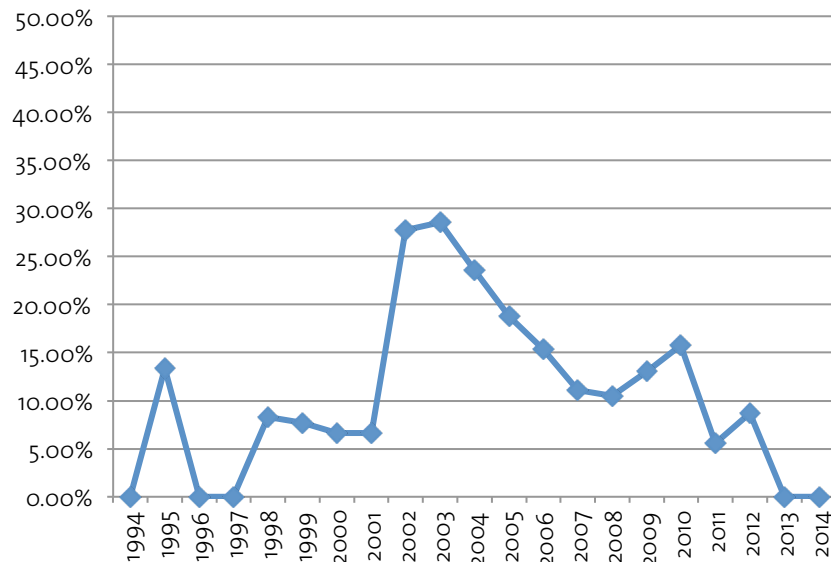

FIGURE 1A.
Percentage of foreign authors per year: QUASP.

45
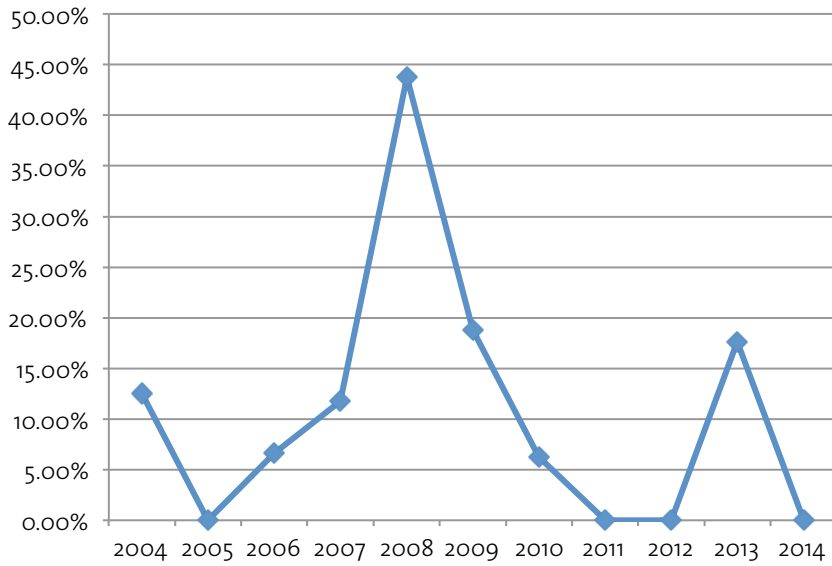
FIGURE 1B.
Percentage of foreign authors per year: RIPP.
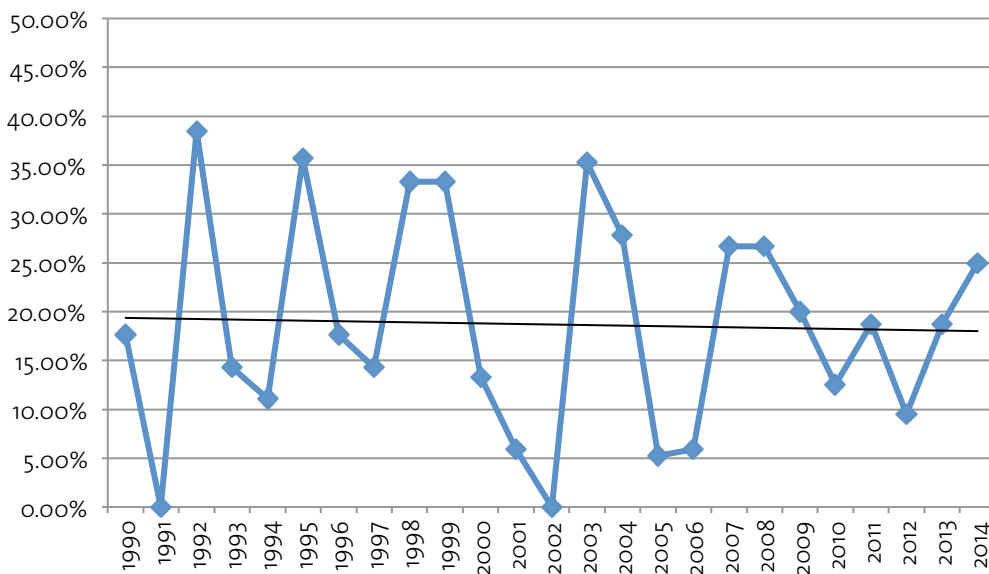
FIGURE 1C.
Percentage of foreign authors per year: RISP.

2. How are they selected?

Foreigners who have published in Italian journals do not seem to have followed the standard procedures of submission that are followed by the majority of Italian authors.

QUASP, especially in the early years, republished some contributions of classic authors or exploited papers presented at conferences and symposia by fairly known authors. RIPP maximizes the number of foreign authors on occasion, in special issues that are dedicated to a specific topic. On the contrary, RISP hosts contributions by foreign authors in its regular issues. These articles, however—especially between 1990 and 2000—are almost always written by well-known and established authors. It is very plausible that the large majority of these articles were solicited by the journal's editor(s).

3. English does not make a difference.

The youngest journals have immediately begun to accept papers written in English while RISP published its first article in English in 2010. Lately, this delay has been fully overcome. From 2013 on, RISP hosts only articles written in English. With respect to QUASP and RIPP, we can calculate (for the whole period) the correlation between the number of articles in English language in each issue and the number of articles written by at least one foreign author. In neither of the two journals, the English article is strongly related to the nationality of the authors. The correlation index for RIPP is 0.36 and weakly significant (at 0.05 level). For QUASP, the correlation index is even lower (0.26) and not significant. In case of RISP, we calculated the percentage of articles written by at least one foreign author before and after 2010, the year when, for the first time, articles in English were accepted. The percentage is slightly higher in the first period compared to the second (about 19% versus 17%). Basically, it does not seem that the use of English has led to an increase of foreign authors although it is always possible that the adoption of English has prevented a further decline.

Book Reviews

Section edited by Stefania Panebianco

MICHELA CECCORULLI, Cooperation on European defence procurement:
OCCAR and the security regime, Saarbrücken, Scholars' Press, 2014, 560 pp.,
€50,26 (paperback), ISBN: 9783639706604

Military procurement is a critical component of defence policy. Nevertheless, when states devise strategies to promote their own security, the first and most fundamental choice concerns capabilities; namely, the type and number of weapons that ought to be acquired. It is therefore striking that, despite the importance of this issue, procurement has attracted so little attention by political scientists. In fact, while (defence) economists and (military) sociologists have developed a substantial body of literature on this issue, just a few IR and public policy scholars have investigated the topic. In this unfavorable scenario, Michela Ceccorulli's volume is a very welcome contribution to political science.

In her lengthy investigation of the European experience of cooperation in the field of armaments, Ceccorulli develops a single case-study analysis to answer a variety of questions. However, her main questions can be summarized as follows: First, what are the obstacles to cooperation in defence procurement? And, second, how could the OCCAR overcome them? The answer to these questions, according to the author, is that cooperation in defence procurement is better explained as a coordination game, rather than as mere cooperation. A consequence is that the main problem is competition for gains distribution. Accordingly, OCCAR's achievements are due to its intergovernmental and flexible structure that allows member states to pursue different but compatible interests.

The argument unfolds in four chapters. Chapter one lays the theoretical foundations of the analysis by providing the reader with an overview of the literature on international regimes. The first part of the chapter revolves around the long-standing debate between the realist, neo-institutionalist and sociological paradigms. Here Ceccorulli presents a well-balanced overview of the literature since Krasner's (1983) seminal contribution. The main threads of research are discussed and analyzed, from the weight of power within institutions, to the difference between cooperation/coordination games, closing with a description of the distinctive features of security regimes. Admittedly, the main attempt of this chapter is not to validate or amend existing theories, so it is not meant to further our knowledge on the subject. That said, these theoreti-

cal considerations prove fundamental in giving the empirical part of the text a broader scope, and in highlighting the peculiarity of cooperation in the defence procurement sector - namely, the gains and challenges that this kind of regime may bring about.

Chapter two moves closer to the issue at stake, with a broad discussion of the defence procurement process. Here the author does a remarkable job of tackling the peculiarities of the military market. First, a concise overview is offered of the double-faced nature of the issue, torn as it is between market competition and security concerns, or, to put it bluntly, between free-trade and protectionism. Second, available acquisition strategies are taken into consideration. This requires explaining the policy behind weapons procurement, and the life-cycle of a weapon system. It should be noted that the issue is almost intractable (not least because, as Ceccorulli recognizes, different states follow different practices), and it is handled by the author somehow sketchily. But it is sufficient to serve the main purpose of the chapter, which is to describe the obstacles that make international cooperation so difficult. That said, the third section of the chapter describes previous examples of cooperation (both within the EU and with the US) with a two-fold purpose: First, to show how the problem was closer to a coordination rather than a cooperation game, and second, to illustrate how these attempts led to duplications and inefficiencies. Finally, the chapter discusses economic and political pressures relating to forging an international regime.

Chapters three and four make up the empirical section of the volume. In particular, chapter three is written with the two-fold purpose of: a) outlining "the principles, norms, rules and decision-making procedures characterizing the regime on defence procurement," (p. 207); b) describing the basic features of Europe's four major arms producers, namely, Great Britain, France, Germany and Italy. Apparently, both tasks serve an ancillary goal, as they are intended to pave the ground for a deeper examination of OCCAR. In other words, it seems like the author just wished to provide the reader with contextual information for the real case study of the book. The chapter consequently provides a reasoned list of the main European initiatives in the field (from WEAG and WEAO to the 2000 Letter of Intent, up to the setup of EDA), followed by a closer look at the national level. For the big four, Ceccorulli blends description and considerations concerning foreign policy, military strategy and the military industrial complex. At first glance, the effort seems partially successful. On the one hand, it delivers what it promises, clearly showing the constraints and concerns of the four founders of OCCAR. On the other hand, in its attempt to cover all bases, it ends up drawing an overly concise picture of the situation.

Conversely, chapter four presents an in-depth investigation of the rise, functioning and results of OCCAR. In this 90 page chapter, the regime is dissected along three main perspectives. First, the main strategic considerations leading states to forge the institution. Second, the goals, institutional architecture and working procedures. Third, the weapon-systems actually managed by the regime. This careful and insightful analysis fills a gap in the literature, as no other work (at least to my knowledge) has gathered such a variety of information (via both primary

and secondary sources) before. Moreover, it allows Ceccorulli to highlight OCCAR's achievements and pitfalls and, most importantly, to validate her argument about the institution as a security-inspired solution to a coordination game.

To conclude, this book represents an important contribution for those interested in defence policy as well as European affairs. By anchoring the main argument to a well-established theoretical debate, Ceccorulli successfully avoids the risk of getting too technical and losing sight of the political relevance of the issue. Secondly, in a period of turbulence for the European Union, her analysis comes as a fresh reminder of the (still under-exploited) potential of European integration, even in traditionally resilient areas, such as defence procurement.

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CARLOS CLOSA, The Politics of Ratification of the EU Treaties,
London: Routledge, 2013, 212 pp., $140,00 (hardcover), ISBN: 9780415454896.

Carlos Closa is one of the most prominent Spanish political scientists working on EU politics. He was one of the first scholars dealing with the constitutional politics of the EU. This book represents the outcome of a research activity developed for several years. Assuming the Treaties as quasi-constitutions of the EU, Carlos Closa has investigated, with the tools of political science, the cumbersome process of their ratification. The ratification of each of the various Treaties that accompanied the constitutionalization of the EU took place within a complex set of factors, domestic and supranational, where strategic considerations intermingles with short-term interests.

Carlos Closa goes beyond the two-level game approach, introducing a more articulated framework for understanding success and failure in the ratification of the Treaties. In Carlos Closa's analytical framework, a crucial place has political agency; namely, the preferences of the main domestic actors relatively to the process and content of the Treaty to ratify. Indeed, from the perspective of 60 years of ratification processes, Carlos Closa argues that the only two cases of ratification's failure (the European Defense Community in 1954 and the Constitutional Treaty in 2005) can be explained on the bases of the preferences of key ratifying actors. Certainly, under the conditions of unanimity for the approval of a Treaty, governments have to identify the proper framing and use the more convenient events in other member states for persuading domestic actors to support the approval of the Treaty.

Framing and events thus play a crucial role in in Carlos Closa's framework. Indeed, they can activate or prevent veto players. In fact, the book shows how domestic veto players can be activated and empowered by a suitable sequence of ratification events outside of the member state

in question. The EU experience made evident the existence of a sort of ratification's interdependence among member states. Ratification events across member states have thus been a crucial factor in the success or failure of the ratification's process in a single member state. This is a finding of crucial analytical importance. It raises the analytical challenge of how to deal with collective action. Because the Treaty comes out from an agreement between governments, each government should have an interest to structure the process of domestic ratification in a way that might help all the other governments to reach the common good of successful ratification.

However, although all governments have the same interest, domestic conditions might differ consistently. At this regard, the choice of the right timing and the definition of the appropriate framing are the crucial decisions to make for a national government. This collective action problem has been magnified by the unanimity's criteria necessary for approving a new Treaty in the EU. Treaties have become more and more detailed for anticipating negative reactions at the national level, but of course unanimity offers large opportunities to those domestic actors opposing the Treaty. In an EU of 28 member states, unanimity has thus become the recipe for an highly uncertain ratification's process. Indeed, the new intergovernmental treaties approved during the euro crisis (as the European Stability Mechanism and the Fiscal Compact) challenged the rigidity of the previous approval procedure, introducing for the first time in the EU history the ratification through qualified majority.

A new era, in the ratification story, has probably started. This book by Carlos Closa constitutes the powerful demonstration that such new approach to ratification has become inevitable, if the purpose is the formation of a more 'genuine economic and monetary union'.

Sergio Fabbrini, *School of Government, LUISS Guido Carli, Rome*

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From revolutions in the Arab world to anti-austerity mobilizations in Europe and the US, 2011 was certainly a year rife with protests. In a climate of public frustration and crisis, protests quickly spread against economic breakdown and political systems no longer able to deliver the results people expected. If, by the end of the nineties, the world's discontent with free market-oriented globalization was symbolized by events that happened in Seattle, Genoa and Porto Alegre, today's world grievances have new names. The Arab Spring, the Occupy Wall Street Movement, and the Indignados have paved the way for the "next" generation of social movements and for a new cycle of international contention. While not all

countries have been equally affected, in most cases mobilizations in streets and squares have quickly crossed national borders. The feeling of discontent resonated from Tahrir Square in Cairo to Syntagma Square in Athens, Puerta del Sol in Madrid and Zuccotti Park in New York. But what factors link the clamor of the crowded squares? Do the current mobilizations have a transnational dimension? Why did protests spread in some countries and not in others?

By adopting a comparative perspective, the book edited by Donatella della Porta and Alice Mattoni is a timely contribution which provides theoretical and empirical reflections about these questions. Its purpose is to understand the transnational dimension and the meaning of diffusion in current mobilizations by focusing on both temporal diffusion (the relationship between current movements and those of the past) and spatial diffusion (the links between activists from different countries). In this sense, as stated in its introductory chapter, the book is the first attempt of its kind to understand the many features of the so-called "movements of crisis" beyond their most obvious and immediate similarities.

The book is organized into twelve chapters tackling the what, how and why of current diffusion processes. It aims to shed light on the multiple theoretical and empirical aspects of these processes. The first section illustrates what spread in terms of discourses, practices and symbols that have become the object of diffusion across national borders and cycles of contention. The second part analyzes how the diffusion of practices and discourses occurred by focusing on the mechanisms of diffusion. Finally, the last section tackles the geography of diffusion in order to explain why protests hit certain countries and not others.

The common thread running through the chapters is the complex and multifaceted nature of diffusion, one that challenges traditional conceptual frameworks. Diffusion is not merely across space. While overlooked by traditional literature, this book illustrates the fact that diffusion does not only occur between countries. Diffusion also occurs as a process through which ideas spread from one moment in history to another. This is the case of the escrache that traveled from the Argentina of the mid-nineties to the recent Spanish anti-austerity protests (Flesher, Fominaya and Montanes, chapter two); or the case of the current acampadas, inherited and readapted from the organizational practices of the Global Justice movement (della Porta, chapter three). In this sense, memory becomes a non-relational channel that provides activists with interpretative packages linking the past to the present (Zamponi and Daphni, chapter nine). From a theoretical point of view, these chapters compellingly show the implications and conditions of cross-time diffusion, adding a layer of complexity to conventional theories.

Diffusion is not linear. The book's empirical findings reveal that the usual conceptualization of diffusion as a linear relationship between a transmitter and an adopter does not seem to hold in current mobilizations. Today's diffusion is a dynamic process which blurs the distinction between imitators and adopters. It is one in which squares and movements mutually influence each other. As illustrated by Roos and Oikonomakis (chapter six), diffusion occurs by patterns of resonance in which each national movement is at once an adopter and a transmitter. In this sense, the book

problematizes the very notion of diffusion as conceived by traditional models and suggests promising new lines of research.

Diffusion is not just about positive cases. While the prevailing literature focuses on countries where protests have spread, some parts of the book explore cases in which diffusion failed to occur. This includes the case of Italy (Zamponi and Daphi, chapter nine) and the Czech Republic (Navratil and Cisar, chapter ten) where the peculiarities of the local context were not conducive for diffusion. Sotirakopoulos and Rootes (chapter eight) compellingly illustrate that structural conditions, resilient culture and the reduced impact of the economic crisis hindered the spread of protests in the UK, while Kousis (chapter seven) shows that massive Greek activism was moved by transnational opportunities and threats posed by transnational economic power holders. Methodologically, these chapters show that the "method of difference" and the systematic comparison of positive and negative cases shed light on conditions of diffusion.

Finally, diffusion is a multi-actor process that involves not only activists but also politicians, political parties, transnational institutions and the media. As Olesen (chapter four) and Atak (chapter eleven) explain, the media are the real actors of diffusion, disseminating injustice-symbols in the global public sphere and spreading practices across borders and communities that are not necessarily structurally equivalent. Similarly, supranational institutions are other actors contributing to diffusion dynamics, by developing interpretative frames vis-à-vis external protest events. This is the case of the European Union, which reacted to the Arab Spring by building protest frames that could legitimate the EU image and downplay commonalities with protests in Europe (Hyvoen, chapter five). Theoretically, this paves the way for new theoretical reflections on diffusion dynamics outside the pure sphere of social movements.

Overall, the book is a great illustration of how research tails reality. As phenomena evolve and mobilizations change their patterns of diffusion, along with their transnational nature, existing theories need to be updated accordingly. With its empirical reach and theoretically thought-provoking chapters, the book accomplishes this task and lays the groundwork for further debates on the crucial relationship between continuity and change in theories of diffusion and transnational activism.

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ROBERTO DI QUIRICO, **La democratizzazione tradita. Regimi ibridi e autoritarismi nei paesi ex-sovietici europei,** Bologna, Italy: il Mulino, 2013, 336 pp., €26,00 (paperback), ISBN: 9788815245502.

In the last ten years, democratization studies have gained relevance among Italian political scientists. The volume by Roberto Di Quirico on the failure of democratization in a group of former USSR European coun-

tries is a welcome addition to what amounts to a significant national contribution to this popular field of investigation. In his book, the author illustrates the results of regime change in five former USSR European countries, namely Russia, Belarus, Ukraine, Georgia and Moldova, in the aftermath of the fall of the Soviet empire. In the first place, Di Quirico points out the shortcomings and weaknesses of explanations of democratization processes based on the "transitology" approach: the preconditions that would favor democratization according to this interpretation, as well as negotiations and compromises among major actors, have been absent in this area. The approach of the "first democratic instauration" is also inadequate, due to the relevant differences of historical and social contexts and the unwarranted application of a specific "Western" experience to a diverse setting. For the author, the key lies instead in the model of "permanent hybrid regimes," where both the passage to democracy and a full authoritarian involution are equally barred (p. 265). This is the best way to identify the political regimes that have taken root in the countries under investigation. These regimes should not be understood simply as an indefinite deviation from a path leading to democratization, but rather as an autonomous regime-form, reached through an original trajectory, which has been well-defined and unique since the beginning. In short, past legacies and more recent processes converge to determine unambiguously and immediately the expected result of a "permanent hybrid regime" (Ibid.).

After discussing the main theories in the field, and describing the processes following the authoritarian fall, Di Quirico analyzes the interaction between politics and economic reform, so as to explain how the formation of a market economy had an impact on the processes of transition from Soviet rule and, specifically, the chances of democratization. One of the most intriguing contributions of the book is the analysis of the social differentiation that followed the various attempts at marketization and their consequences on the electoral bases of new parties, both in terms of geographical influence and ideological stance (p. 121). The existence and relative strength of oligarchs, firm directors and managers (in the industrial or rural sectors), the middle class, the working class, peasants and pensioners have determined the form and character of political reforms. For instance, industrial firm managers would be the main beneficiaries of the privatization of the public industry. In Belarus, however, these managers are less important than in Russia or Ukraine, since a relevant part of the leading political elite has been drawn from rural farm directors, a category to which Lukašenka himself once belonged. As a consequence, in this country industrial firm managers have been unable to favor a more benign political outcome.

A series of chapters is devoted to the role in helping democratization of institutional features, civil society and external actors. The fragility of parliaments and political parties, but especially the weakness of civil society and democratic political culture, account for the failure of the democratization efforts in the area. In short, without democrats, it is difficult to build a working democracy. In addition, not only is democratic participation weak, but a new form of political participation, deriving directly from the participatory structure of the Soviet period, is taking hold.

In Russia, for instance, the function of civil society (the reference is to the Nashi association and to Obshchestvennaia palata) is to channel from below the demands of the population, so that a consensus is formed in which the state supports or mediates social issues and struggles without resorting to electoral accountability. In addition, the state limits inter-institutional accountability to technical and economic questions that do not imply challenging the existing power structure (p. 222). Lastly, the "double periphery" status of these countries (they are at the same time a periphery of Europe and the Russian federation) renders them potentially vulnerable to the influence of a series of external actors, especially Russia and the European Union. The latest events (even discounting the recent dramatic problems in Ukraine) suggest an expansion of Russian influence, with its authoritarian implications, also by means of its specific political model, centered around super-presidential executive powers (p. 251). The EU, on the other hand, has not been able to play a relevant role, since it does not plan to admit new members in the area and thus cannot use the active leverage instruments, based on political conditionality, that have reached significant results in other eastern European cases. The scarce interest in new investments by European countries does not help either. The author, however, foresees ways in which the EU may unfold its influence, especially if the aims to be reached are realistically modest, by way of an economically passive leverage which reflects the dependence of these countries from much-needed external funding.

In short, the volume by Di Quirico is an interesting contribution to the ongoing study of post-authoritarian transitions in former USSR European countries. The book is highly readable. It develops a punctual historical analysis of the complex events taking place in the countries under study; it offers a comprehensive theoretical synthesis of the debates concerning democratization and marketization; it provides an illuminating discussion of the social bases born of the new economic organization of these societies, of their political inclinations and democratic outlook; and it engages in a healthy comparative exercise of political analysis on these issues. Lastly, the author submits an original theoretical intuition regarding the "permanent hybrid regimes" of the area. The book, in addition, raises a series of questions and issues that warrant further research and reflection. A first note concerns the choice of cases. The rather pessimistic conclusions that are finally submitted may, in part, be the result of the failed selection of countries that fall under the umbrella of "former USSR European countries," such as the Baltic republics, where the outcome of post-authoritarian transitions have come closest to a democratic result. In this sense, the author's observation that their exclusion depends on their specificities should be clarified, given the importance of the matter (p. 36). A second point concerns the above-mentioned definition of "permanent hybrid regimes," which would uniquely identify the recent political experience of the countries under study. While the author claims the relevance and originality of this theoretical insight, too little is said regarding what exactly the characteristics of this contribution are and how this concept is different from those suggested by other authors (p. 265). The explanation that these regimes are born from a "process" activated after the fall of the authoritarian regimes, which prevents a full democratiza-

tion and since the beginning suggests the instauration of a permanent hybrid regime, is insufficient and more details should be offered to readers to substantiate the argument. One is left with the impression that, after laying to rest democratic teleology, the argument recurs to the teleology of hybrid regimes in its place.

In conclusion, we recommend the book by Di Quirico as a serious, informative and scientifically valid contribution to the growing field of democratization in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet countries, which can be fruitfully read by students of this area and by all those interested in processes of transitions from authoritarian regimes.

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SIMONE DOSSI, Rotte Cinesi. Teatri marittimi e dottrina militare, Milan, Italy: Egea, 2014, 200 pp., €15,30 (paperback), ISBN: 9788883502071.

Rotte Cinesi is an impressive book, which provides a comprehensive analysis of China's maritime and naval policies and strategies. The book's bibliography is very rich and comprises numerous sources in the Chinese language, offering additional credibility to the author's analysis. In fact, through the inclusion and analysis of literature and sources in Chinese, Dossi proposes an analysis regarding the Chinese perspective on the contents and goals of China's maritime policies as opposed to only a Western interpretation of Chinese naval and maritime policies. This adds additional value to the academic and policy-oriented relevance of Dossi's analysis.

Dossi explores and summarizes the factors that have influenced recent and ongoing doctrinal changes to China's maritime strategies, and explains why the Chinese leadership will, in the years ahead, continue to invest enormous resources into modernizing and expanding its naval capabilities. While the resources invested into the modernization of China's naval capabilities are significant, Dossi argues that China's maritime/naval doctrine and policies are not aimed at changing the current status quo of US regional and global maritime supremacy and hegemony. In other words: catching-up with the US in terms of naval military capabilities is not an objective of China's maritime policy planners – at least not yet.

China, Dossi argues in his conclusions, is hence not the Germany of the late 18th and 19th century challenging Great Britain's naval hegemony. Dossi is backing up this conclusion with a detailed and very well presented analysis of Chinese official documents and Chinese literature. Rather, Dossi concludes that China is exclusively focusing on the region seeking to limit US naval supremacy in Asian territorial waters. Dossi is of course not the only one who has drawn such a conclusion based on the analysis of government documents, China's official announcements, and speeches on China's current and future naval policies.

There is near-consensus among scholars that China will continue to limit its naval ambitions in the region, which in turn, increasingly worries US policymakers. China's regional naval strategies and policies are – at least from an American perspective – aimed at implementing so-called "anti-access" and/or "area-denial" strategies, limiting the ability of the US to exert naval supremacy and indeed hegemony in the region. Citing Barry Posen, Dossi supports the argument that China is planning to turn Asia into a "contested" area where China is able to inflict damage on the militarily superior US. While Dossi concludes that empirical evidence suggests that China is not seeking to challenge US global hegemony (given the superiority of the US in terms of funds, capabilities, and global reach), but rather "only" regional naval hegemony, this does not mean that Beijing's longer-term naval build-up plans would entail just that. In other words: the fact that Beijing is not yet directing resources and policies aimed at challenging global US naval hegemony does not necessarily mean that Beijing is not planning to do so "tomorrow," i.e., in the foreseeable future.

Perhaps Dossi "trusts" official documents and official Chinese naval doctrines too much when he concludes that resources are, and will in the foreseeable future be, exclusively dedicated and assigned to challenge US regional and not global naval hegemony. It will soon become apparent whether Dossi's choice to take Chinese authorities' declarations at face value will be reflected by the realities of China's future global naval policy strategies and policies. The author explains that China's recent policies in relation to territorial claims in the East and South China Sea confirm that Beijing is somehow no longer satisfied with the territorial status quo in Asia; moreover, Dossi explains how and to what extent China is equipping its navy with resources and capabilities to defend its territorial claims in the East and South China Seas with military force.

The author illustrates in detail how the recent and ongoing modernization of China's naval forces is also a reflection of Beijing's determination to defend territorial claims in Asia with naval military force. Indeed, China's recent assertive and aggressive policies related to territorial claims in the South China Sea in particular are undoubtedly connected to the doctrinal changes to China's naval and maritime policies.

Dossi explains that China's official mission as announced in November 2012 by the then newly appointed Chinese President, Xi Jinping, involves China becoming a "maritime power" both economically and militarily. Since taking power in 2012, President Xi has seemingly emphasized the military (and not economic) dimension of China's naval build-up. This conclusion is also accurate, and the realities of China's policies related to territorial claims in Asian territorial waters (such as Chinese intrusions into Japanese-controlled territorial waters in the East China Sea) are clearly a result of this policy choice. Dossi explains that Xi's rhetoric and announcements together with China's naval policies in Asian "territory," leave little doubt that Beijing is indeed also prepared to defend what China refers to as its "core interest" (of which territorial integrity and hence disputed territories in Asian territorial waters claimed by China are part of) with military force.

Three factors, Dossi concludes, will continue to influence and define the above-mentioned doctrinal changes to China's naval policies: firstly,

the recent re-emergence of Asian territorial conflicts in the East China and South China Seas and China's territorial claims in disputed territorial waters; secondly, Chinese concerns about alleged threats posed to China's territorial integrity; and thirdly, due to the country's growing economic interdependence, the protection of China's sea lanes of communication. All of these factors, Dossi concludes, influence each other; also, the fact that Mainland China's reunification with Taiwan with military (naval) force remains -at least in theory – an option for Beijing's leadership, makes it difficult to accurately and reliably predict the quality and scope of Chinese naval policies.

In summary, those who wish to understand China's plans in terms of material and doctrinal policy changes regarding naval and maritime policies in the years ahead are advised to read Dossi's excellent book.

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and *Istituto per gli Studi di Politica Internazionale (ISPI), Milan*

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DANIELA IRRERA, NGOs, Crisis Management and Conflict Resolution:
Measuring the Impact of NGOs on Intergovernmental Organisations, Cheltenham, United Kingdom: Edward Elgar, 2013, 192 pp., £67,00 (hardback), ISBN: 9781782546542.

According to some authors, the massive concern over the foreign fighters in Iraq and Syria is "more smoke than fire," while others consider the current conflict against the ISIL (Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant) as a "game changer" for the extremist threat to Western countries.

From a wider perspective, it is worth noticing that since the end of the Cold War, sub-national and transnational actors have played a growing role in global politics. For instance, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have acquired an increased relevance in development aid and humanitarian interventions. In order to understand the evolution of the post bipolar international relations, it is crucial to examine the main features and approaches of those actors and especially the ways they interact with intergovernmental organizations (IGOs), participating in their decision-making process. Since the end of the Cold War, debate over security has widened the traditional state-centric perspective, devoting mounting attention toward non-military threats and non-state actors.

Daniela Irrera provides an interesting contribution to this debate. Her manuscript *NGOs, Crisis Management and Conflict Resolution* aims to better illustrate civil-society's capacity to influence global politics and especially the so-called "humanitarian system." The main goal of the book is to "shed new light on the relationship between non state-actors and IGOs." In addition, Irrera addresses the "potential" for non-governmental organizations to take up innovative roles in humanitarian action while

offering empirical findings on NGO perceptions of existing relations with governmental actors in the field of security management.

After a theoretical overview on civil-society and NGOs, the book focuses on formal and non-formal procedures that shape the interaction between non-governmental organizations and the UN and the EU. Then, the "humanitarian system" is introduced, before illustrating the different models of dialogue crafted by the United Nations and the EU for engagement with NGOs in conflict prevention and peace support operations. Finally, the last chapter shows the results from semi-structured interviews conducted with several NGOs, exploring their views regarding roles, identities and actions.

The manuscript has four main merits. First, it clarifies controversial terms and concepts related to civil society, non-state actors and "humanitarian" NGOs. Indeed, the broad literature review (from International Relations theories to Political Philosophy) helps the reader to better understand the nature of civil society and its growing function in contemporary global politics, especially thanks to the specific attention devoted to the organizational dimension of transnational non-state actors and their participation in the governance of the UN and EU.

Second, the book explores "dialogue and tensions" with those universal organizations, highlighting so-called NGO institutionalisation, the mechanisms for involving non-governmental organizations, and the bottom-up and (mostly) top-down approaches adopted by EU and UN governance. The first part of the manuscript is extremely useful to comprehend the process through which preferences are shaped and different models of interaction crafted by the EU and the UN, with their points of strength and weakness. The book observes the extraordinary evolution that occurred in the post-Cold War era, the role played by agencies such as the ECOSOC and the "doctrinal" transformation in the EU in terms of "civil-society" participation (from the European Transparency Initiative to the Civil-Society Register). At the end of the analysis it seems that both models are imperfect and need significant improvement to better mix flexibility to formal mechanisms of accreditation.

The third merit of the book is that of shedding light on the role played by NGOs in the governance of the UN and EU peace support operations. The types and degree of involvement of NGOs in the "humanitarian system" is well illustrated, after introduction to the lively debate on humanitarian intervention. As stated by Waever in his seminal work on securitization and desecuritization, there was no tradition of security studies in non-state terms at the beginning of the 1990s. However, after the end of the bipolar confrontation the international community has started to deploy forces in order to contain emerging regional crises while "new" concepts of security have emerged, "broadening" and "deepening" the subject, as said by Paris. This part of the volume pays insufficient attention to critical analyses of "humanitarian intervention" (the vast branch of literature that has critically pointed out the paradoxes of humanitarianism, from Duffield to Rieff). Nevertheless, the review widely illustrates the human dimension of security and the current debates in the field of conflict management and conflict resolution, as well as features of "humanitarian NGOs." Indeed, the core of the manuscript is a descrip-

tion of the ways through which those NGOs have shaped the EU and UN humanitarian system. Irrera correctly identifies coordination among different actors (such as civil-military relations) as the key-element to better assess effectiveness and the impact of peace support operations.

Despite accurate information and data provided by secondary sources, most of the book is a description of the participation of NGOs in the security management of the EU and the UN, while the authentic original contribution is the last chapter of the volume, which illustrates the results of 28 semi-structured interviews conducted between 2009 and 2011 with "humanitarian NGOs." Thus, the fourth merit of the book is the highlighting of the NGO's perceptions regarding their nature, their role and their interaction with IGOs, especially in peace-building operations. Some stimulating results are portrayed, such as the growing importance of networks (mainly for reducing costs and enhancing impact), the lack of frequent and structured interaction with the military, and the significant function played by private donors.

In sum, thanks to the book the reader acquires detailed knowledge on a controversial but relevant issue. In methodological terms, an effective "measurement" of the impact of NGOs is not really provided as was promised at the beginning. In fact, a different type of analysis should have been conducted to carry out a proper impact evaluation, looking also at the context on the ground using a cross-time investigation, with different approaches and field research. However, the survey at the end of the book guarantees an original contribution to the debate, although interviews with IGOs could have added a more comprehensive framework to explore the interaction between governmental and non-governmental organizations.

In conclusion, the book is useful reading for those interested in NGOs and humanitarian interventions and especially for those who need a detailed description of interactions between non-governmental organizations and IGOs.

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GUIDO LENZI, *Internazionalismo Liberale. Attori e Scenari del Mondo Globale*, Soveria Mannelli, Italy: Rubbettino, 2014, 94 pp., €12,00 (paperback), ISBN: 9788849840797.

Convinced of the necessity of a reorganization of the international system, after years of diplomatic, professional, and academic life in international relations, Guido Lenzi offers with great subtlety the views of an Italian practitioner and scholar on today's international arena. He does so determining and explaining the logic of an application of the international liberalism model to the contemporary world. To this extent, four main issues are extracted and abstracted by the author from the current

global scene. Among these: the governability matter; the humanitarian intervention debate; the national identity issue; the international relations system; and the future perspectives for the Western model. Finally, in the concluding part of his work, the former Ambassador draws the conclusion of the analysis provided and offers an overview of the application of such a paradigm in the future.

Twenty-five years after the fall of the Berlin Wall, the international relations scene is still not consolidated. This is the main argument behind the book of the Italian former Ambassador and Director of the European Institute for Security Studies in Paris. A panoply of new state and non-state actors—some of which are more legitimate than others—are the main protagonists of what could be considered as a new, unprecedented transaction phase in the history of the humankind. International terrorism is the most evident symptom of such overcrowding of the international proscenium, not the cause of it (p. 8). Yet, with his book, Ambassador Lenzi argues that a similar – if not identical situation – already occurred right after the end of the World War II. Thus, in 1945, when the initial foundations of what would have become the United Nations were set, international liberalism made his first, spectacular, entrance on the scene. Ever since, the path of such paradigm never left Europe. Indeed, its course was obstacled and interrupted by the Cold War years. However, recalling it, also through a re-proposition of the often-invoked, and at times obfuscated, "European Model" will help us all to identify and opportunely address the urgency of today's political and operational challenges. Hence, the message stemming from the reviewed book is clear: the history is not over, as Francis Fukuyama argued not long ago. Yet, it is accelerated and it is setting a new rhythm (p. 11). The rules are the same and can be found in the international liberalism model itself. We just need to learn how to dance accordingly.

The Italian diplomat indicates in the first chapter of his work the key ways to successfully face the governability controversies of these years. With the end of the Cold War, the post-modern era has begun. In such an era, the international system is unstructured and missing a gerarchical order. Convergence and transnational collaboration are the only means by which the unpredictability stemming from such international scene can be faced, according to Lenzi (Chapter 1). These should be pursued with a particular attention to prevention through the establishment of political, diplomatic, economic, institutional, and cultural international networks. Thus, the reform of the current institutions, the author points out, can only be the consequence of such collaboration, not its premise (p. 16).

Lenzi focuses his second chapter on the humanitarian intervention. The 9/11 terrorist attack, he argues, has inaugurated a new type of war. Against the background of the above-described multifaceted international scenario, wars are not initiated to face delimitated phenomena of instability anymore. Yet, the real objective is nowadays containing and reabsorbing sources of insecurity, which are not well-defined at all (p. 23). The current most relevant threat for the Western world is not represented, along this reasoning, by authoritarian regimes such as Iran, North Korea, or Venezuela. But, it finds its origins in disintegrated states that are unable to rule their own territories. The military instrument becomes, in

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this way, a means by which public order is pursued both at the national and international level. In this case, as well, Lenzi believes that a stronger and more developed network of international relations would provide a solution to the growing reluctance of single nation states to intervene in the above-described unstable settings. Yet, he argues, even though the rules of the game seems to have changed and military actions have assumed different forms, such armed interventions should respect the "good war" principles once delineated by St. Augustine, St. Thomas, Erasmus, De Vitoria, and Grotius (p. 27).

Today, the constitutive elements of the nation state—territory, population, and effectiveness—seem to be questioned, as well (p. 32). As globalization has eroded the traditional borders, some have started believing that democracy and the respect for human rights could have served as a *fil rouge* to coordinate the international system. Others, in turn, fear the diffusion of anarchy. A new state doctrine is not needed, however, for the national state should and certainly could adapt to such new phenomena. Along these lines, Lenzi recalls the respect of the heterogeneity and the establishment of trans-governmental networks, such as the ones conceptualized by Slaugheter and the neo-feudalism of Berdjaev (p.36). While the liberal tradition understands the advent of the states as a step toward the unification of humanity, the former Ambassador considers the idea of a "universal-state" constituted by a "universal *logos*," as premature. What we should strive for is, in turn, an incredibly "extended *agora*." It is along these lines, he argues, that the EU is pursuing its integration. The motto, "united in diversity" is a clear reflection of such orientation.

Notwithstanding the multiple challenges and their multifaced aspects, a truly and effective coordinated action between not only the most powerful states, but also the emerging one, is not in place yet. To fill such a gap, the tasks' *spectrum* of international organizations has widened, often creating overlapping and inconsistencies. Such non-coordination partially derives from the historical contingency, which, as said, blocked the international system for decades during the years of the Cold War. It is now time to reorder and reorganize such a system (p. 50). Under a perspective of deep reform of it, Lenzi provides an all-encompassing systematization of the main Western actors as well as of the emerging powers in the international scene, which could play a pivotal role in such renovation.

In conclusion, it can be argued that basing himself on an impressive amount of classic and modern international relations literature, Ambassador Lenzi successfully manages to link his knowledge, coming from the experience on the field, to relevant theories of international relations. Exploring a relatively unstudied question, the volume offers, in this way, an encompassing overview of the application of the international liberalism theory to contemporary political and operational challenges. Remarkably, this is done without forgetting to mention the relevance of the crucial European ideal of cooperation, which is considered as a model throughout the analysis.

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Giovanni Moro, Cittadinanza attiva e qualità della democrazia, Rome, Italy: Carocci Editore, 2013, 296 pp., €23,00 (paperback), ISBN: 9788843069644.

For many years now, research and studies have shown that while the electoral participation in the "advanced democracies" is in gradual and continued decline, the other forms of political participation are increasing almost everywhere—from the more radical disruptive protests to the comparative moderate involvement in voluntary associations. Political scientists and sociologists have studied them through the collective actors that usually adopt these forms: the social movements, which prefer protest, and the interest groups more inclined to lobbying. Rarely have the alternative forms of political participation been studied all together as a new type of practice. As a matter of fact, what would "consumer associations, social movements, environmental groups, grassroots movements, local committees, self-help groups, cooperatives and social enterprises, voluntary and international cooperation organizations..." (p. 22) and other groups, initiatives, and movements have in common? According to Giovanni Moro in *Cittadinanza attiva e qualità della democrazia*, they are some of the forms taken by "civic activism, namely the fact that citizens unite and act in the public scene for reasons of general interest, playing the role of agents of policy making" (p. 21); they would be the practices of groups of citizens that operate in the policies rather than in the politics, representing an anomaly and not a puzzle—quoting Thomas Khun—in the paradigm of democratic citizenship, namely a "phenomenon not incorporable and manageable in the political system, if not questioning the core of the system itself" (p. 23). Therefore, considering the organized activism of citizens in the public arena is still poorly investigated, the author aims to fill this void in this volume, analyzing the phenomenon by placing it in relation to the crisis of the traditional paradigm of democratic citizenship and describing the effects in terms of the quality of democracy.

The book is divided into three sections, each of which consists of two chapters. In the Introduction, the author explains how he has studied citizenship as an empirical phenomenon, namely, crossing the three main dimensions (belonging, rights, participation) with the three "places" of citizenship (constitutional rules, civic acquis, citizenship practices). The first section focuses on the unexpected return of citizenship at the end of the twentieth century and its crisis: Chapter 1 describes the traditional paradigm of citizenship challenged by the political and social changes of the "second modernity," which entailed a plurality of "emerging citizenships" (European, urban, electronic, cosmopolitan, active, corporate, consumer, multicultural, gender); the anomalous trait of these "citizenships,"—the organized activism of citizens—is explored in Chapter 2, where the contradictions, difficulties, and misunderstandings of the representations and policies related to them are highlighted. In the second section, first, the concept of active citizenship is outlined, identifying the characteristic features that constitute the identity of the phenomenon and its analytical definition (Chap. 3): "Active citizenship is the plurality

of forms in which citizens unite, mobilize resources and act in public policies exercising powers and responsibilities in order to protect rights, care for common goods and support people in difficulty" (p. 101); then, the operability of the "active citizenship organizations" (forms, activity fields, quantitative dimensions, strategies and "technologies" of action, impact in reality and "dark side") is described as a part of the definition of the organizational phenomenon (Chap. 4). The third section discusses the impact of civic activism on the ongoing transformations in advanced democracies. Chapter 5 focuses on the current interpretations of democracy, and in particular, of those that take into account the emergence of civic activism, calling into question the dominant categories and concepts and pointing out active citizenship as an agency of democratic changes; in Chapter 6, a possible definition of the standards of the civic quality of democracy is stated, while dealing with the issues of the relations between active citizenship and policies of participative democracy promoted by institutions, on the one hand, and of the relationships of representation of civic organizations, on the other. In the Conclusion, the author reflects on civic activism as an evolutionary phenomenon of democratic citizenship that, at the same time, represents both a break and a development of the traditional democratic paradigm (p. 270).

The book is interesting because it sheds light on the plurality of forms of involvement and participation of citizens too often neglected by scholars, and it is very ambitious in its effort to analyze and conceptualize these very different forms all together, challenging the ways in which they have traditionally been studied. Nevertheless, it is just from this effort of reconceptualization aimed at analyzing such different experiences as if they were part of the same phenomenon that some doubts and perplexities emerge. For example, if it is empirically founded criticizing—as the author does—the assumption that "more civic participation leads to more political participation, namely the increase of the exercise of the right to vote" (p. 26), nevertheless, it also implies that political participation is equivalent to the electoral one, while the civic participation is different from the political one. However, in the literature it is already established from the 1960s that, political participation is not limited exclusively to the activities connected to the exercise of the right to vote (voting, electoral campaign, etc.). This concept of participation in politics and in policies, which, according to the author, is aimed at changing the traditional paradigm is, in reality, the outcome of an even more traditional idea of politics, and of participation in it, as exclusively linked to voting and playing a role in public institutions. Moreover, always according to the author, interest groups and social movements do not have autonomous existence because their function lies in their interactions with the political system, and "if it was not, there would not be even those," while the phenomenon of active citizenship, on the contrary, would emerge where the problems or needs connected to the general interest are unrecognized, and their organizations would have an autonomous existence (p. 220). However, given that they—the active citizenship organizations—are considered by the author as agents of policy making, where will public decisions be taken and implemented if the political system did not exist? They surely can exist without interacting with the political system,

but in that case, they would not play any role in public policy-making. And if they interact with the political system, then they must be considered as interest groups or social movements.

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FRANCESCO ZUCCHINI, La repubblica dei veti: Un'analisi spaziale del mutamento legislativo in Italia, Milan, Italy: EGEA, 2013, 148 pp., €18,00 (paperback), €10,99 (e-book), ISBN: 9788823843950.

This work represents the ambitious attempt to characterize the contemporary Italian political system, taking into account the major changes that took place since the political crisis of the 1990s and the transition from the "first" to the "second" Italian Republic. Francesco Zucchini, moreover, tries to focus on the potential link between the political system and Italy's mediocre economic performance over the past decades, as well as its difficulties to engage in structural reforms. These weaknesses, the author assumes, are not due to sector-specific constraints or obstacles. Rather, they originate in the structure of Italy's political system, closely linked to Italy's party system.

The book is based on spatial modeling and provides a useful introduction to this method and its application to lawmaking, party competition and bureaucracy. This part of the book is somewhat separate from the rest, even if the following chapters do require some prior knowledge of spatial modeling.

The analysis is rich and does not simply put Italy into comparative perspective, but clearly realizes important and rather original comparative analyses, especially in chapter 3. It emphasizes several characteristic traits of Italy compared to other Western democracies. The great stability of the party system, with the permanent presence of the Christian Democrats in government until the early 1990s, contrasts with the extreme polarization *within* government. A third feature is the comparatively weak agenda-setting autonomy of the executive. This particular combination has led to a strong status quo bias. Polarization indicates the difficulty in reaching legislative agreements. High political stability has gone together with legislative gridlock. In addition, the government never had the institutional powers required to overcome gridlock.

The "veto republic," the term used to describe Italy in the title, thus features an unusual combination of factors preventing policy change. Significant legislative change only took place under rather exceptional circumstances, i.e., when the entire political system underwent a major crisis of legitimacy. Zucchini identifies two such instances in Italy's postwar history: first, the social mobilization following the student movements of the late 1960s, and second, the political crisis of the early 1990s

that led to the end of the first republic. These "emergency periods" (p. 60-61) contrasted with normal policymaking.

The reasons underlying the persisting failure to change the legislative status quo are to be looked for *within* the 5-party governing coalition (*pentapartito*), rather than among opposition parties. It is the ideological heterogeneity of government coalitions that explains the difficulties of the lawmaking process, rather than the polarization of the entire party system. This shifts the focus of attention away from the Communist Party and back to the governing coalition. The presence of the Communist Party only mattered to the extent that it prevented alternation. It provided the glue that held the heterogeneous pentapartito together.

The argument is empirically tested thanks to an "important-laws" data set, confirming that it is the specific Pareto set of each government that determined legislative change. Important laws contrast with the absolute number of laws, where Italy has been among the most productive. Yet, this is known to be a poor indicator. In fact, the high number of laws may precisely be due to the great heterogeneity, and thus explain the difficulty in changing the status quo. Laws may neutralize each other or result from pork-barrel politics. The apparent strength of the Italian Parliament may, thus, only be a by-product of the heterogeneity of the governing coalition.

The second republic has at least changed one major parameter. There is now an alternation, even if polarization has not really diminished. Party competition is now organized into two major connected coalitions. This in turn has led to "obstructionism" on behalf of the defeated. This, in fact, is very common in other majoritarian polities, such as France, the UK and the US. Laws are now approved by a much closer margin and this has led to a spectacular decline in the number of adopted laws. Reasons for this can be sought in the diminishing capacity of commission lawmaking, an original Italian feature. At the same time, there has been a sharp increase in decree-laws, i.e., the delegation of lawmaking to the government by the Parliament, thereby increasing government autonomy somewhat.

The author finally explores other potential veto players in the Italian political system. Successive changes in electoral laws appear to have resulted in the chambers of Parliament becoming less congruent, as shown by the evolution of debate lengths or the number of readings. The greater number of alternations may also have increased the effective incentives to veto adopted laws by the Constitutional Tribunal.

The transition to the second republic has brought along some significant changes, but there is still a strong status quo bias, due to the continuing need for the two main parties to build large — *catch all*, we could add — coalitions with a centrist pivotal player.

At times, especially in chapter 3, the author sketches out an original research agenda — reminiscent of Tsebelis' work — that ought to be developed more fully. This, in particular, raises several additional questions. A first question concerns the evolution of differences on the most important policy dimensions. It is true that the Berlusconi era ended with a strong economic crisis, but ever since there has been a strong economic

constraint on all governments, all of whom have pursued an austerity agenda — albeit based on different political justifications. A second concern, which is closely linked, concerns the presence of an "EU veto player" or more generally, of an external economic and/or political constraint. It is true that spatial models are rarely extended to multilevel settings, but the reality is that today this external constraint is undeniable for virtually all member states of the EU. The conclusion in fact acknowledges that the rise of the *Movimento 5 Stelle* is linked to the European crisis. Even if this may only be a passing phenomenon, the emergence of a strong EU or globalization cleavage in most EU countries will put further pressure on existing party systems.

A final series of questions concerns the time component. The electoral system has changed three times in twenty years. Yet, institutional changes take a lot of time to become effectively interiorized by all relevant actors. It is not certain that this time was given to the electoral laws of 1993 or 2005.

In a nutshell, Zucchini's work opens up an interesting perspective on the structural problems of particular political systems. This has been done essentially for non-Western countries so far[1], but Zucchini shows that our "old" democracies may encounter similar structural biases. We hope that his initiative opens the way for similar attempts regarding Spain, Germany and Denmark. From that perspective, we regret that the book is not (yet?) available in English. It would certainly be a helpful companion to classes devoted to Italy and comparative politics.

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[1] See, for example, Spiller, P. T., & Tommasi, M., 2007. *The institutional foundations of public policy in Argentina*. New York: Cambridge University Press; Spiller, P. T., Stein, E. H., Tommasi, M., Scartascini, C., Alston, L. J., Melo, M. A. & Penfold, M., 2008. *Policymaking in Latin America: How Politics Shapes Policies*. Inter-American Development Bank.