

## SUMMARIES

### **European integration and the social sovereignty of the nation state: dilemmas and perspectives**

by Maurizio Ferrera

With the creation of EMU, European Welfare States have entered a new phase of development. The margins for manouevring public budgets have substantially decreased, while the unfolding of the four freedoms of movement within the EU have seriously weakened the traditional coercive monopoly of the state on actors and resources that are crucial for the stability of redistributive institutions. The article explores these issues adopting a Rokkanian perspective, building on Rokkan's pioneering insights on the nexus between boundary building and internal structuring.

The first part of the paper briefly presents the theoretical perspective. The second part sketches the development of national welfare institutions from their origin up to the early 1970s, discussing their implications in terms of boundary building and internal structuring. The third part discusses the challenges that have emerged in the last couple of decades to the «social sovereignty» of the nation state: challenges that are largely exogenous, but partly reinforced by endogenous developments as well. The final part offers some more speculative remarks of what the author calls «capped sovereignty» for the institutional architecture of social protection, with some hints at cross-national variations and possible developments at the EU level.

### **Who is afraid of values? Social capital and surroundings**

by Roberto Cartocci

«Social capital» is a term widely used in political science and sociology, but its meaning is very different in the two scientific domains. In political science, accordingly to Putnam's recent works on Italy and the

United States, social capital is an endowment of a community. In sociology, starting from Bourdieu's definition, social capital is a set of resources individuals can rely on to reach their private goals. The reference definition by Coleman is then analyzed, arguing that it points to the first meaning, though starting from an individualistic approach.

The second part of the essay is devoted to a discussion of the various features of social capital as a collective good of a community, founded in a peculiar mix of values. A set of methodological caveats are then stressed – e.g. the need to apply a sort of mertonian hermeneutics – to cope with the main features of social capital: embeddedness in everyday life, and ethical neutrality.

A discussion of social capital in Italy is developed in the final sections. Evidence from comparative studies as well as from recent large-scale surveys on Italian students show that the historically rooted lack of social capital is still apparent, so marking as top priority a problem which is as much difficult to solve as hardly rewarding for politicians.

## **Social capital, participation in associations, and institutional trust**

by Mario Diani

Drawing upon survey data from over one thousand active members of associations in Lombardy, 1993, the article explores the relationship between social capital and trust in a range of political and social institutions. Social capital is operationalized as the set of linkages individuals develop through their past and present organizational memberships. While ties to catholic associations consistently facilitate institutional trust, ties to «new» social movements tend to discourage it. Altogether, however, no consistent relationship is found between associational social capital and institutional trust, as linkages to different associational milieus turn out to facilitate trust in specific institutions, but not in others. Moreover, persons who rely on larger amounts of social capital, because of the intensity and/or the length of their commitment, are found to be less trustful than those who don't, unless they play prominent roles in their associations. Accordingly, the capacity of associations to generate bonding social capital does not reflect in a similar capacity to create bridging capital, linking associations to institutions. Trust in the latter is still mainly dependent on value orientations.

## **The 2000 regional elections and the consolidation of «fragmented bipolarism»**

by Alessandro Chiaramonte and Aldo Di Virgilio

On April 16<sup>th</sup> elections were held in fifteen out of the twenty Italian regions. For the first time people chose directly the chief executive of their regional governments. Nevertheless, these elections were «national» in character in that both parties and voters considered them a test in view of the general elections scheduled for spring 2001.

Firstly, this paper deals with the making of electoral alliances and with their internal regulations. Compared to previous elections, both the center-left and the center-right coalitions were able to broaden their range and therefore to adapt more efficiently to the constraints and opportunities determined by the electoral system, the only relevant party left out from this inclusive strategy of alliances being the Lista Pannella/Bonino.

Secondly, this essay analyses the outcome of the elections. The center-right coalition won eight regional governments and performed even better in terms of total votes, having got over 1.5 million (plurality) votes more than the center-left coalition, meaning a 6% overall margin. The geography of the electoral results also shows that the South is the only competitive area in the country.

The last topic discussed in the article is what these regional elections have represented with reference to the Italian political transition and, more specifically, to the process of party system restructuring. On the one hand the electoral competition shown an almost perfect bipolar asset; on the other hand the party fragmentation was still very high. The results of these elections therefore confirmed that the new Italian party system has been consolidating following the scheme of «fragmented bipolarism».

## **Myths and reality of the cartel party. The transformations of the parties at the end of the twentieth century**

by Francesco Raniolo

The article is a critical review of the literature on the classical party typologies and it proposes an in-depth analysis of the most recent ones. After an examination of the cartel party, it deals with the electoral-professional party, the new framework party and the party of professional politicians (all subtypes of the so called postmodern party). The analysis of these different types of parties considers three crucial dimensions (organizational, electoral and institutional) and it takes into consideration also the functional complexity of the political parties. The article deals also on party dualism. Every political party is

seen as swinging between the logic of identity, what it is, and the logic of competition, what it does. Different party types emphasize one over the other. Finally the article raises some theoretical and methodological questions. On the one hand, it stresses the relationship between party change and the theory of democracy. On the other hand, it calls for a more detailed empirical investigation of postmodern parties, in order to discriminate more accurately the impact of different historical periods, countries, party systems and parties.