

## SUMMARIES

### **Conceptualizing, Researching and Evaluating Democracy Promotion and Protection**

by Philippe C. Schmitter and Imco Brouwer

This essay deals with democracy promotion and protection by established democracies. It first describes how the dynamics and understanding of regime transitions changed from the first to the present fourth wave of democratisation. Subsequently, it defines democracy promotion and protection and describes the different components of it. Finally, it discusses the issue of the strategies of the democracy promoters and protectors and takes a critical look at the issue of evaluating their activities.

This essay claims, among other things, that: (1) in general, the goals of the democracy promoters and protectors are focused on outcomes and less on democracy as an open ended process or procedure of government; (2) there is no apolitical way to democratize and, therefore, there is no apolitical strategy to promote and protect democracy; (3) democracy promotion differs significantly from democracy protection, but donors are rarely aware of it; (4) for impact evaluation of democracy promotion and protection to make sense, three different levels of impact should be distinguished: the micro, the meso and the macro.

### **Integration and Democracy: An Evolutionary Analysis of the European Union**

by Fulvio Attinà

The essay adopts the learning and selection approach of the evolutionary analysis of political systems developed by George Modelski for the analysis of the global system. Making the European Union a democracy is a continuous process of selection among different strate-

gies proposed by the Eu institutional and political actors. The evolutionary analysis of the reforms of the Eu in the fields of the legislative process, the election of the President of the Commission and the role of the national parliaments demonstrates that the European Parliament is moving toward the centre of the Eu democratic political system. According to such analysis, the selection of the President of the Commission is the most important issue of reform for the next inter-governmental conference. In the final section, the essay offers a proposal for such a reform

### **Europeization of Public Policies and Institutional Change. The Case of Italian Antitrust Policy**

by Giorgio Giraudi

The article explores the birth of the Italian antitrust policy. After a brief explanation of the causes which prevented the approval of a national regulation until the 1990s, the work proves how the development of a European system of governance has been a basic factor to create a policy window inside the Italian policy system. The European level of governance acts as an independent variable in three ways: 1) agenda setting and policy timing; 2) normative spill-over; 3) policy core beliefs. Inside this framework the national actors partially reshape the policy puzzle trying to reach their goals. In this process of policy change framed by the European Commission and the European Court of Justice the Italian political parties of the period 1988-1990 seemed to be unable to lead the change. Fragmented and divided, they didn't have a common set of values and beliefs to use as a tool for reducing the complexity of the transformation of the European governance. On the other hand some technicians and some specialized institutions seemed to have acted as an élite inside a more stable reformist coalition, promoting successfully the shift from a positive state to a regulatory state.

### **Personalization in Italian Politics: the Role of Party Leaders in the 1996 Electoral Campaign**

by Fulvio Venturino

According to the mainstream of the Italian electoral research, voting behaviour is mainly promoted by factors such as ideology and party identification. Nevertheless, communication research implicitly defies this point of view, claiming that leaders' appeals recently have become the most important motivation to vote for a given party. Using

survey data, this article examines the role of party leaders in the 1996 campaign. A traditional (recursive) model based on ordinary least squares (ols) regression confirms the relevance of party sympathy in the process of opinion formation, but an alternative 2sls (non recursive) model more realistically shows that party leaders have a decisive role. Moreover, the non recursive model assesses the substantial role played also by nine issues, not previously highlighted by the more simple recursive model.

### **Video and Voting. The Effect of TV on the 1996 Italian Parliamentary Election**

by Maurizio Pisati

The effect of TV on voting behavior has long been debated in the political and sociological literature. As far as the Italian case is concerned, the current interpretations of existing evidence might have overstated the role played by television in determining the upshot of the electoral competition. The purpose of the essay is to reassess this question by *a*) focusing on the 1996 Italian parliamentary election, and *b*) using a novel analytical approach – recently put forward by King and colleagues – based on stochastic simulation (Monte Carlo) techniques. Analyses show that TV did affect 1996 electoral results, «moving» 6% of voters towards the right-wing coalition. However, the substantial uncertainty (both statistical and fundamental) that surrounds this point estimate makes it unfeasible to gauge the real *intensity* of the TV effect. The available data, though demonstrating the existence of a statistically significant relationship between TV exposure and voting behavior in Italy, do not allow to firmly establish whether TV plays a crucial role in the electoral competition.