

# Abstracts

*Patrick Horst*

## **Coalition formation and coalition strategies in Germany's new five-party system**

In its examination of all 341 coalition formations at the federal and state level in Germany from 1946 to 2010 the article argues that office, policy, and vote seeking theories of coalition formation have to be understood within their institutional context. In this regard the structure of the party system is of special importance. In the polarized multi-party system after World War II (1946-61) oversized coalitions were formed more often than minimal winning coalitions or one-party cabinets. With the successful transition to democracy and the consolidation into a concentrated three-party system (1961-90) minimal connected winning coalitions established themselves as the norm. This did not change during the time of a bipolar four-party system (1990-2005). Even nowadays, as a new five-party system with multiple coalition options develops, coalition formation has not changed that much although a decrease in the formation of one-party cabinets and a slight growth in minority governments can be observed. In order to thoroughly understand German coalition formation one has to take into account the interconnected coalition strategies of the parties at the federal and state level as well as their pre-electoral coalition signals (*Koalitionsaussagen*).

*Dirk Jörke*

## **The promises of democracy and the limits of deliberation**

The article criticizes deliberative approaches of democratic theory. The criticism is especially directed against theories which try to reconceptualize the meaning of democracy in the context of the discussion about a post national constellation. The starting point is the assumption of a twofold promise of democracy. Firstly the procedural promise of equal participation in political deci-

sion making and secondly the substantial promise that through democratic participation the social world will become more equal. Against this background it is shown that a deliberative understanding of democracy runs the risk of undermining these promises. In the last part the author suggests to conceptualize democracy as a term to describe those acts and efforts that are directed against violations of both democratic promises.

*Stefan Rother*

**“Islands of persuasion” not in sight: The nation-state, NGOs and the global governance of migration**

While labour migration can be regarded as a major phenomenon of globalization, there is very little evidence that points towards the existence of genuine global governance in this field. Nation-states consider migration control as one of the last strongholds of their sovereignty. Civil society organizations may try to act as norm entrepreneurs and call for a rights-based approach instead of merely attempting to “manage migration”. But their strategies of *blaming* and *shaming* which aim at influencing the behavior of states have been countered by the *framing* of migration as a security risk. Building on the literature dealing with communicative action, persuasion in international negotiations and Deitelhoff’s concept of “islands of persuasion”, this article analyzes global processes dealing with migration, especially the recently established “Global Forum on Migration and Development (GFMD)”. It is argued that this ongoing process does have potential but is far from providing the “missing migration regime”.

*Harald Schmid*

**Reform and History. The Example of the first Grand Coalition 1966-1969**

Politics requires arguments, political ideas as well as parliamentary debates and decisions. So, the recourse to history and also to future is a common point of reference in political discourse. In this regard the reform agenda of govern-

ments does provide a number of insights because politicians here are under greater pressure to justify their actions. The article examines the use of and reference to history during the first Grand Coalition in the Federal Republic of Germany. Starting with its self-proclaimed understanding of being a “landmark in history”, the author scrutinizes the extent in which the Kiesinger-Brandt government employed references to history as a means to legitimate its reform projects. Searching for correlations between reform politics and politics with history, the article shows the political significance and role of historical arguments in the legitimation of reform politics. One conclusion of the article is that politics with history in times of change and crisis is a precarious instrument of governance that can also have counterproductive effects.

*Ingo Schorlemmer, Joß Steinke und Roland Sturm*

### **The Governance of European Antitrust Policies: Problems and Perspectives**

In 2004 the EU decentralised its implementation of cartel policies. It thereby created a new mode of governance. The new mode of governance, which replaced hierarchy as the central tool for political steering, is rooted in a network made up of the National Competition Authorities of the 27 member states and the Commission. This transgovernmental hierarchical network is challenged by contradictions below its surface caused by network asymmetries and the opportunities for NCAs to co-operate to a certain degree autonomously. By exploring these topics the case study sheds new light on the workings of trans-governmental networks.