

# The Academy of Political Science

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ses of the concept of sovereignty and develops new ideas about the nature of citizenship under post-modern conditions. Its greatest contribution, then, may well be that it presents the novel undertaking that is the EU to a broader population of scholars, who should start recognizing it for the interesting laboratory that it represents. As Balibar himself says, “The questions raised by European unification, and the tensions it serves to reveal, form a particularly privileged object for political philosophy” (p. 155). If this book serves only to alert more people to this obvious fact, it will have been worth writing.

But there is more, as Balibar glides effortlessly through an extraordinary array of philosophers, ranging from Jean Bodin to Friedrich Hegel to Gilles Deleuze, in order to make his arguments. His erudition is on display as he illuminates what he sees as a European “apartheid” emerging out of the constitution of EU citizenship. He openly announces his belief in activist scholarship as a method for combating this odious development. In arguments such as these, one can see not only the passion of a committed scholar but the well-reasoned positions of a man who sincerely hopes, one day, to be a European citizen.

GUSTAV PEEBLES  
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**Procedural Politics: Issues, Influence, and Institutional Choice in the European Union** by Joseph Jupille. *New York, Cambridge University Press, 2004. 294 pp. \$80.00.*

“We can understand neither power, nor policy, nor institutional change in the absence of a theory of procedural politics,” (p. 224) Joseph Jupille claims. However, politicians understand those quite well without an explicit theory. Indeed, if they did not understand them, they could not optimize in the ways the theory suggests. Nevertheless, Jupille shows that, as is often the case, formally laying out the theory is rewarding.

Jupille’s theory is all about rules. Or more precisely, bargaining over rules: not what the formal rules should be, but which of these rules should apply, what legislative processes should be used, how policy should be made. His procedural politics theory raises many interesting questions, not just for EU scholars, but also across a variety of systems ranging from international organizations to national politics.

In recent decades, scholars like Barry R. Weingast, George Tsebelis, and Geoffrey Garrett have developed theories about the effects of rules. Jupille takes this literature one step further by asking: what are the empirical conditions under which the “effects literature” applies? The argument is straight rational choice. When does it happen? Procedural politics is a product of opportunity and potential gain: the more ambiguous the legislative process and the greater the possible difference in influence to various actors from various

processes, the more likely will we see a fight over rules. How is it done? Actors frame issues to fit the procedure they favor, and they form coalitions that back their procedural preference. Why does it matter? Jupille claims two primary effects: first, procedural politics is inefficient, because it takes longer; and second, procedural politics increases the chance of higher-order institutional change.

The book is very thorough, is organized in a masterly fashion, and is painstakingly systematic. Even the conclusion has periodic summaries, so parts of the book can constructively stand alone. Jupille combines quantitative and qualitative analysis, although some readers will want to know more about coding and measures. Impressively, he has coded 444 legislative cases on numerous variables from an original dataset of 4,700 legislative cases between 1987 and 1997. The operationalization might irk some: the actors are reduced to Parliament, the Commission, and the Council. However, although the Commission is supposedly removed from national politics, Parliament is not, and the Council certainly is not. Indeed, not only are these actors not monolithic, but perhaps (more?) interesting procedural politics occurs between states in the Council. Does the Council as an actor want to increase its influence? Does that hold for a German minister in the Council?

The book excellently lays out the theory of when and how procedural politics happens. It is a showcase of how to build on existing theory and present a new theory.

The answers to why procedural politics matters are somewhat more debatable. Let us consider efficiency. The question is: compared to what? Yes, procedural politics takes longer. But efficiency is surely more than time. Does it improve outcomes? Is there simply more procedural politics the more important the issue? If the bargaining ultimately allows for a more optimal outcome, is that less efficient? The other effect of procedural politics is supposedly higher-level institutional change. This is an interesting hypothesis. But has institutional revision in the EU produced less procedural politics waste? A theory of what kind of institutional change procedural politics brings about might be useful. Might there be an incentive to increase ambiguity?

That the book raises these debates is proof of its usefulness, however. The many questions raised show the wealth of further theory it might produce. Although the rational choice explanations are intuitive, the broader analysis engenders a host of new hypotheses that go to the core of policy making and broader institution building.

JUDITH KELLEY  
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**Ethnic Politics in Europe: The Power of Norms and Incentives** by Judith G. Kelley. Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Press, 2004. 264 pp. \$35.00.

The state is not what it used to be. Globalization has whittled away its sovereignty from numerous directions. This decline in sovereignty has not only