



Bulletin n. 2/2016 - December 2016

List of contents

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 1. The theory of federation

Oscar López Chan

Análisis de diseño de políticas nacionales concurrentes desde la perspectiva del federalismo in Reforma y democracia (Venezuela), no. 66

El documento propone un enfoque para analizar la congruencia de diseño de una política nacional concurrente con el federalismo. Además de la teoría federal, dos elementos básicos para este análisis son las categorías estructura y funcionamiento. La primera se refiere a la estructura formal de un sistema federal y la segunda, a su funcionamiento esperado como federalismo. Tal comprensión permite identificar los rasgos distintivos del diseño de las políticas nacionales concurrentes en un sistema federal y construir un modelo de análisis denominado perspectiva federalista. La tesis argumentada es que en un sistema federal las entidades federadas, como partes reconocidas de aquel, por derecho propio pueden participar en el diseño de las políticas nacionales concurrentes. Esta participación es crucial para definir las como federales.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 1. The theory of federation

245-255

A note on majority rule and neutrality with an application to state votes at the Constitutional Convention of 1787 in Public Choice, Volume 167, Issue 3-4 , Jac C. Heckelman

Majority rule used in the legislative process has a bias toward the status quo. This implies that proposals are less likely to pass when the number of voters casting either "yes" or "no" votes sums to an even number rather than an odd number. The implication is weakly supported by examining state votes of 552 motions made at the 1787 Constitutional Convention. A difference is found in the expected direction but is not statistically significant at traditional levels.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 1. The theory of federation

Adams Brian E.

Assessing the Merits of Decentralization: A Framework for Identifying the Causal Mechanisms Influencing Policy Outcomes

in *Politics & Policy*, Volume 44, Issue 5, October , 820-849

Decentralization is a structural change designed to influence policy outcomes by changing the policy-making process. Critical to assessing the merits of decentralization is an articulation of the causal mechanisms through which it alters the motivations and behavior of officials which, in turn, influence policy decisions. This article offers a new theoretical framework that explicates these causal mechanisms. It yields two sets of hypotheses. The first posits causal relationships between decentralization and the mix of resources and constraints that a government faces when



addressing a policy problem. The second set of hypotheses explores how these resources and constraints influences decisions makers' preferences, incentives, and capacity. This framework captures the potential ways through which decentralization could alter policy outcomes, pointing to a new research agenda that will allow scholars to empirically sort through the mixed and inconclusive findings on decentralization's impact.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 1. The theory of federation

Contipelli Ernani

Categorización del federalismo ambiental en el sistema constitucional brasileño vigente

in **Cuadernos Manuel Giménez Abad**, n. 12, diciembre , 10-25

The present article aims to investigate the categorization of the environmental federalism in the current Brazilian constitutional system. Therefore, we initiate with the verification of the cooperative federalism proposal and its ties with the inter-territorial solidarity in order to visualize the fundamentals of the welfare and the satisfactory conditions of life and its relations with the environment. In the second part, we enter in the Brazilian Constitution typology in order to get a description of its profile and elements that influence the conformation of its federalist proposal. Sequentially, we pass to the study of the general view of the Brazilian federalism, highlighting the distribution of power and the application of the predominance of interest principle. The fourth part is dedicated to the comprehension of the environmental constitutional order, founded in the idea of sustainable development and its relation with other fundamental rights especially concerned to propriety and freedom for realize economic activities. Finally, in the last part, we categorize the Brazilian environmental federalism.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 1. The theory of federation

Carranza Gonzalo Gabriel

El camino al nuevo federalismo argentino

in **Cuadernos Manuel Giménez Abad**, n. 12, diciembre , 184-190

The Argentine federalist system has been greatly influenced by the presidential system. In recent years, the head of the Executive Branch has been playing a remarkable role regarding State and Provinces relationship. However, the last change of government in the South American country has generated new horizons into the existing federalism, which is starting to show signs of change.

Full text available online at

http://www.fundacionmgimenezabad.es/images/Documentos/Cuadernos/cuadernos12_diciembre_2016.pdf

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 1. The theory of federation

Arthur Benz

Gradual Constitutional Change and Federal Dynamics – German Federalism Reform in Historical Perspective

in **Regional and Federal Studies**, Volume 26, Issue 5 , 707-728

In order to understand reform in German federalism, this article applies the framework of “dynamic institutionalism”. It



explains change as a result of a particular pattern of constitutional policy emerging in a sequential evolution of institutions and responding to changing state–society relations. Historical legacies found expression in negotiations predominated by bargaining among governments, guided by legalist approaches of lawyers and court decisions and influenced by specialists in public administration. In this context, societal change affected the agenda but had limited impact on processes and outcomes. In consequence, the reform ended with many detailed constitutional amendments not amounting to substantial change. In a comparative perspective, German federalism may have its strengths, but its reform should not be regarded as a role model for other federations. Instead, it exemplifies the problematic consequences of a constitutional policy not sufficiently separated from normal intergovernmental policy-making and strongly embedded in a self-enforcing evolution of institutions.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 1. The theory of federation

Chaturvedi Rohini

India's forest federalism

in *Contemporary South Asia*, Volume 24, Issue 1, 2016 , 1-18

This article is about forest governance in India and presents a unique, federalism perspective on the subject. While forest governance and federalism have both been deeply researched in academic scholarship, there is little work that deals with the linkages between the two. In addressing this gap in scholarship, the article explains forest federalism through a focus on three dimensions. The first is the Constitutional construct of the forest sector, and its interpretations through legislative provisions. The second is the administrative, financial and institutional linkages between the Centre and States, including the influence of the Indian Forest Service. The third looks at vertical and horizontal asymmetries in the sector, and the ways in which these relate to administrative and resource concerns in federal functioning. The paper concludes with a reflection on the relevance of forest federalism in on-going international environmental debates.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 1. The theory of federation

Pegoraro Lucio

Para una teoría integradora del federalismo y la plurinación

in *Federalismi*, Anno XIV - Nr 19

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 1. The theory of federation

Rezvani David A.

Partial Independence Beats Full Independence

in *Territory, Politics, Governance*, Volume 4, Issue 3 , 269-296

It is widely believed that fully independent sovereign states are peerless and preeminent. They are viewed as the ultimate political system for producing economic and security advantages. It is also widely believed that they are the only constitutive unit in the international system that possesses territorial sovereignty. As distinct from these views, this paper



will provide theoretical and empirical support to argue in favour of the existence and relative advantages of partially independent territories (PITs). PITs tend to deliver degrees of public goods, nationalistic reconciliation, and credible commitment advantages that sovereign states often cannot provide. The result is that PITs tend to have higher degrees of wealth and security as compared to their sovereign state counterparts. The advantages and widespread existence of PITs amend assumptions about the structure of the Westphalian international system in which sovereign statehood is viewed as exclusive and unchallenged.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 1. The theory of federation

Kincaid John

Territorial Neutrality and Cultural Pluralism in American Federalism: Is the United States the Archenemy of Peripheral Nationalism?

in *Swiss Political Science Review - Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft - Revue suisse de science politique*, Volume 22, Issue 4, December , pp. 565-584

This study examines accommodations of 'national' minorities in the context of territorial neutrality and territorial democracy in American federalism and critiques Kymlicka's criticism of the United States as the foe of peripheral nationalism. Aside from the imagined nationalism of the white American South, peripheral nationalism has not been politically viable in the United States. Territorial democracy permitted territorially based cultural pluralism that facilitated immigrant assimilation while asymmetrical territorial governance arrangements accommodated 'national' minorities not necessarily desiring statehood. Secession, therefore, is not a credible threat in American federalism.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 1. The theory of federation

Klaus Detterbeck

The Role of Party and Coalition Politics in Federal Reform

in *Regional and Federal Studies*, Volume 26, Issue 5 , 645-666

The article analyses the role of the German political parties as actors of federal change. Parties perceive federal processes through their own organizational lenses, giving priority to electoral logics, programmatic ideas or territorial interests. Each of the three reform steps in the German case was shaped by a specific blend of the three logics. Looking at the sequences of reform, the analysis shows that parties have remained central for organizing federal processes but have become less capable of arriving at cohesive and unified party positions. There have been struggles over which of the strategies was to prevail both within individual parties and across the party divide. The territorial power balances within parties, the timing of the reform, that is, the constellation of political majorities at federal and regional levels in the moment of reform, and the policy issues in question are important framing conditions for the choice of particular party strategies.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 2. Constitutional reform

JOCHEN THIES

Alemania como Estado federal



in *Politica Exterior*, n° 173

Los 16 Länder que componen el sistema político-administrativo alemán son un entramado de controles y contrapesos que hace difícil construir consensos y ha generado disfuncionalidades. El federalismo que sacó adelante a un país derrotado precisa hoy una reforma.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 2. Constitutional reform

Cevolin Guglielmo

Centralismo e riduzione degli ambiti di sovranità popolare nella riforma Boschi-Renzi

in *Diorama*, n. 333

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 2. Constitutional reform

Eric C. Ip

Comparative Subnational Foreign Relations Law in the Chinese Special Administrative Regions

in *International and Comparative Law Quarterly*, volume 65, issue 4 , 953-968

The increasing importance of subnational governments in interstate affairs calls for international and comparative law scholars to take subnational foreign relations law more seriously. This article conceives this law as the legal rules that regulate the vertical allocation of foreign relations powers within and across States, and constructs an analytical framework that addresses the questions of why any sovereign would grant extensive foreign relations powers to constituent entities and how such an arrangement plays out in actual practice. This study takes a comparative approach to case studies of the Special Administrative Regions (SARs) of the People's Republic of China: Hong Kong and Macau, which are known for their unusually extensive paradiplomatic powers, which not only defy conventional categories but also surpass those of other substates.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 2. Constitutional reform

Daniele Coduti

Considerazioni a prima lettura sul «nuovo» regionalismo differenziato (ragionando sugli artt. 30 e 39 del d.d.l. cost. A.S. 1429-B, XVII Legislatura)

in *Regioni (Le)*, no. 5-6 , 1113-1130

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 2. Constitutional reform

Astrid Lorenz



How differently actors cope with demanding constitutional amendment rules: two types of constitutional politics in federal democracies

in *Regional and Federal Studies*, Volume 26, Issue 5 , 729-748

The article seeks to explore why a high formal hurdle for constitutional amendments (constitutional rigidity) as it is present in Germany does not automatically lead to a lower number of amendments when compared with low rigidity countries and why Germany's amendment rate is so much higher than that of some other federations. It theorizes that the frequency of interactions between stable, interdependent actors influences their willingness to compromise. Thus analyses of constitutional politics must expand the focus to longer time-horizons and to the parliamentary and federal context. Case studies on constitutional politics in two parliamentary federations, Germany and Canada, confirm that actors cope differently with the problem of multiple veto players in constitutional politics. In the long run, two distinct patterns of constitutional politics have emerged.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 2. Constitutional reform

Dave Guénette

La modification constitutionnelle au Canada - Quelle procédure de révision pour quelle constitution ?

in *Revue belge de Droit constitutionnel*, no. 4 , 417-452

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 2. Constitutional reform

Manuela Brillat

La probable réforme impossible du Sénat italien

in *Revue française de droit constitutionnel*, no. 107 , 575-600

Plan de l'article

- I – Une tentative fine de relance du régime italien
- A – La renonciation au bicamérisme politique
- B – Le renversement du bicamérisme égalitaire
- II – Le projet de révision constitutionnelle : l'adaptation inachevée aux réalités italiennes actuelles
- A – Les failles dans la représentativité des autonomies locales
- B – Le nouveau dilemme démocratique du pouvoir constituant dérivé

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 2. Constitutional reform

Simone Pajno and Guido Rivoecchi

La problematica riforma costituzionale delle autonomie speciali

in *Regioni (Le)*, no. 2 , 267-306



No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 2. Constitutional reform

Gerardo Ruiz-Rico Ruiz

La reinvencción constitucional del modelo territorial español

in *Teoría y realidad constitucional*, no. 37 , 309-346

Las disfunciones del Estado Autonómico y los problemas de integración territorial plantean la necesidad de una futura reconstrucción del modelo territorial. Se están proponiendo diversas alternativas políticas y doctrinales para sustituir o transformar la forma de Estado que diseñó la Constitución de 1978. No obstante, el proceso en favor de la independencia que se ha impulsado por las instituciones políticas de Cataluña ha sido paralizado por el Tribunal Constitucional por superar los vigentes límites constitucionales.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 3. The division (and the conflicts) of powers and competences

Mathias El Berhoumi

L'abaissement du début de l'obligation scolaire par l'autorité fédérale ou par les communautés au regard de la répartition des compétences et des droits fondamentaux en matière d'enseignement - Audition du 26 mai 2015

in *Revue belge de Droit constitutionnel*, no. 1 , 41-57

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 3. The division (and the conflicts) of powers and competences

Stefan Koriöth

A Path to Balanced Budgets of Bund and Länder? The New Shape of the 'Debt Brake' and the 'Stability Council' in Regional and Federal Studies, Volume 26, Issue 5 , 687-705

This paper analyses the implementation of new debt rules and the function of the new Stabilitätsrat since its establishment in 2011. The new rules are explained and the effect of the new limit for public debt is examined. Furthermore, the composition, tasks and procedures of the Stabilitätsrat are described and evaluated. Finally, its activity is judged with individual examples. As a result, it is shown that for the new rules of Art. 109 para. 3, Art. 115 and Art. 143d GG to be successful, a normative commitment and corresponding political discipline not to incur new debts is required. The Stabilitätsrat alone is insufficient as an institutional framework to encourage budgetary discipline. Abolishing the Stabilitätsrat would be a first step in giving back control to politics in regard to debt and in dispelling the illusion that technocratic determination of the possibility to take new debt could end the debt problem.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 3. The division (and the conflicts) of powers and competences

Federico Fabbrini



A Principle in Need of Renewal? The Euro-Crisis and the Principle of Institutional Balance

in *Les Cahiers de droit européen*, volume 52, issue 1 , 285-309

La présente contribution se concentre sur le principe de l'équilibre institutionnel et effectue un examen des conséquences de la crise de l'euro et des réponses y apportées sur cette caractéristique bien établie de l'ordre constitutionnel de l'Union européenne. Après avoir expliqué que le Traité de Lisbonne a consacré le principe de l'équilibre institutionnel dans le processus législatif en requérant que tant le Conseil que le Parlement approuve les textes législatifs européens, l'article évalue de manière critique l'usage, par les États membres, des traités intergouvernementaux hors de l'ordre juridique européen en réponse à la crise de l'euro. Ainsi que l'article le suggère, l'usage de traités intergouvernementaux soulève des défis institutionnels importants, dès lors qu'il ignore la position institutionnelle du Parlement, soumettant son intervention dans le processus législatif au bon vouloir des États membres. L'article examine alors les stratégies à la disposition du Parlement afin de s'assurer qu'à l'avenir, les États membres agissent dans le cadre de l'ordre juridique européen, dès que l'Union est compétente dans un domaine spécifique, en concluant que le principe de l'équilibre institutionnel doit être réaffirmé à la suite de la crise de l'euro.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 3. The division (and the conflicts) of powers and competences

Christopher Alcantara and Zachary Spicer

A new model for making Aboriginal policy? Evaluating the Kelowna Accord and the promise of multilevel governance in Canada

in *Canadian Public Administration*, volume 59, issue 2 , 183-203

Government policy-making affecting Indigenous communities in Canada has often been met with stiff resistance from Indigenous leadership. We examine multilevel governance as an alternate model for Aboriginal policy-making by examining a particular case study: the process leading up to the 2005 Kelowna Accord. We find that although multilevel governance may have the potential to produce highly desirable outcomes, its emergence seems to depend heavily on political agency. Meaningful and enduring change to Aboriginal policy-making will therefore likely require significant institutional adjustments to the Canadian federation.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 3. The division (and the conflicts) of powers and competences

Conlan Timothy J., Posner Paul L.

American Federalism in an Era of Partisan Polarization: The Intergovernmental Paradox of Obama's "New Nationalism"

in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, vol. 46, n. 3, Summer, special issue "The Obama Administration and American Federalism" , 281-307

This article examines the growing impact of partisan polarization on intergovernmental relations under the Obama Administration. Increasingly, red and blue states have taken different trajectories in implementing Obama Administration policies, with resistance from many conservative state leaders and enthusiasm from Democrats. To manage these challenges, the Administration has turned to an array of old and new tools for accommodating territorial variations in politics and policy: opt outs for reluctant or resistant states, accommodation for states that wish to go beyond federal



standards, aggressive use of waivers, and so forth. This “variable speed federalism” model—marked by increasingly diverse patterns of state implementation of national policies—has been the paradoxical outgrowth of what President Obama once hoped would become a “new nationalism.” This article explores these themes in more detail, briefly recapping the principal domestic accomplishments of the Obama Administration, examining emerging patterns of intergovernmental relations, and discussing the increased federal tolerance of state diversity in federal intergovernmental programs.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 3. The division (and the conflicts) of powers and competences

Nickels Ashley E.

Approaches to Municipal Takeover Home Rule Erosion and State Intervention in Michigan and New Jersey in State and Local Government Review, Volume 48, Issue 3 , 194–207

Municipal takeovers proceed by a state declaring that a municipality is in fiscal crisis and placing it in receivership, handing over most local processes to a state-appointed manager. This policy of aggressive state intervention calls into question two principles of local autonomy enshrined in home rule: that allowing local matters to be handled by local authority removes the need for state special legislation and that giving local governments functional autonomy allows them to solve problems without state intervention. This article presents case studies of New Jersey and Michigan to examine differences in home rule protection as well as approaches to municipal takeover.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 3. The division (and the conflicts) of powers and competences

Siroky David S., Mueller Sean, Hechter Michael

Center-Periphery Bargaining in the Age of Democracy

in Swiss Political Science Review - Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft - Revue suisse de science politique, Volume 22, Issue 4, December , pp. 439-453

This paper introduces the key concepts used in this special issue – center, periphery, and vertical bargaining – and inquires why some national groups within democratic states demand outright independence, while others mobilize for regional autonomy and still others settle for even less. It then specifies a theoretical framework that tries to explain cross-sectional differences and temporal changes in both peripheral demands and central responses. The building blocks of that framework include cultural distinctiveness, credibility of the exit threat and central dependence on the periphery. As an empirical illustration, the paper discusses the case of the Bernese Jura in Switzerland, and then briefly introduces the contributions to this special issue.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 3. The division (and the conflicts) of powers and competences

Röth Leonce, Kaiser André, Varol Çan, Sadio Uur

Centre-Periphery Conflict and Ideological Distance in Turkey



in *Swiss Political Science Review - Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft - Revue suisse de science politique*, Volume 22, Issue 1, March , pp. 585-607

This article integrates ideology into a game-theoretical model of centre-periphery bargains. Ideological differences between national and sub-national elites constitute a major obstacle for the accommodation of autonomy claims. While reforms bringing about decentralization are often analysed systematically as well as through case studies, cases where, despite claims to autonomy, decentralization does not occur have been largely neglected by scholars of territorial politics. Turkey is such a 'negative case'. We argue that ideological distance prevents national parties from accommodating peripheral authority claims. We test our expectation with a mixed-methods approach that combines quantitative analysis of party positions with in-depth qualitative analysis of party documents showing how the different ideological positions of national and Kurdish parties affect decentralization demand and national response in Turkey between 1987 and 2015. Our findings support the theoretical expectations, but also point to additional inferences. Whereas asymmetric authority demands have been widely ignored, symmetric local autonomy has become an important issue in territorial politics.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 3. The division (and the conflicts) of powers and competences

Swenden Wilfried

Centre-State Bargaining and Territorial Accommodation: Evidence from India

in *Swiss Political Science Review - Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft - Revue suisse de science politique*, Volume 22, Issue 4, December , pp.491-515

This article assesses the evolution of territorial management in India across time. It shows how India gradually moved away from a relatively 'integrationist' territorial strategy at independence towards a more 'accommodationist' strategy' in recent decades. The deepening of democracy, and more recently, liberalization have opened up more room for state political and economic autonomy. However, the limits of an accommodative strategy are clearly exposed in relation to the small but significant border states of the North East which can be seen as 'minority nations'. I argue that the flexibility of the Indian constitution which enabled an accommodative response in the context of linguistic reorganization during the early decades after independence contrasts with a more repressive centric strategy in relation to India's minority nations. The article seeks to explain why the bargaining position of the latter states has been comparatively weak and why the centre has been comparatively less accommodative in its approach to these states.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 3. The division (and the conflicts) of powers and competences

Lavinia Bifulco

Citizenship and governance at a time of territorialization: The Italian local welfare between innovation and fragmentation

in *European Urban and Regional Studies*, volume 23, issue 4 , 628-644

The paper investigates the territorialization process with a twofold aim: to focus on the territory as the medium of the current relation between citizenship and governance; and to analyse the problems and opportunities created by governance and territorialization. After outlining an interpretative frame for territorialization in Europe, the paper concentrates on the Italian case and on two policy instruments: Area Social Plans and Neighbourhood Contracts. Light



will be shed on how moves towards innovations intertwine with dynamics of fragmentation, thereby creating the complexity of territorialization in Italy.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 3. The division (and the conflicts) of powers and competences

Ian Flannigan Sprague

**Clarifying Limbo: Disentangling Indigenous Autonomy from the Mexican Constitutional Order
in Perspectives on federalism**, volume 8, issue 1 , 36-52

In contrast to U.S. Federal Indian law, which has classified indigenous tribes as “domestic dependent nations” since the early 19th century, Mexican law has only recently begun to define the political and territorial autonomy of indigenous groups. This paper contrasts the Mexican approach to this problem to that of the United States, first describing Mexico’s 2001’s constitutional reforms and their failure to clarify the nature of tribal sovereignty. It then analyzes recent court cases that protect tribal political and territorial autonomy by applying rights to consultation contained in the International Labor Organization’s Indigenous and Tribal People’s Convention 169 (“ILO 169”) and the Mexican Constitution. It concludes by arguing that in spite of this effort by the courts, Mexican law still requires a comprehensive legislative or diplomatic resolution of the lack of clarity surrounding the political and territorial autonomy of its indigenous groups.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 3. The division (and the conflicts) of powers and competences

Estela Gilbaja Cabrero

**Comentario de los autos del Tribunal Supremo de 17 de octubre y 6 y 27 de noviembre de 2014, relativos a la ley de consultas populares y la «consulta popular no referendaria sobre el futuro político de Cataluña»
in Teoria y realidad constitucional**, no. 37 , 595-604

El Parlamento catalán aprobó en 2014 una Ley de consultas populares. Anteriormente, en 2013, había aprobado una Declaración de soberanía y del derecho a decidir del pueblo de Cataluña. Basándose en los citados documentos, el Presidente de la Generalitat convocó una «consulta popular no referendaria sobre el futuro político de Cataluña», que tendría lugar el 9 de noviembre de 2014. No se llegó a celebrar porque el Tribunal Constitucional decretó su suspensión, ya que el Gobierno había impugnado ante él la Ley, la Declaración y el Decreto de Convocatoria. La Generalitat, una asociación y dos particulares entendieron que los recursos del Gobierno fueron una intromisión en los derechos de los catalanes y acudieron al Tribunal Supremo. El presente trabajo estudia los Autos del Tribunal Supremo que les dan respuesta.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 3. The division (and the conflicts) of powers and competences

Miranda Yaver

**Congressional Assertions of the Spending Power: Institutional Conflict and Regulatory Authority
in Journal of Law, Economics, and Organization**, volume 32, issue 2 , 272-305

This study seeks to answer a crucial and unexplored question about American regulatory law and policy: How do majority coalitions in Congress use the spending power to circumvent intra-branch conflict and judicial constraints



against regulating by finding alternate avenues to regulate states and private actors? This study provides the first large-scale empirical evidence of congressional use of the spending power to assert implementation authority in the face of constraints against more direct legislating. It is through this process of conditioning funds upon regulatory compliance that Congress works toward ideal policy outcomes without inciting institutional conflict with the other branches or from the opposing party. I base my conditional spending analysis on data on statutory specificity and congressional delegation from the 80th to the 110th Congresses provided by Farhang, and include additional measures of institutional conflict. The above argument is supported by the empirical analysis. (JEL K20, K23)

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 3. The division (and the conflicts) of powers and competences

Eric C. Ip

Constitutional Conflict in Hong Kong Under Chinese Sovereignty

in *Hague Journal on the Rule of Law*, volume 8, issue 1 , 75-99

The protracted constitutional conflicts between the Chinese state and Hong Kong society over the pace and form of democratization have become a source of political instability. This article sheds new light on these dynamics by analyzing the two sides as locked in a coordination dilemma: both have important common interests to coordinate with each other, but both rank in divergent ways their preferences for and against introducing competitive electoral arrangements into Hong Kong. It is shown how the unwillingness of either side to compromise has caused the gradual breakdown of coordination as focal points like the Basic Law have eroded, culminating in the Umbrella Revolution of 2014, the largest and longest-lasting popular movement in Hong Kong history. The bloodless ending of the Movement is chronicled, along with the persistence of political stalemate in this highly anomalous polity, known throughout the world for its combination of genuine civil liberties with authoritarian rule.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 3. The division (and the conflicts) of powers and competences

Read James H.

Constitutionalizing the Dispute: Federalism in Hyper-Partisan Times

in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, vol. 46, n. 3, Summer, special issue "The Obama Administration and American Federalism" , 337-365

This article describes how partisan actors during the Obama years have escalated polarization by transforming policy disputes into constitutional contests over the ground rules of the federal system—contests, moreover, in which one bloc of politically like-minded states opposes another. The article examines in particular how Republicans have supported strong claims of state sovereignty, and in some cases resurrected the antebellum doctrine of nullification, to deny to either Congress or the executive branch the authority to reform state health care markets or to limit states' emissions of greenhouse gases. Democrats have reinforced the partisan divide by declining to debate the constitutionality of their policies, instead invoking supposedly settled judicial precedent; and by enabling President Obama to create new federal policy through direct negotiation with like-minded states, thus circumventing congressional obstruction. Ironically, both parties appear willing to shrink the power and authority of an already diminished Congress, a development with unsettling implications for the future.



Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 3. The division (and the conflicts) of powers and competences

Jérémie Van Meerbeeck

De la généralité in abstracto des principes généraux à leur effet direct in concreto

in *Les Cahiers de droit européen*, volume 52, issue 1, 65-90

Le point de départ de cette contribution est le suivant : comment expliquer que la question de l'effet direct des principes généraux du droit de l'Union ait, à tout le moins jusqu'à l'arrêt Mangold, aussi peu attiré l'attention ? Après un bref historique des notions d'effet direct et de principe général du droit (y compris leurs rencontres manquées dans les années 80), l'auteur applique les critères de l'effet direct aux principes généraux du droit et conclut que ces critères ne peuvent être rencontrés in abstracto mais seulement in concreto. Les différentes situations dans lesquelles les principes généraux peuvent être invoqués par les particuliers sont ensuite examinées, qu'il s'agisse des conflits verticaux ou horizontaux. Il en résulte que Mangold n'était pas aussi nouveau qu'il y paraissait à première vue, mais qu'il a mis en évidence les dangers que constituent les principes généraux pour les principes de sécurité juridique et d'équilibre institutionnel.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 3. The division (and the conflicts) of powers and competences

Antoni Abat i Ninet and James A. Gardner

Distinctive identity claims in federal systems: Judicial policing of subnational variance

in *International Journal of Constitutional Law*, volume 14, issue 2, 378-410

It is characteristic of federal states that the scope of subnational power and autonomy are subjects of frequent dispute, and that disagreements over the reach of national and subnational power may be contested in a wide and diverse array of settings. Subnational units determined to challenge nationally imposed limits on their power typically have at their disposal many tools with which to press against formal boundaries. Federal systems, moreover, frequently display a surprising degree of tolerance for subnational obstruction, disobedience, and other behaviors intended to expand subnational authority and influence, even over national objection. This tolerance, however, has limits. In this article, we examine a set of rulings by national constitutional courts invalidating formalized claims by subnational units to a distinctive subnational identity. The emphatically negative reactions of these courts suggest that the legal formalization of distinctive identity claims is perceived by courts to pose an unusually acute threat to the state.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 3. The division (and the conflicts) of powers and competences

Thorlakson Lori

Electoral Linkages in Federal Systems: Barometer Voting and Economic Voting in the German Länder

in *Swiss Political Science Review - Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft - Revue suisse de science politique*, Volume 22, Issue 4, December, pp. 608-624

Federal systems create political competition at multiple territorial levels. While models of vertical bargaining conceptualise federal-subnational relations as occurring between parties with exogenously defined interests, federalism also structures forms of interdependence between the federal and subnational levels. Political competition in multi-level systems is marked by interdependence between the federal and subnational levels through barometer and second order



voting effects. Findings of a more 'autonomous' form of political competition at the subnational level, through state-level economic voting, are less common. This article examines Germany, a highly interdependent federation, to assess the extent to which voting in Land elections responds to Land level economic performance and whether political and institutional factors affect this. I find evidence that in Land level elections, voting for the federally incumbent party is responsive to federal economic performance. Alongside this, there is evidence of 'uncoupled' electoral behaviour at the Land level, with Land level economic voting. This is enhanced by single party government.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 3. The division (and the conflicts) of powers and competences

Konisky David M., Woods

Environmental Policy, Federalism, and the Obama Presidency

in Publius: The Journal of Federalism, vol. 46, n. 3, Summer, special issue "The Obama Administration and American Federalism" , 366-391

Environmental policy is a central piece of President Obama's domestic policy agenda. Congressional gridlock, however, has frequently compelled the Obama Administration to turn to the tools of the administrative presidency to achieve its goals. While executive authority has enabled the President to pursue a relatively ambitious environmental agenda, it has often engendered conflict with Congress, industry, and some states. High levels of intergovernmental conflict have plagued the Obama Administration in several areas of environmental policy, including investment in renewable energy, Environmental Protection Agency regulations on air pollution, and executive actions to manage public lands. And, for their part, states have continued to pursue their own policy goals in the absence of federal policy, with episodes of both policy innovation and retrenchment. Although President Obama's approach continues a trend of presidents primarily using the tools of the administrative presidency, the President's signature climate change policy, the Clean Power Plan, may signal an evolving intergovernmental partnership in environmental policy.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 3. The division (and the conflicts) of powers and competences

Partha Pratim Basu

Federalism and Foreign Policy in India—Experiences of UPA and NDA-II Regimes

in India Quarterly, volume 72, issue 3 , 216-234

This article, set in the tradition of analysing the domestic inputs to foreign policy, explores the interface of federalism and the making and execution of foreign policy in India by looking at six case studies drawn from the United Progressive Alliance UPA (2004–2014) and the National Democratic Alliance NDA-II (2014 onwards) periods. Although the Indian Constitution has vested the power to conduct foreign policy almost exclusively in the Union government, serious differences between the two layers of government in the Indian federation have never been unknown altogether. However, it is argued here that the twin developments of the 1990s, that is, rise of coalition governments at the central level and introduction of neoliberal reforms in the Indian economy, enabled States to deepen their footprints in the foreign policy arena. In conclusion, the article attempts a comparison of the two regimes' performances in handling the issues concerned and asserts that instead of depending on ad hoc political management skills, these developments should be addressed through devising some new mechanism to achieve effective consultations between the Centre and the States on the foreign policy front.



Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 3. The division (and the conflicts) of powers and competences

McGuinn

From No Child Left behind to the Every Student Succeeds Act: Federalism and the Education Legacy of the Obama Administration

in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, vol. 46, n. 3, Summer, special issue "The Obama Administration and American Federalism", 392-415

This article offers an analysis of the legacy of the Obama Administration's education agenda, focusing on implications for American federalism. Faced with partisan gridlock in Congress—which was not able to reauthorize the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) until the last year in office—the Obama Administration opted to make education policy through creative, expansive, and controversial uses of executive power that changed the national political discourse around education and pushed states to enact important policy changes regarding charter schools, common core standards and assessments, and teacher evaluation. The administration's aggressive efforts on school reform, however, eventually led to a political backlash against those same reforms and federal involvement in education more generally and resulted in an ESEA reauthorization (the 2015 Every Student Succeeds Act) that rolls back the federal role in K-12 schooling in important ways. One of the enduring legacies of the Obama presidency may well be the invigoration and expansion of the state role in education.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 3. The division (and the conflicts) of powers and competences

Pietro Faraguna

Il Bundesverfassungsgericht e l'Unione Europea, tra principio di apertura e controlimiti

in *Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo*, no. 2, 431-464

The Article analyses the role played by the German Federal Constitutional Court (BVerfG) in the European integration process. Building on German positive (constitutional) law, the Article argues that the Grundgesetz should be considered one of the Constitutions of European Member States that are more open to international and EU law. Nonetheless, the BVerfG long played as a reluctant actor in the so-called judicial dialogue. This article focuses on multiple contradictions emerging from the role played by the BVerfG and analyses the everchanging impact of its "European" case law on the development of the European integration process.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 3. The division (and the conflicts) of powers and competences

Noh Shihyun, Krane Dale

Implementing the Affordable Care Act Health Insurance Exchanges: State Government Choices and Policy Outcomes

in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, vol. 46, n. 3, Summer, special issue "The Obama Administration and American Federalism", 416-440

Intense partisan conflict characterized the Affordable Care Act's passage and continues to influence its implementation.



The Act granted state officials significant discretionary authority over the implementation of health insurance exchanges and Medicaid expansion. Decisions by state officials vary from full state involvement to partial involvement to refusal to administer a state health exchange or expand Medicaid. The federal government administers a health exchange in those states choosing not to operate an exchange. The article examines whether variation in state program choices affects citizen decisions to enroll in an exchange. Also examined is whether health insurance premiums vary by which level of government administers the exchange. The analysis provides evidence that the Act's goals of increased enrollment in health insurance and affordable premiums are influenced by state government decisions on the extent of state involvement in health exchanges and Medicaid expansion.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 3. The division (and the conflicts) of powers and competences

Mario Savino

La crisi dei confini

in *Rivista trimestrale di diritto pubblico*, no. 3 , 739-759

Negli ultimi mesi, la crisi dei migranti e la minaccia terroristica hanno indotto numerosi paesi dell'area Schengen a reintrodurre i controlli alle frontiere interne. L'Unione ha reagito riformando aspetti chiave del regime dei confini. Sul versante esterno, per effetto del c.d. metodo hotspot e della disciplina della Guardia costiera e di frontiera, si supera il principio della responsabilità esclusiva degli Stati-frontiera nella gestione del perimetro di Schengen. Sul versante interno, si delinea un parallelo processo di condivisione delle decisioni sul ripristino temporaneo dei controlli quando la minaccia sia sistematica. L'area di libera circolazione ne esce rafforzata, ma il futuro di Schengen dipende anche da altre variabili, quali la riforma del sistema di asilo e di Dublino, una più efficace politica dei rimpatri dei migranti irregolari e una più stretta cooperazione tra apparati statali nella lotta al terrorismo.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 3. The division (and the conflicts) of powers and competences

Marc Verdussen

La fréquentation de l'enseignement maternel : compétence fédérale ou communautaire ? Audition du 26 mai 2015

in *Revue belge de Droit constitutionnel*, no. 1 , 71-80

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 3. The division (and the conflicts) of powers and competences

María Isabel Álvarez Vélez

La participación directa de los ciudadanos en la Constitución española y las consultas populares en el ámbito estatutario

in *Revista de derecho político*, no. 96 , 121-148

En el presente estudio se aborda un análisis sobre las características de la democracia representativa y de la democracia directa, especialmente sobre el referéndum y su diferencia con respecto a las consultas populares. Algunas



Comunidades Autónomas tienen competencia para convocar consultas populares, lo que ha supuesto, especialmente en el caso de Cataluña, que el Tribunal Constitucional haya tenido que aclarar el alcance de dichas consultas y su inconstitucionalidad cuando se pretende equipararlo al referéndum.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 3. The division (and the conflicts) of powers and competences

Arnaud Coutant

Le District de Columbia, une anomalie au cœur des institutions américaines
in *Revue française de droit constitutionnel*, no. 108 , 831-850

Plan de l'article

- I – Un district fédéral, une anomalie nécessaire
- A – Les débats fédéraux, le district de columbia et les constitutions américaines
- B – La mise en œuvre pratique, le District de Columbia au cœur d'un compromis
- II – Un district non démocratique, une anomalie critiquée
- A – Une organisation étatique
- B – Une curiosité fédérale

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 3. The division (and the conflicts) of powers and competences

Marc Uyttendaele and Sébastien Kaisergruber

Le chemin des écoliers sera-t-il fédéral ou communautaire ? Réflexions sur la répartition des compétences en matière d'obligation scolaire - Audition du 23 février 2016
in *Revue belge de Droit constitutionnel*, no. 1 , 59-69

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 3. The division (and the conflicts) of powers and competences

Timothy Roes

Limits to Loyalty: The Relevance of Article 4(3) TEU
in *Les Cahiers de droit européen*, volume 52, issue 2 , 253-283

Cette contribution traite de l'étendue de l'obligation de coopération loyale des États membres à l'égard de l'Union. Elle remarque que les objectifs que poursuit cette obligation ne sont pas limités à ceux qu'énonce l'article 3 TUE, mais peuvent porter sur les intérêts de l'Union, et que plus l'obligation est précise, plus naturellement son respect sera sujet à l'application du principe de « coopération loyale » (« sincere cooperation »). Certes, la reconnaissance d'un champ d'application étendu au principe a permis à la Cour d'instaurer des principes structurels, tels la primauté, l'unicité de la représentation internationale ou le principe de la protection juridictionnelle efficace — principes qui ont complété la construction juridique de l'Union —, il y a lieu cependant de ne pas tomber dans l'erreur qui consisterait à promouvoir l'unité au détriment du principe de subsidiarité. Il convient de justifier la mise en œuvre de l'article 4(3) par des



considérations qui relèvent d'intérêts fondamentaux, tels le principe d'égalité des États membres, le respect de la rule of law ou encore l'effet utile d'une mesure. Le mécanisme de la coopération loyale peut, en effet, être utilisé pour effectuer de l'autoamorçage juridique. L'article propose, afin d'éviter ces écueils, que la Cour explique, de manière pédagogique, quel est l'intérêt de l'Union qu'elle cherche à protéger, quelle est l'origine de cet intérêt, et en quoi l'absence d'obligation de coopération loyale risquerait de porter atteinte audit intérêt.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 3. The division (and the conflicts) of powers and competences

Sabine Kropp, Nathalie Behnke

Marble cake dreaming of layer cake: the merits and pitfalls of disentanglement in German federalism reform in *Regional and Federal Studies*, Volume 26, Issue 5 , 667-686

This article explains the zigzag of the stepwise federalism reform in Germany by accessing the theoretical concept of institutional incongruity. It is argued that the existing imbalance between competencies, policy problems and fiscal resources was further exacerbated as actors adopted inconsistent institutional 'layers' during the sequential reform. Two case studies on higher education and unemployment policy reveal that actors finally reverted to joint decision-making and revived ideas of solidarity in order to remedy inconsistent reform results, although 'disentanglement' and competition had been the leitmotifs underlying the first reform step. The article confirms that institutional congruity is hardly attainable in federations. Reform attempts aiming at disentangling responsibilities and fiscal resources encounter insuperable difficulties, because policy issues more than ever transcend the borders of single territorial units and need joint financing. The study concludes by discussing the question whether joint decision-making – compared to dual resp. 'layer-cake' federalism – owns a specific democratic quality.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 3. The division (and the conflicts) of powers and competences

Eleftheria Neframi

Principe de coopération loyale et principe d'attribution dans le cadre de la mise en oeuvre du droit de l'Union in *Les Cahiers de droit europeen*, volume 52, issue 1 , 221-251

La confrontation entre principe d'attribution et principe de coopération loyale devra être appréciée selon le niveau de leur rencontre. Concernant l'encadrement des modalités procédurales de mise en œuvre du droit de l'Union, le conflit est apprécié par rapport aux paramètres d'effectivité et de protection juridictionnelle effective. La recherche d'équilibre entre le principe d'effectivité et l'autonomie procédurale de l'État membre, ainsi que le mandat européen du juge national d'assurer une protection juridictionnelle effective et la pleine effectivité du droit de l'Union, permettent de relativiser l'impact du devoir de loyauté sur le principe d'attribution. Concernant le rattachement de la sphère étatique au champ couvert par le droit de l'Union, les obligations de loyauté font l'objet d'un exercice de balance avec les intérêts étatiques, encore plus subtil lorsqu'il touche aux droits fondamentaux, et incombant en grande partie au juge national, dans une logique d'équilibre avec le principe d'attribution.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 3. The division (and the conflicts) of powers and competences



Laurence Potvin-Solis

Principe général de non-discrimination et "situations purement internes"

in *Les Cahiers de droit européen*, volume 52, issue 1 , 337-364

Cette contribution propose une analyse de la relation entre le principe général de non-discrimination et les « situations purement internes » en partant de son ancrage dans l'ordre constitutionnel de l'Union et dans les rapports entre l'Union et ses États membres. Elle en souligne la teneur jurisprudentielle et les mutations qui caractérisent sa liaison au champ d'application du droit de l'Union et au principe d'attribution qui gouverne les compétences de l'Union. Elle analyse, dans un premier temps, l'interdépendance entre les champs respectifs du principe de non-discrimination et des « situations purement internes » (I). Elle évalue dans quelle mesure le développement de la portée matérielle du principe de non-discrimination en raison de la nationalité (A) exige une rationalisation du champ des « situations purement internes » (B). Elle montre, dans un second temps, la nécessité de prendre en compte la portée constitutionnelle de la relation entre le principe général de non-discrimination et les « situations purement internes », et la conjonction de leurs effets dans les rapports d'identité entre l'Union européenne et ses États membres (II). Elle souligne l'intérêt de mener une double approche liant la place du particulier bénéficiaire des progrès du droit fondamental à la non-discrimination dans l'Union (A) et celle de l'État membre au regard des tensions constitutionnelles grandissantes entre les ordres juridiques que traduisent les « situations purement internes » au plan étatique et infra-étatique (B).

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 3. The division (and the conflicts) of powers and competences

Karen Busby

Providing Essential Services of Reasonable Quality to All Canadians: Understanding Section 36(1)(c) of the Constitution Act, 1982

in *Review of Constitutional Studies/Revue d'études constitutionnelles*, volume 20, issue 2 , 191-212

Section 36(1)(c) has attracted little judicial or academic attention. I examine the text, context, historic circumstances, judicial determinations, and assertions by Canada in international fora respecting this constitutional provision in order to shed light on whether it contains a substantive right or simply expresses an aspiration. I further discuss the concept of "constitutional privity" to clarify whether or not it precludes anyone other than the federal or provincial governments from asserting an alleged breach in litigation. I also address the question of sources for determining the acceptable standards for "essential public services." Underpinning this examination is the question of whether people living on a First Nation reserve that does not have access to safe drinking water and adequate sanitation could make a claim against the federal government for failing to uphold the 36(1)(c) commitment "to provid[e] essential public services of reasonable quality to all Canadians." I conclude that each of the issues I address supports a 36(1)(c) claim.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 3. The division (and the conflicts) of powers and competences

Mills Sarah , Gore Christopher

Public and Local Government Leader Opinions on Environmental Federalism

in *State and Local Government Review*, Volume 48, Issue 3 , 165–174

How should regulatory authority over environmental policy issues be allocated? While there has been previous work on public preferences regarding environmental federalism, less attention has been paid to the opinions of local government



officials, who are often on the front lines testing the limits (or not) of their authority. Using survey data of public and local official opinion about environmental federalism, this article finds that local government officials often see a significantly different role for national, subnational, and local government than their constituents, even after accounting for demographic differences between the groups. This article draws on data from two subnational jurisdictions in different countries (Michigan, United States and Ontario, Canada) and finds that the differences between the general public and local officials are durable even with a change in national context.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 3. The division (and the conflicts) of powers and competences

Roberto Baratta

Rule of Law 'Dialogues' Within the EU: A Legal Assessment

in Hague Journal on the Rule of Law, volume 8, issue 2 , 357-372

The rule of law is a foundational principle of the EU's identity. It implies inter alia that member states are required to comply with this principle in their respective national realm. In that regard, the paper argues that respect for the rule of law can be conceptualized as an erga omnes partes obligation: its indivisible nature entails that each country owes it to the EU, the other member states, as well as individuals. Yet the EU institutional system reveals some shortcomings as to the oversight on systemic deficiencies of the rule of law at national level, since the Article 7 procedure is not a sound response to systemic threats to the rule of law. In the light of a Council's invitation, the Commission has proposed a complementary mechanism, which provides for a political oversight aimed essentially at entering into a dialogue with the concerned member state. This paper, while challenging some critical remarks to the Commission's Communication, advocates that it is consistent with the Treaties. Finally, the paper highlights some positive and negative aspects of the Council's conclusions aimed at enacting a new political dialogue among all member states within the Council to promote and safeguard the rule of law.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 3. The division (and the conflicts) of powers and competences

Quirino Camerlengo

Stato, Regioni ed enti locali come «istituzioni parimenti repubblicane». Dai «livelli di governo» agli «anelli istituzionali»

in Regioni (Le), no. 1 , 47-98

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 3. The division (and the conflicts) of powers and competences

Anderson Liam, Costa Carlos

Survival of the Fittest: Explaining the Success of Ethnic Autonomy Arrangements

in Swiss Political Science Review - Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft - Revue suisse de science politique, Volume 22, Issue 4, December , pp. 516-544

The empirical evidence indicates that ethnic autonomy arrangements (EAAs) survive more often than not, but this mixed



track record raises an important question. What accounts for the survival of some systems and not others? We theorize that that this differential survival rate is partly a function of variation in their internal structure. EAAs that are structured to create and best sustain an equilibrium in bargaining relations between center and periphery have the highest probability of survival. It follows logically that the more unbalanced the system in favor of either the center or periphery, the less likely to survive. We test the theory using logit analysis on an original data set drawn from the universe of post-1945 EAAs. After controlling for level of democracy and wealth disparity, the key finding is that the internal structure of an EAA matters for its survival. One important implication of these findings is that, for any given level of democracy, ethnofederal systems can be systematically designed to maximize survival prospects

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 3. The division (and the conflicts) of powers and competences

Huq Aziz Z., Michaels Jon D.

The Cycles of Separation-of-Powers Jurisprudence

in *Yale Law Journal (The)*, vol. 126 - n. 2

The Supreme Court's approach to the Constitution's separation of powers is a puzzle. Although the Justices appear to agree on the doctrine's goals, in almost every important line of cases the Court oscillates between hard-edged rules and open-textured standards. The Court's seemingly erratic doctrinal shifts cannot be wholly explained by changes in the bench's personnel or methodological fads. This Article isolates and analyzes pervasive doctrinal cycling between rules and standards as a distinctive element of separation-of-powers jurisprudence. We break from previous scholarship critical of the Court's zigzagging, and instead consider whether purposeful cycling between rules and standards might be justified as a judicial strategy for implementing the separation of powers. We further develop a new theoretical account of the separation of powers where doctrinal cycling might be justified on two key assumptions: First, the separation of powers promotes a plurality of normative ends, and second, it does so in the context of a more heterogeneous institutional environment than a singular focus on the interplay of the three great branches would suggest. Doctrinal cycling between rules and standards could be used, at least in theory, to manage normative pluralism and police this "thick political surround" when simpler, more straightforward regulatory strategies would fail. This rational reconstruction of the feasible judicial role in the separation-of-powers context provides a benchmark for evaluating observed doctrinal oscillations, and, more generally, for determining whether courts possess the necessary institutional resources to promote separation-of-powers values.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 3. The division (and the conflicts) of powers and competences

Rebecca Haw Allensworth

The New Antitrust Federalism

in *Virginia Law Review*, volume 102, issue 6 , 1387-1445

"Antitrust federalism," or the rule that state regulation is not subject to federal antitrust law, does as much as—and perhaps more than—its constitutional cousin to insulate state regulation from wholesale invalidation by the federal government. For most of the last century, the Court quietly tinkered away with the contours of this federalism, struggling to draw a formal boundary between state action (immune from antitrust suits) and private cartels (not). But with the Court's last three antitrust cases, the tinkering has given way to reformation. What used to be a doctrine with deep roots in constitutional federalism is now a doctrine with close ties to the federal administrative state where courts sit in



judgment of an agency's decision-making procedure.

The new antitrust federalism conditions antitrust immunity not on the fact of state regulation but on the process of that regulation. Now, only regulation created by a politically accountable process is beyond the reach of federal antitrust suits, exposing vast areas of state regulation to new antitrust scrutiny. This Article argues that the new antitrust federalism is an improvement on the old, both because the old boundary model was unworkable and because the new regime addresses the "inherent capture" problems at the heart of modern state regulation. But this Article also warns that if the Court does not give accountability review real bite, it may have to abandon the new antitrust federalism and opt for a nuclear option that could portend the end of antitrust federalism altogether.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 3. The division (and the conflicts) of powers and competences

Bulman-Pozen Jessica, Metzger Gillian E.

The President and the States: Patterns of Contestation and Collaboration under Obama

in **Publius: The Journal of Federalism**, vol. 46, n. 3, Summer, special issue "The Obama Administration and American Federalism" , 308-336

Current accounts portray President Obama's tenure as dominated by executive policymaking and vigorous challenges from the states. We argue that such accounts overlook how federal-state collaboration has been critical to achieving Obama Administration ends. Partisan polarization has gridlocked Congress and made the President dependent on the states to advance his central policy initiatives. As a result, these initiatives are both more responsive to state demands and more bipartisan than they might appear. After exploring tools by which the President works with the states, we discuss implications for federalism, the separation of powers, and partisan polarization. In particular, the state role in shaping federal regulation raises the possibility that states are both aggrandizing and checking presidential power.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 3. The division (and the conflicts) of powers and competences

Nicolai Dose, Iris Reus

The effect of reformed legislative competences on Länder policy-making: determinants of fragmentation and uniformity

in **Regional and Federal Studies**, Volume 26, Issue 5 , 625-644

The Federalism Reform I (2006) transferred some additional legal competences to the German Länder to provide them with more autonomy. Our analysis is guided by the question as to how fragmentation and uniformity concerning the content of the new Länder laws can be explained. To this end, we develop a theoretical framework based on a short review of the literature on the field. Subsequently, the framework is tested empirically on the basis of four selected legislative competences. Our results show that differences in party positions and problem pressures result in the fragmentation of laws. This applies also to competition under budgetary constraints, whereas competition superimposes the first two factors. Uniformity was influenced by similar party positions, and particularly by networks of experts.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 3. The division (and the conflicts) of powers and competences



Christian Stecker

The effects of federalism reform on the legislative process in Germany
in *Regional and Federal Studies*, Volume 26, Issue 5 , 603-624

When the reform of German federalism was enacted in 2006, the right of the second chamber, Bundesrat, to veto large parts of national legislation had long been identified as a dysfunctional element of the federal system. The need to compromise with an often opposition-controlled Bundesrat was perceived as hurting democratic principles and worsening Germany's policy performance. Hence, a variety of constitutional amendments was adopted in 2006 to curb the veto threat. This paper sketches how the expansion of the Bundesrat veto emerged and how the reform tried to reduce it. Covering all federal legislation between 1978 and 2016 this paper then analyses the actual effects of the reform. It is shown that the veto threat has been reduced by around 17% but that it remains unchanged at around 65% in the area of tax law.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 3. The division (and the conflicts) of powers and competences

Bryan W. Marshall and Brandon C. Prins

When Political Gridlock Reigns in Presidential Foreign Policy: Policy Availability and the Role of Congress
in *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, Volume 46, Issue 4 , 763–790

There is an inherent connection between the party cover and policy availability theories that has been largely overlooked by the presidential use of force literature. Party cover views the president's party strength in Congress as the prominent structural source shaping presidential incentives by diffusing responsibility in foreign policy. But policy availability adds to this view by explaining how such domestic conditions shape the variety of choices (or tools) presidents have for demonstrating political leadership. Policy availability anticipates that presidential incentives to use the Constitution's Article II authority across foreign policy operations will vary depending on the president's relationship with Congress. This analysis provides insight into claims made by policy availability arguments regarding the role of Congress in explaining presidential decisions to initiate military interventions. The findings point to important differences in the effects of Congress on presidential decisions for low-risk versus high-risk military missions. We find that the president's ability to legislate decreases the likelihood of humanitarian interventions. In addition, we find that as the president's relationship with Congress becomes more legislatively productive, presidents seem significantly more drawn toward high-risk military interventions. We infer from these findings that policy availability represents a powerful motivation in the president's calculation to engage in foreign policy interventions.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 3. The division (and the conflicts) of powers and competences

Monica Haymond

Who's In and Who's Out: Congressional Power Over Individuals Under the Indian Commerce Clause
in *Virginia Law Review*, volume 102, issue 6

For over two hundred years, Congress has enjoyed plenary power over Indian affairs under the Indian Commerce Clause. This Clause has allowed preferential treatment for Native Americans to bypass strict scrutiny despite the evolution of modern race law. But in late 2015, the Bureau of Indian Affairs ("BIA") published new regulations requiring courts to follow a strict set of procedures that ensure Native American children will be placed with tribe-affiliated families.



This sparked immediate backlash. Adoption agencies argue that the BIA's new regulations impose undue burdens on Native American children because of their race. This litigation has profound implications for the continued existence of modern Indian law, which rests on the assumption that government regulations affecting Native Americans is a "political"—not "racial"—classification. So far, current scholarship has failed to foresee or respond to these equality-based attacks.

This Note proposes a new response, and a new interpretation of Congress's powers under the Indian Commerce Clause. It focuses on the word "Indian" in Article I to argue that the Constitution contains a latent ambiguity highlighted by the BIA's rulemaking. It proposes that the term "Indian" refers to an individual's political, social, and cultural connections rather than their ethnic heritage. This novel interpretation accords with historical practice, the evolution of judicial precedent, and intra-textual analysis of the Constitution. The effect of this interpretation is to recognize a previously unarticulated constitutional limit on Congress's power to regulate individual Native Americans, granting the ultimate recognition of tribal citizenship to the eligible individual.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 3. The division (and the conflicts) of powers and competences

Bucura C. Mihaescu Evans

« Gaps » in protection stemming from the coexistence of fundamental rights' sources in the EU legal order in *Les Cahiers de droit europeen*, volume 52, issue 1 , 141-165

This article deals with the various "gaps" in fundamental rights' protection and more particularly the lacunae which are likely to stem from the coexistence of the various sources of fundamental rights in the EU legal order. The assertion of these various "gaps" is not intended to criticize the protection of fundamental rights in the European Union; on the contrary, it seeks to highlight the way in which the Court of Justice has thrived to fill them up, by taking inspiration and seeking guidance from a variety of national and international sources that it introduced in the EU legal order via the General Principles of Law (GPL) vector of protection. The main underlying aim of this contribution is to stress the imperative need of a continuing reliance on GPL, in spite of the existence of the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights (CFR) which is considered to be a real "Bill of Rights" of the European Union. More broadly, this article seeks to highlight the need for both national and EU Courts to give precedence to the source of law which confers the highest level of individuals' protection — provided that the "primacy, unity and effectiveness" of EU law are not compromised. Only in this way, it is possible to avoid "gaps" in fundamental rights' protection which may be highly problematic from the standpoint of the rule of law.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 3. The division (and the conflicts) of powers and competences

Mariano Martín Zamorano, Joaquin Rius

¿La diplomacia cultural, una política de Estado? Articulación y descoordinación intergubernamental en la acción cultural exterior del Estado español

in *Revista d'Estudis Autònoms i Federals*, no. 24 , 115-154

La diplomacia cultural suele ser definida como una política de intercambios y relaciones artísticas e intelectuales desarrollada entre Estados-nación. La proliferación, sobre todo durante los últimos treinta años, de diversas estructuras de política cultural exterior de tipo subnacional en todo el mundo, se explica debido a la reestructuración del Estado



postfordista, a la aparición de nuevos actores y al desarrollo de múltiples esquemas de gobernanza multinivel. Sin embargo, la ruptura del monopolio de dicha acción exterior por los gobiernos centrales supone un desafío para el desarrollo de nuevos sistemas de representación externa de los Estados. En el caso de España, la profunda descentralización de la administración pública producida desde la transición democrática permitió la paulatina aparición de las paradiplomacias culturales autonómicas. Este trabajo analiza el desarrollo de la Administración General del Estado y de la Comunidad Autónoma de Cataluña y persigue responder como se configura la actuación cultural exterior del Estado de las Autonomías. En este sentido, plantea la inexistencia de un sistema federal de diplomacia cultural y si, en cambio, una competencia intergubernamental en la que se oponen procesos de nation building y en el que se disputa el monopolio o la legitimidad de proyectar la cultura en el exterior.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 4. The legislative branch

Bochsler Daniel, Mueller Sean, Bernauer Julian

An Ever Closer Union? The Nationalisation of Political Parties in Switzerland

in Swiss Political Science Review - Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft - Revue suisse de science politique, Volume 22, Issue 1, March , pp. 29-40

The contribution of this research note is a systematic description of levels of party nationalisation in Switzerland, using results from the elections to the Swiss National Council between 1991 and 2015. Party nationalisation is understood as the territorial homogeneity of a party's electoral performance and measured using the inverted and standardised Gini index. Our results indicate a trend towards more nationalisation in the Swiss party system over the time period covered, and distinct patterns for single parties. The SVP and the GLP have made big leaps towards stronger nationalisation, with the former closing in on the levels of the SP and the FDP, while the CVP remains a weakly nationalised party, considering its size.

<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/spsr.12205/full>

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 4. The legislative branch

Brady Michael C, Lee Daniel

Another tool in the party toolbox? Tracing the strategic expansion of committee size in the US House, 1947–2010

in Party Politics, Volume 22, Issue 6, November , 784-796

We consider whether the manipulation of committee sizes can serve as a strategic tool of the majority party to further its influence over policy outcomes in the US House. Previous research notes the influence of the majority party's preferences on the composition of committees but takes the size of committees as exogenous. We argue that the determination of sizes is an important first step and potential tool to shape committee composition, given vacancy constraints like the property rights norm. Using assignment and revealed legislator ideology data from the 80th to 111th Congresses, our results support this view of strategic expansion as a majority party strategy particularly for "prestige committees," which are most central to a party's agenda. Expansion indeed results in committees that are ideologically closer to the majority caucus median. Full text available online at <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/1354068814563973>



Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 4. The legislative branch

Bühlmann Marc, Zumbach David, Gerber Marlène

Campaign Strategies in the 2015 Swiss National Elections: Nationalization, Coordination, and Personalization in Swiss Political Science Review - Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft - Revue suisse de science politique, Volume 22, Issue 1, March , pp. 15-28

This research note examines parties' campaign strategies in the 2015 Swiss elections. We base our analyses on a collection of more than 5000 party advertisements, which were published in the forefront of the national elections in more than 50 daily and weekly national and cantonal print media. By comparing the amount of party and candidate ads, as well as the content and nature of the political advertisements, we explore the degree of professionalization of electoral campaigns in the most recent federal elections in terms of nationalization, coordination and personalization. First results show that although national campaign coordination exists, Swiss elections are to a considerable extent still cantonal and personal affairs.

<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/spsr.12207/full>

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 4. The legislative branch

Giudici Anja, Stojanovič; Nenad

Die Zusammensetzung des Schweizerischen Bundesrates nach Partei, Region, Sprache und Religion, 1848–2015
in **Swiss Political Science Review - Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft - Revue suisse de science politique**, Volume 22, Issue 2, June , pp. 288-307

Verschiedene Kriterien sind für die Wahl in den Bundesrat bedeutend. Seit 1999 muss die Bundesversammlung darauf Rücksicht nehmen, dass verschiedene Sprachen und Regionen der Schweiz im Bundesrat angemessen vertreten sind (Art. 175 Abs. 4 BV). Zusätzlich achtet das Parlament darauf, dass ein gewisser Parteiproporz und die Präsenz beider Geschlechter in der Regierung gesichert werden. Früher war auch die konfessionelle Zugehörigkeit der Bundesratsmitglieder ein Thema und bis 1999 durfte maximal eine Person pro Kanton amtieren. Mittels einer Vollerhebung relevanter Merkmale aller Mitglieder des Bundesrates seit 1848 und einer, verglichen mit bisherigen Studien, differenzierteren Auswertungsmethode legen wir einen präzisen Überblick über die Vertretung der Parteien, Regionen, Sprachen und Religionen in der Regierung vor. Ein Anwendungsbeispiel – der potentielle Einfluss des Übergangs vom Majorz- aufs Proporz-Wahlssystem für die Wahl des Nationalrates im Jahr 1919 – illustriert, wie diese Daten für wissenschaftliche Zwecke genutzt werden können.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 4. The legislative branch

David Parra Gómez

El ejercicio de la iniciativa legislativa de las Comunidades Autónomas ante el Gobierno de la Nación. Singularidad, déficits y propuestas de lege ferenda



in *Revista de derecho politico*, no. 96 , 249-288

Las Comunidades Autónomas pueden, porque así se lo autoriza el artículo 87.2 de la Constitución, iniciar leyes estatales tanto ante el Gobierno de la Nación como ante el Congreso de los Diputados. Sin embargo, los escasos trabajos que se ocupan de la iniciativa legislativa autonómica se centran casi exclusivamente en la segunda de las vías acogidas por aquel artículo, sin que prácticamente se haya llevado a cabo ningún comentario teórico que trate de dar sentido, hacer la crítica y elaborar unas ciertas garantías a la utilización de la vía ante el Gobierno. El ejercicio de esta modalidad de iniciativa legislativa regional abre todo un panel de cuestiones a tratar, algunas más sustantivas, como el saber el por qué de dicha previsión (¿para qué estimular la puesta en marcha de la ley ante un órgano que no es un legislador?), y otras estrictamente procedimentales (principalmente referidas a la tramitación que han de seguir, en el seno del Gobierno, las solicitudes de proyectos de ley remitidas por los parlamentos regionales), a todas las cuales el presente estudio trata de dar respuesta. Con el fin de ordenar todas estas cuestiones es útil distinguir dos fases claramente diferenciadas a través de las cuales se articula la actuación de este estímulo de la iniciativa legislativa gubernamental. La primera de estas fases tiene lugar en el seno de los parlamentos regionales de acuerdo con lo previsto en sus respectivos reglamentos parlamentarios, y se concreta en la aprobación por tales Cámaras de la remisión al Gobierno de una propuesta -articulada o no- de proyecto de ley. La segunda fase se desarrolla en el seno del Gobierno, el cual, si decide discrecionalmente atender la solicitud remitida por una Asamblea autonómica, iniciará el procedimiento de elaboración, aprobación y posterior remisión a las Cortes del proyecto de ley previsto en nuestro ordenamiento jurídico.

De especial interés resulta, a este respecto, analizar las consecuencias de la incomprensible ausencia de un mínimo procedimiento que prolongue la actuación de la iniciativa autonómica con algún tipo de actuación necesaria a cargo del Gobierno de la Nación, lo cual viene a reducir la facultad atribuida por la Constitución a las Asambleas de las Comunidades Autónomas que nos ocupa a un “vacío” ayuno de toda entidad jurídica, razón por la cual nos permitimos proponer algunas medidas de lege ferenda con el fin de reintegrar este instituto a su verdadero sentido y a su más cierta eficacia.

Section A) *The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government*

Subsection 4. The legislative branch

García-Escudero Márquez Piedad

Gobierno en funciones y función legislativa

in *Cuadernos Manuel Giménez Abad*, n. 11, junio , 101-116

The Spanish elections of December 20, 2015 have been followed by a long period of a caretaker government, which will continue be in place even after the dissolution of the parliament and the call for new elections by the King. No candidate has obtained the confidence of the Congress within the time frame established by the Constitution. The article analyzes this new situation especially with regard to the question if a Parliament without a Government can exercise legislative powers, by taking into consideration legislative projects which may expire if the parliament is dissolved or if these project do not coincide with the programme of the incoming government. Full text available online at http://www.fundacionmgimenezabad.es/images/Documentos/Cuadernos/cuadernos11_junio_2016.pdf

Section A) *The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government*

Subsection 4. The legislative branch



Virginia Mondello

Il mandato parlamentare nelle costituzioni degli Stati dell'Unione e degli Stati Uniti (1776-1789)

in *Amministrare*, no. 2 (supplement) , 173-212

In the years following the Declaration that in 1776 states independent from England the thirteen Colonies of North America, the parliamentary term of office is one of the main themes that characterizes the constitutional debate within the state Conventions during the building process of the new governmental systems, the first based on the republican form. Crucial reference points for the definition of a new balance of powers between the institutions in the perspective of codified checks, term of office, rotation and term limits are closely linked with the principle of popular representation that delegates are commissioned to exercise as trustees before a wider constituency, and witness a colonial institutional practice from which the newly independent States never come off completely. The legislative term of office in the federal bodies is cause of contention between federalist and anti-federalist delegates during the drafting of the US Constitution of 1787. After the ruinous experience of the short and ineffective confederal Congress instituted by the Articles of Confederation in 1781, devoid of the necessary powers to maintain order and financial stability after the riots of the revolution, some delegates believe necessary reform the system in order to ensure a stable and enduring central government, with congressmen able to develop experience and capable to internationally represent a more unified political identity, despite are persistent the concerns over the tyranny and the lack of accountability that a Congress with unlimited terms would encourage; an attempt against the electors freedom and the sovereignty of the independent States. This article analyses the ideological and juridical framework that rules the duration of the American legislative bodies according to the dictates of state and federal Constitutions and Declarations of rights; percentage graphics constructed on the basis of the congressional official data show the averages of re-election and voluntary retreat of delegates after the first term of office in the Congress, pointing out the extra-constitutional practice of the highest offices voluntary turnover that characterizes the first century of the US Federation, in accordance with the principle of citizen legislature and before the consolidation of stronger forms of political careerism.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 4. The legislative branch

David Parra Gómez

La facultad autonómica de iniciar leyes estatales, una perspectiva comparada

in *Revista d'Estudis Autònoms i Federals*, no. 24 , 155-192

El objetivo fundamental de este trabajo es analizar la presencia algo dispar de la facultad de iniciar leyes estatales que el artículo 87.2 de la Constitución española reconoce a las Asambleas de las Comunidades Autónomas en otros Estados compuestos, análisis que nos permite concluir que ni todo Estado regional reconoce necesariamente a sus entes territoriales autónomos iniciativa legislativa ante el Parlamento estatal, ni la existencia de una segunda cámara territorial es óbice para que los ordenamientos constitucionales de algunas Federaciones reconozcan a sus Estados miembros capacidad de iniciativa legislativa federal. Por un lado, la posición de los Estados federados en una segunda cámara de representación territorial es tan sólo la de un miembro, lo que no les permite dominar la decisión de impulsar una ley federal que, por ejemplo, interese a tal Estado miembro, a lo que habría que añadir que la Cámara Alta en los regímenes federales suele gozar de una capacidad de iniciativa legislativa bastante más limitada que la Cámara Baja, e, incluso, en ocasiones, adolecer de una escasa o casi nula relevancia política. Por otro lado, es evidente que en la práctica encontramos Estados de este tipo en los que tal figura está perfectamente reconocida.



Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 4. The legislative branch

Ripollés Serrano Maria Rosa

Las transformaciones del Parlamento contemporaneo: ¿Fuga de las competencias tradicionales o adaptación a la epoca actual?

in Cuadernos Manuel Giménez Abad, n. 11, junio , 87-100

Taking into to account the constitutional design of the Parliament, it seems that its structure, powers and responsibilities, as well as procedures are, with some nuance, logic, appropriate and proportional. Moreover, this design has been working satisfactorily during almost forty years of the constitutional regime of 78. Now in the first quarter of the XXI century there are some new trends and developments. In this paper we study whether these developments represent a change of the traditional functions of the Parliament or if we are currently in a process of adaptation to new circumstances. Full text available online at

http://www.fundacionmgimenezabad.es/images/Documentos/Cuadernos/cuadernos11_junio_2016.pdf

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 4. The legislative branch

Arthur Braun

Le filibustering au Sénat des États-Unis

in Revue du droit public et de la science politique en France et à l'étranger, n. 4

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 4. The legislative branch

Moffett Kenneth W

Partisan vote buying and suspensions in the Postreform House

in Party Politics, Volume 22, Issue 4, July , 478-489

In the US House, the Suspension of the Rules procedure provides a route by which vote buying may occur. To investigate the conditions under which partisan theories anticipate that this behavior is more likely to happen, I use a dataset of all bills on which a final passage vote was taken in the House between 1975 and 2010. The House is more likely to consider bills by suspension to provide side payments to three types of bill sponsors from the majority party: ideologically distant members of this group; members whose preferences are located within the first 30% of the space in the majority party blockout zone; and members whose preferences are located on the minority party side of the chamber median.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 4. The legislative branch

Stojanović Nenad

Party, Regional and Linguistic Proportionality Under Majoritarian Rules: Swiss Federal Council Elections



in **Swiss Political Science Review - Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft - Revue suisse de science politique**, Volume 22, Issue 1, March , pp. 41-58

The elections to the Swiss Federal Council in December 2015 re-established a system of party-centred concordance, cherished in consociational theory, consisting of two representatives of the Swiss People's Party, two Radicals, two Social Democrats and one Christian Democrat. At the same time, the government has rarely been as unbalanced in terms of the representation of Switzerland's languages and regions. The article analyses the concept of concordance with regard to both aspects of governmental inclusiveness. It also highlights the crucial role of electoral rules used in governmental elections. It argues that they resemble the Alternative Vote, a majoritarian electoral system that has been criticized in consociational theory but prescribed by the rival, centripetalist approach to power sharing.

<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/spsr.12208/full>

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 4. The legislative branch

Carlos Garrido López

Pero... ¿puede ser el Senado una cámara de representación territorial?

in **Revista Espanola de Derecho Constitucional**, no. 107 , 75-116

En varios Estados federales, los poderes de las segundas Cámaras están siendo mermados y en algunos se debate sobre su supresión. En los Estados sin estructura federal, el Senado también está cuestionado y en varios se ha eliminado. En España, en cambio, la tesis dominante es que debemos ampliar sus poderes y convertirlo en una «verdadera» Cámara de representación territorial a fin de hacer partícipes a las comunidades autónomas (CC. AA.) en la formación de la voluntad legislativa estatal. Esta tesis se sustenta sobre varias premisas.

La primera es que la denominada representación territorial es realmente posible y que la designación de los senadores en los ámbitos autonómicos va a permitir objetivar en el Senado la voluntad y el interés de las CC. AA. como tales, y no como un trasunto de los partidos políticos. La segunda es que existe un déficit de participación de las CC. AA. en la formación de la voluntad general, achacable a la falta de funcionalidad del Senado. La tercera es que el Senado es una institución esencial en los Estados compuestos porque garantiza la pluralidad de las partes frente a la unidad del todo. Pero las tres premisas son desmentidas por la práctica comparada de las segundas Cámaras federales, en las que la representación de las partes no se articula ni expresa de manera sustancialmente distinta a la del todo atribuida a las primeras Cámaras. Al análisis de estas premisas y a su refutación se dedica este trabajo.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 4. The legislative branch

Brunell Thomas L, Grofman Bernard, Merrill Samuel

Replacement in the U.S. House. An outlier-chasing model

in **Party Politics**, Volume 22, Issue 4, July , 440-451

We know that most House seats remain within the same party over the course of a redistricting decade. For example, over 75% did so in the last decade. This gives rise to the question: "Why do some seats change hands and others not?" We seek to go beneath the standard answers (such as extent of electoral vulnerability as indicated by the previous victory margin, challenger qualifications, relative spending of challenger and incumbent, midterm loss affecting districts



newly won by the president's party, realignment effects that made Democrats in the South vulnerable) to examine the conditions of ideological competition that affect each of these factors and the concomitant probability of electoral defeat. We offer a general model of unidimensional party competition across multiple constituencies, where a party "chases the outliers" of the other party that are closest to its own ideological mean, thus eliminating "anomalous" districts which should be vulnerable to change in party control, and we test that model with data from the U.S. House of Representatives 1980–2006. Over time, Democrats capture liberal and moderately liberal districts held by Republicans, while Republicans capture conservative and moderately conservative districts held by Democrats. In a neo-Downsian world where candidates do not locate at the preferences of the median voter in the district but, rather, are shifted in the direction of their own party mean, we show that this outlier-chasing dynamic can be expected, in the long run, to "empty" out the center. This results in an equilibrium of ideologically distinct parties and a high level of polarization, involving a self-reinforcing dynamic in which the seats that become vulnerable change as the parties become more distinct. Indeed, rather than puzzling about why so much polarization exists, our work suggests that the real puzzle is why it has taken so long to get to the level of polarization we presently enjoy. We suggest that the combination of incumbency advantage, and multidimensionality of political competition might be the answer, with the Civil War role of race as an independent dimension slowly wearing off.

Full text available at <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/1354068814550430>

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 4. The legislative branch

Francisco Javier Romero Caro

Senado y sistema federal en Canadá: ¿imposibilidad de una reforma deseable?

in *Revista de Estudios Políticos* , Número 172 , 167-204

Este artículo analiza la posición del Senado dentro de la federación canadiense, las disfuncionalidades de la institución y las dificultades para llevar a cabo una modificación constitucional que corrija dichos problemas. Se tratan las posiciones de los actores involucrados, así como las bases para la reforma que han sido sentadas recientemente por el Tribunal Supremo. A la luz de estos condicionantes se estudian las posibilidades de una reforma que mejore el funcionamiento de la institución, así como la postura de aquellos que abogan por la abolición.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 4. The legislative branch

Edwards Laura F.

The Reconstruction of Rights: The Fourteenth Amendment and Popular Conceptions of Governance

in *Journal of Supreme Court History* , Volume 41, Issue 3 , 310–328

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 5. The executive branch

Alejandro Bonvecchi

Crises, Structures, and Managerial Choice in Economic Policy Making: Presidential Management of Macroeconomic Policy in Argentina and the United States



in *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, Volume 46, Issue 3 , 507–530

What explains presidential choices of management structures for economic policy making? The literature on the organization of the presidency has proposed two main answers: personality traits or institutional constraints. But management structures change less than expected from variation in presidential personalities, more than expected from institutional stability, and not necessarily triggered by crises. This paper offers an alternative, cognitive-based theory of presidential management choices. When economic crises are rare, presidents usually institutionalize collegial management structures; when crises are more frequent, they generally switch to hierarchical structures. The theory is tested by comparing management structures in Argentina and the United States.

Section A) *The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government*

Subsection 5. The executive branch

Jonathan W. Keller and Dennis M. Foster

Don't Tread on Me: Constraint-Challenging Presidents and Strategic Conflict Avoidance

in *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, Volume 46, Issue 4 , 808–827

Recent research demonstrates that U.S. presidents' psychological predispositions influence the frequency with which they choose diversionary foreign policy strategies. The purpose of this article is to extend the expectations of this "first-image" theory of diversion to the strategic behavior of potential diversionary targets. We posit that U.S. presidents whose spontaneous public rhetoric indicates a willingness to challenge pacifying constraints should be viewed by potential enemies as more likely to engage in diversionary conflict. Building upon the "strategic conflict avoidance" perspective, we expect that when such presidents encounter diversionary incentives, other states will increase cooperation toward and avoid initiation of military disputes against the United States. Time-series analyses of behavior toward the United States for the period 1953–2000 largely bear out this expectation, as interstate rivals increase cooperation toward, and all states decrease militarized incident initiation against, the United States when economic misery is high and presidents whose rhetoric has revealed a proclivity for challenging constraints are in office.

Section A) *The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government*

Subsection 5. The executive branch

Jessica Bulman-Pozen

Executive Federalism Comes to America

in *Virginia Law Review*, volume 102, issue 4 , 953-1030

This Article proposes a different way of thinking about contemporary American governance, looking to an established foreign practice. Executive federalism—"processes of intergovernmental negotiation that are dominated by the executives of the different governments within the federal system"—is pervasive in parliamentary federations, such as Canada, Australia, and the European Union. Given the American separation of powers arrangement, executive federalism has been thought absent, even "impossible," in the United States. But the partisan dynamics that have gridlocked Congress and empowered both federal and state executives have generated a distinctive American variant.

Viewing American law and politics through the lens of executive federalism brings four key features into focus. First, executives have become dominant actors at both the state and federal levels. They formulate policy and manage intergovernmental relations. Although executive negotiations have shaped American federalism at least since the New



Deal, Congress once superintended them. Today, from healthcare to marijuana to climate change, federal and state executives negotiate without Congress. Second, there is a substantial degree of mutuality among these executives, much more than is suggested by the federal government's legal supremacy. Federal and state actors turn to state law as well as federal law to further their agendas; sometimes this amplifies conflict, but it also enables officials to find paths to compromise. Third, national policy frequently comes to look different across the states as a result of executive negotiations. Some states more strongly press a position shared by the federal executive, while others offer competing views. Finally, horizontal relationships among the states are critical in setting national policy, as the federal executive builds on interstate agreements and reshapes them in turn.

In charting the emergence of executive federalism in the United States, this Article seeks to identify a distinctive approach to national policymaking and to offer a qualified defense of the phenomenon.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 5. The executive branch

George A. Krause and Anne Joseph O'Connell

Experiential Learning and Presidential Management of the U.S. Federal Bureaucracy: Logic and Evidence from Agency Leadership Appointments

in **American Journal of Political Science**, Volume 60, Issue 4 , 914–931

Presidents become increasingly effective at managing the bureaucracy because of the information and expertise that they acquire from on-the-job experience. In their appointment choices, this theory predicts that presidents become better at reducing information asymmetries incurred from the bureaucracy (Agent Selection Learning), improve the vertical balance of leadership agent traits between top supervisory positions and subordinates directly beneath them (Agent Monitoring Learning), and place a greater relative premium on loyalty in response to horizontal policy conflict between the White House and the Senate (Common Agency Learning). This logic obtains empirical support from the analysis of bureaucratic agent traits for Senate-confirmed presidential appointees serving in leadership positions covering 39 U.S. federal government agencies from 1977 to 2009. Presidents' appointment strategies reflect their increasing effectiveness at managing the bureaucracy, thus complementing their increasing reliance on administrative mechanisms to achieve policy objectives as their tenure in office rises.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 5. The executive branch

Ryan J. Barilleaux, Jewel Maxwell

Has Barack Obama Embraced the Unitary Executive?

in **PS: Political Science & Politics** , Volume 50 - Issue 1 , 31-34

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 5. The executive branch

Giulio Napolitano

La crisi di legittimazione e di capacità amministrativa dell'Europa



in *Rivista trimestrale di diritto pubblico*, no. 3 , 717-738

La crisi europea ha molte dimensioni. Una di queste, anche se spesso trascurata, è amministrativa. Ed è duplice. Da un lato, l'amministrazione europea soffre di una crisi di legittimazione. È rimasta lontana dai cittadini. Si è sviluppata senza un coerente disegno «industriale». Le sue regole di azione sono ancora molto frammentate, come mostra chiaramente la mancanza di una disciplina generale del procedimento amministrativo europeo. Dall'altro, le autorità nazionali attraversano una crisi di capacità amministrativa. L'insufficienza degli investimenti in risorse umane e tecnologiche riduce le loro performance e rende difficile il corretto adempimento delle obbligazioni comuni. L'articolo offre una spiegazione di questa doppia crisi amministrativa dell'Europa e suggerisce alcuni possibili rimedi.

Section A) *The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government*

Subsection 5. The executive branch

Giulio Vesperini

La crisi e le nuove amministrazioni

in *Rivista trimestrale di diritto pubblico*, no. 3 , 695-716

Le discipline europee sulla finanza privata, adottate dopo il 2008, rappresentano un punto di osservazione importante per analizzare i mutamenti delle amministrazioni europee e nazionali e delle regole che le disciplinano, dopo la crisi finanziaria. L'articolo illustra i caratteri di queste discipline, la loro incidenza sulle relazioni tra le amministrazioni europee e tra queste e le amministrazioni nazionali. Si conclude, da un lato, che le discipline europee della finanza privata confermano alcuni tratti importanti del processo di integrazione economica dell'Unione europea, e, in particolare, quello di servirsi per la sua espansione e il suo consolidamento delle amministrazioni e del diritto amministrativo; dall'altro lato, che esse rappresentano una ulteriore espressione del processo di progressiva centralizzazione, articolazione e complicazione del sistema amministrativo europeo.

Section A) *The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government*

Subsection 5. The executive branch

Aldo Rafael Medina, Irina Graciela Cervantes

La facultad del Presidente de la República para dirigir la política exterior

in *El Cotidiano : revista de la realidad mexicana actual* , n.197 , 7-14

La Constitución de Querétaro otorga al Presidente de la República la facultad de dirigir la política exterior, lo que lo sitúa como el sujeto que impulsa y protagoniza todos los asuntos exteriores del Estado mexicano. Empero, dicha facultad no es absoluta, sino que está sujeta a los controles políticos y jurídicos que prevé el propio texto constitucional.

Section A) *The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government*

Subsection 5. The executive branch

Oubiña Daniel Casal

La posición política y el estatuto jurídico de los ex Jefes de Estado y de Gobierno. Un estudio comparado: Estados Unidos, Alemania, Reino Unido, Portugal, Francia y Canadá

in *Cuadernos Manuel Giménez Abad*, n. 11, junio , 151-165



The political and constitutional significance of Former Heads of State and Government has been recognized by the different political systems by the realization of a number of privileges enjoyed from dereliction of duty, this article discusses how the issue has been articulated in various countries and the author proposes definition related to the models of institutional recognition and legal political status.

Full text available online at

http://www.fundacionmgimenezabad.es/images/Documentos/Cuadernos/cuadernos11_junio_2016.pdf

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 5. The executive branch

David H. Clark, Benjamin O. Fordham and Timothy Nordstrom

**Political Party and Presidential Decisions to Use Force: Explaining a Puzzling Nonfinding
in Presidential Studies Quarterly**, Volume 46, Issue 4 , 791–807

Conventional wisdom holds that Republicans have hawkish foreign policy preferences compared to Democrats but quantitative research on the use of force finds no relationship between the party of the president and his propensity to use force. This article offers two reasons for this puzzling nonfinding. First, although Republicans have favored military spending and intervention more than Democrats have since the mid-1960s, the two parties' positions on these issues were reversed before that time. Analyses that cover the entire postwar era conflate periods when party had opposite effects. Second, previous research has generally focused on actual uses of force. Strategic conflict avoidance by potential targets is more likely to obscure a party effect when examining these relatively high-level conflict events. Examining events data, which include many lower-level conflict events, we find evidence that Democrats were more hawkish than Republicans during the 1949–65 period and that Republicans were more hawkish during the 1966–92 period.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 5. The executive branch

Magna Inácio and Mariana Llanos

**The Institutional Presidency in Latin America: A Comparative Analysis
in Presidential Studies Quarterly**, Volume 46, Issue 3 , 531–549

This article focuses on the evolution of the institutional presidency in six Latin American presidential democracies since the last wave of redemocratization. Institutional presidency refers to the bulk of agencies that operate under direct presidential authority and are in charge of supporting the presidential leadership. We document all structural changes occurring under the umbrella of the president for the period of analysis. We find that the expansion in the number of presidential agencies is a deliberate response to situations of conflict or weakness. It is more likely under coalitional presidentialism—when presidents must share cabinet positions and manage relationships with coalition partners—as well as when presidents implement structural reform policies to face critical economic circumstances.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 5. The executive branch

Manwaring Rob

The Renewal of Social Democracy? The Rann Labor Government (2002–11)



in *Australian Journal of Politics & History* , Volume 62, Issue 2, June , 236-250

Labour governments around the world are struggling to renew labour and social democratic values in the modern era. The South Australian Labor government, led by Mike Rann (2002–11), presents a striking case of a labour government that pursued a renewal of social democracy. By offering a critical examination of the ideological contours of the Rann Government, this paper contributes to wider debates about the flux of social democracy. In Australia, debates about Labor's identity tend to focus on the federal rather than state level, which this article seeks, in part, to redress. The Rann government's economic and social inclusion policies are examined and compared with its South Australian historical forebears, and the Rann government is located within the various labour "traditions".

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Urška Sadl and Mikael Rask Madsen

A Selfie from Luxembourg: The Court of Justice's Self-Image and the Fabrication of Pre-Accession Case-Law Dossiers

in *Columbia Journal of European Law*, vol. 22, issue 3 , 327-354

How does the Court of Justice of the European Union (CJEU) view itself? Which cases does it regard as most important? These questions have riddled European Union (EU) scholarship for decades. Due to a basic lack of empirical evidence, which is in part a consequence of secrecy surrounding the Court, no empirically firm answer has been provided. In this Article we seek to close this gap in scholarship by using a unique dataset, compiled by the Court itself. We use a set of quantitative and qualitative methods to unpack the so-called historic case law dossiers assembled by the Court, and presented to thirteen Member States upon accessions in 2004, 2007, and 2013. We reconstruct the content of the selection as well as the rather specific legal EU that they project. From our empirical analysis, framed by social science theories on the relationship between knowledge and power, it follows that this is not a neutral compilation of what EU law is. On the contrary, the Court seized the opportunity to highlight its own role and the role of individual judges in the formation of the EU legal order. At the receiving end, the importance of the dossier was not in the detailed legal knowledge to facilitate the transition to the EU, but primarily the institutional knowledge on who were the real masters of the Treaties.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Brandwein Pamela

A Lost Jurisprudence of the Reconstruction Amendments

in *Journal of Supreme Court History*, Volume 41, Issue 3 , 329–346

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Sinisa Rodin

A metacritique of the Court of Justice of the european union



in *Diritto dell'Unione europea*, no. 2 , 193-213

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Constantinos Lycourgos

Building Intra-Judicial Dialogue: The Relationship between the ECJ and Cypriot National Courts
in *European Law Review*, Volume 41, issue 5 , 623-637

The intra-judicial dialogue established with national courts through the preliminary reference procedure has always been central to the ECJ's role of securing a uniform interpretation and implementation of EU law within the Union. This article provides an illustration, through the case of Cyprus, of how a new Member State has gradually adapted both as regards its procedural rules and the practice of its courts, to the particularities of this original system. This national example also allows some general remarks regarding the relationship between the ECJ and national courts and what could be good practices on behalf of national judges.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Rhodes R.A.W., Tiernan Anne

Court politics in a federal polity

in *Australian Journal of Political Science*, vol. 51, issue 2 , 338-354

ABSTRACT: This article uses a case study from Queensland to demonstrate the court politics approach's potential to reinvigorate executive studies. Court politics focuses on webs of interdependence within the core executive. It examines the beliefs and practices of elite actors and their fluid and contingent relationships. This article examines the patterns of executive politics that prevailed under Premier Anna Bligh. It seeks to answer three key questions. First, why is court politics a useful approach to studying the Australian core executive? Second, what is the nature and extent of court politics in Australian state governments? Finally, recognising that local traditions shape the beliefs and practices of political elites, how does the court politics approach need to be modified for application in Australia?

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Esther González Hernández

El artículo 155 CE y la LO 15/2015, de 17 de octubre de reforma de la LOTC: ¿ineludible reciprocidad o círculo perverso?

in *Teoría y realidad constitucional*, no. 37 , 529-557

El presente artículo analiza la última reforma de la Ley Orgánica del Tribunal Constitucional por LO 15/2015, de 17 de octubre, que, fundamentalmente trata de garantizar una mayor eficacia en la ejecutoriedad de las sentencias del Tribunal Constitucional español. En concreto, se analiza y desarrolla con detalle el apartado 5 del nuevo artículo 92 LOTC, en aquella parte que conecta con el control estatal extraordinario sobre las Comunidades Autónomas del artículo



155 CE. Un precepto que, curiosamente es uno de los menos analizados doctrinalmente de la Constitución española de 1978, que, sin embargo, es mencionado constantemente en cada «episodio» independentista que ha tenido lugar a lo largo de los treinta y siete años de vigencia de nuestra Carta Magna: el Plan Ibarretxe de 2004 y la «hoja de ruta soberanista» catalana iniciada en 2012 y que se extiende hasta nuestros días.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Michael McCrossan and Kiera L. Ladner

Eliminating Indigenous Jurisdictions: Federalism, the Supreme Court of Canada, and Territorial Rationalities of Power

in Canadian Journal of Political Science--Revue canadienne de science politique, Volume 49 - Issue 3 , 411-431

This paper examines judicial reasoning in the area of Aboriginal title, paying particular attention to the Supreme Court of Canada's *Tsilhqot'in Nation* (2014) decision. While the decision has been heralded as a 'game-changer' within media circles and legal commentaries for its recognition of a claim to title under section 35(1) of the Constitution Act, 1982, the authors argue that the decision does not depart substantially from prior judicial logics predicated upon the production of Crown sovereignty and the denial of Indigenous legal orders. In fact, the authors argue that the decision displays a clear judicial orientation towards the present jurisdictional divisions of Canadian federalism which not only serves to eliminate Indigenous legal orders and territorial responsibilities, but also provides federal and provincial governments with enhanced powers of 'incursion' into Aboriginal title lands.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Somin Ilya

Federalism and the Roberts Court

in Publius: The Journal of Federalism, vol. 46, n. 3, Summer, special issue "The Obama Administration and American Federalism" , 441-462

The Roberts Court saw a number of important advances for judicial enforcement of federalism-based limits on congressional power, both in high-profile cases such as *NFIB v. Sebelius*, and lesser known ones. Much of this progress fits the conventional model of federalism as a left–right ideological issue on the Court, which divides liberal Democrats from conservative Republicans. But some noteworthy developments depart from this framework, and suggest greater openness to federalism among some on the left.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Thomas Wischmeyer

Generating Trust Through Law? Judicial Cooperation in the European Union and the “Principle of Mutual Trust”

in German Law Journal, volume 17, issue 3 , 339-382

For a long time, EU institutions have emphasized the connection between one of the most important concepts of the integration method, mutual recognition, and the presence of mutual trust between EU Member States. Only recently, the



ECJ reaffirmed in its Opinion 2/13 that mutual trust is at the heart of the EU and a “fundamental premiss” of the European legal structure. But can law really restore, advance or even govern by trust? This question is crucial for the EU of today, which finds itself in the midst of a severe crisis of trust. For the EU as a community “based on the rule of law” generating trust through law might seem the natural, maybe the only politically viable response to a crisis of trust. Nevertheless, even if one agrees that the rule of law requires people to place trust in legal rules, and that courts and administrative agencies need to trust each other in order to work efficiently and consistently, how would legal rules be able to generate or promote trust? Moreover, isn’t it deeply rooted in our ideas about constitutional government that democratic law must institutionalize mutual distrust rather than govern by trust? These conceptual and normative objections did not stop the European Union from pursuing the project of trust-building through law in one of the most sensitive areas of EU law, judicial cooperation in civil and criminal matters. This Article will ask whether the project to promote trust through law is a promising one, and, eventually, how to reinterpret statutory provisions and legal principles that purport to generate trust amongst their addressees.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Douglas R. Rice

Issue Divisions and US Supreme Court Decision Making
in **Journal of Politics (The)**, Volume 79, Number 1 , 210–222

Majority opinions are the most important output of the US Supreme Court, not only disposing the instant case but also providing guidance for other institutions, lower courts, and litigants as to the state of the law. The authoring of dissenting opinions, though, is frequently regarded as deleterious to the Court’s institutional legitimacy and the efficacy of the majority opinion. Leveraging the content of all Court opinions between 1979 and 2009, I argue dissenting justices use dissenting opinions to strategically alter the issue dimensions addressed in the majority opinion. An examination of the effect of separate opinion content on majority opinions indicates dissenting opinions yield majority opinions addressing a greater number of topics, and I provide evidence that the dynamic is driven by the strategic behavior of dissenting justices seeking to realign the Court.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Bercholc Jorge O.

La designación de los magistrados de tribunales y cortes constitucionales por su procedencia regional. Los casos de España, Canada y Argentina
in **Cuadernos Manuel Giménez Abad**, n. 11, junio , 9-22

The analysis of the process of the appointment of judges of constitutional Courts and the composition of the Courts is a very interesting subject, especially if we take variables such as the geographical and territorial origin of the judges. Since those variables may have an impact on the perspectives of the judgements. What effects would we see if judges were representing the CCAA?, or would there be no measurable impact. What would be the consequences for the appointment of judges? There are precedents with regard to such a question, for this I will analyse the case of Canada and Argentina.

Full text available at

http://www.fundacionmgimenezabad.es/images/Documentos/Cuadernos/cuadernos11_junio_2016.pdf



Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

José Antonio Serrano, Francisco Javier Rivas

La justicia restaurativa como ideología de administración de justicia en la Constitución federal

in *El Cotidiano : revista de la realidad mexicana actual* , n.197 , 49-56

En el presente artículo abordamos el tema de la adopción de la justicia restaurativa como ideología de administración e impartición de justicia en el Estado mexicano, a través de la Constitución federal y sus diversas normativas locales y nacionales. Lo anterior nos arroja ideas claras de los cambios sustanciales que debemos realizar y de cómo adecuar y armonizar nuestro marco normativo para abrir las puertas a tan prometedor sistema de impartición de justicia.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

François Vivien Guiot

La responsabilité des juridictions suprêmes dans le renvoi préjudiciel: with great(er) power, (at last) comes great responsibility ?

in *Les Cahiers de droit europeen*, volume 52, issue 2 , 575-630

Le système juridictionnel de l'Union européenne repose depuis l'origine sur le renvoi préjudiciel, qui a été présenté par la doctrine comme un federalizing device. Deux arrêts rendus par la Cour de justice le 9 septembre 2015 permettent de mesurer la réalité de cette qualification à l'aune de l'obligation de renvoi qui s'impose aux juridictions suprêmes en matière d'interprétation du droit de l'Union. Abandonnant une exigence imposée depuis la définition de l'acte clair retenue dans l'arrêt Cilfit, la Cour renforce en effet la nature décentralisée de ce système juridictionnel. Si ce mouvement peut être appréhendé comme une responsabilisation accrue des juridictions nationales dans l'application et l'interprétation du droit de l'Union, il s'accompagne aussi d'une réaffirmation de la responsabilité des juridictions nationales dans l'exécution de leur fonction de juge de droit commun.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Miryam Rodríguez-Izquierdo Serrano

Pluralidad de jurisdicciones y tutela de derechos: los efectos de la integración europea sobre la relación entre el juez ordinario y el Tribunal Constitucional

in *Revista Espanola de Derecho Constitucional*, no. 107 , 117-150

Nuestro sistema constitucional de protección de derechos fundamentales y el sistema de aplicación jurisdiccional del derecho de la Unión Europea (UE), incluida la Carta de Derechos, tienen un vértice en común: los jueces y tribunales de la jurisdicción ordinaria. En ambos sistemas, el Tribunal Constitucional (TC) y el Tribunal de Justicia de la Unión Europea (TJUE) cumplen una función de garantía objetiva de los derechos fundamentales de cada una de sus normas básicas. Pero también esos tribunales, el TC y el TJUE, participan de los procesos de garantía de derechos que se sustancian ante los tribunales ordinarios. Las interferencias son inevitables. Este artículo se propone analizar qué ocurre y cómo se alteran esos sistemas de garantía cuando los respectivos procedimientos de tutela se cruzan.



Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Morten Broberg and Niels Fenger

Preliminary References to the Court of Justice of the EU and the Right to a Fair Trial under Article 6 ECHR
in **European Law Review**, Volume 41, issue 4 , 599-607

According to Article 267 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU), the courts of the Member States may - and sometimes must - refer questions about the validity and interpretation of EU law to the Court of Justice of the EU so that it can make a binding ruling. This article reviews the practice of the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR) on the demands that Art. 6 of the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR), on the right to a fair trial, make on Member States' courts when considering making a reference to the Court of Justice for a preliminary ruling. Among other things, it is pointed out that the ECtHR practice on the requirement to give reasons for not making a reference appears to go further than several of the rulings given by Member States' courts.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Mauro Mazza

Sguardi dalla Cina (Hong Kong) sul diritto eurounitario: il rinvio pregiudiziale nella prospettiva comparatistica
in **Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo**, no. 2 , 465-482

The article examines how the preliminary reference by the national courts to the European Court of Justice is a model used by Chinese regulations on the relations between the Hong Kong's Court of Final Appeal and the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress. Drawing upon the analysis of these mechanisms, the potential and limits of legal transplants are valued, both in terms of the micro- and macro-comparison in the area of public law.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Epstein Lee , Posner Eric A.

Supreme Court Justices' Loyalty to the President

in **Journal of Legal Studies**, Volume 45, Number 2 , 401-436

A statistical analysis of voting by Supreme Court justices from 1937 to 2014 provides evidence of a loyalty effect—justices more frequently vote for the government when the president who appointed them is in office than when subsequent presidents lead the government. This effect exists even when subsequent presidents are of the same party as the justices in question. However, the loyalty effect is much stronger for Democratic justices than for Republican justices. This may be because Republican presidents are more ideologically committed than Democratic justices are, leaving less room for demonstrations of loyalty.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 6. The judiciary branch



Mandilk James G.

The Modification of Decrees in the Original Jurisdiction of the Supreme Court
in *Yale Law Journal (The)*, vol. 125 - n. 7

Interstate disputes in the Supreme Court's original jurisdiction often implicate long-term interests, such as state boundaries or rights to interstate bodies of water. Decades after the Court issues a ruling in an original jurisdiction case, the parties may ask the Court to revise its decree. However, the Court's current standard for considering modification requests is underdeveloped and inconsistent. With the rights of entire state populations on the line, there are strong considerations on both sides: interests in ensuring that an original jurisdiction decree is sufficiently final, but also in ensuring that in the event of significant, unexpected changes, the Supreme Court can modify its decree. This Note surveys all original jurisdiction cases since 1791 and concludes that the Court revises its decrees far more often than its purported standard would suggest. It then proposes a clearer finality principle that accurately reflects its behavior and effectively accommodates the competing needs for finality and justice. Tracing the historical development of decree modifications from the days of Lord Francis Bacon through the merger of law and equity and onward to the Court's recent institutional-reform cases, this Note argues that the general finality principle that has developed through these cases in the district courts is normatively and descriptively superior to the one-off test announced by the Supreme Court in original jurisdiction cases.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Jay N. Krehbiel

The Politics of Judicial Procedures: The Role of Public Oral Hearings in the German Constitutional Court
in *American Journal of Political Science*, Volume 60, Issue 4 , 990–1005

Modern liberal democracies typically depend on courts with the power of constitutional review to ensure that elected officials do not breach their constitutional obligations. The efficacy of this review, however, can depend on the public observing such breaches. One resource available to many of the world's constitutional courts to influence the public's ability to do so is public oral hearings. Drawing on the comparative judicial literature on separation of powers, public awareness, and noncompliance, I develop a formal model of public oral hearings. The model provides empirical implications for when a court will hold public oral hearings and how hearings correspond to a court's willingness to rule against elected officials. An empirical analysis of hearings at the German Constitutional Court supports the model's prediction that courts use hearings as a resource to address potential noncompliance.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

RossMichael A.

The Supreme Court, Reconstruction, and the Meaning of the Civil War
in *Journal of Supreme Court History*, Volume 41, Issue 3 , 275–294

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government



Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Sara Benvenuti

The referral mechanism and the role of ordinary judges: Cappelletti and beyond
in *International Journal of Constitutional Law*, volume 14, issue 2, 474-479

This short article outlines Mauro Cappelletti's thinking about constitutional justice and the judicial protection of fundamental rights and liberties in the European context, discussing the article by Marta Cartabia in this symposium, "Mauro Cappelletti: one of the 'precious few' of our generation." In particular, the article describes the incidental method of judicial review and how Cappelletti frames in the context of the protection of fundamental freedoms. The article touches briefly on two points, in order to understand their development after Cappelletti. First, it analyzes the incidental method of judicial review in Cappelletti's classic criteria of classification. Second, it takes into account the role of ordinary judges, and how it has been influenced by the referral mechanism, whereby, in the course of a judicial proceeding, the judge has the power, and to some extent the duty, to raise issues of constitutionality before the Constitutional Court. Lastly, in light of the various kinds of preliminary rulings, the article discusses the place of constitutional courts in the European multilevel system of protection of fundamental rights and liberties.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Laura Frosina

Reformas en la gobernanza e incertidumbres en la culminación de la Unión económica y monetaria
in *Revista de Derecho Constitucional Europeo*, no. 25

Este artículo analiza de manera descriptiva las últimas reformas realizadas en materia de gobernanza económica en la Unión Europea tras la crisis económica de la zona euro. Se exponen detalladamente tanto los mecanismos normativos como su contenido. Se pretende una reflexión sobre la naturaleza democrática de tales medidas o sobre el futuro de la integración europea desde la perspectiva de la Unión económica y monetaria.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Faggini Marisa, Parziale Anna

A New Perspective for Fiscal Federalism: The NK Model

in *Journal of Economic Issues*, Volume 50, Issue 4, 2016, Pages: 1069-1104

Economic models of fiscal federalism, according to different settings, are generally linear and static, offering unique and deterministic solutions starting with simplifying assumptions. This article stems from the idea of investigating how decision-makers, abandoning their traditional economic models and focusing on innovative components of evolutionary economics instead, can achieve better performance results in organizing and optimizing an economic system based on fiscal federalism. For this purpose, fiscal federalism must be understood as a dense network of economic relationships between different complex adaptive and co-evolving systems, the jurisdictions, linked by strong interdependencies. A better understanding of the links between interdependence will be provided by Stuart Kauffman's NK model. The relevance of the NK model in the study of economic organizations has been noted in the relevant literature. This literature, however, neglects the problem of co-evolution, which underpins our article.



Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Maciej Cieslukowski

A Sustainable European Union Own Resources System

in *Perspectives on federalism*, volume 8, issue 2 , 11-45

From 1992, after the UN "Earth Summit" in Rio de Janeiro, sustainable development has become a priority of many countries and international organizations, including the European Union. After the crisis of 2008+ and the strong criticism of traditional economics, it also became a fundamental element of economic development in the XXI century. This new model is based on a solid and integrated economic, socio-cultural and ecological order. Such a development should be supported by suitable budgetary systems at each level of public government. The paper presents a conception of the sustainable EU own resources system and proposes the methodology of its evaluation.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Joshua Holm

A model of redistribution under social identification in heterogeneous federations

in *Journal of Public Economics*, Volume 143 , 39-48

Redistribution of resources to accommodate income heterogeneity within a federation is often fiercely debated (e.g., Belgium, Germany or the European Union). To help elucidate potential drivers behind such debates, this article builds on social identity theory to develop a theoretical framework linking jurisdictional identification and preferences towards intra-federation redistributive financial flows. We show that federal, rather than local, identification can lead individuals to shift their redistribution preferences against their narrowly-defined personal economic interest. In contrast to predictions of standard models, the sign and strength of this effect depends crucially not only upon individuals' characteristics, but also upon the social groups (i.e. regions) to which they belong. We furthermore illustrate that federal, rather than regional, identification should be more widespread in poorer and/or more populous regions within a federation, but less common in regions which are very homogeneous internally or very dissimilar from the rest of the federation.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Alexander Grasse and Jan Labitzke

Autonomie prive (o quasi) d'autonomia: la situazione politica e finanziaria dei Comuni tedeschi e i loro rapporti con Bund e La#776;nder

in *Regioni (Le)*, no. 5-6 , 1031-1076

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism



Davide Furceri, Agnese Sacchi, Simone Salotti

Can Fiscal Decentralization Alleviate Government Consumption Volatility?

in *Open Economies Review*, Volume 27, Issue 4 , 611-636

This paper assesses the effect of fiscal decentralization on government consumption volatility using data for 97 developed and developing countries from 1971 to 2010. The results suggest that a higher degree of fiscal decentralization leads to lower government consumption volatility. This result holds for the sub-sample of advanced economies, while it is not confirmed for those less-developed. This mechanism seems to work mainly through a lower volatility of the non-discretionary spending, which typically belongs to the central government's policy. We also confirm existing findings according to which country size lowers government spending volatility. Thus, given a minimum level of development, fiscal decentralization reforms can reduce spending volatility by distributing power to sub-central governments, particularly in smaller countries which are usually more prone to volatility.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Florian Sander

Case C-62/14 - Gauweiler and Others: The Limits of Monetary Policy in Light of the Outright Monetary Transactions (OMT) Program

in *Columbia Journal of European Law*, vol. 22, issue 3 , 529-538

With its OMT decision, the European Court of Justice has largely granted the ECB a blank check in its pursuit of a bold and comprehensive monetary policy interpretation. The Court's ruling does not provide meaningful judicial restraint on the ECB's further expansion of authority, and it does not contribute to a substantive distinction between monetary and economic policy measures. This is a source of major concern; the ECB's latest activities increasingly test the limits towards prohibited monetary state financing. In contrast, the Court's approach on the complex judicial balance of powers between the German Constitutional Court and the European Court of Justice itself deserves credit as a prudent and balanced approach.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Matej Avbelj

Constitutional and Administrative Pluralism in the System of EU Banking Supervision

in *German Law Journal*, volume 17, issue 5 , 779-797

This Article examines the relationship between the developing European Union (EU) system of banking supervision and the theories of constitutional pluralism. It questions the remaining epistemic, explanatory, and normative value of these theories with regard to the EU system of banking supervision. The argument is broken down into three parts. First, the Article briefly describes the system of banking supervision in the European Union and the pluralist challenges that it spurs. Second, it schematically maps out the leading theories of constitutional pluralism to test, by way of their application to the field of EU banking supervision, their epistemic, explanatory, and normative value. Finally, to the extent that this value has diminished, the Article offers another pluralist theory, not a constitutional one, which could supplement the identified epistemic, explanatory, and normative gaps. This is a theory of administrative pluralism.



Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Olimpia Fontana and Simone Vannuccini

Conventional Direction to Unconventional Measures: Using Quantitative Easing to shape Eurozone Fiscal Capacity

in *Perspectives on federalism*, volume 8, issue 2 , 124-157

Eight years after the outbreak of the crisis, the Eurozone (EZ) fiscal policy remains fragmented at the national level. This paper fills the structural gap between the monetary and fiscal dimensions of EZ economic policy by suggesting a 'conventional' direction to the unconventional Quantitative Easing (QE) policy of the European Central Bank (ECB). We propose an evolution for QE to tackle the shortcomings of the current 'decentralized' fiscal policy in the EZ. In a nutshell, we suggest a change in the composition of QE asset purchases, focusing on buying European Investment Bank (EIB) bonds that, in turn, would be used to finance real investments through the Juncker Plan programme. The rationale of our proposal is legitimised by an overview of the gloomy macroeconomic conditions of the EZ, and the situation in ongoing policies. The mechanism is described in detail, with a discussion of both its strengths and possible limitations.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Guerrero Vázquez Pablo

Dimensión de la autonomía financiera de las Comunidades Autónomas tras la incorporación de la deuda comercial al sistema de disciplina fiscal

in *Cuadernos Manuel Giménez Abad*, n. 12, diciembre , 55-70

Since 2009 Spain is the subject of an excessive deficit procedure. To control the volume of financial debt, in 2012 was approved the Organic Law of Budgetary Stability and Financial Sustainability. However, misuse of extra budgetary accounting has allowed for overcoming the agreed limits of deficit and debt. To avoid this anomaly, in 2013, was incorporated commercial debt to fiscal discipline system. Recently, the Constitutional Court of Spain has endorsed the constitutionality of this reform. Thereby, the Constitutional Court has defined the scope of the financial autonomy of the Spanish regions.

Full text available online at

http://www.fundacionmgimenezabad.es/images/Documentos/Cuadernos/cuadernos12_diciembre_2016.pdf

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Niels D. Gilbert, Jasper F.M. de Jong

Do European fiscal rules induce a bias in fiscal forecasts? Evidence from the Stability and Growth Pact in Public Choice, Volume 170, Issue 1-2 , 1-32

Enforcement of European fiscal rules, to a large extent, hinges on fiscal forecasts prepared by the European Commission (EC). The reliability of these forecasts has received little attention in the literature, despite the fact that (i) the forecasts have potentially far-reaching consequences for national governments, especially in the euro area while (ii)



the EC depends on information supplied by national officials in preparing its forecasts. We hypothesize that the EC's forecasts are biased upwards when national governments expect European fiscal rules to bind. Reconstructing this expectation using real-time information, we show that for euro area countries the EC's fiscal forecasts are indeed biased upwards when the budget deficit threatens to exceed the critical value of 3 % of GDP. For non-euro area countries, which do not face the risk of fines, this bias cannot be established. Our results are robust to various ways of controlling for crisis-induced budgetary problems and the exclusion of various country groups. We offer suggestive evidence that the presence of independent fiscal councils at the national level helps to attenuate the bias induced by the 3 % threshold.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Francesco Nicoli

EU governance in the run-up to 2025: A Joint Budgetary Procedure

in *Perspectives on federalism*, volume 8, issue 2 , 100-123

The Euro Area (Eurozone, or EZ) is navigating uncharted waters; it has started, in slow motion, to slide towards a fiscal federation, while still lacking both the fiscal capacity and the democratic qualification to achieve this goal. Strengthening the EMU's democratic profile is a fundamental requirement for the sustainability of the EMU as much as its completion with a fiscal and economic arm. Yet, according to the Five Presidents Report released in 2015, no substantial progress is expected to be achieved before 2025. Against this background, this paper is structured in two parts. The first part analyses the most recent trends in the Governance of the Eurozone. The second part discusses whether a transition from governance to government of the Monetary Union is both feasible and effective, advancing a new proposal -a Joint Budgetary Procedure- tailored to strengthen the European Semester with stronger incentive mechanisms, greater reach and stronger governance.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Irene Rovira Ferrer

Estado actual y perspectivas de futuro de la potestad autonómica para crear impuestos propios

in *Revista d'Estudis Autonomics i Federals*, no. 24 , 193-234

A pesar de su relevancia en cuanto a fuente de financiación y de su proliferación desordenada en los últimos tiempos, la recaudación proveniente de la potestad autonómica para crear impuestos propios es prácticamente testimonial. Su regulación, dispersa y confusa, se ha convertido en una fuente de múltiples conflictos jurídicos y políticos, lo que ha conllevado que se haya ido esgrimiendo mediante la jurisprudencia no siempre clara y coherente del TC. Por consiguiente, y sin olvidar las limitaciones que van cobrando fuerza provenientes de la UE, resulta necesario elaborar un estudio actualizado de la mencionada potestad con el fin de ofrecer una visión completa y actualizada de la misma, lo cual constituye el principal objetivo del presente trabajo. Así, en él se aporta una visión panorámica de su estado actual en las diferentes autonomías de régimen común, con especial referencia a Cataluña, junto con la determinación de los principales problemas que se observan y una primera aproximación en relación con su futuro.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government



Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Erik Jones

**Financial Markets Matter More than Fiscal Institutions for the Success of the Euro
in International Spectator (The)**, Volume 51, Issue 4 , 29-39

Many argue that the euro is handicapped as a currency because European governments are unwilling to pool responsibility for fiscal policy in common institutions. This argument is derived from the theory of optimum currency areas and fuelled by analogy with US experience. It is mistaken. A monetary union does not need a fiscal union to work. Worse, efforts to build European fiscal institutions are likely to distract European policymakers from a more important agenda. Europe needs a fully functioning banking union with a common risk-free asset if Europeans want to stabilise the euro as a common currency. Moreover, it would need these things even if the euro did not exist and all it had was the common market. Financial stability – and not fiscal federalism – is the key to Europe's future. European policymakers should focus their efforts on building the necessary institutions.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Karpen Ulrich

Fiscal Federalism in Germany

in *Revue européenne de droit public*, Vol. 26 no 3,

This paper looks at the Federal Republic of Germany in comparison with other federations in view of the basic federal idea and the distribution of competences and powers between federation and Länder. It sheds light on the tensions of decentralization and unitarization. Furthermore, the constitutional arrangements for financing federal and Länder levels are explained more in detail. And finally the paper raises a current issue: the German Finance Constitution in need of reform

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Abbott Andrew, Jones Philip

**Fiscal Illusion and Cyclical Government Expenditure: State Government Expenditure in the United States
in Scottish Journal of Political Economy**, Volume 63, Issue 2, May 2016 , 177–193

A well-established literature argues that fiscal illusion increases the level of government expenditure. This article focuses on the proposition that fiscal illusion also influences the cyclicity of government expenditure. Predictions are formed with reference to government reliance on high income elasticities of indirect tax revenues and on intergovernmental transfers. Predictions are tested with reference to the expenditures of 36 states in the United States from 1980 to 2000. Government expenditures are more likely to be procyclical when citizens systematically underestimate the cost of taxation.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism



Li Quan

Fiscal decentralization and tax incentives in the developing world

in *Review of International Political Economy*, Volume 23, Issue 2, 2016 , 232-260

Many developing countries use tax incentives to attract foreign direct investment, sacrificing immediate revenue from foreign capital, even though the effects of tax incentives on investment, growth, and revenue are empirically dubious. This leads to the puzzle of why states adopt tax incentives. Extant studies of tax incentive adoption overlook the fact that many countries have decentralized fiscal authority, allowing subnational governments to offer tax incentives. Public finance scholars argue that fiscal federalism intensifies tax competition among regions. Hence, drawing on the public finance scholarship, one may ask: Does fiscal decentralization lead to a race to the top among subnational governments and an oversupply of tax incentives in a country? This article argues that fiscal decentralization affects tax incentives in complex ways. When subnational governments are authorized to set tax policies, their politicians have economic and political incentives to engage in tax competition for mobile capital, providing more tax incentives in a country. However, the politicians are less likely to do so if they are held accountable and have to fund most expenditures through own-source tax revenues. An empirical analysis of over 50 developing countries in early 2000s produces robust supporting evidence. This research challenges both the view that fiscal decentralization is always beneficial and the view that horizontal competition invariably produces inefficiently low tax rates. The impact of fiscal decentralization on tax incentives and by implication, revenue mobilization depends on the design of the central–local government relations.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Michael M. Atkinson, Haizhen Mou and Peter Bruce

Fiscal rules in the Canadian provinces: Object failure or qualified success?

in *Canadian Public Administration*, volume 59, issue 4 , 495-515

Most Canadian provinces have introduced legislation to require politicians of all ideological stripes to meet annual balanced budget (BB) targets. Critics of this type of legislation argue that it is unnecessary, confining, and subject to manipulation. We examine provincial balanced budget legislation before and after the Great Recession and argue that the response of provinces needs to be evaluated taking into account the multiple objectives of fiscal policy and the behavioural changes that the rules introduce, including creative non-compliance. Rules should be evaluated on their ability to contribute to good fiscal governance rather than on their stringency.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Flavio Guella

L'evoluzione delle logiche perequative nella finanza regionale italiana: redistribuzione delle risorse o delle competenze?

in *Regioni (Le)*, no. 2 , 225-266

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government



Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Ángel Berges and Emilio Ontiveros

La Unión Bancaria (UB): nuevo marco competitivo para la banca española y europea
in *Cuadernos europeos de Deusto*, no. 54 , 99-120

El proyecto de la Unión Bancaria de Europa es el resultado de la respuesta de las autoridades europeas a la particularización en algunos sistemas bancarios de la eurozona de la crisis desencadenada en julio de 2007 en el sistema financiero estadounidense. La severidad del círculo vicioso entre el deterioro de los activos bancarios y la deuda pública de algunos países periféricos, particularmente intenso hasta el verano de 2012, obligó a paliar rápidamente una de las limitaciones originales de la Unión Monetaria. En este artículo se analiza la génesis del proyecto, su estructura —sus cuatro pilares fundamentales— y el sistema bancario resultante, con especial atención a la dinámica de concentración sectorial, intensificada adicionalmente como consecuencia de la mayor regulación bancaria.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Sergio Fabbrini

La crisi dell'euro e le sue conseguenze
in *Rivista trimestrale di diritto pubblico*, no. 3 , 651-668

The article analyses the crisis of the Euro and its institutional implications. The crisis is due to external factors, although the Eurozone's institutional system has magnified its contradictory effects. This institutional system is rooted in the compromises of the Maastricht Treaty. The first compromise concerns the distinction between the Economic and Monetary Union (EMU or Eurozone) and the countries that decided to opt out of it. The second compromise regarded the very structure of the Eurozone, which was organized around a supranational monetary policy and nationally controlled economic policies, although coordinated within the European Council and the Council of the European Union. Thus, the EMU's economic policy has been managed by an intergovernmental model of decision-making. With the crisis, this model has been called into question. The supranational monetary policy has entered into conflict with national economic policies, thus soliciting pressures for an intergovernmental centralization of the latter (through new intergovernmental treaties and legislative measures). This article presents a critical argument against such intergovernmental centralization, arguing that it is necessary to consider a different model of economic governance, a model that can be pursued if a clear institutional differentiation is established between the Eurozone and the countries that have opted out. This would certainly require a revision of the Treaties, although there appears to be little political consensus for this.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Francisco Rodríguez Ortiz

Las crisis trastocan el inmovilismo y ortodoxia del Banco Central Europeo
in *Cuadernos europeos de Deusto*, no. 54 , 155-178

Las crisis financiera y económica han desembocado en una grave crisis de las finanzas públicas. Esta sucesión de crisis ha puesto a prueba la capacidad de la política monetaria para responder a las mismas. El Banco Central Europeo



ha sacralizado más que ningún otro gran banco central la estabilidad de los precios erigida en la razón de ser primera de su independencia. Solo se ha decidido a actuar como prestamista de último recurso, apelando a medidas no convencionales de política monetaria, cuando ha percibido que la zona euro amenazaba con adentrarse en una nueva recesión, que los riesgos de deflación eran crecientes y que estos factores, unidos a la crisis griega, amenazaban la propia supervivencia del euro. Sin embargo, al actuar en estado de soledad, la política monetaria europea no podrá resolver los problemas de crecimiento de la zona euro.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Kölling Mario

Las relaciones financieras entre la Federación y los Länder a partir de 2020 - A cerca del reciente acuerdo sobre las relaciones financieras entre la Federación y los Länder en Alemania

in Cuadernos Manuel Giménez Abad, n. 12, diciembre , 34-36

Full text available online at

http://www.fundacionmgimenezabad.es/images/Documentos/Cuadernos/cuadernos12_diciembre_2016.pdf

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Tommaso Nicola Poli

Los procesos de integración política en la espiral de la gobernanza económica

in Revista de Derecho Constitucional Europeo , no. 25

En la crisis económico-financiera la gobernanza económica de la Unión ha demostrado las carencias de su estructura original y, en consecuencia, la incapacidad del Derecho de la Unión de controlar el poder económico, a pesar de que el proceso de integración se ha construido, sobre todo, sobre la base de una concepción puramente económica. En vez de reconducir la política monetaria y la política económica, que respectivamente operaban a nivel supranacional y a nivel nacional, según el tradicional planteamiento de los Tratados, a la creación de un nuevo gobierno de la economía a nivel supranacional que mitigue o, mejor, colme el déficit democrático de la Unión, la crisis económico financiera parece alimentar y alargar esa tensión entre gobernanza económica e integración política. Este trabajo se ocupa de analizar cómo se ha ido generando paulatinamente esta espiral.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Magdalena Sapa

Mid-term review of the Multiannual Financial Framework 2014-2020 – A round-up of key issues at stake

in Perspectives on federalism, volume 8, issue 2 , 84-99

By the end of 2016 the European Commission is expected to present its mid-term review of the Multiannual Financial Framework (MFF) 2014-2020. The results of the review may open the way for a revision of the MFF Regulation. The scope of the review, as laid down in the legislation, as well as the difficult implementation of the MFF in its first years, give grounds to expect changes in the MFF Regulation. However, experience of past reviews and the requirement of a



unanimous vote in the Council on the revision of the MFF raise concerns about the final result of the exercise. This paper explains how the idea of the mid-term review of the MFF has evolved, why it has become so important, and what issues are at stake at the outset of the debate. It shows that in order to ensure a smoother implementation of the MFF in the future years some radical changes are necessary, including an increase of the ceilings and flexibility. Besides, the problems with the implementation of the current MFF give arguments for a thorough reform with a view of the post-2020 MFF.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Marco Macchia

Modelli di coordinamento della vigilanza bancaria

in *Rivista trimestrale di diritto pubblico*, no. 2 , 367-402

Con l'avvio del «Single Supervisory Mechanism» sono stati trasferiti alla Banca centrale europea i poteri di vigilanza prudenziale sui principali enti creditizi operanti negli Stati dell'eurozona. Ma al tramonto del monopolio nazionale della vigilanza non è seguita la fine dell'ambito di intervento delle autorità nazionali, ma semplicemente quest'ultimo ha mutato forma. Il coordinamento con le banche centrali domestiche è divenuto un'esigenza imprescindibile. L'articolo esamina le morfologie di coordinamento, suddividendole in quattro modalità, e le compara con quelle proprie del «Single Resolution Mechanism». In generale, tanti controllori possono produrre un sistema fragile, di cui gli operatori possono beneficiare sfruttando a proprio vantaggio conflitti di regolazione. Nella vigilanza bancaria la ricerca dimostra che sussiste un'impossibilità funzionale per un'amministrazione sovranazionale di esercitare questa funzione in via esclusiva, non solo in via di fatto, ma anche considerate le caratteristiche genetiche del diritto amministrativo europeo. La BCE, operando secondo un «single authority model» temperato da stabili meccanismi di coordinamento, si fa garante di uno strumento che permette di contemperare il decentramento delle competenze a livello nazionale con l'esigenza di unitarietà della regolazione europea.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Fabio Masini

Monetary and Fiscal Arrangements for the Eurozone: Some Unconventional Proposals

in *Perspectives on federalism*, volume 8, issue 2 , 1-10

Contributions in this special issue argue make a number of points with regard to the urgent need to change the economic governance of the Eurozone, pointing at some tools to increase its spending capacity. The process of potential fragmentation ignited by the recent vote on Brexit make such changes even more urgent, signalling the need to provide concrete responses to citizens, in order to show that the euro area, and the EU at large, are able to satisfy some of their crucial needs. The papers which make up this special issue were presented in Florence, at a meeting held in the framework of a Jean Monnet + Project called MoreEU. The first section deals with the reform of the budget; the second with a further use of quantitative easing and the role of the ECB.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism



Alessandro D'Alfonso

Reforming the financing of the EU budget: Outlook
in *Perspectives on federalism*, volume 8, issue 2 , 46-83

This paper provides a general overview of the EU's own resources system, and of the debate on its possible reform within the current legal framework. Two alternative reforms are discussed, along with their possible advantages and drawbacks: 1) a simplified system based only on a resource related to gross national income; and 2) the introduction of new genuine own resources and the possible elimination of some current own resources. The second option, which has long been called for by the European Parliament, is explored in further detail, with an overview of the potential candidates for new own resources analysed by the European Commission prior to its 2011 reform proposal. The current outlook for a possible reform focuses on the ongoing work of the high-level group on own resources chaired by Professor Mario Monti, presenting the main obstacles to change and possible ways forward. This paper updates the author's in-depth analysis *How the EU budget is financed: The "own resources" system and the debate on its reform* (European Parliamentary Research Service, Brussels).

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Sam Peltzman

State and local fiscal policy and growth at the border
in *Journal of Urban Economics*, Volume 95 , 1-15

The paper studies the connection between state and local fiscal policy, as measured by the share of government spending and revenues in personal income, and the economic activity of counties that share a state border. I construct a panel of pairs of US counties that share a state border from the 1970s to 2012. Economic activity is measured by county employment, wages and business establishments. The state and local government spending and revenue shares are aggregates for the states on the respective sides of the border. I estimate distributed lag regressions of changes in economic activity on changes in state and local government budgets in two ways. The first (double difference) utilizes change in the difference between border counties. This suggests a quite modest relocation of economic activity away from states with fiscal expansion. I then look at activity on each side of the border separately and find more substantial and consistently negative effects of fiscal expansion on both sides of the border. A border county shares the negative consequences for its neighbor of growth in the size of that neighbor's state and local governments. This negative fiscal externality is roughly half the size of the direct negative effects from similar own-state spending increases, and the sum of the two is substantial economically.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Hennessey Jessica

The Adoption of Constitutional Home Rule: A Test of Endogenous Policy Decentralization
in *Eastern Economic Journal*, Volume 42, Issue 3, Summer 2016 , 441–463

Home rule reduced control by the state legislature and gave municipalities the option of self-chartering and the ability to independently determine their desired structure and functions. Fiscal federalism theory suggests that decentralization of power is more likely when there is heterogeneity across local governments. The theory is empirically tested by



considering municipal-level demand for home rule, measured by predicting a latent taste for home rule. The evidence indicates states that adopted constitutional home rule had stronger and more heterogeneous municipal-level preferences. This paper highlights the importance of considering both within and across state heterogeneity in the endogenous determination of institutions.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Mario Kölling

The EU Budget - From a Bargaining Tool to a Federal Budget?

in *Panoptica. Revista Eletrônica Acadêmica de Direito*, volume 11, issue 1 , 137-157

The EU has several aspects which allow us to speak about an emerging Federal System. Generally, the EU budget is not mentioned to be among them. The budget has been characterised as poor-sized, inflexible and dependent on member state contributions. But there are several reasons for considering an evolution of the EU budget towards a genuine budget with federal characteristics. This is noticeable with regard to its spending structure, concerning the production of public goods, and the budgetary decision making process, especially regarding the role of the European Parliament. The main argument of this text is that the EU budget is evolving towards a budget in a federal sense based on the rational that all member states and the Union have common objectives rooted in common values.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Andrew Hughes Hallett, Svend E. Hougaard Jensen

The Fiscal Framework in a Currency Union: Lessons from a Comparison between the Euro Area and the Eastern Caribbean Currency Union

in *World Economy*, Volume 39, Issue 6 , 803-823

This paper draws out lessons from the euro area (EA) that are transferable to the Eastern Caribbean Currency Union (ECCU) and other Caribbean economies with fixed exchange rates. Based on observations from both the EA and the ECCU, we present a new policy framework which is capable of imposing fiscal discipline, with the aim of avoiding the risk of unsustainable fiscal policies reappearing and of preventing monetary policy from being undermined by undisciplined national governments. In the ECCU case, we find that fiscal deficits are more a result of financial and trade imbalances than fiscal indiscipline per se. Consequently, constraints on overall debt, public and private, rather than direct limits on endogenous public deficits, appear to be the appropriate response.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Alberto Vega García

The Incidence of European Union Law on Regional Autonomy on Business and Value Added Taxation

in *Revista d'Estudis Autònomic i Federals*, no. 24 , 11-45

Malgrat la rellevància del nivell subcentral de govern en la provisió de serveis públics, la seva capacitat per a legislar en matèria tributària és freqüentment molt reduïda, especialment pel que fa als impostos sobre el valor afegit i sobre



societats. Aquest article analitza les limitacions a l'autonomia tributària regional imposades pel Dret de la Unió Europea i, en aquest marc, examina les principals opcions per aconseguir una major descentralització tenint en compte l'experiència de diversos països federals i els avantatges i riscos econòmics que aquestes mesures podrien comportar. En la meua opinió, abans d'oferir als parlaments regionals la possibilitat de participar en la regulació dels impostos sobre el valor afegit i sobre societats, seria recomanable explorar altres alternatives menys problemàtiques, com la transferència a les regions de competències normatives sobre altres impostos amb una incidència directa en les activitats empresarials, com els impostos sobre activitats econòmiques, sobre els béns immobles empresarials o sobre el valor afegit de les empreses. L'article es centra primer en la fiscalitat empresarial i, a continuació, en l'impost sobre el valor afegit.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Lars Viellechner

The Limits of Law (and Democracy) in the Euro Crisis: An Approach from Systems Theory
in **German Law Journal**, volume 17, issue 5 , 747-762

The Article attempts to explore the fate of law and democracy in the euro crisis from the sociological perspective of systems theory. It consecutively ascertains the performance, the relevance, and the function of the law with regard to the current practice of restructuring sovereign debt in the euro area. While novel forms of regulation such as the European Stability Mechanism attest a remarkable assertiveness of the law, they cannot effectively command economic recovery and must cede to economic imperatives for their part. Under such circumstances, the law can no longer adequately fulfill its function to counterfactually secure normative expectations. Nevertheless, the regulatory experiments in the euro crisis may not be regarded as undemocratic. Rather, the heterarchical processes of mutual observation, recognition, and contestation among the various constituencies involved, including representatives of governments, institutions of the European Union, central banks, national parliaments and peoples via referenda, as well as European and national courts, provide some substitute for the lack of elections and parliamentary decision-making at the European level.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Köppl Turyna Monika, Kula Grzegorz, Balmas Agata, Waclawska Kamila

The effects of fiscal decentralisation on the strength of political budget cycles in local expenditure
in **Local Government Studies**, Volume 42, Issue 5 , 785-820

In this article we analyse the effects of political business cycles and fiscal decentralisation on the expenditure categories of Polish municipalities. We find convincing evidence demonstrating the impact of strong political business cycles in almost all expenditure categories, particularly for the categories of expenditure relevant to electoral success, such as infrastructure and social programmes. We find evidence that transfers to municipalities increase the strength of the electoral cycle.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government



Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Vallés-Giménez Jaime, Román-Aso Juan A.

The impact of regional emissions taxes: the Spanish case

in *International Journal of Global Environmental Issues*, Volume 15, No. 3 , 255-268

The internalisation of environmental damage associated with greenhouse gases is crucial to protect natural resources and human health. In this paper, we present an empirical model addressed to examine whether several variables impact on regional pollution in Spain, with emphasis on the instruments implemented to mitigate the environmental damage. We can further distinguish among private or public instruments. The former refers to the business expenditure on pollution abatement; the latter includes Pigouvian taxes (national) and the emissions trading system (international). The Spanish pollution taxes are managed at regional tier in response to territorial preferences, but it can also be a source of mobility of production factors among regions, and then, we will analyse the adequacy of this level of government.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Hyunjung Ji, Jeong Ahn, Jeffrey Chapman

The role of intergovernmental aid in defining fiscal sustainability at the sub-national level

in *Urban Studies*, Volume 53, Issue 14 , 3063-3081

The concept of fiscal sustainability has become increasingly used over the last 20 years. However, much of the literature on fiscal sustainability at the sub-national level ignores the role of intergovernmental fiscal relations. To address this gap, this paper discusses a sufficient condition for sub-national fiscal sustainability and examines the importance of intergovernmental aid in determining that sustainability. Using panel data of counties and municipalities in the US, and using unit root and cointegration analytic techniques, this paper finds different levels of fiscal sustainability between counties and municipalities. We also find that intergovernmental aid plays an important role for fiscal sustainability for both counties and municipalities.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Bernabei Guglielmo

Tributi propri e autonomie locali: un percorso incompiuto

in *Istituzioni del federalismo*, n. 1 , 191 - 226

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Mario Iannella

U.S. States' fiscal constraints and effects on budget policies

in *Perspectives on federalism*, volume 8, issue 1 , 81-113

The article looks at fiscal constraints adopted by the U.S. States. It questions the ability of those rules to determine



sound budgetary policies. To assess this point it analyses, in the general part, the major kind of constraints so far adopted. Of each major category the focus is upon institutional weaknesses that create the room for the adoption of circumventing practices. The following section focuses instead on three case studies, to show examples of the way in which the constraints influenced policy-making without mining the ability of government to adopt unbalanced budgetary policies. The weaknesses are combined with the adoption of a deferential approach by the Courts that generally legitimized the accounting devices adopted by the States. The outcome is a system in which budget policies are influenced by several factors that go beyond the institutional framework. On the other side, legal boundaries create distortions and unwanted effects in policies implemented by the States.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Antonini Luca

Un requiem per il federalismo fiscale

in *Federalismi*, Anno XIV - Nr 16

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Fernández Llera Roberto

Vigencia de la LOFCA en materia de operaciones de crédito

in *Cuadernos Manuel Giménez Abad*, n. 11, junio , 35-52

Departing from fiscal federalism arguments which justify the debt of constituent units in decentralized countries, the author analyses in this text the restrictions on credit operations established by the Organic Law 8/1980 on the Financing of the Autonomous Communities (LOFCA). These restrictions, which have been established before the rules of budgetary stability were approved, are based on general assumption of the Theory of Fiscal Federalism. The author evaluates their effectiveness and concludes that these debt restrictions are still valid however some reforms are necessary in order to meet current commitments.

Full text available online at

http://www.fundacionmgimenezabad.es/images/Documentos/Cuadernos/cuadernos11_junio_2016.pdf

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)

Stephen D. Williamson

Current Federal Reserve Policy under the Lens of Economic History: A Review Essay

in *Journal of Economic Literature*, Vol. 54 No. 3 , 922-934

This review essay reviews the volume edited by Owen Humpage, *Current Federal Reserve Policy under the Lens of Economic History: Essays to Commemorate the Federal Reserve System's Centennial*, and provides a broader perspective on central-banking issues. The papers in the Humpage volume address various aspects of central banking history, money, and private banking, with a focus on putting recent Fed policies in perspective. The topics covered



include the role of the central bank as lender of last resort, the effects of open-market operations versus central-bank lending, central-bank independence, the political economy of monetary unions, financial crises, the effects of unconventional monetary policies, commodity monies, and the Canadian financial system as a natural experiment.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)

Buchanan Neil H. , Dorf Michael C.

Don't End or Audit the Fed: Central Bank Independence in an Age of Austerity

in **Cornell Law Review**, Volume 102 Issue 1

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)

Felipe Rezende

Unconventional monetary policy, liquidity trap, and asset prices

in **Journal of Post Keynesian Economics**, Volume 39, Issue 3 , 411-436

This article offers a fundamental critique of monetary policy implemented in the United States following the 2007–8 global financial crisis. It aims to show that the misunderstanding of the mainstream theoretical thinking underlying monetary policy actions led to the ineffectiveness of the policy response to the 2007–8 global financial crisis. The conventional view that monetary policy is the stabilization tool has serious flaws and is ineffective for bringing about economic recovery. The Federal Reserve's experiment with the so-called unconventional monetary policy exposed the weakness of the conventional belief in understanding how banks operate, how the monetary authority can influence the yield curve, and how the monetary transmission mechanism works, resulting in prescribing an ineffective treatment to boost economic activity. In this regard, it is argued that the Federal Reserve's decision to let long-term interest rates be market determined represents a significant self-imposed constraint, which limits policy options regarding monetary policy actions and the effective control of long-term interest rates. By limiting the setting of policy rates only to the overnight interest rate, the ability of the monetary authority to influence long-term interest rates is both weak and indirect.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Kristof Steyvers

A knight in white satin armour? New institutionalism and mayoral leadership in the era of governance¹

in **European Urban and Regional Studies**, volume 23, issue 4 , 289-305

This article connects two streams in the literature on local political leadership by identifying the effect of leadership in form on the altering nature of leadership behaviour in the era of governance as a promising field of research. In particular, it argues to proceed with a comparative new institutionalism agenda. In order to illustrate this approach it uses data from a comparative project on local political leadership in Europe and focuses on mayor business orientation as an aspect of external networking. The analysis shows institutional form matters, but is highly contingent upon leadership context and characteristics. Future research should not only improve the conceptualization of form and extend the scope



of leadership behaviour under study, but also probe into the causal mechanisms that relate form, context and characteristics.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Cebrián Zazurca Enrique

Acerca de las nacionalidades. Pasado, presente ¿y futuro? de un término escurridizo

in **Cuadernos Manuel Giménez Abad**, n. 12, diciembre , 38-54

This paper analyzes the concept nationalities, included in the Article 2 of the Spanish Constitution, going through the history of the term, its present and thinking about its viability in the future.

Full text available online at

http://www.fundacionmgimenezabad.es/images/Documentos/Cuadernos/cuadernos12_diciembre_2016.pdf

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Heinisch Reinhard, Mühlböck Armin

Auf die Größe kommt es an! Neue empirische Evidenz zur Wahlbeteiligung in Gemeinden

in **Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Politikwissenschaft** , Volume 10, Issue 2, October 2016 , 165-190

Size matters – New empirical evidence on voter turnout in municipalities

Abstract

Studies on “size and democracy” argue that smaller political units should exhibit higher voter turnout rates. Empirical tests largely confirm this assumption. In contrast, more complex analyses that integrate individual and contextual data arrive at inconclusive results with regard to Switzerland, Norway, Denmark and the Netherlands. In order to reevaluate the relationship between municipality size and turnout, this article uses a pooled time series analysis to study seven local elections in all municipalities of the Austrian state of Salzburg (excluding the city of Salzburg) between 1979 and 2009. The multi-level analysis (non-hierarchical cross-classified model) that accounts for context effects provides new evidence that the size of the municipality has a negative impact on turnout rates. Above all, the interaction between the size of the municipalities and the degree of societal fractionalization appears to be a decisive factor.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Yi Hongtao, Krause Rachel M., Feiock Richard C.

Back-pedaling or continuing quietly? Assessing the impact of ICLEI membership termination on cities' sustainability actions

in **Environmental Politics**, Volume 26, Issue 1 , 138-160

Over the past decade, cities have emerged as leaders in sustainability and climate protection in the United States. ICLEI, a voluntary network of local governments, played an important role driving this trend. After years of steady



growth, ICLEI became a target of political opposition and its membership dropped significantly from 2010 to 2012. This begs the question of whether cities' termination of their ICLEI affiliation diminishes their implementation of sustainability actions. Two surveys administered in 2010 and 2014 provide data on cities' implementation of an array of sustainability actions. Using a difference-in-differences (DiD) method, the impact of ICLEI termination on local governments' administrative and policy commitments to sustainability is assessed. The results suggest that ending ICLEI membership does not significantly impact local sustainability actions, and also indicate that the durability of policy actions may be only loosely linked to the policies that justify them.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Müller Ulrike, Chaliganti Raghu

Bargaining over local public good provision in nested social dilemmas: A comparative study of variation from South India

in *India Review*, Volume 15, Issue 3 , 302-331

In rural India, decentralized government schemes and assembly constituency development programs represent major channels through which local public good provision is realized. This polycentric governance structure confronts local leaders with a distributional conflict, which is nested in a social dilemma situation. Based on a controlled case study approach, we investigate the provision of small-scale infrastructure in three South Indian communities. Apart from roads and drinking water facilities that directly appeal to the residents of a community, local leaders bargain over infrastructure contracts, which serve as patronage resources in interactions with politicians from higher government levels. A comparative game-theoretic analysis of the results suggests that coordination through political party identities has translated into alternative bargaining strategies and hence varying distributional outcomes regarding contracts and local public goods in the communities under review. The study concludes with recommendations for polycentric institutional design.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Ziafati Bafarasat Abbas, Baker Mark

Building consensus for network power? Some reflections on strategic spatial planning in the North West region of England

in *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, Volume 34, Issue 5, August , 900-926

This case study of collaborative regional spatial planning in the North West region of England seeks to understand if 'network power' provides a sufficient incentive for the politically stronger and institutionally established players (particularly local government) to adopt a more flexible approach to consensus building. An observed failure in this respect, due to the overwhelming strength of the parochial interests of local government under network governance, leads to a suggestion to incentivise greater collaboration and consensus building at the strategic level through what has been termed 'meta-governed citizen power'.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 9. Local government(s)



Brian Terracciano, Paolo R. Graziano

EU Cohesion Policy Implementation and Administrative Capacities: Insights from Italian Regions
in *Regional and Federal Studies*, Volume 26, Issue 3 , 293-320

In this article we explain Italy's partial persisting difficulties in EU cohesion policy implementation by focusing on one specific variable: regional administrative capacity. In line with research findings based on the national level (Tosun, 2014), our working hypothesis is that administrative capacity is the most important explanatory factor of EU cohesion policy implementation also at the regional level. In the article, by adopting a 'most similar research cases' design approach, we test the hypothesis with reference to two Italian regions: Campania and Puglia. In addition, we seek to adequately define the concept of 'administrative capacity' and operationalize it properly. In the concluding section, we consider the competitive advantage of our definition and operationalization of the notion of administrative capacity also with reference to other policy sectors beyond cohesion policy.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Latorre Vila Luis

El control por las Cortes de Aragón de la ejecución de los presupuestos de la Comunidad Autónoma: su preceptiva autorización para la tramitación de expedientes de gestión presupuestaria

in *Cuadernos Manuel Giménez Abad*, n. 12, diciembre , 121-144

This paper analyzes the content and scope of articles 4 and 5 of Law 1/2016, January 28, on Budgets of the Autonomous Community of Aragon for the year 2016, through which a new control mechanism has been established by the Courts of Aragon of the execution of Budgets by the autonomic Government. New procedure of parliamentary control characterized by the examination and, where applicable, the required prior authorization by the Courts de Aragon of certain budgetary management records.

Full text available online at

http://www.fundacionmgimenezabad.es/images/Documentos/Cuadernos/cuadernos12_diciembre_2016.pdf

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Sierra Rodríguez Javier

En busca de la igualdad efectiva del voto: la reforma del sistema electoral de la Región de Murcia

in *Cuadernos Manuel Giménez Abad*, n. 12, diciembre , 261-267

Full text available online at

http://www.fundacionmgimenezabad.es/images/Documentos/Cuadernos/cuadernos12_diciembre_2016.pdf

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Crow Deserai A, Albright Elizabeth A, Koebele Elizabeth

Environmental rulemaking across states: Process, procedural access, and regulatory influence

in *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, Volume 34, Issue 7, November , 1222-1240



Rulemaking is central to policymaking in the United States. Additionally, regulatory authority is devolved to the states in many instances. However, our knowledge of state-level rulemaking is not as advanced as that related to federal rulemaking. To advance the scholarship on state rulemaking, this study compares environmental rulemaking across three environmental issues (renewable portfolio standards, concentrated animal feeding operation regulations, and hydraulic fracturing disclosure rules) in five states (California, Colorado, Michigan, North Carolina, and Pennsylvania) to understand procedural and stakeholder participation commonalities among the cases. Using data from public rulemaking documents, stakeholder comment during rulemaking, and in-depth interviews with agency staff and stakeholders, the findings suggest that there are common patterns of pre-process informal stakeholder consultation, public comment and outreach mechanisms, and corollary issues related to stakeholder access across these cases. These findings advance our knowledge of state-level rulemaking as it relates to public input and procedural equity for stakeholders.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Kada Nicolas

Existe-t-il un droit public européen des collectivités territoriales?

in *Rassegna di diritto pubblico europeo*, numero 1 , 65-88

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Li Chaosu, Song Yan

Government response to climate change in China: a study of provincial and municipal plans

in *Journal of Environmental Planning and Management*, Volume 59, Issue 9 , 1679-1710

In this paper, we provide an overview of local and regional climate change plans in China by scrutinizing planning documents from 16 cities, four autonomous regions, and 22 provinces. We develop and apply an evaluation protocol to understand goals, process, and strategies in these plans. We also conduct interviews with government officials to provide a context for subnational climate change planning. The results indicate that current climate change planning in China is characterized by the 'top-down' approach, in which the central governmental incentives play a vital role in shaping provincial and municipal plans. In addition, most plans have the following issues: vague definition of what characterizes a low-carbon city/region; deficiency in the quality of greenhouse gas inventory and reduction targets; insufficient strategies provided to respond to climate change; inadequate stakeholder engagement; and weak horizontal coordination. Finally, we offer recommendations to improve climate change planning in China.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Williams Nick, Brooks Chay, Vorley Tim

Hidden clusters: the articulation of agglomeration in City Regions

in *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, Volume 34, Issue 8, December , 1776-1792



For many years, local economic development has been driven by the desire to maintain, attract and nurture clusters of economic activity in targeted industrial sectors. However, where clusters are not conventionally sector-based, public policy needs to develop alternative approaches to leverage the economic benefits and realise competitive advantage. Drawing on a study of the Sheffield City Region (SCR), the paper explores the challenge of leveraging 'hidden' cross-sectoral clusters, which do not fit dominant discourses of agglomeration-led growth. We posit that it is the cross-sectoral connections and networks in the SCR which represent its key strength, yet these are only partially reflected by current place marketing and policy considerations, and, in many ways, are overlooked and thus remain 'hidden'. The paper argues that the competitive advantage of the SCR is undermined when it characterises clusters in terms of industrial sectors, and instead needs to articulate its strengths as a strategically important industrial centre. The paper concludes by drawing out a number of implications for academic theory and policy development.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Ivan Costanza

Il frazionamento della Provincia di Genova e le rivendicazioni 'compensative' sui territori della Provincia di Alessandria (1923- 1927)

in *Amministrare*, no. 2 (supplement) , 161-172

The number and disposition of Italian provinces, as established when the Kingdom of Italy was founded in 1861, did not undergo any change till the Fascist regime came to power in 1923. The Fascist government set up new provinces by dividing the old ones, as happened to Genoa, whose province gave birth to the provinces of La Spezia (1923) and Savona (1927). Such actions were hampered by Genoa's provincial administration; in case it was not possible to keep its territory from being dismembered, they would try to obtain parts of other provinces, on which they claimed old rights, as compensation for the loss.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Allers Maarten A. , van Ommeren Bernard

Intermunicipal cooperation, municipal amalgamation and the price of credit

in *Local Government Studies*, Volume 42, Issue 5 , 717-738

In many countries, local government size is increasingly thought to be insufficient to operate efficiently. Two possible solutions to this problem are amalgamation and intermunicipal cooperation. This paper applies a novel methodology to shed light on the efficiency implications of this choice. Using a unique and rich micro-level dataset, we find that intermunicipal organisations (IOs) in the Netherlands consistently pay higher interest rates than municipalities, while there is no economic reason to do so. We interpret this as a form of inefficiency. Municipal amalgamation, on the other hand, does not result in higher interest rates. Our analysis eliminates one possible explanation, dispersed ownership of IOs, as the number of partners cooperating in an IO does not affect interest rates (no 'law of 1/n'). This leaves the introduction of extra hierarchical layers as a result of cooperation, and the ensuing reduction in monitoring, as the most probable explanation.



Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Giovanni Boggero

La Carta europea dell'autonomia locale nella giurisprudenza degli Stati europei

in *Regioni (Le)*, no. 5-6 , 1077-1112

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Walter Tortorella and Giorgia Marinuzzi

La geografia delle fusioni, unioni e convenzioni intercomunali

in *Amministrare*, no. 1 , 177-192

This article describes the new geography of municipalities in Italy with particular reference to the recent and increasingly more frequent inter-municipal mergers. Furthermore, considering the main tools identified by law for the associated management of the fundamental municipal functions, the authors analyse the distribution and characterization of municipal unions and conventions, focusing on municipalities up to 5,000 inhabitants.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Zidane Zeraoui y Fernando R. Castillo Villar

La paradiplomacia de la ciudad. Una estrategia de desarrollo urbano

in *Reforma y democracia (Venezuela)*, no. 65

Este artículo sobre la paradiplomacia de la ciudad se centra, en primer lugar, en definir conceptualmente la política internacional de los agentes subnacionales y, en este caso específico, de las ciudades. La segunda parte del ensayo se centra en la marca ciudad para enfocarla no solamente como instrumento económico, sino como un elemento central en el desarrollo urbano. Varios ejemplos de prácticas urbanas, como Londres o Ginebra, han demostrado que la cooperación entre ciudades y un enfoque global de desarrollo a largo plazo son los elementos clave para la sostenibilidad urbana.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Herráiz Serrano Olga

La reforma non nata de 2013 como base de los actuales trabajos de revisión del reglamento de las Cortes de Aragón

in *Cuadernos Manuel Giménez Abad*, n. 12, diciembre , 72-120

This paper analyzes the novelties of the project to reform the Parliament of Aragón's rules of procedure in 2013, which couldn't be approved before the end of the VIII Legislature, but which is logically being used in the current revision of the rules of procedure taking place during the IX Legislature. Moreover the text highlights the main modifications and also



the main absences in the context of the reforms undertaken by other autonomous parliaments in recent years.

Full text available online at

http://www.fundacionmgimenezabad.es/images/Documentos/Cuadernos/cuadernos12_diciembre_2016.pdf

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Medda Roberto

La riorganizzazione del local government in Inghilterra

in *Federalismi*, Anno XIV - Nr 19

La riorganizzazione del local government in Inghilterra

di Roberto Medda

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Auxiette Jacques

La région, levier oublié du changement. Entretien

in *Esprit*, Juillet/Août

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Roberto Di Maria

La «Città metropolitana» nelle leggi siciliane 15/2015 e 5/2016, e nella legge statale 56/2014: un breve excursus fra attuali esigenze di uniformità ordinamentale e persistenti rivendicazioni di autonomia speciale

in *Regioni (Le)*, no. 2 , 307-340

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Filipe Teles

Local government and the bailout: Reform singularities in Portugal

in *European Urban and Regional Studies*, volume 23, issue 4 , 455-467

Portugal is working on the reform of its local government. Although amalgamation was one of the recommended strategies, as a consequence of the European Union/International Monetary Fund bailout process, an alternative approach has been suggested. This reform is mostly a development of inter-municipal cooperation mechanisms combined with partial devolution strategies. However, as the bailout agreement was its main catalyst, the urgency to cut



public administration costs required in the memorandum and the imposed deadlines gave a perverse incentive for central government to produce ad hoc and fragmented modifications. I argue that these political and economical demands, which sanctioned the argument for rushed measures, together with the country's strong local identities, historical municipalism, political centralism and the political costs of significant territorial changes, can explain the absence of a comprehensible reform strategy and the singularities of its policies. This article explores the framework that justifies the reform and assesses the impacts of the bailout agreement.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Alberta Andreotti and Enzo Mingione

Local welfare systems in Europe and the economic crisis

in *European Urban and Regional Studies*, volume 23, issue 4 , 252-266

The tendency towards the diffusion of more localised welfare provision is part of the wider post-industrial transformation and challenges the citizenship protection system that developed during the Fordist age. It is assumed that local welfare provision is more efficient and less expensive than centralised national welfare programmes. In this article we argue first that the process of transformation and localisation of welfare is driven by two different (sometimes opposing) forces: (1) the necessity to identify effective ways of responding to the need for social support which is increasingly individualised, fragmented and heterogeneous, and therefore to expand 'active' social policies; and (2) the necessity to keep under control (and more often reducing) national public spending. Second, we argue that a more integrated welfare system (involving the third sector, voluntary organisations and private providers) and one which is more locally differentiated poses a series of problems in terms of social and territorial inequalities. We then identify some conditions that can help to keep inequalities under control. In the conclusion we will see how the crisis is exacerbating these tendencies.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Andreas Ladner, Nikolas Keuffer, Harald Baldersheim

Measuring Local Autonomy in 39 Countries (1990–2014)

in *Regional and Federal Studies*, Volume 26, Issue 3 , 321-357

Local autonomy is a highly valued feature of good governance. The continuous efforts of many European countries to strengthen the autonomy of local government show the importance given to decentralization and the transfer of far-reaching competences to the lowest units. Measuring and comparing local autonomy, however, has proven to be challenging. Not only are there diverging ideas about the core elements of local autonomy, there are also considerable difficulties applying specific concepts to different countries. This paper outlines a comprehensive methodology for measuring local autonomy. It analyses 39 European countries and reports changes between 1990 and 2014. A network of experts on local government assessed the autonomy of local government of their respective countries on the basis of a common code book. The 11 variables measured show an overall increase of local autonomy but significant variation between the countries. The variables also add up to an overall measurement of local autonomy.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 9. Local government(s)



Arieli Tamar

Municipal Cooperation Across Securitized Borders in the Post-conflict Environment: The Gulf of Aqaba in Territory, Politics, Governance, Volume 4, Issue 3 , 319-336

Cross-border interaction at the municipal level is central to processes of rescaling of social, economic and political systems to new regional levels. This article analyses processes of rescaling in the post-conflict environment, adding the focus on securitization and local–national power relations to the regional rescaling discourse. Twenty years after the signing of the Israel–Jordan peace treaty, the Gulf of Aqaba serves as a case study for evaluating the stages, mechanisms and barriers of cross-border municipal cooperation between the cities of Aqaba and Eilat. The evolution of structures of cooperation between these municipal authorities demonstrates the potential of cross-border cooperation while continuous deference to national governments serves as a constant reminder of the post-conflict state of relations. Given these political circumstances, it is surprising to discover not the uniqueness of post-conflict cross-border cities but rather how these cities demonstrate compliance with patterns of behaviour of peaceful regions in developing municipal cooperation and realizing opportunities of interdependence.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Smedby Nora, Quitzau Maj-Britt

Municipal Governance and Sustainability: The Role of Local Governments in Promoting Transitions

in European Environment/Environmental Policy and Governance, Volume 26, Issue 5, September-October , 323-336

This research addresses local governance for building energy efficiency. In order to turn an increasingly proactive environmental policy agenda at subnational levels into practice, local governments experiment with new forms of governance. One important policy area in this regard is building energy use, often addressed through urban development projects. Such initiatives provide important insight into the role that local governments may play in terms of pushing developers from mainstream building practices towards the uptake of more radical energy efficient solutions by enabling socio-technical translation. The analysis is based on two case studies from Sweden and Denmark, where the local governments have actively sought to challenge mainstream building practices through a combination of different modes of governing. It is shown how this combination of different modes of governing at the local level provides several translation entries for local governments seeking to foster sustainability transitions. The article concludes that more attention should be directed towards translation as part of the practical environmental governing at the local level.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Kersting Norbert, Schneider Sebastian H.

Neue Machtansprüche in der Kommunalpolitik: Die Einstellungen von Ratsmitgliedern zu Bürgerbeteiligung

in Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Politikwissenschaft , Volume 10, Issue 3-4, December 2016 , 311–339

New claims to power in local politics: the attitudes of councilors towards civic engagement

Abstract

Municipal council and administration are essential for local politics. Increasingly, however, governance problems and



societal changes are challenging their legitimacy. Citizens in particular are demanding to have a greater say in local planning and decision-making processes. As a result, many municipalities are trying out alternative means of civic engagement. At the same time, it is these established authorities who are in charge of conducting these processes and are responsible for implementing their outcomes. Thus, their attitudes and behavior are crucial for the proper functioning of civic engagement. This article therefore examines the attitudes of local councilors (N = 587) towards direct democracy and deliberative civic engagement in 27 German municipalities. On the one hand, it is argued that local councilors' party affiliation affects their attitudes. On the other hand, their attitudes are also assumed to result from strategic considerations related to the respective local councilor's membership in the majority or minority party within the council. As this study shows, first of all, the councilors' attitude towards direct democracy ranges from neutral to moderately positive and their attitude towards deliberative civic engagement is positive. At the same time, there is great variance within and between the individual municipalities. Second, membership in the left party block (SPD, Green Party, Left Party) is positively correlated with councilors' attitudes towards both kinds of civic engagement whereas membership in the relative council majority is negatively correlated with their attitudes towards citizen participation. When controlling for both variables simultaneously, the effect of the party variable predominates. With regard to attitudes towards direct democracy, there is a notable interaction between party affiliation and majority status. Left councilors whose party is in the majority have a comparatively more positive attitude towards direct democracy. No such interaction effect applies to deliberative civic engagement. Third, municipalities' political characteristics have no effect on councilors' attitudes. Nevertheless, as population size increases, councilors' attitudes towards both dimensions of civic engagement become increasingly negative. In the Eastern federal states, councilors have a slightly more positive attitude towards direct democracy.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Markus Hesse

On borrowed size, flawed urbanisation and emerging enclave spaces: The exceptional urbanism of Luxembourg, Luxembourg

in *European Urban and Regional Studies*, volume 23, issue 4 , 612-627

This paper investigates the development trajectory and spatial governance practices in the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, a small but affluent, rapidly developing member state of the European Union. Against the background of globalisation and its urban impact (particularly concerning smaller or emerging metropolitan areas), the paper aims at reconstructing the Luxembourgian urban development trajectory, which is characterised by continuous population growth and successful attraction of global services and financial industries in a rather unique context of the niche sovereignty politics of the small state/small city. The paper also presents a carefully balanced critique of governance practices that seeks to implement integrative strategies in a rather fragmented setting of development, policy and regulation. In so doing, the paper situates this specific case of urbanisation in the context of current paths and narratives of development, particularly with respect to the emergence of global 'enclave spaces' and the way these are becoming nested into broader network constellations. The paper also discusses possible consequences for both governance practices and comparative urban studies.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Patrícia Silva, Felipe Teles, Arthur Rosa Pires



Paving the (Hard) Way for Regional Partnerships: Evidence from Portugal

in *Regional and Federal Studies*, Volume 26, Issue 4 , 449-474

A fundamental dilemma which troubles advocates of interinstitutional partnerships in regional development pertains to the extent to which partnerships enhance the effectiveness of governance processes and outcomes. This dilemma is particularly relevant in contexts that lack strong cohesive regional development alliances, such as the Portuguese case. This article aims to shed light on the debate regarding the role of partnerships in regional development, drawing on a unique collaborative interinstitutional partnership. It explores the responses to complexity across the different stakeholders, as well as its effects at the formulation and implementation stages of the strategic plans devised to apply for EU funding. Findings suggest that interinstitutional partnerships induce significantly different allocative choices at the agenda-setting. However, the established partnership was unable to cope with the several obstacles that emerged during the implementation, suggesting several vulnerabilities of partnerships, which are explored. Findings suggest the need to reinforce governance mechanisms during the implementation stage.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Rodon Toni, Hierro María José

Podemos and Ciudadanos Shake up the Spanish Party System: The 2015 Local and Regional Elections

in *South European Society & Politics*, Volume 21, Issue 3 , 339-357

With a very high unemployment rate but at the first stage of a timid economic recovery, Spain held regional and local elections in May 2015. The election results showed the fall of traditional parties and the emergence of new forces and citizens' platforms, which increased the fragmentation of the party system. The PP (Partido Popular – Popular Party) continued to be the most voted-for party but post-election agreements brought the left to power in eight of the 14 regions that held elections, ending four years of conservative general dominance. After commenting on the context, the campaign and the results of the elections, this article explores the main characteristics of the new party competition and examines the profile of those voting for new political alternatives.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Rosa Mulé

Political Economy of Emergency Social Shock Absorbers in Italy

in *Regional and Federal Studies*, Volume 26, Issue 3 , 359-379

This article contributes to the debate on governing the global financial crisis, focusing on the regional governance of emergency social shock absorbers in Italy. The article seeks to make two related contributions. First, it argues that subnational governments have been the main drivers of change in labour market policies. Second, it shows that state–local governance elicited a path-altering system by 'patching up' a hybrid administrative structure and by 'converting' the traditional goals of social shock absorbers from income maintenance to welfare-to-work. The article provides qualitative evidence on the changing organizational bases of the labour markets of two large Italian regions: Lombardy and Emilia-Romagna. Evidence suggests that administrative innovation and path dependence intertwined in the governance of the global economic crisis in Italy, mitigating the entrenched distortions of labour market policies.



Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Cláudio Oliveira Carvalho and Ariana Ferreira Alencar Moraes

Políticas públicas e movimentos sociais no planejamento e gestão urbanos brasileiros

in *Panoptica. Revista Eletrônica Acadêmica de Direito*, volume 11, issue 2 , 571-605

O presente trabalho pretende resgatar o histórico do planejamento urbano brasileiro e as lutas sociais em prol da Reforma Urbana para compreender as possibilidades de concretização do novo marco jurídico-urbanista inaugurado pela Constituição Federal de 1988 e o Estatuto da Cidade, bem como a aplicação de políticas públicas que garantam a participação social no planejamento e gestão urbanos. Nesse sentido, será discutido o papel do Direito na regulação das cidades, a função social da propriedade e da cidade, a instituição do plano diretor urbano como principal instrumento de desenvolvimento das cidades e as demais diretrizes gerais da política urbana. Discutirá, ainda, O exercício da cidadania numa sociedade marcada pelo patrimonialismo e enormes desigualdades sociais, e a influência dessas marcas na implantação de um planejamento e gestão urbanos democráticos e participativos e na garantia do Direito à Cidade.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Erin Adele Scharff

Powerful Cities: Limits on Municipal Taxing Authority and What to Do about Them

in *New York University Law Review* , volume 91, issue 2 , 292-343

Cities are once again on the rise and have become the site of major public debates, from income inequality and immigration policy to where and how Americans should live. While municipal leaders are often eager to fill the void in political leadership left by Congress and state elected officials, they are often hamstrung by state home rule laws, which define the powers states grant to municipalities. These laws limit, among other things, municipal taxing authority. Recently, local government scholars have wrestled with whether and how to grant municipalities more fiscal authority, but such scholarship has not provided a unified theory of municipal taxing authority.

This Article considers in detail whether and how to expand city taxing authority. It argues that state law should grant municipal governments "presumptive taxing authority." This presumptive taxing authority would parallel municipal regulatory authority and be similarly subject to state preemption law. Such reform would open the door to more municipal revenue innovation, while ensuring that the state can vindicate its weighty policy interests.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Homsy George C

Powering sustainability: Municipal utilities and local government policymaking

in *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, Volume 34, Issue 6, September , 1076-1094

Sustainability policymaking presents numerous challenges to local governments. Municipal leaders, especially in smaller cities and towns, report that they lack the fiscal capacity and/or technical expertise to adopt many environmental



protection policies. This paper investigates whether the more than 2000 municipally owned utilities in the United States have the potential to mitigate those problems. Data from two surveys of USA local governments (n=8201;=8201;861), modeled in a pair of negative binomial regressions, find a positive correlation between those cities with municipal power companies and those with an increased number of community-wide sustainable energy policies. Follow-up interviews with officials reveal the potential mechanisms driving sustainability by local governments that own power companies. These mechanisms are the increased capacity that publicly owned utilities provide by virtue of income generated and access to energy-specific grants as well as the local nature of their operations, which allows a better fit of sustainable energy measures to local circumstances.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Zachary Spicer and Kate Graham

Preparing to lead: Mayoral transition planning in Canadian cities

in **Canadian Public Administration**, volume 59, issue 4 , 538-555

Transition teams are often used to help Prime Ministers and Premiers move into their new roles. At the municipal level, the use of transition teams is relatively new. As such, we know little about what these groups do in comparison to federal and provincial transition teams. In this article, we examine mayoral transition teams and find that the increased use of these groups is a reflection of the enhanced organizational complexity of Canadian local government. Additionally, local conditions and candidate experience often dictate the shape and function of transition teams. Overall, we argue that more resources should be devoted to the municipal transition process.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Chang Xiangqun

Reciprocity (lishang-wanglai): A Chinese model of social relationships and reciprocity – state and villagers' interaction 1936–2014

in **Journal of Sociology**, Volume 52, Issue 1, March 2016 , 103–117

Abstract

In Kaixiangong village, south-east China, the ordinary villagers seek ways to cope with change and improve their lives by constantly maintaining and managing relationships not only between themselves but also with the state. Fieldwork carried out on social support from state or private sources (1979–96), has been supplemented with material from 1936 to the present. The findings show the majority of villagers' resource-seeking actions are rooted in implicit cultural models and patterns of social relationships, a Chinese model of social relationships and reciprocity; the current situation results from reciprocal influence and accommodation between villagers and the state over a long period.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

EntwistleTom , Guarneros-Meza Valeria, Martin Steve, Downe James

Reframing Governance: Competition, Fatalism and Autonomy in Central–Local Relations



in **Public Administration**, Volume 94, Issue 4 , 897–914

Much of the work on contemporary governance points either to a strong central government that continues to operate hierarchically or else to a relatively weak centre which relies on network forms of coordination. In place of the choice between hierarchy and networks, the cultural theory pioneered by Mary Douglas draws our attention to five distinctive 'social environments' characterized in terms of hierarchy, individualism, egalitarianism, fatalism and autonomy. Based on an analysis of survey data collected from 488 local government managers across England, Scotland and Wales, this article uses the Douglas framework to understand patterns of governance. While the data lend support to the strong centre theorists in revealing little evidence of a central–local partnership and continuing reliance on regulatory-type instruments, we find this more a recipe for competition and fatalism than hierarchy. Our data also point to significant differences in governance style both across services and between countries.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Hillel David Soifer

Regionalism, Ethnic Diversity, and Variation in Public Good Provision by National States
in **Comparative Political Studies** , Volume 49, Issue 10 , 1341–1371

This article argues that variation in public good provision is determined by the salience of demographic and economic regionalism, conceptualized as the presence of multiple large population centers and distinct economic units within a single country's borders. Two mechanisms—divergent public good preferences and regional self-sufficiency—underpin this relationship. Evidence of these mechanisms as central to low public good provision is found in case studies of Ecuador and Colombia, two countries that score high on standard measures of ethnic diversity and that saw little public good provision during the first century after independence. A region-wide examination of post-independence South America and an investigation of change over time in Venezuela provide further support for the claim that regionalism affects public good provision. A plausible case for this aspect of geography as a cause of low public good provision poses a challenge to the scholarship attributing it to ethnic diversity.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Hammond Ed

Representation and Democracy: Voice of Citizens. A Local Government Perspective
in **Representation**, Volume 51, Issue 4 , pp. 471-476

Traditional representative models of democracy are ill-suited to the new decision-making systems which are spreading in English local government—particularly the emerging 'devolution deals' between local authorities and the UK Government (Whitehall). Rather than assuming that the public are not interested in an agenda that can be seen as dry and esoteric, or that complex issues around devolution and policy development can be resolved through a yes/no vote in a local referendum, local policy-makers need to think more creatively about how they use overview and scrutiny, and deliberative methods, to give voice to the aspirations of local people.



Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Golosov Grigorii V. , Gushchina Kristina, Kononenko Pavel

Russia's local government in the process of authoritarian regime transformation: incentives for the survival of local democracy

in **Local Government Studies**, Volume 42, Issue 4 , 507-526

In 2003, the authorities of Russia launched a comprehensive reform of local government. One of the elements of this reform was the replacement of the previously predominant form of local government, characterised by the presence of directly elected mayors, with the council-manager model. While originally motivated largely by the desire to enhance the efficacy of local government, the reform was implemented concurrently with Russia's transition to electoral authoritarianism, with the council-manager model emerging as a major tool of authoritarian transformation. This study uses the data from 79 capitals of Russia's regions in order to identify those factors that facilitated the survival of directly elected mayors in these cities. The analysis reveals that the past trajectories of regime transitions at the regional level in the form of elite settlement, economic resourcefulness, and the lack of politically motivated deference to the federal authorities contributed to the survival of local democracy in Russia.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Daniel Klimovský, Uroš Pinterič, Petr Jüptner

Sistemas de gobierno local en países postcomunistas miembros de la Union Europea

in **Gestion y politica publica**, VOL. XXV, NÚM. 1 , 203-244

Después de la caída de los regímenes comunistas en Europa, los países poscomunistas intentaron reformar sus sistemas de gobierno local de manera que fueran más cercanos a los principios democráticos en la Unión Europea. Aunque los países en cuestión estaban persiguiendo la misma meta —unirse a la UE— y estaban apoyados por las mismas organizaciones e instituciones internacionales, sus caminos para poner en marcha las medidas requeridas, así como lograr los resultados propuestos, difieren significativamente. En el artículo, los autores intentan presentar cómo la misma idea o ideas similares produjeron distintos resultados en distintos países poscomunistas miembros de la UE, específicamente la República Checa, Lituania, Eslovaquia y Eslovenia. Con base en un análisis de documentos legales y datos secundarios, los países se comparan en su proceso para establecer sistemas modernos de administración local.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Nordgren John, Stults Missy, Meerow Sara

Supporting local climate change adaptation: Where we are and where we need to go

in **Environmental Science & Policy** , Volume 66, December , 344-352

Local governments are on the front line of efforts to address climate-related impacts. Recognizing this, there is a growing movement to develop and deliver tools, resources, and services to support local communities' climate adaptation initiatives. There is, however, limited understanding of what specific types of resources exist and how well



these resources match the needs of local practitioners. To bring clarity to these questions, we: 1) assessed the current landscape of climate-adaptation resources and services; 2) surveyed community practitioners to learn how well these resources align with their needs; and 3) convened leading service providers and local practitioners to identify strategic opportunities for moving the adaptation field forward. Findings demonstrate that existing services and resources are meeting the early phases of local adaptation efforts such as conducting vulnerability assessments and creating adaptation plans, but are failing to meet the needs associated with implementing, monitoring, and evaluating adaptation activities. Additionally, a lack of funding and staff time to support adaptation, as well as inaccessible resource formats are barriers impeding local climate adaptation efforts. The mismatch between the types and formats of services being provided and the needs of local governments means that more work is needed to ensure that climate adaptation resources are responsive to the existing and future needs of local governments. Moreover, our research finds that there is a strong and growing need to organize and streamline the climate adaptation resource and service landscape so that practitioners can easily, effectively, and efficiently access the resources they need to build more resilient local communities.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Laurian Lucie, Crawford Jan

Sustainability in the USA and New Zealand: explaining and addressing the implementation gap in local government

in *Journal of Environmental Planning and Management*, Volume 59, Issue 12 , 2124-2144

This paper describes the frustrating reality of sustainability implementation in the USA and New Zealand (NZ), an early adopter of sustainability mandates. Local government has a key role in implementation, but has been slow to uptake sustainable practices. We surveyed senior planners in small to medium-sized local government agencies in both countries to identify which features of local government support (or hinder) sustainability in practice.

Environmentally sustainable practices are not well entrenched in either country. In the USA, the framing of sustainability and public support are significant predictors of implementation. However, sustainability is rarely a priority. In NZ, local government capacity is the main driver of implementation. We recommend that planners promote sustainability values, reconcile economic development goals with sustainability (e.g., green economy model), and translate public support for sustainability into institutional priorities. NZ localities also need increased capacity and US localities need continued Federal and State support.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Perlman Bruce J.

The Illusion of Local Control The Paradox of Local Government Home Rule

in *State and Local Government Review*, Volume 48, Issue 3 , 189–193

local government, home rule

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 9. Local government(s)



Eric S. Zeemering

What are the challenges of multilevel governance for urban sustainability? Evidence from Ottawa and Canada's national capital region

in *Canadian Public Administration*, volume 59, issue 2 , 204-223

Urban sustainability is a priority for cities, challenging public administrators to coordinate action on environmental policy, economic development and social policy. Multilevel governance is now a popular theoretical framework but research must illuminate the constraints on local administrators. This case study reviews efforts of public administrators in the City of Ottawa and Canada's national capital region to implement sustainability policies with collaborative governance, but new governance relationships are constrained by traditional intergovernmental relations. Case study research illuminates the challenges of multilevel governance for local governments and provides insights on the pursuit of sustainability with environmental programs, land use, and urban and development by Crown corporations.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Eklund Erik, Oppenheimer Melanie, Scott Joanne

“Developing a community soul”: A Comparative Assessment of the Australian Assistance Plan in Three Regions, 1973–1977

in *Australian Journal of Politics & History* , Volume 62, Issue 3, September , 419-434

The Australian Assistance Plan (AAP) was an innovative yet largely forgotten social welfare program from the 1970s. A key platform of the Whitlam Labor government, which established a series of Regional Councils for Social Development across Australia, the AAP reframed citizens' participation in their communities, stimulated voluntary organisations and volunteering and attempted to transform engagement among all levels of governments and the voluntary sector. Through an analysis of three Regional Council case studies in Victoria, New South Wales and South Australia, this article focuses on the themes of regionalism and regional distinctiveness in order to assess how questions of regional difference can impact on the development of policy practices.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Hlepas Nikolaos-Komninos

Is it the twilight of decentralization? Testing the limits of functional reforms in the era of austerity

in *International Review of Administrative Sciences* , Volume 82, Issue 2

Economic crisis and rigid austerity seem to have brought a long-lasting period of decentralization to an end. The comeback of centralist patterns offers the rapid implementation of austerity measures, while the lack of resources is challenging the sustainability of decentralized services. There is an obvious inconsistency between European decentralization policies, on the one side, and European austerity policies, on the other. Empirical evidence shows that local authorities were more responsive to citizens' demands for social services, but now municipalities without resources repulse decentralization. In spite of centralist patterns, case studies of fiscal consolidation have revealed a remarkable deviation of municipal responses to top-down fiscal policies. Visionary leadership, active citizenry and inclusive decision-making processes predict good performance, while reproductive leadership and a passive citizenry predetermine unproductive central–local conflicts over burden-sharing and blame-shifting.



Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

André Martínez Fritscher, Carolina Rodríguez Zamora

An Evaluation of the 1997 Expenditure Decentralization Reform in Mexico - The Case of the Health Sector in Public Finance Review, Volume 44, Issue 5 , 563-588

This article studies the Mexican state-level impact on health outcomes of the decentralization of health funding and responsibilities that took place in 1997. Since the reform took place simultaneously in all states, we focus on a difference in difference estimation of whether those states that received more funds achieved better health outcomes after health services decentralization. According to our results, those states that received more funds did not boost the advances in health outcomes already achieved under the centralized health sector regime. There are two main possible explanations for these results. First, the allocation among states of the earmarked fund that was created as a result of the reform failed to take into account state-specific health needs. Second, the decentralization reform was not enough since it did not concede more tax autonomy to states and no other mechanisms were implemented to maintain states accountable for their health expenditure decisions.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Buffoni Laura , Cardone Andrea

La rappresentanza politica delle "istituzioni territoriali" della Repubblica in Istituzioni del federalismo, n. 1 , 47-86

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Jamie Boex, Benjamin Edwards

The (Mis-) Measurement of Fiscal Decentralization in Developing and Transition Countries - Accounting for Devolved and Nondevolved Local Public Sector Spending in Public Finance Review, Volume 44, Issue 6 , 788-810

There is an extensive literature on the impact of fiscal decentralization on economic growth, development, and public sector effectiveness. However, the empirical literature on fiscal decentralization has exclusively focused on measuring the finances of elected or “devolved” local governments. Other types of decentralized expenditures, including deconcentrated and delegated expenditures, have been systematically excluded from measurement and analysis in the public finance and development literature. Our analysis considers the extent to which using devolved expenditures as a proxy for all devolved expenditures may have impacted the findings of the empirical literature. We collect comprehensive vertical expenditure profiles for health and education services in twenty-nine developing and transition countries and find that by exclusively focusing on devolution, previous analyses have overlooked two-thirds of local public sector expenditures. By excluding these “nondevolved” decentralized expenditures, the previous (often inconclusive) empirical analyses are likely to have suffered from omitted-variable bias.



Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

David Edward and Niamh Nic Shuibhne

"While Europe's Eye is Fix'd on Mighty Things": Implications of the Brexit Vote for Scotland
in *European Law Review*, Volume 41, issue 4 , 481-483

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Minto Rachel, Hunt Jo, Keating Michael, MCGowan Lee

A Changing UK in a Changing Europe: The UK State between European Union and Devolution
in *Political Quarterly* , Volume 87, Issue 2, april-june , pp. 179-186

Two issues currently dominate the UK's constitutional landscape: the UK's membership of the European Union (EU) on the one hand; and the unsettled constitutional settlements between the UK and the devolved administrations of Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland on the other. This article considers these two issues in concert. It stresses the distinct relationships between the EU and the devolved territories within the UK—concerning both devolved and non-devolved policy areas—highlighting the salience of a devolved perspective in any consideration of UK–EU relations. Despite its importance, sensitivity to this has been lacking. The article explores the implications of a 'Leave' or 'Remain' outcome on the future of the internal territorial dynamics within the UK. While there are too many unknowns to be certain of anything, that there will be knock-on effects is, however, beyond doubt.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Gavin Phillipson

A Dive into Deep Constitutional Waters: Article 50, the Prerogative and Parliament
in *Modern Law Review (the)*, volume 79, issue 6 , 1064-1089

This article analyses the Article 50 TEU debate and the argument that for the UK Government to trigger the formal withdrawal process without explicit parliamentary authorisation would be unlawful, because it would inevitably result in the removal of rights enjoyed under EU law and the frustration of the purpose of the statutes giving those rights domestic effect. After a brief survey of Article 50, this article argues first of all that the power to trigger Article 50 remains within the prerogative, contesting Robert Craig's argument in this issue that it is now a statutory power. It then suggests a number of arguments as to why the frustration principle may be of only doubtful application in this case, and in doing so it re-examines one of the key authorities prayed in aid of it - the Fire Brigades Union case.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Maria Kendrick



A Question of Sovereignty: Tax and the Brexit Referendum

in *King's Law Journal*, volume 27, issue 3 , 366-374

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Alan Dashwood

After the Deluge

in *European Law Review*, Volume 41, issue 4 , 469-470

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Jean-François Gaudreault-DesBiens

Algunos de los desafíos legales y políticos que debe afrontar el movimiento de independencia de Quebec

in *Teoria y realidad constitucional*, no. 37 , 135-162

El movimiento secesionista de Quebec, uno de los más antiguos de ese tipo en un país democrático, continúa suscitando interés en otras partes del mundo. Pero este movimiento actualmente se enfrenta importantes desafíos. El objetivo principal de este artículo es de proporcionar a sus lectores una visión general de algunos de los principales obstáculos políticos y legales que afronta en la actualidad el movimiento independentista de Quebec. El primero obstáculo se debe poner en relación con el marco legal aplicable al intento de secesión provincial desde la decisión de 1998, del Tribunal Supremo de Canadá en la Reference re Secession of Quebec. El segundo se encuentra en el impacto potencial del proceso del reciente referéndum en Escocia sobre la estrategia del movimiento secesionista de Quebec. El tercero se creó como consecuencia de la división interna de este movimiento. Por último, se estudia una nueva pretendida base legal para reivindicar la secesión, es decir, el denominado «derecho a decidir», en tanto distinto del derecho a la auto-determinación externa.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Nathalie Behnke, Sabine Kropp

Arraying institutional layers in federalism reforms: lessons from the German case

in *Regional and Federal Studies*, Volume 26, Issue 5 , 585-602

The introductory article to this Special Issue offers an analytical framework for investigating federal reforms. By looking through the lens of institutional theory, it provides an avenue for grasping the basic mechanisms which are at work in reform processes. It is argued that the German case which comprises three distinct reform steps stretching out over more than one decade represents an especially suitable example for understanding the general logics of federal reform. As a “prototype” of sequential, asynchronous reforms, it allows for generating theoretical insights beyond the findings of a single case study. The article reveals that layering, sequencing, and the linkage of different arenas are the most



relevant aspects to be considered when examining federal reforms. Finally, it is established how the contributions to this Special Issue refer to the analytical categories worked out in this introduction.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Takis Tridimas

Article 50: An Endgame without an End?

in *King's Law Journal*, volume 27, issue 3 , 297-313

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

SANDRA LEÓN and LLUIS ORRIOLS

Asymmetric federalism and economic voting

in *European Journal of Political Research*, Volume 55, Issue 4 , 847–865

Although federal arrangements adopt a multiplicity of forms across and within federations, this article suggests that some models of power division are better than others at enhancing clarity of responsibility and electoral accountability. This conclusion is the result of exploring responsibility attribution and economic voting in a state where decentralisation arrangements vary across regions: the Spanish State of Autonomies. Using electoral surveys and aggregated economic data for the 1982–2012 period, the empirical analysis shows that regional economic voting is most pronounced in regions where decentralisation design concentrated authority and resources at one level of government, whereas it is inexistent in regions where devolution followed a more intertwined model of power distribution. The implication of the empirical findings is that the specific design of intergovernmental arrangements is crucial to make electoral accountability work in federations.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Rossi Marcello

Autonomie locali e Costituzione

in *Il Ponte*, numero 7, 2016

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Peeters Patrick , Haljan David

Belgium's Sixth State Reform: The State of the Nation(s)

in *European public Law*, Volume 22 - Issue 3 , 411–438



No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Dodeigne Jérémy, Gramme Pierre, Reuchamps Min, Sinardet Dave

Beyond linguistic and party homogeneity. Determinants of Belgian MPs' preferences on federalism and state reform

in *Party Politics*, Volume 22, Issue 4, July , 427-439

Political parties are often thought of as unitary actors that have consistent preferences. This 'hidden assumption' means that heterogeneity within parties, and therefore intra-party dynamics, are overlooked in explaining attitudes. When it comes to devolution and federalisation, parties or MPs belonging to the same region are also often implicitly considered to have homogeneous viewpoints and attitudes. Relying on an original survey of MPs carried out during the Belgian political gridlock of 2010–2011, this article uncovers some of the key dimensions of the intra-party dynamics through analysis of MPs' preferences towards institutional reform in Belgium. Far from being explained along party or community lines, our results demonstrate how MPs' political and sociological background, national/regional identity, political career, and inter-community relations strongly shape their preferences.

Full text available online at <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/1354068814550429>

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Sionaidh Douglas-Scott

Brexit, Article 50 and the Contested British Constitution

in *Modern Law Review (the)*, volume 79, issue 6 , 1019-1040

This article discusses the early stages of the Art 50 TEU process, and those aspects that relate most clearly to British constitutional law. Its overarching theme is that the Brexit process is rendered highly problematic by the lack of any coherent conception of the British Constitution. Different parties settle on interpretations of constitutional law that support their case, but often there is no determinative answer. Three broad issues are examined in order to substantiate this claim: the EU Referendum, the triggering of Article 50, and the Devolution aspect of Brexit. I argue that each of these issues reveals tensions and competing constitutional interpretations that suggest that the British Constitution is ill-equipped to deal with Brexit.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Dora Kostakopoulou

Brexit, Voice and Loyalty: Reflections on Article 50 TEU

in *European Law Review*, Volume 41, issue 4 , 487-489

No abstract available



Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Francesca Rosa

Brexit, il divorzio del secolo

in *Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo*, no. 3 , 819-830

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Vernon Bogdanor

Brexit, the Constitution and the Alternatives

in *King's Law Journal*, volume 27, issue 3 , 314-322

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Fergal Davis

Brexit, the Statute of Westminster 1931 and Zombie Parliamentary Sovereignty

in *King's Law Journal*, volume 27, issue 3 , 344-353

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Paul Craig

Brexit: A Drama in Six Acts

in *European Law Review*, Volume 41, issue 4 , 447-468

The referendum concerning the UK's membership of the EU took place on 23 June 2016, resulting in a majority voting to leave the EU. This article traces developments in this area in six stages. It begins with an explanation of why the Prime Minister promised a referendum in 2013; this is followed by the significance of the balance of competence review conducted by the coalition government; the focus then shifts to the PM's renegotiation with the EU after his electoral success in 2015; there is then discussion of the issues that shaped the referendum debate; the final two parts address respectively the political and legal fall-out from the referendum.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Robert Craig

Casting Aside Clanking Medieval Chains: Prerogative, Statute and Article 50 after the EU Referendum



in *Modern Law Review (the)*, volume 79, issue 6 , 1041-1063

This article confronts the controversies surrounding Article 50 by analysing the relationship between statute and prerogative in the UK. The piece focuses on domestic constitutional issues and suggests a new way of classifying the relationship between statute and prerogative into two types falling under 'the abeyance principle' or 'the frustration principle'. The abeyance principle means that where statute and prerogative overlap, the prerogative goes into abeyance. The frustration principle means that where statute and prerogative give rise to potential inconsistencies, but do not overlap, the prerogative cannot be used inconsistently with the intention of parliament as expressed in the relevant legislation. It then argues that Article 50 has the status of primary or 'primary-equivalent' legislation which could justify applying the abeyance principle. This would mean that the trigger power would be exercised on statutory authority rather than through prerogative powers. If the courts are unable thus to construe the relevant legislation it argues EU law requires the courts to bridge the gap. Alternatively, if the abeyance principle is not applicable, it argues the frustration principle could apply but the circumstances in this litigation fall outside it. In the further alternative, EU law could require the frustration principle itself to be set aside in this case.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Víctor Ferreres Comella

Cataluña y el derecho a decidir

in *Teoría y realidad constitucional*, no. 37 , 461-475

En el discurso político dominante en Cataluña se ha afianzado la idea de que los ciudadanos son titulares de un «derecho a decidir». Este derecho se puede entender en un sentido fuerte, como el derecho a decidir la separación de Cataluña del resto de España, o en un sentido débil como el derecho de los ciudadanos a ser consultados al respecto. Ahora bien, no existen razones convincentes para postular la existencia de este derecho.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Joan Oliver Araujo

Cataluña, entre la autonomía y la autodeterminación (una propuesta)

in *Teoría y realidad constitucional*, no. 37 , 221-248

La tesis que acabamos de exponer y que consideramos acertada, esto es, que el Estado autonómico español debe transformarse en un Estado federal siguiendo el modelo alemán, quedaría, sin embargo, muy incompleta si no pusiéramos sobre la mesa el hecho de que los nacionalistas catalanes y vascos consideran totalmente insuficiente el modelo federal, que está lejos de dar satisfacción a sus deseos de autogobierno. Cataluña y el País Vasco, se quiera o no se quiera, guste o no guste, son Comunidades Autónomas (ahora el nombre es lo de menos) distintas a las otras quince. Son verdaderas naciones que, a diferencia de aquellas, quieren un grado de autonomía (siempre) mayor. Resulta evidente, en estos momentos, la manifiesta insuficiencia del modelo federal clásico para aquellos dos territorios, por una parte, y la necesidad de buscar con urgencia una fórmula realista de convivencia estable dentro del Estado español, por otra. Nuestra propuesta —a través de una reforma constitucional— se puede concretar en la fórmula del «federalismo asimétrico» o «federalismo dual», que implicaría el reconocimiento constitucional de un estatus jurídico específico a Cataluña y al País Vasco a modo de Estados-libres-asociados, que les otorgase a ambos



el máximo autogobierno compatible con el Estado español. De este modo, el Estado Federal español estaría integrado, por una parte, por quince «Estados-miembros» o Estados-federados de régimen común y, por otra, por dos «Estados-libres-asociados».

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Paloma Biglino Campos

Cataluña, federalismo y pluralismo político

in *Teoría y realidad constitucional*, no. 37 , 449-459

Históricamente, el federalismo nace en Estados Unidos estrechamente ligado a la necesidad de garantizar el pluralismo político y social. El texto analiza las quiebras que esta relación está experimentando en el proceso soberanista que ha comenzado en Cataluña. La idea de nación invocada por los sectores independentistas, la lectura plebiscitaria de las elecciones de 27 de septiembre de 2015 y la tramitación parlamentaria de la declaración de independencia debilitan la pluralidad que caracteriza a las organizaciones territoriales compuestas. Ahora bien, estos acontecimientos tienen que ser analizados también en un contexto más amplio, esto es, teniendo en cuenta la forma de gobierno que se ha implantado en nuestras Comunidades Autónomas y la manera en que se configuran las instituciones del Estado central. En las primeras, la relación entre el gobierno y el parlamento se ha desequilibrado en favor de los ejecutivos, propiciando un predominio del presidente que premia a las mayorías en perjuicio de los derechos de las minorías. En el caso del Estado, es preciso acometer una reforma profunda de la Constitución y de normas infra constitucionales, con el objetivo de incrementar la capacidad integradora de la entidad central y dar respuesta a algunas de las reivindicaciones que, originarias de Cataluña, son compatibles con los presupuestos del federalismo en un Estados sociales y democrático de Derecho.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Giulio Citroni, Giulia Falcone, Maria Tullia Galanti

Chi vivrà vedrà. Le aree metropolitane tra Legge Delrio e referendum costituzionale

in *Rivista Italiana di Politiche Pubbliche*, numero 3 , 373-398

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Marlin Marguerite

Concepts of “Decentralization” and “Federalization” in Ukraine: Political Signifiers or Distinct Constitutionalist Approaches for Devolutionary Federalism?

in *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, Volume 22, Issue 3, 2016 , 278-299

Abstract

While the implementation of decentralization in Ukraine holds promise for improving the weak state of consociationalism



there, the framing of the issue along regionally distinct lines persists. After a discussion of how preferences for “decentralization” over “federalization” have been inspired in Ukraine, the article evaluates the significance of these terms beyond sociopolitical stratification, that is, their relevance for constitutional reform of unitary states. Belgium and Spain, two countries that transitioned from unitary states to federal and decentralized systems (respectively) are viewed as instructive cases here. Overall, it is found that either approach abets successful devolutionary federalism if accompanied by ongoing, underlying measures to improve consociationalism.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Basta Karlo, Bustikova Lenka

Concession and Secession: Constitutional Bargaining Failure in Post-Communist Czechoslovakia
in *Swiss Political Science Review - Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft - Revue suisse de science politique*, Volume 22, Issue 4, December , pp. 470-490

This article explains the dissolution of Czechoslovak federation. It shows that the breakdown in bargaining between Slovakia and the federal center in Prague resulted from the federal institutional framework, differences in fiscal policy preferences and elite patronage incentives to monopolize the spoils of state property sell-offs. Relatively less developed minority regions often seek greater autonomy in order to redress their economic backwardness through interventionist economic and social policies. Due to its veto powers, Slovakia was able to block central legislation, setting the stage for the divorce. At the same time, the federal government in the center was committed to a laissez-faire strategy of governance, which precluded any significant accommodation of the periphery. (Mostly) Czech politicians understood that yielding to Slovak claims would threaten to undercut their pro-market strategy and diminish Prague's exclusive access to the spoils of market reforms. In terms of the bargaining model, the center was not dependent on the periphery, which possessed a credible exit option. In fact, the periphery was perceived as a hindrance to the center's ability to pursue its fiscal goals and a fast economic transition, and as limiting Prague's exclusive access to a nascent revolving door between the upper echelons in politics and business.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Juan F. López Aguilar

Cuestión catalana y crisis constitucional
in *Teoría y realidad constitucional*, no. 37 , 273-308

El edificio constitucional inaugurado en España en 1978 rechina hoy por todas las costuras. Tras casi 40 años, urge rehabilitarlo, y eso exige reformarlo. Reforzar la democracia —maltrecha, como los derechos, por el manejo de esta crisis que hemos dado en llamar «Gran Recesión» europea—, restablecer el crédito de la política y relanzar al mismo tiempo su capacidad de integrar la pluralidad y el conflicto, son objetivos que demandan un pacto constitucional que actualice el que se hizo hace ya tanto tiempo. Y un pacto federal que asuma —va siendo hora— la maduración de nuestra diversidad identitaria, que es la de los españoles en esta primera mitad del siglo XXI.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization



Netra Eng, Sophal Ear

Decentralization Reforms in Cambodia

in *ASEAN Economic Bulletin*, Volume 33, Number 2, August 2016 , pp. 209-223

Change and continuity in decentralization reforms in Cambodia varied widely since the end of the Khmer Rouge period. During the immediate aftermath, local actors had substantial power and discretion over services and revenues as a result of constraints at the time. We assess Cambodia's formal decentralization reform and its outcomes for accountability and democracy after decentralized institutions and elected councils were created at the commune and district levels in 2002 and 2009, respectively. We explain the political significance of the reform from the perspective of the government and leaders of the ruling party and the extent to which decentralization fits in with the party's strategy for legitimacy. The outcomes of decentralization reforms for accountability and democracy were shallow even though local elections and participatory governance were institutionalized. The decentralized actors were constrained in their responsiveness and accountability to local citizens due to their lack of authority and autonomy over key service delivery functions and resources.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Filippetti Andrea, Sacchi Agnese

Decentralization and economic growth reconsidered: The role of regional authority

in *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, Volume 34, Issue 8, December , 1793-1824

Most of the empirical analysis explores the relationship between fiscal decentralization and economic growth within an institutional void. This paper investigates the connection between fiscal decentralization and economic growth in different institutional settings in 21 OECD countries over the period 1970–2010. We find that the pro-growth effects of fiscal decentralization depend critically on the authority of sub-national governments: tax decentralization leads to higher (lower) rates of economic growth when coupled with high (low) administrative and political decentralization. Tax decentralization is more conducive for growth if sub-national taxes accrue mostly from autonomous revenues such as property taxes. Overall, this provides evidence of institutional complementarities at work among decentralization dimensions leading to relevant insights for policy implications.

Full text available online at <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/0263774X16642230>

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Ninh Kim N.B., Arnold Matthew

Decentralization in Myanmar: A Nascent and Evolving Process

in *ASEAN Economic Bulletin*, Volume 33, Number 2, August 2016 , pp. 224-241

Under the 2008 Constitution and following the 2010 elections marking Myanmar's historic transition from military rule, the country began a series of decentralization reforms. Sub-national governance is now based on fourteen state and region governments, with more opportunities for public inputs at the local level. Myanmar, however, remains a highly centralized state: 25 per cent of national and sub-national parliamentary seats are constitutionally mandated for the military. Furthermore, the state and region governments have no civil service of their own and must rely on national ministries. While even the military now concedes that the country's future lies in some form of federalism, what that



means will be highly contested given the history of ethnic armed conflicts. Meanwhile, state and region governments are becoming more active in defining their own policies, developments that the new National League for Democracy-led government has promised to

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Unger Danny, Mahakanjana Chandra

Decentralization in Thailand

in ASEAN Economic Bulletin, Volume 33, Number 2, August 2016 , pp. 172-187

While close to 8,000 local bodies operate in provinces, municipalities, and sub-districts, Thailand is a highly centralized state. This is largely due to control over provincial and district level governments by the powerful Ministry of Interior (Moi). In the late 1990s, substantial political and fiscal decentralization reforms were introduced. In particular, the 1999 Decentralization Plan and Procedures Act called for the establishment of a National Decentralization Committee and the formulation of a Decentralization Master Plan. However, with civil society and political parties generally weak, political and policy processes have often been dominated by actors who mistrust decentralization processes. Due to this, the administrative structure overseen by the central Moi has remained in place and become intertwined with the strengthened institutions of political decentralization. While they may seem to be opposed to each other, it is possible that these two distinct systems of accountability may complement, rather than compete, with each other.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Reiter Renate, Kuhlmann Sabine

Decentralization of the French welfare state: from 'big bang' to 'muddling through'

in International Review of Administrative Sciences , Volume 82, Issue 2

This article analyses the decentralization of the French welfare state focusing on the transfer of the Revenu minimum d'insertion (RMI) welfare benefit to the departments in 2003 and 2004. We map and explain the effects of the reform on the system and performance of the subnational provision of welfare tasks. To evaluate the impact of decentralization on the RMI-related action of the departments, we carry out a qualitative document analysis and use data from two case studies. The RMI decentralization offers an exemplary insight into the incremental implementation of French decentralization. We find many unintended effects in terms of the performance and outcome of the subnational welfare provision. This is traced back to the combining of institutional and policy reforms and the inadequate translation of high political expectations into an inadequate action programme both resulting in excessive demands on the local actors.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Ebinger Falk , Richter Philipp

Decentralizing for performance? A quantitative assessment of functional reforms in the German Länder

in International Review of Administrative Sciences , Volume 82, Issue 2

No abstract available



Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Alberto López Basaguren

Demanda de secesión en Cataluña y sistema democrático. El procés a la luz de la experiencia comparada in Teoría y realidad constitucional, no. 37 , 163-185

Este trabajo analiza el proceso político en torno a la demanda de secesión que se viene desarrollando en Cataluña y, en concreto, el argumento del principio democrático en el que los demandantes de la autodeterminación se apoyan para fundamentar su derecho a decidir su futuro como comunidad política. Este análisis se realiza a la luz de la experiencia de otros países, especialmente de Canadá, en los que se han dado demandas similares y con ese mismo argumento.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Richards David, Smith Martin J

Devolution in England, the British Political Tradition and the Absence of Consultation, Consensus and Consideration

in **Representation**, Volume 51, Issue 4 , pp. 385-401

This article explores the nature of devolution unfolding in England following on from the September 2014 Scottish Referendum. It argues that the process of devolution can best be understood as one of elite co-option. Limited attention is being paid to the interest of citizens and the nature of the process to date reveals little evidence to suggest that the existing structures of power in the British political system are being challenged. These dynamics are explained through the conceptual lens offered by the British political tradition (BPT), which stresses the importance the Westminster class places on maintaining central power and control in the context of current devolutionary pressures. This is revealed by the absence from the devolutionary agenda of any meaningful, subsidiarity-informed democratic settlement. The article concludes by suggesting that what is unfolding is a process of economic and administrative rather than democratically informed devolution which will do little to arrest the rise of 'anti-politics'.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

David Schneiderman

Dividing Power in the First and Second British Empires: Revisiting Durham's Imperial Constitution in Review of Constitutional Studies/Revue d'études constitutionnelles, volume 20, issue 2 , 169-189

In his Report on the Affairs of British North America, Lord Durham proposed that "internal" government be placed in the hands of the colonists themselves and that a short list of subjects be reserved for Imperial control. Janet Aizenstat maintains that Durham did not intend to formally restrict the authority of the new colonial legislature by dividing power. This paper argues otherwise: that Durham's recommendation fell squarely within a tradition of distinguishing between the internal and external affairs of the colony. This was the imprecise but pragmatic distinction that American colonists invoked during the Stamp Act crisis as a means



of curtailing imperial authority over internal taxation while maintaining their allegiance to the British Crown. It also was a division that

Charles Buller relied upon in a constitution for New South Wales that he proposed prior to sailing to Canada as Durham's principal secretary. Durham likely was drawing upon this tradition when he made his recommendation, a distinction that began to crumble away almost immediately. In the result, Canadians inherited a robust semblance of self-government, just as colonists during the Stamp Act crisis had desired, but without the need for revolution.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Steytler Nico

Domesticating the Leviathan: Constitutionalism and Federalism in Africa

in *African Journal of International and Comparative Law*, Volume 24, Issue 2, , 272–292

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

García Morales María Jesús

El Gobierno central y los Gobiernos autonómicos en España ...¿Trabajan juntos?

in *Istituzioni del federalismo*, n. 1 , 117 -162

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Josep Maria Castellà Andreu

El Referéndum sobre el Brexit: una historia inacabada

in *Revista de derecho politico*, no. 97 , 297-334

En el artículo se analiza el referéndum sobre la pertenencia o salida del Reino Unido en la UE del 23 de junio de 2016, desde un punto de vista constitucional. Se repasan los antecedentes de utilización y propuesta de referéndum para temas relacionados con la Unión Europea, el proceso que va desde su anuncio en enero de 2013 por parte del primer ministro Cameron a su realización efectiva y el régimen jurídico aplicable al mismo, basado en una ley especial aprobada en diciembre de 2015, además de la Ley de partidos políticos, elecciones y referéndum de 2000. También se estudian los efectos de su resultado sobre el sistema político y los partidos británicos, la democracia representativa británica y el lugar que ocupa el referéndum en la misma, la unidad del Reino Unido, con particular atención a la posibilidad de un segundo referéndum en Escocia sobre la independencia, así como finalmente los efectos sobre el futuro del proyecto de integración europeo y su influencia en otros Estados miembros. Aunque se trata de un referéndum sobre un tema de indudable relevancia constitucional, según estableció la Cámara de los Lores en un informe sobre el referéndum en el Reino Unido de 2010, el primer ministro Cameron lo convocó, una vez ganadas las elecciones de la Cámara de los Comunes de 2015 con mayoría absoluta, para trasladar a los electores la resolución a



las divisiones internas conservadoras.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

José Tudela Aranda

El derecho a decidir y el principio democrático

in *Teoría y realidad constitucional*, no. 37 , 477-497

Decidida la independencia, las fuerzas políticas partidarias de la misma, tenían que encontrar la manera de poder encauzar sus aspiraciones. No teniendo cauce ni en derecho interno ni el derecho internacional, se buscó ese cauce en el principio democrático mediante la construcción del llamado derecho a decidir. Un derecho a decidir que suponía, en esencia, reducir el principio democrático a un solo acto electoral, con reglas establecidas unilateralmente. En este artículo se pretende desmentir tanto la oposición entre principio de legalidad y principio democrático como la propia ortodoxia democrática del derecho a decidir. Junto a ello, se argumenta que en ningún caso resulta posible constitucionalizar, normativizar, un derecho de autodeterminación. Más allá de su naturaleza difícilmente compatible con la esencia de cualquier orden constitucional, las dificultades de fijar las condiciones concretas de su ejercicio, lo antojan imposible. No en vano, ningún ordenamiento jurídico del mundo lo reconoce.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

María Josefa Ridaura Martínez

El proceso de independencia de Cataluña: su visión desde la Comunidad Valenciana

in *Teoría y realidad constitucional*, no. 37 , 381-404

Este trabajo aborda el proceso independentista de Cataluña desde la perspectiva de la Comunidad Valenciana; analizando, por un lado, la respuesta que se ha ofrecido institucionalmente a la Declaración del Parlamento de Cataluña que inicia el «proceso de desconexión de España». Por otro, estudia la incidencia de dicho proceso en el marco de una Comunidad dual, que no ha manifestado ni política ni sociológicamente ningún conflicto entre su autonomismo —con su identidad propia— y su pertenencia al Estado.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Antonio Bar Cendón

El proceso independentista de Cataluña y la doctrina jurisprudencial: una visión sistemática

in *Teoría y realidad constitucional*, no. 37 , 187-220

Este trabajo realiza una ordenación y un análisis sistemáticos de las decisiones adoptadas por el Tribunal Constitucional sobre el conjunto de las actuaciones de la Generalitat de Cataluña conducentes a la consecución de la independencia de esta Comunidad Autónoma, a partir del año 2013. Se trata de autos y sentencias que han producido una doctrina constitucional relevante, tanto sobre aspectos directamente afectados por el proceso independentista catalán —la soberanía de la nación española, la primacía de la Constitución, el referéndum—, como con respecto a otras cuestiones tangenciales. La conclusión del Tribunal Constitucional es que ni las mencionadas actuaciones de la



Generalitat de Catalunya conducentes a la consecució de la independència de esta Comunidad Autónoma, ni los instrumentos jurídicos utilizados hasta el presente con ese fin, tienen cabida ni en la Constitución Española de 1978 ni en el vigente Estatuto de Autonomía de Catalunya que de aquélla se deriva.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Canal Jordi

El pujolismo o la renacionalización de Catalunya: una lectura política
in *Cuadernos de pensamiento político*, n. 50, Abril/Junio

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Alan Page

El referéndum de independencia escocés
in *Teoría y realidad constitucional*, no. 37, 437-448

El 18 de septiembre de 2014 Escocia votó negativamente a la cuestión «¿Debe ser Escocia un país independiente?»; de esta forma decidió continuar formando parte del Reino Unido. El margen de victoria del resultado del «no» fue más amplio que lo que parecían anticipar los momentos finales de la campaña del referéndum, aunque no tanto como para sugerir que la cuestión del futuro de Escocia dentro del Reino Unido había sido decidido de una vez para siempre. En estas notas se tratará de explicar el proceso mediante el que llegó a celebrar dicho referéndum y lo que ocurrió a partir de entonces.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

A group of Spanish professors of Constitutional Law

Encuesta sobre la cuestión catalana
in *Teoría y realidad constitucional*, no. 37, 13-98

En esta encuesta un grupo de Catedráticos de Derecho Constitucional contestan un conjunto de preguntas sobre la situación jurídico-política en Catalunya y los desafíos constitucionales que plantea, especialmente en lo relativo a la posición de Catalunya en el Estado autonómico español, el movimiento independentista, el derecho a decidir, el Estatuto de Autonomía de Catalunya y la posibilidad de una reforma constitucional.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Klingelhöfer Tristan

Ensuring consistency across levels? The delegation model of multi-level party politics and Spanish framework manifestos



in **Party Politics**, Volume 22, Issue 4, July , 452-464

In multi-level systems, state-wide parties are faced with particular challenges. Competing in elections on multiple levels of the polity, such parties juggle the desire for national recognizability and the need to be responsive to regional particularities. In this paper, I reflect on the delegation model of multi-level party politics, which is a theoretical perspective of great importance in the literature, arguing that the accuracy of the model depends on two critical assumptions. Based on these theoretical considerations, I develop the model further and apply it to the case of the two main Spanish state-wide parties, the Partido Socialista Obrero Español (PSOE) and the Partido Popular (PP). More specifically, the programmatic positions of their regional branches are analyzed, and it is shown that the framework manifestos issued by the national party organizations shape these to a large extent. While this case is used to illustrate the illuminating potential of the extended delegation model, the paper is similarly attentive to the limitations of the model and also hints at the implications for our conception of democracy in multi-level systems. Full text available online at <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/1354068814550431>

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Datt Divya, Keswani Mehra Meeta

Environmental Policy in a Federation with Special Interest Politics and Inter-Governmental Grants

in **Environmental & Resource Economics**, Volume 64, Issue 4, August , 575-595

The paper explores the potential effect of intergovernmental grants (IGG) on sub-national (local) environmental policy in a federal structure. In the model, a politically-inclined local government receives campaign contributions from the polluters' lobby in return for lower pollution taxes. A benevolent federal government uses IGG as an incentive to reduce the resulting distortion in the local pollution tax. IGG are formulaic transfers that are conditional on pollution levels—lower pollution in a sub-national jurisdiction relative to others translates into a higher share of the grant and vice versa. In equilibrium, the grant effect reduces the distortion created in the pollution tax by the lobby effect, and may even lead to a higher than Pigouvian tax when the local government assigns a large enough weight on social welfare and/or when the grant is large enough. Further, IGG result in the tax levels of jurisdictions becoming interdependent in an interesting way. Environmental policies in two jurisdictions may become strategic complements or substitutes depending on their relative pollution levels. The possibility of strategic substitution implies that federal welfare may not increase even when environmental policy becomes stricter in one state.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Marco Di Giulio, Stefania Profeti

Eppur si muove? Il riordino territoriale oltre la crisi

in **Rivista Italiana di Politiche Pubbliche**, numero 3 , 311-340

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization



Koktsidis Pavlos I., Apostolou Menelaos

Ethnic Federalism and Power Sharing in Cyprus: Motives, Constraints, and Preconditions
in *Mediterranean Quarterly*, Volume 27, Number 3, September , pp.105-134

Negotiations for the settlement of the Cyprus question have resumed amid a pressing geopolitical and economic reality. Greek and Turkish Cypriots adopt distinct interpretations of the United Nations – designated recipe for a bicomunal and bizonal federation in Cyprus. In the relative absence of major normative preconditions for settlement, including a lack of common vision and mutual trust, the pillar notions of federalism and consociationalism have been adapted to serve each side's vital security concerns and to increase each side's leverage in a future federal arrangement in Cyprus. This study conducted an opinion poll of young, educated Greek Cypriots to identify the preferred type of constitutional settlement in the context of a number of perceived motives, constraints, and preconditions. The findings of this survey reveal substantial consensus on the acceptance of a bizonal, bicomunal solution. Yet acceptance of a federal solution is subject to certain prerequisites. The study reveals the varying influence of current economic concerns on a prospective solution.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Bell Jonathan PW, Stockdale Aileen

Examining participatory governance in a devolving UK: Insights from national parks policy development in Northern Ireland

in *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, Volume 34, Issue 8, December , 1516-1539

This paper provides a contemporary examination of policy making and participatory practice in the context of devolving governance in the UK. The paper takes Northern Ireland as its focus and is particularly timely considering the context of devolved governance, the ongoing transition from conflict to relative peace and the potential for rejuvenating democracy through participatory governance. The paper concentrates on one particular policy process, namely the attempted designation of a national park in the Mourne Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty. A thematic analysis of qualitative data is drawn upon to analyse the structural factors that framed the policy-making process, in particular the role of power in determining how consultation processes were initiated, designed and undertaken. Using Lukes' model as an analytical framework, power is shown to manifest at multiple levels within the policy-making process to influence policy outcomes. The paper reveals how the persistence of a top-down approach to policy development combined with a highly parochial political outlook undermined attempts to designate a Mourne National Park. The paper concludes that, given the immaturity of recently devolved government in Northern Ireland, in this instance, the democratising intentions of devolved governance have not been met. This has implications for Northern Ireland's recent reform of public administration which devolves certain planning powers to local authority level and the management of the internationally significant Mourne landscape.

Full text available online at <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/0263774X15625643>

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Ping Zhang, Chunkui Zhu, Yilin Hou

Fiscal Decentralization, Flat Administrative Structure, and Local Government Size: Evidence and Lessons from China



in **Public Administration and Development**, Volume 36, Issue 3 , 198-214

This paper examines the effects of fiscal decentralization and flat administrative structure on local budget size and program outlays. We test three related theoretical hypotheses in China's adoption of province-over-county scheme of financial administration. We provide evidence that both decentralization of expenditure and decentralization of revenue increase the size of local budgets; that the impact of the former far outweighs that of the latter with local budgets on a rising trajectory; and that discretion grants localities more means to increase their budget. These results show that as China's reform deepens the proportion of local outlay on administration declines because of more local discretion from eliminating the prefecture bypass between the province and counties. But neither decentralization nor increased local discretion has allocated more local resources for education, and both contribute to increasing outlay on economic development. The paper formulates tentative policy recommendations that carry potential application for other countries.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Viana Cecilia, Coudel Emilie, Barlow Jos, Ferreira Joice, Gardner Toby, Parry Luke

How Does Hybrid Governance Emerge? Role of the elite in building a Green Municipality in the Eastern Brazilian Amazon

in **European Environment/Environmental Policy and Governance**, Volume 26, Issue 5, September-October , 337-350

Decentralized governance can facilitate the participation of non-government actors in natural resource management. Yet efforts to increase participation can also enhance the power of existing elites. Here, we analyse the role of landowning elites in developing and operating a hybrid governance arrangement in response to the decentralization of anti-deforestation policy in the Brazilian Amazon. We employ a framework that permits examination of the role played by different actors, the rationale that promoted collaboration in the first place, and the distribution of power that shapes the still evolving governance arrangement. By engaging state and non-state actors in a hybrid governance partnership, the local landowning elite in Paragominas, a municipality in the Eastern Brazilian Amazon, successfully achieved the specific goals set by federal policies to be removed from a high deforestation 'Red List'. Yet the local governors, together with the rural elite, transformed the crisis generated by inclusion in the Red List into an opportunity to shift the rural economy on a path towards more legalized large-scale agriculture. By aligning production and conservation objectives, the project attracted medium and large landowners, but also failed to prevent—and potentially exacerbated—the further marginalization of smallholders. Rural elites can effectively mobilize hybrid government arrangements in pursuit of their own interests while also producing wider benefits such as a more stimulated urban economy and strengthened environmental compliance. However, inclusion of more marginalized populations in this process remains a severe and largely unaddressed challenge.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Claudio Martinelli

I presupposti del referendum e i cleavages costituzionali aperti dalla Brexit

in **Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo**, no. 3 , 803-818

No abstract available



Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Giupponi Tommaso F.

Il "nuovo regionalismo" alla prova del referendum costituzionale

in *Istituzioni del federalismo*, n. 1 , 5 - 14

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Justin O. Frosini

Il referendum sulla Brexit: verso la dissoluzione del regno Unito?

in *Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo*, no. 3 , 831-836

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Silvia Bolgherini, Andrea Lippi, Sergio Maset

In mezzo al guado. La governance subregionale fra «vecchie» province e «nuove» aree vaste

in *Rivista Italiana di Politiche Pubbliche*, numero 3 , 341-372

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Dóra Sif Tynes and Elisabeth Lian Haugsdal

In, Out or In-between? The UK as a Contracting Party to the Agreement on the European Economic Area

in *European Law Review*, Volume 41, issue 5 , 753-765

The article examines the legal status of the UK as a contracting party to the Agreement on the European Economic Area (EEA Agreement) pre- and post-Brexit. To understand the legal nature of the EEA Agreement it is necessary to consider the historical context in which it was concluded. Furthermore, the institutional set-up of the Agreement, centred on the so-called two-pillar system, sets this Agreement apart from other association agreements concluded by the EU. Thus the decision-making procedures and the provisions related to the application and interpretation of the agreement rely on this two-pillar structure: the EU and EFTA and the respective institutions. The article then examines the nature of mixed agreements under EU law and how it applies to the EEA Agreement in the light of the division of competence between the EU and its Member States. The authors conclude that it is not de facto possible for the UK to remain a contracting party to the EEA Agreement without adhering to one of the two pillars, as it is the only way to have access to decision-making and to ensure the effective application and enforcement of EEA law.



Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Kai Ostwald, Yuhki Tajima, Krislert Samphantharak

Indonesia's Decentralization Experiment: Motivations, Successes, and Unintended Consequences
in *ASEAN Economic Bulletin*, Volume 33, Number 2, August 2016 , pp. 139-156

Since 2001, Indonesia has undergone a rapid and extensive programme of decentralization of governance and resources from the centre to local level. This devolution has created a new class of regional political elites and has shifted significant power back to sub-national levels in Indonesia's centuries' long history of centre-local tensions. While the political motivations of mitigating centrifugal pressures appear to be vindicated, the anticipated gains in service provision and downstream economic impacts have not uniformly materialized: efficiency gains in some regions have been offset by the widespread emergence of clientelistic practices and fiscal inefficiencies. Recent efforts towards limited administrative and political recentralization underscore the tension that remains between the centre and local governments.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Dave Guénette

Initier le processus constituant en contexte plurinational – Étude comparative des pouvoirs catalans et québécois de mettre en branle la procédure de révision constitutionnelle de leur État

in *Revista d'Estudis Autònomic i Federals*, no. 24 , 46-79

L'initiative de la révision constitutionnelle est la porte d'entrée du processus constituant. Son importance est d'une nature fondamentale, à plus forte raison dans un État plurinational. En effet, dans un tel contexte, les différents segments d'une société fragmentée devraient tous être en mesure d'initier le processus constituant, cette capacité étant alors synonyme d'une habileté à amorcer le dialogue entre nations. L'Espagne et le Canada sont tous deux des exemples d'États plurinationaux dans lesquels on retrouve une Constitution rigide avec des mécanismes d'initiative constitutionnelle bien définis. La comparaison de ces procédures d'initiative permettra de faire ressortir de quelles manières les États canadien et espagnol, soit respectent l'esprit du pacte constituant, soit rationalisent les effets de celui-ci, avec pour conséquences d'influencer directement le pouvoir d'initiative constitutionnelle du Québec et de la Catalogne. Plus globalement, cette recherche permettra aussi d'inscrire l'attitude des élites politiques canadienne et espagnole quant au pouvoir d'initiative de la révision constitutionnelle dans le contexte plus général de leur prise en compte des revendications de leurs nations minoritaires au sein de l'État plurinational.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Kuhlmann Sabine, Wayenberg Ellen

Institutional impact assessment in multi-level systems: conceptualizing decentralization effects from a comparative perspective

in *International Review of Administrative Sciences* , Volume 82, Issue 2



Comparative literature on institutional reforms in multi-level systems proceeds from a global trend towards the decentralization of state functions. However, there is only scarce knowledge about the impact that decentralization has had, in particular, upon the sub-central governments involved. How does it affect regional and local governments? Do these reforms also have unintended outcomes on the sub-central level and how can this be explained? This article aims to develop a conceptual framework to assess the impacts of decentralization on the sub-central level from a comparative and policy-oriented perspective. This framework is intended to outline the major patterns and models of decentralization and the theoretical assumptions regarding de-/re-centralization impacts, as well as pertinent cross-country approaches meant to evaluate and compare institutional reforms. It will also serve as an analytical guideline and a structural basis for all the country-related articles in this Special Issue.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Jean-Claude Piris

La Unión Europea, Cataluña y Escocia (Cuestiones jurídicas sobre las recientes tendencias secesionistas en los Estados Miembros de la UE)

in *Teoría y realidad constitucional*, no. 37 , 101-134

Este estudio surge de los acontecimientos producidos en 2014 y 2015 en Escocia (referéndum sobre la independencia) y en Cataluña («consulta informal» y elecciones autonómicas). En ambos casos, los movimientos secesionistas deseaban que un nuevo Estado nacido de la secesión llegara a ser (según ellos, «siguiera siendo») parte de la UE. Esta convicción les fortalece, ya que la UE es vista como un «refugio seguro», que permite la independencia sin la amenaza de quedar aislado. Los Tratados de la UE ni prevén ni prohíben la división de un Estado miembro. No obstante, para llegar a ser parte de la UE, la región secesionista debería primero ser reconocida como Estado por la comunidad internacional, y específicamente por los 28 Estados miembros de la UE (incluyendo España y el Reino Unido). Esto sería legalmente posible si el nuevo Estado naciera respetando completamente el Estado de Derecho, pero en cambio excluiría un «Estado» que hubiera declarado unilateralmente su independencia violando la Constitución nacional. Así, un nuevo Estado reconocido podría ser candidato a incorporarse a la UE. El autor muestra que debería seguirse el procedimiento del artículo 49 del Tratado de la UE y no el del artículo 48 (enmiendas a los Tratados). Tomando Escocia como ejemplo, el autor describe los pasos legales necesarios que deben darse después de la secesión. Señala que la división de un Estado de la UE ya no debería verse como un asunto estrictamente nacional; dadas sus consecuencias sobre la UE en conjunto y sobre otros Estados miembros, es un asunto que no puede ser ignorado por la UE.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Labzaé Mehdi

Le fédéralisme ethnique au prisme de la formalisation des droits fonciers : le cas de la zone Majang (Gambella)

in *Politique africaine*, n° 142 , pp. 101-120

Construit sur la base d'une ethnographie de l'administration locale, cet article revient sur le conflit qui a frappé la zone Majang en 2014-2015 et éclaire certains modes d'ethnisation du politique dans l'Éthiopie contemporaine. Irréductibles au seul système institutionnel ethno-fédéral, les tensions s'ancrent dans des rapports à la terre divergents entre groupes sociaux, résultats de pratiques agricoles différentes, des politiques foncières asymétriques de l'État et de la pluralité des



systèmes de droits fonciers. Les dissensions sont réactivées par les politiques agricoles actuelles du Front démocratique révolutionnaire des peuples éthiopiens (Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front, EPRDF), et notamment par la formalisation de ces droits fonciers.

Ethnic Federalism as Seen Through the Formalization of Land Rights : the Case of the Majang Zone (Gambella)

The ethnography of local administration offers insights into the ethnicization of politics in contemporary Ethiopia. This article takes the conflict that erupted in 2014 in the Majang zone as a case study. Tensions should not be credited solely to the ethnofederal institutional framework, but are informed by contrasted agricultural practices and land use patterns, the state's unbalanced land policies, and a plurality of land rights systems. Today, the formalisation of land rights and broader EPRDF agricultural policies rekindle tensions.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Javier Tajadura Tejada

Los procesos secesionistas y el derecho europeo

in *Teoría y realidad constitucional*, no. 37 , 347-379

Este artículo analiza en primer lugar el significado de la secesión en el Derecho Internacional y en el Derecho Constitucional. Asimismo, examina cómo se aborda el fenómeno de la secesión en el Derecho comunitario europeo. Esto obliga a estudiar dos tipos de problemas: por un lado, el de la secesión de un Estado miembro respecto de la propia Unión; por otro, el de la fragmentación de un Estado miembro por la secesión de una parte de su territorio. La conclusión es que la conservación o fragmentación de un Estado miembro de la Unión Europea no es un asunto interno: la secesión de partes de un territorio afecta al sistema político europeo en su conjunto, en la medida en que es una forma de integración federal donde no caben actos unilaterales que quebranten el principio de lealtad federal de la Unión y la ciudadanía europea que ha ido conformándose en las últimas décadas.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Josu de Miguel Bárcena

Manual para construir un estado (los informes del Consejo Asesor para la Transición Nacional de Cataluña)

in *Teoría y realidad constitucional*, no. 37 , 499-527

La pretensión de este trabajo es analizar los informes del Consejo Asesor para la Transición Nacional de Cataluña. El Consejo de Transición Nacional es un órgano creado por la Generalidad de Cataluña en 2013, para asesorar a las instituciones regionales en cuestiones jurídicas, políticas y económicas relacionadas con la creación de un Estado independiente. Metodológicamente, se ha utilizado un concepto ontológico de poder constituyente, priorizando aquellos aspectos que en los informes estudian las distintas dimensiones del proceso democrático para legitimar la secesión, la posible declaración unilateral de independencia, la formación y construcción del futuro Estado catalán y, desde una perspectiva institucional, las consecuencias nacionales e internacionales de la autodeterminación.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government



Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Benjamin Andrew Chupp

Monetary decentralization in the United States: is there a case for multiple currencies?

in *Journal of Economic Studies*, Volume 43 Issue 4 , 535-548

Purpose

When sectoral shocks hit a large, regionally heterogeneous economy, it is likely that regions with sectoral specialization will be affected in different ways. In these cases, it might be optimal for the country to decentralize the currency into a number of regional currencies, thus allowing for differentiated monetary policy. The paper aims to discuss these issues.

Design/methodology/approach

The author explicates the potential benefits and costs to decentralization. The author also highlights characteristics that should be satisfied in order to consider multiple currencies. This paper uses a theoretical and empirical model to test if the USA contains regional optimal currency areas. The author tests five potential divisions of the states into monetary subunions.

Findings

One of these divisions is proven to result in higher welfare (a 2 percent increase) than the status quo national monetary union. Thus, the USA is not an optimal currency area, and monetary decentralization could be a feasible and welfare-improving option for future policy.

Originality/value

There have been no previous studies of monetary divisions. Given the importance of fiscal decentralization, it is important to also understand the implications of monetary decentralization.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Bruno de Witte

Near-Membership, Partial Membership and the EU Constitution

in *European Law Review*, Volume 41, issue 4 , 471-474

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Panos Koutrakos

Negotiating International Trade Treaties after Brexit

in *European Law Review*, Volume 41, issue 4 , 475-480



No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

SoRelle Mallory E., Walker Alexis N.

Partisan Preemption: the Strategic use of Federal Preemption Legislation

in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, vol. 46, n. 4, Fall , 486-509

Federal preemption by both parties has risen dramatically since the 1960s. Scholars note that Democrats and Republicans routinely employ preemption to advance partisan political goals, but we know very little about how each party uses this tool of federal power. Are policymakers from both parties employing preemption in similar ways, or do strategic partisan differences exist? Using an original dataset, we show that Democrats and Republicans systematically vary in their use of preemption. Democrats put forward preemption legislation that maximizes regulation by mandating a floor of protection across the states, particularly for policies that promote consumer protection and expand civil rights. In contrast, Republicans enact preemptions that cap regulation by utilizing ceilings that curtail the states' ability to regulate, particularly for business and commerce policy. Ultimately, both parties have enhanced federal power and limited state authority, but they do so in dramatically different ways and for vastly different political goals.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Luciano Parejo Alfonso

Pluralismo territorial y constitución

in *Teoria y realidad constitucional*, no. 37 , 249-271

Las llamadas cuestiones vasca y catalana (hoy, la segunda, en fase aguda) reclaman una actualización del orden constitucional en punto a la adecuación de la organización del Estado a la estructura plural de España, que ha de hacerse teniendo en cuenta las radicales transformaciones derivadas de la integración en la Unión Europea y la inserción en una comunidad internacional cada día más interdependiente y desde una doble reflexión. En el trabajo se apuntan —en sus líneas maestras— los aspectos más sobresalientes de la reforma o, en su caso, revisión constitucional que el autor considera más viable sobre la base del análisis tanto de la situación presente y mirando al futuro, como de la experiencia suministrada por la transición política, el consenso constitucional y el proceso de construcción del llamado Estado autonómico. Pero recordando que el éxito de tal empeño en el plano jurídico-constitucional depende de algo que está fuera de la potencia configuradora del Derecho —la regeneración de la vida política y social y de las instituciones y tiene una decisiva trascendencia para el funcionamiento de un Estado complejo como el español y, por tanto, la vitalidad y autenticidad del pluralismo territorial sin merma de la verdadera, por sustantiva (no formal), unidad constitucional.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Yeboah-Assiamah Emmanuel

Power to the People! How far has the Power Gone to the People? A Qualitative Assessment of Decentralization Practice in Ghana



in *Journal of Asian and African Studies* , Volume 51, Issue 6, December 2016 , 683–699

Decentralization is a concept well professed by political elites in Ghana yet there has been inadequate political will to transfer actual power, authority and resources to the district assemblies. Ghana's current decentralization was introduced in 1988 with a mesmeric mantra of 'power to the people', and the concept is now over two and half decades old. This paper examines the extent to which local government reform through decentralization has brought about any meaningful changed relationship between central and local governments in Ghana. This work adopts a retrospective analysis of policy documents and a critical stage review of the relevant literature on the theoretical suppositions and practical experience of decentralization practice. The appointment of assembly heads in Ghana makes the relationship a principal-agent typology. Decentralization is at best a theoretical ramification but its actual practice has been just minimal. The study provides a 'walk-the-talk' model that requires political will to address the key challenges of decentralization in Ghana.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Umberto Allegretti

**Presente e futuro delle autonomie regionali in Italia e in Europa
in *Regioni (Le)*, no. 1 , 11-46**

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Strelec Thamara

**Relações integovernmentais no contexto federativo brasileiro: trajetória, tendências e desafios
in *Cuadernos Manuel Giménez Abad*, n. 11, junio , 23-33**

This article seeks to understand the dynamics of intergovernmental relations in Brazil. Based on a literature review, we analyse their origins and historical demarcations, the changes introduced by the 1988 Constitution and the key initiatives of the subsequent governments: Fernando Henrique Cardoso (1995-2003) and Luis Inacio Lula da Silva (2003-2011). It was found that after an intense and incomplete process of political and administrative decentralization, promoted from 1988, intergovernmental relations were gradually incorporated by federal government federative coordination strategies, representing a centralizing tendency. Federal cooperation instruments and negotiations also emerged in recent decades, leading to the conclusion that centralization and decentralization, coordination and cooperation, represent forces which respond to the challenges of a complex federal architecture, in a country highly unequal and heterogeneous.

Full text available at

http://www.fundacionmgimenezabad.es/images/Documentos/Cuadernos/cuadernos11_junio_2016.pdf

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Christopher McCorkindale



Scotland and Brexit: The State of the Union and the Union State

in *King's Law Journal*, volume 27, issue 3 , 354-365

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

José Antonio Serrano Ortega

Sobre la revolución territorial de los pueblos. Diputación provincial y ayuntamientos en Guanajuato, 1822-1824

in *Relaciones (Messico)*, volume 37, no. 147 , 155-195

En este artículo me centro en la historia de la diputación provincial de Guanajuato. En estos dos años y un mes de funcionamiento institucional, los diputados de la junta provincial tuvieron como principal objetivo convertirse en la instancia que dominaba el gobierno político y administrativo de Guanajuato. ¿Cuál fue el desempeño institucional que les permitió ocupar la jerarquía territorial de Guanajuato?, ¿con quiénes se aliaron?, ¿qué procesos sociales y económicos facilitaron o impidieron la labor de la junta? Para responder a esas preguntas, en este artículo retomo y agrego muchas más líneas de investigación que cuestionan la pertinencia de usar el concepto historiográfico de la “revolución territorial de los pueblos” propuesto por Antonio Annino, a fin de entender la transición política entre la Nueva España y el México decimonónico.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Erik Longo, Giuseppe Mobilio

Territorial government reforms at the time of financial crisis: the dawn of metropolitan cities in Italy

in *Regional and Federal Studies*, Volume 26, Issue 4 , 509-530

On 1 January 2015 a new institution, the metropolitan city, took its place among the Italian territorial authorities. Despite its incorporation in the Italian Constitution since 2001, the metropolitan city become a reality only when the national government carried out a process of reform and transformation of Italian territorial government by transforming 10 large cities into metropolitan cities and depriving other intermediate governments (regions and provinces) of their fundamental competences. This article critically reviews the activation of metropolitan cities and the reshuffle of Italian territorial authorities. It stresses the way in which this reform marks the shift towards a new phase of Italian regionalism, which is dominated both by a dynamic of recentralizing intergovernmental relations and by the resulting loss for provincial and regional governments.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Shair-Rosenfield Sarah

The Causes and Effects of the Local Government Code in the Philippines: Locked in a Status Quo of Weakly Decentralized Authority?

in *ASEAN Economic Bulletin*, Volume 33, Number 2, August 2016 , pp. 157-171



In 1991, the Local Government Code (LGC) of the Philippines endowed three distinct levels of government with substantial policy authority. While the LGC was designed to encourage local government units to be more self-reliant and promote economic development programmes tailored to local needs, clan politics, wide-spread corruption, and local elite incompetence have constrained improvements in the delivery of services and growth. Despite decentralization's mixed record, the status quo established by the LGC has remained as a result of opposing pressures by empowered local elites and a central government averse to supplying them with additional power or resources. Efforts in recent years have instead focused on upgrading the quality of service delivery by improving local government reporting and accountability mechanisms, rather than addressing the structure of decentralization.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Bleddyn Davies

The EU Referendum: Who Were the British People?

in *King's Law Journal*, volume 27, issue 3 , 323-332

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Allan F. Tatham

The Legitimacy of Discriminatory Disenfranchisement? The Impact of the Rules on the Right to Vote in the Breain/Brexit Referendum

in *Perspectives on federalism*, volume 8, issue 1 , I-X

The Divisional Court of the Queen's Bench Division of the England and Wales High Court handed down its decision on 20 April 2016 in the judicial review case of *Shindler*. This ruling confirmed that British citizens living in other EU Member States for more than 15 years remain barred from voting in the June 2016 referendum.

The case sparks further consideration of the voting rules in general and may therefore be of interest to others in considering questions of legitimacy in respect of the eventual outcome of the popular vote on 23 June. Unlike other states, the UK has no established rules on referendums and each such popular vote (and the franchise for it) is therefore treated on an ad hoc basis. Fears have been expressed that the government could manipulate the outcome of a referendum, particularly in determining a different franchise for each popular vote.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Zdeb Aleksandra

The Need to Have Something 'Of Their Own': Croat Parallel Institutions in Bosnia and Herzegovina

in *Swiss Political Science Review - Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft - Revue suisse de science politique*, Volume 22, Issue 4, December , pp. 545-564

The asymmetrical, federal construction of Bosnia and Herzegovina has been contested by all groups, but it has particularly influenced a significant element of Croat politics in BiH – their need to create 'their own' entity. Not being



able to form a separate territorial unit, Croats created parallel institutions following the Herzeg-Bosna pattern: firstly in 2000, and again in 2011. This paper aims at analyzing the Croats' autonomist and secessionist politics in Bosnia and Herzegovina with special emphasis on the formation of parallel structures as a replacement strategy derived from the Croat inability to bring about a constitutional unit of their own. Using the model suggested in the introduction to this special issue, the problem is analyzed from the perspective of center-periphery dynamics in Bosnia and answers the question as to why territorial autonomy has been an impossible goal for Croats.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

The Need to Have Something 'Of Their Own': Croat Parallel Institutions in Bosnia and Herzegovina
in *Swiss Political Science Review - Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft - Revue suisse de science politique*, Volume 22, Issue 4, December , pp. 545-564

The asymmetrical, federal construction of Bosnia and Herzegovina has been contested by all groups, but it has particularly influenced a significant element of Croat politics in BiH – their need to create 'their own' entity. Not being able to form a separate territorial unit, Croats created parallel institutions following the Herzeg-Bosna pattern: firstly in 2000, and again in 2011. This paper aims at analyzing the Croats' autonomist and secessionist politics in Bosnia and Herzegovina with special emphasis on the formation of parallel structures as a replacement strategy derived from the Croat inability to bring about a constitutional unit of their own. Using the model suggested in the introduction to this special issue, the problem is analyzed from the perspective of center-periphery dynamics in Bosnia and answers the question as to why territorial autonomy has been an impossible goal for Croats.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Headlam Nicola, Hepburn Paul

The Old is Dying and the New Cannot be Born, in this Interregnum a Great Variety of Morbid Symptoms Appear.' How Can Local Government Survive this Interregnum and Meet the Challenge of Devolution?
in *Representation*, Volume 51, Issue 4 , pp. 403-415

Local Government in England has long bridled at the restraints on its activities imposed by an over centralised state. Yet now, with the Government proposing to devolve powers and responsibilities to newly established city region governance arrangements, is it a case of be careful what you wish for? In this paper we argue that the devolution from central government to local city regions marks the end of the old 'politics as usual' approach that has underpinned the resilience and effectiveness of the local government institution but failed to engage and energise local politics. In this context we pay particular attention to the Manchester model as the 'poster city' for devolution yet we question if even this model is sufficient to re-cast local relationships between market and state and state and citizen to enable devolution to bring real economic and social benefits to all in the city region. We conclude by suggesting there are empirical and theoretical grounds for alternative governance approaches more suitable to these times of interregnum.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization



Catherine Barnard

The Practicalities of Leaving the EU

in *European Law Review*, Volume 41, issue 4 , 484-486

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Michael Gordon

The UK's Sovereignty Situation: Brexit, Bewilderment and Beyond

in *King's Law Journal*, volume 27, issue 3 , 333-343

Debate about 'sovereignty' has become impossible to avoid in the UK's current, post-referendum but pre-Brexit, constitutional environment. Perhaps this is nothing new, and UK constitutionalism has always been shaped, quite explicitly and to a significant extent, by a captivation with the concept of sovereignty. Yet at the very least, the 2016 UK referendum on European Union (EU) membership has served as the centrepiece around which public and elite exchanges about legal and political dimensions of sovereignty have visibly intensified. In this context, this paper aims to reflect briefly and critically on the UK's present sovereignty situation, considering the use (and abuse) of the concept in debate about national membership of the EU, its relevance (and irrelevance) to the process through which we move to exit from the Union, and also the potential implications of Brexit for our often confused national understanding(s) of this idea.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Leonard Carol S., Nazarov Zafar, Vakulenko Elena S.

The impact of sub-national institutions: Recentralization and regional growth in the Russian Federation (2001–2008)

in *Economics of Transition*, Volume 24, Issue 3, July 2016 , 421–446

This paper assesses the effect of sub-national institutions on the economic performance of Russia's regions (oblasts, republics, krais and okrugs) from 2001 to 2008, a period of rapid economic advancement and recentralization. Approximating sub-national institutions with the RA Expert index of investment risk, we find that a reduction in investment risk by one standard deviation increases output by 1.4 percent in the short run and 11.9 percent in the long run, suggesting a substantial regional performance gap in government practices, despite intensive political recentralization. Assuming that the main components of effective governance are running satisfactory public health programmes aimed at decreasing overall mortality among the working-age population, creating fair labour market conditions and improving the regional institutional climate to encourage investment in fixed assets, we argue that sub-national institutions remain important for growth in post-Soviet Russia after 2000. This paper contributes to the literature on institutional persistence.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization



Guillaume Cheikbossian

The political economy of (De)centralization with complementary public goods

in *Social Choice and Welfare*, Volume 47, Issue 2 , 315-348

This paper provides a political economy analysis of (de)centralization when local public goods—with spillovers effects—can be substitutes or complements. Depending on the degree of complementarity between local public goods, median voters strategically delegate policy to either ‘conservative’ or to ‘liberal’ representatives under decentralized decision-making. In the first case, it accentuates the free-rider problem in public good provision, while it mitigates it in the second case. Under centralized decision-making, the process of strategic delegation results in either too low or too much public spending, with the outcome crucially depending on the sharing of the costs of local public spending relative to the size of the spillover effects. Hence, with a common financing rule, centralization is welfare improving if and only if both public good externalities and the degree of complementarity between local public goods are both relatively large.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Josep M.^a Castellá Andreu

Tribunal Constitucional y proceso secesionista catalán: respuestas jurídico-constitucionales a un conflicto político-constitucional

in *Teoria y realidad constitucional*, no. 37 , 561-592

En este estudio se pasa revista a las cinco sentencias dictadas por el Tribunal Constitucional entre 2014 y 2015 en relación con el proceso secesionista iniciado en Cataluña en 2012. Buena parte de las impugnaciones siguen el procedimiento del artículo 161 CE y Título V LOTC y versan unas sobre la constitucionalidad de dos resoluciones aprobadas por el Parlamento de Cataluña en las que se plantea el derecho a decidir, el carácter soberano del pueblo de Cataluña y el inicio del proceso político y de un proceso constituyente, y las otras sobre la regulación y aplicación de los instrumentos para llevar a cabo el proceso secesionista seguido hasta ahora: una llamada consulta popular no referendaria y un proceso de participación ciudadana. Las sentencias advierten contradicciones con la Constitución de las normas y actos impugnados tanto de carácter sustantivo como de orden competencial. Para el Tribunal la reforma constitucional es ineludible a la hora de afrontar el proceso secesionista con respeto al ordenamiento jurídico. Se concluye que el Tribunal en las diferentes sentencias emitidas otorga distinta relevancia a las exigencias de la democracia pluralista y a las de la democracia constitucional.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Malesky Edmund J., Hutchinson Francis E.

Varieties of Disappointment: Why Has Decentralization Not Delivered on Its Promises in Southeast Asia?

in *ASEAN Economic Bulletin*, Volume 33, Number 2, August 2016 , pp. 125-138

With varying levels of intensity, Southeast Asian countries have been experimenting with different modes of decentralization for over two decades. Significant debate exists about the success of these efforts, and some countries have recently attempted to reverse these measures by recentralizing political, fiscal, or administrative authority. To better understand the arguments over these institutional changes, we commissioned a set of articles from world-class scholars on the region, asking them to reflect on decentralization/recentralization debates within their countries of study.



In this introductory article, we explore some of the key themes and findings from these contributions. An unmistakable tone of negativity pervades the pieces. Authors express either disappointment that decentralization did not achieve its lofty goals or was never given a chance to succeed by central leaders who: were reluctant to fully devolve power; issued contradictory legislation that undermined decentralization's effectiveness; or used alternative levers to recentralize authority to negate the incipient decentralization measures. We probe some of the main drivers of the disappointment and offer some conjectures about the future of decentralization in the region.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Edmondo Mostacci

Viaggio al termine della storia: brexit e il volto oscuro della globalizzazione

in *Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo*, no. 3 , 791-802

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Vu Thanh Tu Anh

Vietnam: Decentralization Amidst Fragmentation

in *ASEAN Economic Bulletin*, Volume 33, Number 2, August 2016 , pp. 188-208

Since Doi Moi (1986), decentralization in Vietnam has been expanded, but still limited to fiscal and administrative rather than political decentralization. From the central perspective, decentralization has undermined the uniformity of national policies and encouraged unhealthy competition among local governments. For local governments, decentralization has not always been accompanied by institutional autonomy and sufficient financial resources. Moreover, there has been a lack of synchronization between central ministries as well as consistency between the different dimensions of decentralization. Finally, the people and businesses have neither been adequately involved nor had sufficient voice in the most important decentralization policies. This article analyses common and cross-cutting issues shared by different dimensions of decentralization in Vietnam since Doi Moi. It shows that serious institutional fragmentation has rendered decentralization ineffective. Given Vietnam's political economy, the first priority in designing decentralization policy is to overcome this fragmentation and prepare the prerequisites for effective and efficient decentralization.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Artioli Francesca

When administrative reforms produce territorial differentiation. How market-oriented policies transform military brownfield reconversion in France (1989–2012)

in *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, Volume 34, Issue 8, December , 1759-1775

The article explores the territorial dimension of the reforms that remould state administrations, which is overlooked by both public sector and territorial politics literatures. It is based on a fine-grained case study of how the emergence of an administrative reform aimed at strengthening market coordination in the management and sale of public real estate in



France has affected previously existing forms of military real estate management that relied on central and local political bargaining. While existing literature argues that market-oriented administrative reforms tend to side-line political regulation, this reform entails a differentiation rather than a replacement of the operating codes of the state in territories. Indeed, policy change through layering causes the consolidation of different land regimes, a planning-oriented one and a market-oriented one, that apply differentially in territories and leave the local governments with uneven rooms of manoeuvre for political negotiation.

Full text available online at <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/0263774X16642227>

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Carlos Flores Juberías

¿Qué constitución para Cataluña? Una aproximación crítica a los proyectos constitucionales del Procés in Teoria y realidad constitucional, no. 37 , 405-433

En un momento político caracterizado por la innegable radicalización de los partidos nacionalistas que desde 2010 gobiernan Cataluña, concretada en la reiterada manifestación de su intención de separarse de España —bien de manera negociada, bien mediante una declaración unilateral de independencia—, y por la insoslayable existencia de una corriente de opinión numéricamente importante y socialmente muy influyente favorable a esa separación, el objetivo de este trabajo es el de levantar acta de los sucesivos proyectos o borradores de constitución para una futura Cataluña independiente surgidos en los últimos meses a la sombra de este así llamado «proceso», para a continuación tratar de desbrozar su contenido, advertir de sus carencias, poner de relieve los aspectos más relevantes —y también más controvertidos— de su articulado, y valorar sus posibilidades reales de llegar a convertirse alguna vez en norma jurídica, y —en última instancia— tratar de hallar algunos rasgos comunes a todos ellos que permitan entender mejor los objetivos últimos del secesionismo catalán en lo tocante a la configuración constitucional del Estado que aspira a conformar

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Mohamed Bennouna

A propos de « la Cour internationale de justice dans le monde d'aujourd'hui » de Manfred Lachs (1975-II) in Revue belge de droit international, no. 1 , 89-92

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Jo Hyeran, Simmons Beth A.

Can the International Criminal Court Deter Atrocity?

in International Organization, vol. 70, issue 3, july , 443-475

ABSTRACT: Whether and how violence can be controlled to spare innocent lives is a central issue in international relations. The most ambitious effort to date has been the International Criminal Court (ICC), designed to enhance



security and safety by preventing egregious human rights abuses and deterring international crimes. We offer the first systematic assessment of the ICC's deterrent effects for both state and nonstate actors. Although no institution can deter all actors, the ICC can deter some governments and those rebel groups that seek legitimacy. We find support for this conditional impact of the ICC cross-nationally. Our work has implications for the study of international relations and institutions, and supports the violence-reducing role of pursuing justice in international affairs.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Schiff Benjamin N.

Can the International Criminal Court contribute to the Responsibility to Protect?

in *International Relations*, vol. 30, n. 3, september , 298-313

ABSTRACT: The Responsibility to Protect (R2P) norm asserts that states have duties beyond their borders to help avoid, respond to, and prevent recurrence of circumstances that produce massive human rights violations. Actions undertaken to implement those duties can include aid, reform, or more muscular involvements. The need for such engagement implies that the target state's government is losing or has lost its legitimacy. Labeling by the International Criminal Court (ICC) of a conflict as a 'situation' under its purview asserts that large-scale crimes are likely taking place for which individuals should be held accountable. This should trigger R2P considerations. However, the fit between R2P and the ICC is uncomfortable. Although the ICC may appear a useful tool for R2P, forays into the politics of R2P by the ICC are undertaken at its peril. Moreover, so far, the ICC has not clearly had positive effects upon conflict. While the ICC can be idealized as a contributor to R2P, coordination is formally non-existent and the Court's protection effects are ambiguous.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Chaney Paul

Comparative analysis of state and civil society discourse on the implementation of the United Nations' convention on the rights of the child in North Africa

in *Journal of North African Studies* , Volume 22, Issue 1 , pp. 6-34

In the face of continuing children's rights abuses across North Africa, the need for governments to engage non-state actors in human rights implementation is explicit in the United Nations' convention on the rights of the child (UNCRC). Hitherto, this has largely escaped scholarly attention. It is a lacuna addressed in this paper, which presents a theoretically informed analysis of the role of civil society as a political space for promoting children's rights in six countries with particular reference to Egyptian and Sudanese policy and practice. Critical discourse analysis of state and civil society submissions to the second-cycle United Nations' Universal Periodic Review provides insight into UNCRC implementation. The findings show key contrasts in the salience and framing of a range of issues including: violence against children, education, health, forced marriage and discrimination. The wider significance of this is manifold: it offers an original transferable methodology, highlights the formative role of discourse and underlines a pronounced asymmetry in the power of government and civil society. Furthermore, the Egyptian and Sudanese case studies reveal key implementation pathologies applying to authoritarian and (post-)conflict states.

<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/13629387.2016.1269229>



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

David Akerson, Nandish Wijetilleke

Contempt of Court a Digest of the Case Law of Contempt of Court at International Criminal Tribunals and the International Criminal Court

in *Denver Journal of international law and policy*, Vol. 44, No. 2, Winter

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Devika Hovell

Due Process in the United Nations

in *American journal of international law*, volume 110, issue 1 , 1-48

Certain UN organs continue to resist procedural limitations on their decisionmaking authority. Yet, paradoxically, failure to accord due process has compromised the strength of UN authority, as seen in relation to the targeted-sanctions regime and the Haiti cholera outbreak that began following the arrival of UN peacekeepers in 2010. This article questions current, formalistic approaches to due process in the UN setting—which rely on traditional sources of international law. As an alternative, it presents a value-based approach that takes into account instrumentalist, dignitarian, and public interest principles.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Novosseloff Alexandra

Engagement de l'ONU en Afrique : un état des lieux

in *Revue Défense Nationale*, n° 792, Été

L'ONU est très engagée en Afrique avec de nombreuses missions aux profils et statuts différents. Agir sur le long terme en ayant une approche globale et en impliquant les États reste indispensable avec certes des échecs, mais aussi des succès encourageants pour l'avenir

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Andreas Zimmermann

Finally ... Or Would Rather Less Have Been More? The Recent Amendment on the Deletion of Article 124 of the Rome Statute and the Continued Quest for the Universality of the International Criminal Court

in *Journal of International Criminal Justice*, volume 14, issue 3 , 505-517

In November 2015, the 14th Session of the Assembly of States Parties to the Rome Statute of the International Criminal



Court (ICC) adopted, by consensus, an amendment providing for the deletion of Article 124 of the ICC Statute, which so far enables contracting parties, when joining the Statute, to opt out from the ICC's treaty-based war crimes-related jurisdiction. After considering the genesis of the provision and the practice arising under Article 124 of the ICC Statute so far, this article considers the arguments for and against the deletion of Article 124 in light of the increasingly small number of accessions to the ICC Statute that have been forthcoming in the last few years. It also analyses the quite strict requirements for the entry into force of the amendment, as well as the effect of the entry into force of the amendment on possible declarations having been made pending such entry into force. It ends by considering the positive effect a continued applicability of Article 124 may have on states so far being reluctant to accede to the ICC Statute.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Klimke Romy, Lorenzoni Escobar Lina, Tietje Christian

Fünf Jahre UN-Leitprinzipien für Wirtschaft und Menschenrechte

in *Vereinte Nationen*, Heft 6, 2016

ABSTRACT: Im Juni 2011 präsentierte der damalige Sonderbeauftragte des Generalsekretärs für die Frage der Menschenrechte und transnationaler Unternehmen sowie anderer Wirtschaftsunternehmen John Ruggie die UN-Leitprinzipien für Wirtschaft und Menschenrechte. Damit lag erstmalig zu dieser Thematik ein Rahmen vor, der auf einen breiten Konsens unter den Staaten, der Wirtschaft sowie Menschenrechtsvertreterinnen und -vertretern stieß. Aufgrund ihrer rechtlichen Unverbindlichkeit und der unzureichenden Umsetzung mehrte sich jedoch die Kritik. Der vorliegende Beitrag stellt die UN-Leitprinzipien vor, zieht Bilanz und zeigt die Perspektive eines rechtsverbindlichen Instruments für transnationale Unternehmen auf.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Pok Yin S. Chow

Has Intersectionality Reached its Limits? Intersectionality in the UN Human Rights Treaty Body Practice and the Issue of Ambivalence

in *Human Rights Law Review*, volume 16, issue 3, 453-481

In recent decades, the concept of intersectionality occupied an important place in the practice of United Nations human rights treaty bodies. A concept devised to provide a more nuanced way of capturing the multi-faceted experiences of oppression, intersectionality was widely thought to be an effective tool to address discrimination against an individual's multiple identities. Yet a careful examination of the United Nations human rights treaty bodies practice reveals that this is not always the case. This article explores the significance and limitations of intersectionality in the practice of those treaty bodies. Drawing on the debates concerning the legality of recent bans on religious expression, it further explores the potential application of the concept in situations of 'ambivalence', that is, where individuals embrace a mixed feeling towards two seemingly conflicting identities.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system



Sang-Hyun Song

International Criminal Court-Centred Justice and Its Challenges
in *Melbourne Journal of International Law*, volume 17, issue 1 , 1-14

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Austin Chadwick W., Thieme Michael

Is the International Criminal Court Anti-African?

in *Peace Review*, vol. 28, n. 3 , 342-350

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Syméon Karagiannis

L'obligation de notifier les (risques de) dommages environnementaux selon la Convention des Nations Unies sur le droit de la mer

in *Revue belge de droit international*, no. 1 , 138-243

La Convention des Nations Unies sur le droit de la mer de 1982 semble systématiser une obligation des États en matière de protection de l'environnement marin, que d'autres conventions particulières, régionales ou thématiques, connaissent déjà avant elle. Il s'agit de l'obligation pour un État qui aura connaissance d'un désastre environnemental marin ou même d'un risque qu'un tel désastre se produise, d'en avertir les États exposés. En dépit d'un caractère quelque peu sommaire, la formulation de cette obligation dans la Convention sur le droit de la mer semble aller au-delà de ce que les autres conventions prévoient. Cela dit, un grand nombre de questions reste en suspens : comment connaître un désastre et, surtout, le risque d'un désastre, quels sont les États qui pourront bénéficier de cet avertissement, quels dommages devront pouvoir être notifiés, quels sont, enfin, les conséquences juridiques d'un défaut d'avertissement ?

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Hubrecht Joël

La CPI bientôt finie ?

in *Esprit*, Janvier

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system



Albaret Mélanie, Placidi-Frot Delphine

Les petits États au Conseil de sécurité : des strapontins à l'avant-scène

in *Critique Internationale*, n° 71 , pp. 19-38

Comment les discussions et les pratiques du Conseil de sécurité contribuent-elles à définir une catégorie politique « petits États » ? Et inversement comment les comportements d'États se présentant comme « petits » infléchissent-ils les négociations menées au sein de cet organe ? Si les tentatives de définition d'un statut juridique spécifique aux petits États n'ont jamais abouti, et ce pour des raisons politiques, les processus de hiérarchisation internationale à l'œuvre au Conseil de sécurité se sont complexifiés. Les États absents de cette instance sont, pour cette raison même, déclassés au point d'en devenir insignifiants. Ils se mobilisent donc de plus en plus pour y participer. Une fois à la table des négociations, ceux d'entre eux qui se considèrent – ou sont considérés – comme « petits » se répartissent selon leurs pratiques en trois groupes d'acteurs : celui des figurants faisant simplement acte de présence, celui des silhouettes s'exprimant épisodiquement et celui des seconds rôles qui s'efforcent de donner la réplique aux membres permanents ou récurrents du Conseil de sécurité et d'infléchir à plus long terme les méthodes de travail et de négociation de celui-ci.

How do the Security Council's practices and discussions contribute to defining "small states" as a political category? Inversely, how do states which present themselves as "small states" influence Security Council negotiations? If the attempts to define a specific legal status for small states have never been successful for political reasons, the international prioritization process at work in the Security Council has become more complex. Absent states in the body have been downgraded to the point of becoming insignificant. Therefore, states increasingly take action to participate. Once at the negotiating table, those states which consider themselves small, or are considered as such, fall according to their practices into three groups. They are either onlookers simply making an appearance, silhouettes that occasionally express themselves, or supporting actors which strive to replicate permanent and recurring members of the Security Council and influence long term working methods and negotiation practices of the Council?

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Jeremy Farrall & Jochen Prantl

Leveraging diplomatic power and influence on the UN Security Council: the case of Australia

in *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol.70, Issue 6 , 601-612

There is scepticism about whether a state like Australia can secure its interests and exercise influence on the United Nations Security Council (UNSC). A case study of Australia's experience as a UNSC member in 2013–2014 shows that it directly influenced UNSC decision-making in a number of ways: first, in the response to the MH17 incident; second, pushing forward UNSC practice through the first-ever resolutions on both 'small arms and light weapons' and police in peacekeeping; and third, as chair of three sanctions committees, influencing the decision-making environment towards greater transparency. While Australia did not achieve all its objectives, it made its views well-known. A second case study demonstrates that Australia's opportunities to influence UNSC decision-making are not limited to stints of membership. Australia was able to achieve many of its foreign policy objectives in East Timor in 1999 through strategically engaging with key UNSC players through an informal diplomatic grouping: the Core Group on East Timor. Both case studies show that Australia's diplomatic engagement with the UNSC is desirable, necessary and strategic, whether or not it is a current or prospective member.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Francesco Casetti

Obiettivi ONU, tra immaginario collettivo e agenda politica
in *Equilibri*, n.1 , 83-92

The 2030 Sustainable Development Goals are not just part of a political agenda, they belong to a well-defined collective imagination. The analysis of three «climate fiction» films - "Waterfront", "The Day After Tomorrow", "Interstellar" - shows how imagination and government policy are intertwined. Collective imagination raises the issues while the task of policy makers is to solve them.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Barrow Amy

Operationalizing Security Council Resolution 1325: The Role of National Action Plans
in *Journal of Conflict and Security Law*, Volume 21, Issue 2

Since the adoption of Security Council Resolution 1325 (SCR 1325) in October 2000, the international community has seen the emergence of a normative framework on women, peace and security. Despite international recognition of women's multiple roles in armed conflict and its aftermath, the United Nations and its Member States have been criticized for failing to implement SCR 1325. National Action Plans (NAPs) have been adopted as one mechanism to strengthen the operationalization of SCR 1325. The early development of NAPs was driven by Northern European States. Denmark first adopted an NAP in 2005, followed shortly after by the United Kingdom in 2006. States emerging from protracted armed conflict have also adopted national level initiatives, though the development of NAPS in Asia, a region which has been marred by armed insurgency movements and territorial disputes, has lagged behind. To date, only five Asian States have adopted NAPs, Afghanistan, the Philippines, Japan, Nepal and the Republic of Korea. This article analyses the development of NAPs, considering experiences in both 'donor' and 'conflict' states, to consider whether NAPs provide the necessary catalyst to operationalize soft law instruments and strengthen norms on women, peace and security, including SCR 1325's broader objectives of women's empowerment and access to decision-making in peace and security processes.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Kerstin Bree Carlson,

Reconciliation through a Judicial Lens: Competing Legitimation Frameworks in the ICTY's Plavsic and Babic Judgments
in *Denver Journal of international law and policy*, Vol. 44, No. 2, Winter

No abstract available



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Roele Isobel

Sidelining Subsidiarity: United Nations Security Council “Legislation” and Its Infra-Law in Law and contemporary problems, Volume 79, Number 2

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Efstathoupoulos Charalampos

South Africa’s Reform Diplomacy and the Legitimacy of the UN Security Council in Politikon: South African Journal of Political Studies , vol. 43, n. 3 , 429-450

ABSTRACT: Using the case study of South Africa, this article examines how influential outsider states perceive the legitimacy of the UN Security Council and whether they can perform a critical role in affecting the legitimacy of the institution. The article demonstrates that South Africa’s reform diplomacy challenges the authority of the existing membership of the Council but not the legitimacy of the original mandate of the Council as the guarantor of international peace and stability. Such a reform agenda allows for promoting South Africa’s own candidacy as a new permanent member of the Council. Despite its activism in promoting such reform, South Africa’s diplomacy is undermined by its incapacity to influence the positions of the permanent five members, the lack of support by other African states, and its own ambivalent foreign policy that oscillates between support for human rights and allegiance to the global South.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Blankenburg Stephanie, Kozul Wright Richard

Sovereign Debt Restructurings in the Contemporary Global Economy: The UNCTAD Approach in Yale Journal of International Law (The), Volume 41, Special Edition on Sovereign Debt

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Reiz Nicole, O’Lear Shannon

Spaces of Violence and (In)justice in Haiti: A Critical Legal Geography Perspective on Rape, UN Peacekeeping, and the United Nations Status of Forces Agreement in Territory, Politics, Governance, Volume 4, Issue 4 , 453-471

The UN has no standing military forces and borrows troops and police to create UN peacekeeping forces for deployment into emergency situations. The countries that contribute these forces retain jurisdictional control over those individuals, such that neither the UN nor the state receiving peacekeeping forces may prosecute them for alleged crimes committed



while they are deployed. This paper examines spaces of violence associated with the rape of civilians by UN peacekeeping forces in Haiti. We consider how the Status of Forces Agreement (SOFA), by which troop-contributing countries retain jurisdiction over their troops, create legal spaces in which victims and their home countries are marginalized from legal procedure and justice. A critical legal geography perspective, and insights on the practical application of jurisdiction provide a useful lens for assessing assemblages of violence and the spatial dissonance of justice illustrated by two case studies of civilian rape by UN peacekeeping forces. Although this legal arrangement makes sense according to the logic of international security, we conclude that the legal framework of UN SOFAs should be reconsidered to increase the potential for justice for survivors of rape by peacekeepers.

Full text available online at <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/21622671.2015.1114963>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Sara Kendall and Sarah M.H. Nouwen

Speaking of Legacy: Toward an Ethos of Modesty at the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda in American journal of international law, volume 110, issue 2 , 212-232

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Rajavuori Mikko

State Ownership and the United Nations Business and Human Rights Agenda: Three Instruments, Three Narratives

in **Indiana Journal for Global Legal Studies**, vol. 23, issue 2 , 665-707

ABSTRACT: The rise of globally-oriented state ownership has emerged as a crucial issue across political, economic, and legal planes during the past decade. Contrary to the traditional approach where state ownership is viewed primarily through trade law, antitrust law, and corporate law, this article discusses the proliferating state shareholder power in relation to international human rights law. In particular, the article interrogates three recent U.N. human rights governance instruments by using narratives that highlight perils, potential, and specialty of state ownership in the emerging business and human rights agenda. It is argued that the U.N. instruments realize the changes in the architecture of globalized state ownership, portray it as a regulatory space, and seek to utilize this space by recalibrating states' private shareholder identities with public ends. At the same time, however, the nascent human rights-based regulation of state ownership exposes a deeper market contingency underpinning the techniques of contemporary human rights governance.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Jordaan Eduard

The African Group on the United Nations Human Rights Council: Shifting geopolitics and the liberal international order

in **African Affairs**, Volume 115, Issue 460, July , pp. 490-515



During the early years of the United Nations Human Rights Council, formed in 2006, the African Group obstructed efforts to scrutinize and improve human rights in specific countries, notably in the cases of Darfur and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. However, in recent years the African Group has become willing to address country-specific human rights violations, particularly in Côte d'Ivoire, Libya, and Eritrea. This article documents the African Group's shift and asks why it occurred. Against the backdrop of debates about whether the liberal international order can survive a decline in American dominance, the study of the African Group's shift grants us insight into the elements that underpin liberal internationalism. Three explanations for the African Group's shift are considered: an improvement in the domestic human rights profile of African Group members, changes to the internal dynamics of the African Group, and the influence of the United States. The article concludes that American power was decisive, a finding that raises doubt about whether the liberal international order will survive a decline in American power.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Jeangène VilmerJean-Baptiste

The African Union and the International Criminal Court: counteracting the crisis

in *International Affairs*, vol. 92, issue 6, november, 1319-1342

ABSTRACT: In October 2016, South Africa became the first nation to withdraw from the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court (ICC), after Burundi began taking steps to leave it. Kenya is likely to follow, and other states, like Uganda, could take the same cue. The ICC is facing the most serious diplomatic crisis of its history, with the African Union (AU) denouncing double standards, neo-colonialism and 'white justice', and regularly threatening to withdraw from the Rome Statute en masse. This article adopts both an interdisciplinary and a pragmatic policy-oriented approach, with the aim of producing concrete recommendations to counteract the crisis. It firstly outlines the context of this crisis which, although not new, is becoming increasingly serious. It then responds to the AU's objections to the ICC. The court's 'Afro-centrism' is explained by objective facts (the occurrence of mass crimes taking place on the African continent, the large number of African parties to the Rome Statute, the principle of complementarity) as well as by subjective decisions (a convergence of interest between the African leaders who brought the cases to the court themselves to weaken their opponents, and the prosecutor who needed quickly to find cases). Afro-centrism should also be nuanced, as the ICC has already shown an interest in cases outside Africa and the extent to which it is a problem is a matter of perspective. The article also responds to the 'peace vs justice' objection, and emphasises that African states were instrumental in creating and sustaining the ICC. It finally formulates recommendations to ease relations between the ICC and AU, such as to investigate more outside Africa, reinforce African national jurisdictions, create intermediary institutional structures, promote regional-level action, and rely more on ICC-friendly African states and African civil society.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Beth Van Schaack,

The Building Blocks of Hybrid Justice

in *Denver Journal of international law and policy*, Vol. 44, No. 2, Winter

No abstract available



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Stefan Talmon

The Chagos Marine Protected Area Arbitration: Expansion of the Jurisdiction of UNCLOS Part XV Courts and Tribunals

in *International and Comparative Law Quarterly*, volume 65, issue 4 , 927-951

This article shows that the Tribunal in the Chagos Marine Protected Area Arbitration between Mauritius and the United Kingdom has contributed considerably to the creeping expansion of compulsory jurisdiction of courts and tribunals established under Part XV of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS). The Tribunal has employed three techniques to do so. First, it has read down the jurisdictional precondition to exchange views in Article 283(1) of the UNCLOS; second, it has expanded the limited scope of compulsory subject-matter jurisdiction under section 2 of Part XV by broadening the meaning of the phrase ‘any dispute concerning the interpretation or application of this Convention’ to include incidental, related—and through the backdoor of a balancing exercise—even extraneous disputes; and, third, it has restricted the limitations and exceptions to compulsory jurisdiction in Articles 297 and 298 of the UNCLOS. Few would have predicted in 1982 that a Part XV court or tribunal would—within the context of such a balancing exercise—ever find that a colonial era undertaking created binding legal obligations under international law and that the United Kingdom was obliged to return the Chagos Archipelago to Mauritius when no longer needed for defence purposes. The Tribunal's expansive reading of the jurisdictional provisions in Part XV opens up the possibility of future rulings, albeit incidentally, on issues that have little to do with the law of the sea.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Roehrich Elisabeth

The Cold War, the developing world, and the creation of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), 1953–1957

in *Cold War History*, Volume 16 - Issue 2 , pp. 195-212

This article argues that the creation of the IAEA (1953–1957) was shaped by the overlapping dynamics of superpower relations, decolonisation, and the growing influence of the ‘global South’ in the United Nations. During the four years of multilateral and international negotiations, many of the developing countries argued that the new organisation should not exacerbate global inequalities, practice discrimination, or institutionalise ‘atomic colonialism’. While American-Soviet understanding during these negotiations was at times strikingly good, the uranium-producing states and the future recipients of IAEA technical assistance often faced each other as rival blocs. The article is based on multi-archival research at the IAEA and the UN, as well as at the National Archives of the United States, the United Kingdom, and South Africa.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Michael J. Matheson and David Scheffer

The Creation of the Tribunals

in *American journal of international law*, volume 110, issue 2 , 173-190



No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Hillebrecht Courtney

**The Deterrent Effects of the International Criminal Court: Evidence from Libya
in *International Interactions*, vol. 42, issue 4 , 616-643**

ABSTRACT: The International Criminal Court (ICC) was designed to try the worst war criminals for crimes against humanity, genocide, and other instances of mass human suffering. By providing a permanent, international mechanism to hold perpetrators of mass human rights abuse accountable, the ICC is also meant to be a deterrent—to prevent potential genocidaires from committing systematic human rights abuses in the first place. But what if the effect is actually quite the opposite? While advocates of international justice have made conjectures about the effect of the ICC on stopping human rights abuses, the existing scholarship does not empirically test assumptions about the relationship between international criminal justice and violence. This article outlines the causal mechanisms by which the ICC could affect ongoing violence and tests these assumptions using event count models of the relationship between the ICC and the level of violence against civilians in Libya during the 2011 crisis. These analyses suggest that the ICC's involvement in conflict does have a dampening effect on the level of mass atrocities committed. The results also call for a broad and sustained research agenda on the effect of international accountability efforts on ongoing violence.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Buitelaar Tom

**The ICC and the Prevention of Atrocities: Criminological Perspectives
in *Human Rights Review*, vol. 17, number 3 , 285-302**

ABSTRACT: One of the founding principles of the International Criminal Court (ICC) is the prevention of atrocities by punishing those most responsible for them. This paper builds on the literature that has both hailed and critiqued the prospects of the ICC's ability to deter future atrocities, adding insights from criminology and psychology to enhance the understanding of the ICC's deterrent capabilities. This will allow for a more careful analysis of how the deterrence process exactly works. The paper then uses these insights to examine the ICC's experiences over the past 14 years with deterring offenders. The main findings are that, although the ICC can constructively contribute to a normative shift toward accountability and a change in international rules of legitimacy, its prospects for the direct and meaningful deterrence of future atrocities are slim. The current practice of relying on the ICC as a crisis management tool is therefore both unwise and unfair.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Marko Milanovi

**The Impact of the ICTY on the Former Yugoslavia: An Anticipatory Postmortem
in *American journal of international law*, volume 110, issue 2 , 233-259**



No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Tiemessen Alana

The International Criminal Court and the lawfare of judicial intervention

in *International Relations*, vol. 30, n. 4, december , 409-431

ABSTRACT: The contentious concept of 'lawfare' has proliferated to various foreign policy areas and permeated a discourse on the function and legitimacy of law in conflict. The concept seems particularly apt to the International Criminal Court's (ICC) judicial interventions. In this context, I define lawfare as the coercive and strategic element of international criminal justice in which the ICC's judicial interventions are used as a tool of lawfare for States Parties and the United Nations Security Council to pursue political ends. I argue that there are two types of political ends being pursued with this lawfare: conflict resolution and politicized prosecutions. First, the ICC's spokespersons, advocates, and supporting states have cultivated a discourse that justice is a means to peace. As a result, the ICC has been used as a means of intervention in ongoing conflicts with the expectation that the indictments, arrests, and trials of elite perpetrators have deterrence and preventive effects for atrocity crimes. Despite these legitimate intentions and great expectations, there is little evidence of the efficacy of justice as a means to peace. Second, the other manifestation of lawfare represents an abuse or manipulation of the ICC for political gain. Specifically, States Parties have strategically referred their conflict situations to the ICC with the expectation that the referral will result in the removal of their rivals and sanction the impunity of ruling elites. This politicization of international justice has been successful in that most of the ICC's prosecutions are unjustly one sided. Evidence of politicized prosecutions has damaged the ICC's credibility as an impartial institution and raises questions about the desirability of state referrals. Consequently, the ICC's efficacy and credibility are suffering from lawfare.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Jorge Morales Pedraza

The Reform of the United Nations Disarmament Machinery

in *Public Organization Review*, Volume 16, Issue 3 , 319-334

The limitation, reduction, prohibition or elimination of specific types of weapons, particularly nuclear weapons is, and will continue to be, one of the most important challenges that the international community should face in the 21st century. To overcome these challenges a multilateral approach through the United Nations and its main organs and specialised international organisations involved in non-proliferation, disarmament and arms control issues is needed. These organs and specialised international organisations are: the General Assembly and its main subsidiary bodies, the Security Council, the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), the Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons (OPCW), the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty Organization (CTBTO) and the Conference on Disarmament (CD).

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Kuczyńska Hanna



The Scope of Appeal on Complementarity Issues before the ICC. On the Example of the Appeal of Côte d'Ivoire against the Decision of Pre-Trial Chamber I in the Simone Gbagbo Case
in *Law and Practice of International Courts and Tribunals (The)*, vol. 15, n. 2 , 326-344

ABSTRACT: On 27 May 2015, the Appeals Chamber of the International Criminal Court (ICC) issued a judgment on the appeal of Côte d'Ivoire against the decision of Pre-Trial Chamber I of 11 December 2014 entitled "Decision on Côte d'Ivoire's challenge to the admissibility of the case against Simone Gbagbo". As a result of this decision, the path to prosecute Simone Gbagbo lies open. The Appeals Chamber confirmed the opinion expressed by the Pre-Trial Chamber that there were no obstacles in the form of national prosecutions which would exclude the ICC's jurisdiction pursuant to the principle of complementarity. This judgment is not only important from the point of view that the ICC has found no basis to find the case inadmissible on the grounds of lack of complementarity, but even more so because of the procedural issues at stake. In this decision, solutions can be found that are crucial with regard to the scope and methods of appellate review before the ICC.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Holloway David

The Soviet Union and the creation of the International Atomic Energy Agency
in *Cold War History*, Volume 16 - Issue 2 , pp. 177-193

The Soviet Union responded sceptically to Eisenhower's 'Atoms for Peace' speech in December 1953 but eventually entered negotiations on the creation of the International Atomic Energy Agency. It believed the IAEA would provide opportunities for political influence and scientific collaboration. It did not want the peaceful uses of atomic energy around the world to be dominated by the United States. It pressed for close ties between the new agency and the United Nations and supported India and other developing countries in their opposition to safeguards. The new Agency was to be a forum for competition as well as cooperation.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Darryl Robinson and Gillian MacNeil

The Tribunals and the Renaissance of International Criminal Law: Three Themes
in *American journal of international law*, volume 110, issue 2 , 191-211

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Paul Cammack

The UNDP, the World Bank and Human Development through the World Market
in *Development Policy Review* , Volume 35, Issue 1 , 3-21

This article offers a critical review of the UNDP's understanding of human development, and of recent Human



Development Reports, with a principal focus on those from 2010 to the present. It argues that they show that the UNDP is now fully aligned with the World Bank in its overall policy stance and its underlying logic, and that this marks the end of the project of setting market-led growth in a broader conception of human development that began with the first report (1990). The idea that the UNDP/HDR conception of human development represents an alternative to World Bank orthodoxy is a myth.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Hilpold Peter

The fight against terrorism and SC Resolution 2249 (2015): towards a more Hobbesian or a more Kantian International Society?

in *Indian Journal of International Law*, Volume 55, Issue 4,

Security Council Resolution 2249 of 20 November 2015 was intended to open a new chapter in the fight against terrorism in general and against ISIS in particular. However, in academia this Resolution was received with criticism. After an analysis of SC Resolution 2249, it will be argued that the criteria developed for assessing jus ad bellum in inter-state relations are of no easy application in the relationship between states and non-state actors and in particular in regard to terrorists. If the prohibition of the use of force applies at all, this has to happen in a largely modified way. Fears that a lowered threshold for the use of force against terrorists will introduce a new "Hobbesian" element in international law do not appear to be justified. On the contrary, an international community showing more solidarity in the fight against terrorism will reinforce their Kantian traits. Resolution 2249 can offer an important contribution for such a development to take place.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Lisa Maria Dellmuth

The knowledge gap in world politics: Assessing the sources of citizen awareness of the United Nations Security Council

in *Review of International Studies (The)*, Volume 42 - Issue 04 , 673-700

The past decades have seen a significant expansion in the scope and authority of international organisations (IOs), raising questions about who participates and is represented in the public contestation of IOs. An important precondition for citizens to become critically involved in the public debate about an IO is that they are aware of the politics of that IO. This article sheds light on this largely unexplored issue, asking why some citizens are more aware of IOs than others. This question is examined in the context of a powerful international organisation, the United Nations Security Council. Using a multilevel analysis of citizens in 17 Asian and European countries, this article argues that citizen knowledge about the Council is shaped by economic conditions and cosmopolitan identity. Higher levels of knowledge are found among the wealthier, and there is some evidence that income inequality depresses knowledge among poorer citizens. Furthermore, citizens identifying with groups or individuals across nation-state borders are more likely to know more about the Council. The article sketches broader implications for the study of the politicisation of IOs and citizen representation in the public contestation of IOs.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Schwarz Alexander

The legacy of the Kenyatta case: Trials in absentia at the International Criminal Court and their compatibility with human rights

in *African Human Rights Law Journal*, vol. 16, n. 1 , 99-116

ABSTRACT: As a consequence of the African Union's pressure on the Assembly of States Parties (ASP) to the International Criminal Court (ICC), the ASP modified the Rules of Procedure of the ICC to permit the accused to be tried in absentia. This article examines the general requirements under which trials in absentia are possible in light of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights and the European Convention on Human Rights, and whether the new in absentia provisions of the ICC are consistent with international fair trial standards developed by the Human Rights Committee, the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights, the African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights and the European Court of Human Rights. The article demonstrates that the increasing acceptance of in absentia trials by international criminal courts tends to overlook the rights and roles of victims in international criminal proceedings. To this end, the article considers whether the macro-criminal character of international crimes may require that victims and witnesses have a public interest to trials in the presence of the accused.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Katja Freistein, Bettina Mahlert

The potential for tackling inequality in the Sustainable Development Goals

in *Third World Quarterly*, Volume 37, Issue 12 , 2139-2155

The recently passed Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) encompass a variety of explicit and implicit goals that address inequality. Although formulations remain vague and targets abstract, the SDGs go much further than previous development goals in addressing inequality as a central issue. Against the background of insights from inequality research, the article assesses their potential to become discursive resources for fundamental reforms of established development ideas.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Park Siwon

The power of presidency in UN climate change negotiations: comparison between Denmark and Mexico

in *International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics*, Volume 16, Issue 6, December , 781-795

In December 2010, the 16th Conference of Parties (COP) of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change ended with adopting Cancun Agreements as official decisions under the UN process. The international community determined the meeting a success. This was a substantial change compared to the previous year's Copenhagen climate conference, which failed to reach consensus at the official level and thus having come under



severe criticism as “diplomatic failure.” This article aims to explain the stark contrast between the two consecutive COP meetings and argues that the leadership style of the president of the conference is one important factor propelling negotiations forward. While the current literature scarcely addresses the role of the president, this article explores multiple variables that condition the president’s effectiveness in moving negotiations forward. This article concludes that the Mexican government successfully chaired the negotiations with excellent agenda management and process management capability, which the Danish government lacked. In particular, its transparent and embracing manner in handling subgroup meetings and the production of a single negotiation text facilitated trust among negotiators, which in turn made the parties tend to cooperate better. More importantly, the case study reveals that the Mexican government had a significant influence on given conditions of the negotiation process, such as the international environment surrounding the negotiation and the decision-making rules.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Christhoff Peter

The promissory note: COP 21 and the Paris Climate Agreement

in *Environmental Politics*, Volume 25, Issue 5 , 765-787

The 2015 UN climate negotiations in Paris resulted in an inclusive, binding treaty that succeeds the Kyoto Protocol. In contrast to the failure at Copenhagen in 2009, the Paris negotiations are therefore seen as a major diplomatic success that has regenerated faith in the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change as a forum for dynamic multilateralism. The Paris Agreement provides a robust framework for ratcheting up efforts to combat global warming. However, the Agreement’s value will remain unclear for some time. The historical path to the Paris accord is outlined, and a preliminary assessment is offered of its key elements and outcomes.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Catherine Hecht

The shifting salience of democratic governance: Evidence from the United Nations General Assembly General Debates

in *Review of International Studies (The)*, Volume 42 - Issue 05 , 915-938

How has the salience of democratic governance varied as an issue and as a basis of social status in the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) over time? International Relations (IR) scholars typically assume a high salience of democratic governance in international society after the Cold War, yet evidence suggests important fluctuations and that these assumptions should be qualified. This article presents quantitative and qualitative results of a manually-coded content analysis of the UNGA General Debates between 1992 and 2014, with comparison to 1982, illustrating variation in the frequency and content of state representatives’ references to democracy and the use of democratic governance as a symbol of status. What factors influence the salience of a given dimension of social status in an international organisation? Explanations supplement IR approaches with insights from social psychology, including the relevance of high and low identifiers, accessibility, fit, current and anticipated group status, and regional status concerns. The article analyses trends in states’ support for principles underpinning international order, which have broader implications for literature on global governance and status in world politics as well as for international democracy support.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Gatrell Peter

The world-wide web of humanitarianism: NGOs and population displacement in the third quarter of the twentieth

in *European Review of History - Revue Européenne d'Histoire*, Volume 23 - Issue 1-2 , pp. 101-115

Non-state organisations were important actors in the international refugee regime after the Second World War. This article traces connections between refugee crises and geo-politics by focusing on the interaction of three NGOs with the new Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in the 1950s. One non-state actor, the World Council of Churches (WCC), highlighted the suffering of German expellees as illustrating the limitations of the refugee regime. The second non-state organisation, Jami'at al' Islam (JAI), asserted its right to represent all Muslim refugees in Europe. Along with its anti-Communist stance it adopted an anti-colonial rhetoric and denounced the limitations of UNHCR's mandate, but it was later exposed as a front for the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). The third organisation, Comité Inter-Mouvements Auprès des Evacués (CIMADE), formed in 1939 to help French Jews escape deportation during the Vichy era, subsequently aided Algerians who suffered persecution by the French authorities. Like WCC, this began a long 'career' in humanitarianism. In its dealings with these NGOs, UNHCR trod cautiously, because it was constrained by its mandate and the governments that contributed to its budget. Each example demonstrates the challenges of 'non-political' efforts to offer humanitarian assistance to refugees and the limits to the autonomy of non-state organisations.

<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/13507486.2015.1111300>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Franke Mark F.N.

UNHCR's Territorial Depoliticization of Forced Displacement Through the Governance Mechanisms of Participatory Geographical Information Systems

in *Territory, Politics, Governance*, Volume 4, Issue 4 , 421-437

One of the greatest information communication technology revolutions impacting the lives of forcibly displaced persons is rooted in the geographical information systems (GIS) of United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) operations. By involving forcibly displaced persons in the production of geographical knowledge regarding the regional territorial conditions of their own displacement, via participatory forms of GIS, UNHCR aims to contribute to their political empowerment. However, the manners in which PGIS is instituted by UNHCR encourages the displaced to govern and territorialize themselves as subjects abstracted from their experiences of persecution and flight. Effectively, UNHCR involves displaced persons as participants in the erasure of the geopolitical conditions of their displacement, neglecting what could be communicated about the politics of their movements. PGIS could be used to learn from displaced persons about the international political geographies that produce displacement as a possibility, but this requires a political will apparently lacking in UNHCR's approach to mapping displacement.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Gentyan Ziberi

United Nations – related criminal courts and tribunals: fleeting mirages of transitional justice or a piecemeal approach to cosmopolitan justice?

in *Transnational Legal Theory*, volume 7, issue 1 , 114-132

By analysing the mandate and the work of UN-related criminal courts and tribunals in investigating and prosecuting those most responsible for mass atrocity crimes and in supporting related domestic transitional justice efforts, this article aims at assessing whether these efforts are just fleeting mirages of transitional justice or a piecemeal approach towards building a cosmopolitan justice model. To that aim, the article evaluates the role and contribution of key UN-related criminal courts and tribunals towards developing a commonly shared concept and model of cosmopolitan justice which furthers peace and ensures the protection of populations from mass atrocity crimes, namely genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity. The theoretical approach is based on Focarelli's argument that international law, seen as a social construct, can contribute in some measure to global justice. Ratner's standard of global justice, based on peace and human rights protection, is used as a general benchmark for the assessment of the activity of these international judicial institutions.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Rietkerk Aaron D.

'The Constructive Use of Abundance': the UN World Food Programme and the Evolution of the International Food-Aid System during the Post-War Decades

in *International History Review (The)*, Volume 38, Issue 4 , pp. 788-813

This article studies the expansion of multilateral economic development aid in the early 1960s by exploring the history of the United Nations (UN) World Food Program. It analyses the pivotal role played by key development economists within the UN Secretariat, such as Hans Singer, alongside US policy-makers in the Kennedy administration in framing and directing the debate on multilateral food aid. It specifically argues that this period marked a shift in how food aid was perceived and utilised by donor and recipient countries - as well as international organisations like the UN and Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO). Ultimately, what began in the 1950s as a bilateral method to feed the hungry through the disposal of surplus agricultural commodities evolved into an international food-aid system by the 1960s centred on the utilisation of surplus agriculture for economic development. This change showcased both the common goals and competing interests of US and UN policy-makers as food aid now joined the wider debate on various doctrines of development.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Cotton James

'The Standard Work in English on the League' and Its Authorship: Charles Howard Ellis, an Unlikely Australian Internationalist

in *History of European Ideas*, Volume 42, Issue 8 , 1089-1104



Charles Howard ('Dick') Ellis, born in Sydney in 1895 and a Great War veteran, was working as a journalist in Vienna and Geneva when he wrote one of the most comprehensive books of the time on the League: *The Origin, Structure and Working of the League of Nations* (1928). Dedicated to the progressive literary figures of the era and showing a particular debt to the writings of the British Labour left, Ellis argued that the internationalism of the age marked a necessary rejection of the anarchic conditions that brought forth the Great War. The League and its associated institutions constituted 'the first step toward a world society' that would facilitate the suppression and ultimate removal of the causes of conflict. A remarkable work in itself, this progressive volume was written by a member of British intelligence who had already made a reputation in this sphere and was to go on to hold very senior positions in the 1940s. The question is considered whether the ideas expressed were a product of Ellis's genuine beliefs, or whether they were a mask for his substantive professional role. The circumstances around the writing of this book are also reviewed in an attempt to answer this question, especially given the hitherto accepted scholarly view that Konni Zilliacus of the League Secretariat was the actual author.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Betti Andrea

“Slay This Monster”: the United States and Opposition to the Rome Statute on the International Criminal Court in Human Rights Review, vol. 17, number 4 , 417-438

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Jorge Cardona

À propos de « Forces pour le maintien de la paix des Nations Unies une révision des dispositions pertinentes de la Charte » de Ahmed Sheikh (1971-II)

in *Revue belge de droit international*, no. 1 , 128-139

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Daniel Dormoy

À propos de « Les amendements à la Charte des Nations Unies et leur mise en oeuvre » de Joseph Nisot (1966-II)

in *Revue belge de droit international*, no. 1 , 185-192

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations



Felipe González-De-León, Celestino García-Arias

La trayectoria de los líderes políticos de la OCDE

in *Revista española de ciencia política*, NÚMERO 42 , 99-124

Esta nota de investigación tiene por objeto de estudio a los jefes de Estado y/o de Gobierno de 33 países de la OCDE para un período que va desde el año 1990 hasta el año 2012. Así, en primer lugar, presentamos una nueva base de datos, «Líderes Políticos de las Democracias Contemporáneas» (LPDC), en la cual se recoge información sobre diversas características de dichos líderes como su género, edad, nivel educativo, tipo de formación, militancia política, duración en el cargo, trayectoria política y trayectoria profesional previa. En segundo lugar, se presentan los resultados de un análisis descriptivo que permite elaborar un perfil de los líderes examinados.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Kennedy Matthew

Overseas Territories in the WTO

in *International & Comparative Law Quarterly* , Volume 65 - Issue 3

In the wake of the Faroe Islands fishing dispute, this article seeks to clarify the status of overseas territories in the World Trade Organization (WTO). The article considers the rule of public international law regarding the territorial application of treaties, the impact of territorial limitations in WTO goods and services schedules and the treaty actions of individual States responsible for the international relations of overseas territories. The article then explores the implications of WTO rights and obligations in respect of Members' overseas territories, including limitations on free riding and preferential treatment.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Tomer Broude

A Field of his Own: John Jackson and the Consolidation of International Economic Law as a Scholarly Domain

in *Journal of International Economic Law*, Volume 19 Issue 2 , 329-331

'When I first became interested in GATT matters some years ago, I was struck by the intricate complexity of the law of that institution and the paucity of literature available to assist a person to learn about it. I needed a treatise that would have assisted me and I soon found that others shared my need. This work is a response to that need.' In this characteristically understated manner, John Jackson prefaced his magisterial, seminal 1969 book, 'World Trade and the Law of GATT',¹ which served for many years as the main and most comprehensive source for students and scholars of the GATT (and indeed, nearly half a century later, it still makes for fascinating and useful reading, not merely for the sake of historical curiosity). Between these lines, one sees Jackson's academic vision as it was borne out through his rich career and his prolific scholarship: international economic law (then, as now), an opaque area dominated by expert practitioners and object-oriented diplomats, is nevertheless also a distinct area of legal study, an academic discipline in its own right, worthy of its own teachings, its own unifying theories and spirited debates, its own rigorous research and its own scholarly community.



It is a testament to John's success as an academic trailblazer in the pursuit of this major endeavor—along with several others, in particular the late Robert Hudec²—that those who become interested in international trade law today will find international economic law courses as standard offerings in the curricula of major law schools all around the world, and ...

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Reto Malacrida

Call It the 'WTO Charter': John Jackson and His Abiding Concern for Treaty Nomenclature and Structure
in *Journal of International Economic Law*, Volume 19 Issue 2, 347-351

As a former postgraduate student in John Jackson's last class at the University of Michigan School of Law, I still recall how privileged we felt to learn at the feet of the academic founding father of both the field of International Trade Law and the WTO as a formally constituted international organization.¹

In my tribute, I first wish to draw attention to a unique feature in John Jackson's writings, namely his consistent use of the term 'WTO Charter' in lieu of the formally correct terms 'Marrakesh Agreement Establishing the World Trade Organization' or 'WTO Agreement'.² According to the UN Treaty Section, the term 'charter' refers to 'particularly formal and solemn instruments, such as the constituent treaty of an international organization'.³ The WTO Agreement plainly meets that definition.

Now John Jackson did not explicitly propose that the name of the WTO Agreement be changed to 'WTO Charter'. As is widely known, however, the WTO's first multilateral trade round (the Doha Development Agenda) has produced scarce, albeit significant, results. Meanwhile, the ongoing 'proliferation of preferential (non-MFN) agreements like Free Trade Agreements'⁴ poses a possible 'threat'⁵ to the WTO's centrality in the world trading system, certainly as a forum for trade negotiations. If, then, for the foreseeable future there may be little prospect of significant further multilateral trade liberalization and rule-making, a sensible strategy for WTO Members ('Members') to follow may consist in consolidating and perfecting what has already been achieved by strengthening the WTO wherever possible. Taking inspiration from John Jackson's writings, renaming the WTO Agreement to the 'Marrakesh Charter of the World Trade Organization ("WTO Charter")' could be one step in that direction.

John Jackson observed that his pioneering proposal to replace the de facto GATT with a formally constituted WTO 'may seem a mere formalism, ...

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Hecan Mehmet

Comparative political economy of the IMF arrangements after the Arab uprisings: Egypt and Tunisia
in *Journal of North African Studies*, Volume 21, Issue 5, pp. 765-793

In the post-uprising period, while Tunisia was relatively successful in its negotiations with the International Monetary Fund (IMF), which provided it with a stand-by agreement in the amount of \$1.74 billion, Egypt remained far from reaching any agreement. In an attempt to explain the difference between the IMF experiments in the two countries, that



is, the factors leading to the signing of an agreement with the IMF or the inability to do so, this article proposes two arguments, based upon one positive and one negative factor: (1) distinctive domestic political dynamics and (2) the availability of alternative resources. In the two cases, the article argues that the IMF experiment was more successful in Tunisia because Tunisia enjoyed a more suitable domestic political environment which promoted and enabled reforms and thus enabled the negotiations with the IMF. Tunisia also lacked alternative resources that could be used as substitutes for the IMF loan. On the other hand, the IMF negotiations were not successful in Egypt as mounting social and political opposition decreased the ability of the government to maintain economic reforms and negotiate an IMF loan and the existence of alternative resources created disincentives. Furthermore, not only pointing out the importance of 'alternative funds' and the 'domestic political environment' with regard to the demand side of the IMF loans, this article also debates the relative strengths of the variables, and argues that alternative funds matter more than the domestic political environment.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Chaudoin Stephen, Kucik Jeffrey, Pelc Krzysztof

Do WTO Disputes Actually Increase Trade?

in *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 60, issue 2, June, 294-306

ABSTRACT: Exporters, trade lawyers, policy makers, and academics see the WTO's Dispute Settlement Understanding as an important, though costly, venue for facilitating the removal of harmful barriers to trade. If this conventional wisdom holds, then disputes should increase trade. We provide a careful analysis of trade flows in the wake of WTO disputes. We find that WTO disputes do not increase the respondent country's imports of the products at issue. Instead, our analysis shows very narrow effects from disputes. These depend on the dispute outcome and issue area. Although we find variation across countries in their responsiveness to disputes, no single explanation accounts for this variation. Our evidence casts doubt on arguments that dispute settlement promotes trade between members.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Steffen Murau, Kilian Spandler

EU, US and ASEAN Actorness in G20 Financial Policy-Making: Bridging the EU Studies–New Regionalism Divide

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 54, Issue 4

This article compares the European Union's (EU) actorness in foreign financial policy to that of the US and ASEAN. It thus contributes to the dialogue between EU studies and the New Regionalism by putting it into practice through comparative research. It argues that a process-oriented interpretation of the actorness concept can be used to compare the EU to both nation-states and international organizations at the same time. This makes it possible to examine the 'nature of the beast' in specific foreign policy contexts on empirical grounds. The case study analyses EU, US and ASEAN actorness in the IMF reform negotiations within the G20 framework. The findings suggest that a 'two-way comparison' of the EU is not only possible but also provides valuable empirical insights into the role of informal politics in the EU and other regions.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Sean Hagan

Expanding the IMF's Regulatory Authority—Incrementally

in *Journal of International Economic Law*, Volume 19 Issue 2 , 375-377

During the period of 2010–11, a discussion took place within the International Monetary Fund (IMF) that I think John Jackson would have found interesting. Following the financial crisis of 2008, the IMF came under considerable criticism for the perceived weakness of its 'surveillance' function, namely, the role it plays in overseeing members' compliance with their obligation to promote their own economic stability and the stability of the overall exchange rate system. This involved a discussion not only of whether the scope of members' obligations was adequate, but also whether the existing framework for enforcement was sufficiently robust. Among the questions that were raised was whether the IMF should adopt the type of countermeasures utilized in the trade area under the WTO framework.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Daher Antonio

Externalidades territoriales de la gobernanza financiera global

in *EURE - Revista latinoamericana de estudios urbano regionales*, vol. 42, n. 126 , 213-236

ABSTRACT: Public policies of state and supranational organisms involved in global financial governance aimed at overcoming crisis imply a reaction based on public financing and financed geopolitics, instruments controlled by the most developed economies and/or competition among them. Such post-crisis policies, mainly referring to monetary and exchange rate policies, produce territorial and urban externalities or 'sub-products' at plurinational and local scales, and translate into a new geography of interest rates and their corresponding differentials. This induces a reorientation of capital flows to different countries, a new geography of exchange rates and their corresponding parities, and expressions of competitive rivalry among regions and nations. These policies, which externalize many crisis costs to governments and societies of emerging nations are sustainable only for a few countries (typically the most developed ones), for the vulnerability of many others (mainly the weakest nations), in the context of unequal socio-territorial redistribution of the costs and benefits of such adjustments. The global territorial architecture resulting from these macroeconomic policies shows the non-neutral geographic and social nature of their impacts.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Ruotolo Gianpaolo Maria

Gli accordi commerciali di ultima generazione dell'Unione europea e i loro rapporti col sistema multilaterale degli scambi

in *Studi sull'integrazione europea*, Anno XI, n. 2-3, maggio-dicembre , 329-354

The paper analyzes the latest EU's international activities in trade matters and, in particular, the new generation of agreements, focusing also on those still under negotiation, such as the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership with the United States, in order to try and highlight some general features. The system of EU trade agreements appears thus constructed, by the principle of consistency, according to a fractal logic, since it reproduces, albeit on a smaller



scale, the normative model of the founding Treaties, whose fundamental principles, which mostly incorporate non-trade values, are taken as a basis also of the former. The work then studies both the legal and factual mechanisms by which EU trade agreements could affect the World Trade Organization system of rules.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Kentikelenis Alexander E., Stubbs Thomas H., King Lawrence P.

IMF conditionality and development policy space, 1985–2014

in Review of International Political Economy, Volume 23, Issue 4, 2016 , 543-582

In recent years, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) has re-emerged as a central actor in global economic governance. Its rhetoric and policies suggest that the organization has radically changed the ways in which it offers financial assistance to countries in economic trouble. We revisit two long-standing controversies: Has the policy content of IMF programmes evolved to allow for more policy space? Do these programmes now allow for the protection of labour and social policies? We collected relevant archival material on the IMF's lending operations and identified all policy conditionality in IMF loan agreements between 1985 and 2014, extracting 55,465 individual conditions across 131 countries in total. We find little evidence of a fundamental transformation of IMF conditionality. The organization's post-2008 programmes reincorporated many of the mandated reforms that the organization claims to no longer advocate and the number of conditions has been increasing. We also find that policies introduced to ameliorate the social consequences of IMF macroeconomic advice have been inadequately incorporated into programme design. Drawing on this evidence, we argue that multiple layers of rhetoric and ceremonial reforms have been designed to obscure the actual practice of adjustment programmes, revealing an escalating commitment to hypocrisy.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Raimondi Paolo

Il programma dei BRICS per la costruzione di un nuovo ordine mondiale

in Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali, Volume 83, n. 1, gennaio-marzo , 27-48

Working on official documentation produced by the BRICS summits and by the most important economic and political international organizations, the Author intends to show the global strategic importance of the BRICS coalition which goes much beyond its non secondary relevance as a new economic and political block. Seventy years after its creation, the Bretton Wood system, in which the dollar has been the only currency of reference in trade, in finance and in the monetary reserves, has concluded its historical cycle. Time has come to create a more transparent and balanced new economic order in which the emerging markets became the main motor of development. The BRICS alliance is becoming the main instrument of such epochal change. The Author intends to demonstrate in the most concrete way how such a change, to be effective also in political terms, is going to be realized through new agreements in the monetary, trade, financial sectors. And particularly in the sectors of economic, social and infrastructure development. The analysis shows the different steps to create the preconditions for the new economic order: new credit development institutions like the BRICS New Development Bank, the Contingent Reserve Arrangement, as a reserve fund to face possible monetary destabilizations, and the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank; the growing use of national currencies in trade and financial exchanges, also through the monetary swaps instrument which allows to settle trade in the agreed currencies; the realization of large continental infrastructure development projects which should become the motor of a



new global industrialization and technological modernization by which Eurasia would become the center of the planetary development and the alternative model to the bankrupted financialization of the global economy and to the different 'post industrial ideologies'; the creation of a basket of important currencies which will lay the foundations of a multi-polar international monetary system. In such a process Europe is called to take a clearstand, to reaffirm her 'emancipation' and political sovereignty based on her own interests and founding values. Not a policy 'against' but a policy 'with and for' stability and global development. Only a dangerous political short sight could delay such profound changes, inevitably generating serious tensions and conflicts which will be very difficult to manage.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Mitsuo Matsushita

Implementing International Trade Agreements in Domestic Jurisdictions

in *Journal of International Economic Law*, Volume 19 Issue 2 , 355-358

John H. Jackson had diverse interests ranging from the question of interpreting the GATT to the issue of how the GATT and other international economic agreements are implemented domestically. I had an honor of co-authoring a book with him in which the subject matter is the implementation of the Tokyo Round Agreements. In the following passages, I would like to reflect on my experience in working with him on this subject.

The book which is the product of a joint program between the three scholars from the USA, Europe, and Japan was published in 1984 as John H. Jackson, Jean-Victor Louis and Mitsuo Matsushita, *Implementing the Tokyo Round: National Constitutions and International Economic Rules* (The University of Michigan Press, 1984).¹ John Jackson was Hessel E. Yntema Professor of Law in the Law School at the University of Michigan. Jean-Victor Louis was a professor of law at the Free University of Brussels and I was a professor of law at the University of Tokyo. The purpose of this project was to compare the process of implementing the Tokyo Round Agreements in the constitutional structure of those three jurisdictions. Implementation in broad sense means the process through which international agreements are put into effect in the jurisdiction in which it is implemented and incorporated into the domestic legal order. This involves issues such as who negotiates international agreements, who proposes and pushes through the domestic legal process necessary to make them effective in domestic jurisdiction, who has the power to regulate international trade and other economic relationships with other nations, and if such power is not vested with the executive branch of the government, what is the scope and limitation of the executive branch delegated to it by the legislature?

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

James C. Hartigan

In or Out? Standards, Discretion, Compliance and the WTO

in *World Economy*, Volume 39, Issue 6 , 738-754

Self-enforcement in international agreements in the presence of uncertainty in the form of shocks and imperfect information regarding the extent of compliance by other members is enhanced by the use of standards in performance of commitments. Standards are less precise than rules. They must be sufficiently demanding that undercompliance is distinguishable from non-compliance. Discretion permits undercompliance as an alternative to renegotiation of commitments, safeguards and the filing of disputes. Undercompliance, particularly when restrained, is a lower cost and



less confrontational resolution to addressing adverse shocks. Signatories are restrained in undercomplying so that the effects of their actions are imperfectly distinguishable from the effects of shocks. Compliance and evidentiary standards for formal disputes define the accomplishments of the agreement. Evidentiary standards serve as an important discipline to undercompliance even in the absence of formal disputes.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Murphy Ryan H.

Intergovernmental Organisations and Economic Freedom: Wise Technocrats or Black Helicopters?
in **Economic Affairs**, Volume 36, Issue 2, June 2016 , 145-154

This article explores the relationship between country membership in major intergovernmental organisations and economic freedom. While it makes no claims to have found any broad theoretically bound, robust causal mechanism, baseline fixed effects models establish relationships amongst economic freedom and membership in the EU, NATO, WTO, UN, OECD, World Bank, and IMF. Though the results are not simple, the strongest findings are negative relationships with the UN, IMF, and WTO, and positive relationships with the World Bank and possibly the EU.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Ian Bradley, Jonathan Bright

International Tax Planning: State Sovereignty and the Multilateral Instrument
in **Canadian Tax Journal**, Volume 64, Issue Number 2 , 465-486

The base erosion and profit shifting (BEPS) project represents a significant increase in international tax cooperation to address perceived flaws in the global tax system. As part of this project, a multilateral instrument has been proposed to simultaneously amend the bilateral tax treaties of participating states, in order to implement the treaty-based measures arising from the project. The authors of this article believe that to achieve its goals, this multilateral instrument will need to be more than a one-time undertaking; it will need to respond to new developments and resolve disputes on an ongoing basis. This may require centralized management, which, the authors argue, would have a significant impact on the tax sovereignty of participating states. Despite the current desire for tax cooperation, concerns over the potential cession of state sovereignty to an international body may limit the effectiveness of the multilateral instrument in the long run.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Kristen Hopewell

Invisible Barricades: Civil Society and the Discourse of the WTO
in **Globalizations** , Volume 14, Issue 1 , 51-65

Concerns about the legitimacy and accountability of international institutions have prompted a sizable literature on the potential of civil society to help democratize global economic governance. Attention has primarily focused on the



institutional factors impacting civil society participation in global governance. In this article, however, I point to the existence of yet more fundamental barriers operating at the level of discourse. I use critical discourse analysis (CDA) to analyze the discourse of the World Trade Organization (WTO), focusing on a key text in which it attempts to engage directly with the concerns of civil society, supported by a broad range of additional data sources, including documentary materials, interviews, and observation. Drawing on the case of the WTO, I argue that the discourse of global governance institutions can itself act as an 'invisible barricade', preventing the meaningful inclusion of civil society in policy debates and deliberations.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Kyle Bagwell, Chad P. Bown, Robert W. Staiger

Is the WTO Passé?

in **Journal of Economic Literature**, Vol. 54 No. 4 , 1125-1231

The WTO has delivered policy outcomes that are very different from those likely to emerge out of the recent wave of preferential trade agreements (PTAs). Should economists see this as an efficient institutional hand-off, where the WTO has carried trade liberalization as far as it can manage, and is now passing the baton to PTAs to finish the job? We survey a growing economics literature on international trade agreements and argue on this basis that the WTO is not passé. Rather, and subject to some caveats, our survey of research to date suggests that the WTO warrants strong support while a more cautious view of PTAs seems appropriate.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Gabriel Gari

Is the WTO's Approach to International Standards on Services Outdated?

in **Journal of International Economic Law**, Volume 19 Issue 3 , 589-605

This article reviews the role that international standards on services play in defining WTO Members' rights and obligations. It argues that the growing importance of international standards on services with material implications—both positive and negative—for trade in services, questions the appropriateness of GATS' restrained approach to these standards. It advocates for a new approach that: (i) gives international standards greater influence in disciplining WTO Members' exercise of their regulatory autonomy, (ii) creates new and more effective mechanisms for institutional cooperation with relevant international standard setting bodies, and (iii) requests Members to encourage private standard setters to observe open and inclusive standard setting practices. It argues that the GATS' embedded flexibility provides ample room for introducing the proposed changes without the need to reform the treaty and highlights the risks of continued rule-making paralysis.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Peter L.H. Van den Bossche

John H. Jackson and WTO Dispute Settlement

in **Journal of International Economic Law**, Volume 19 Issue 2 , 335-338



With the passing of John Jackson, the international trade community has lost its most influential academic. Many of us have also lost a mentor and a friend. I was his student and research assistant at Michigan Law School in 1985 and 1986, and during the 30 years that have passed since, John has been—as for so many of his former students—a source of wise advice and crucial support in important moments of my professional life.

John shaped international trade law and policy as we know it today not only through his publications and public lectures, but also through countless private meetings with trade policy makers, trade lawyers and fellow academics, many of whom had been his students. These meetings, during which John always asked more probing questions than he offered easy answers or developed grand theories, were colored by his deep commitment to multilateralism and his pragmatism. One such meeting took place in 1996 when the Appellate Body—shortly after it was constituted and before it heard its first appeal—met with John to seek his advice and guidance.

John Jackson has always been a staunch defender of a strong WTO dispute settlement system. He considered such a system to be indispensable to making WTO rules effective and ensuring the security and predictability of the multilateral trading system. As he wrote in 1997 in an editorial comment in the *American Journal of International Law*: 'Because of the implications of many of the legal obligations in the Uruguay Round texts, and because they were negotiated among more than 120 participating national governments, it is not surprising that one can find ambiguities, omissions and other troublesome interpretative problems in this vast treaty. For this reason, the dispute settlement process becomes crucial, since it is one of the principal means for resolving the inevitable ...

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Debra P. Steger

John H. Jackson—WTO Institution Builder

in *Journal of International Economic Law*, Volume 19 Issue 2 , 339-341

John H Jackson was a mentor, an advisor, a role model, and a dear friend to me since I had the privilege of studying with him at the University of Michigan thirty-five years ago. I strive to teach the way he taught me, to write the way that he wrote—never measuring up to his exacting standards, but always aiming for the clarity of thought, analytical precision, and passionate vision for the future that he brought to his work.

Most people think of academics as distant from policymaking in the real world, but John was an exception. He was very influential with trade policymakers, in the USA and around the world, not only because of his prolific writings and speeches, but more importantly, because he actively engaged with them in Geneva and capitals.

This is the story of perhaps his greatest contribution: to the establishment of the World Trade Organization (WTO). In 1990, John published a short monograph, *Restructuring the GATT System*.¹ In it, he outlined the history of the failure of the International Trade Organization, described the 'defective constitution' of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) system, and prescribed a remedy: a charter for a new WTO.

In late 1989 to early 1990, he actively promoted his ideas at a conference at Chatham House in London, at meetings with ambassadors in Geneva, and with officials in Brussels. Around that time, I wrote ...



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Robert B. Thompson

John Jackson's Legacy: Defining a Field

in *Journal of International Economic Law*, Volume 19 Issue 2 , 317-322

John Jackson belongs in that small set of legal academics whose intellectual contribution is best described not by a single idea or article, but by defining a subject area, in John's case international trade law. That accomplishment is rare enough that it is worth additional examination. This reflection focuses on three key moments of his half-century scholarly career: the beginning period in the 1960s when he locked-in on an area of international interactions mostly ignored by the legal academy; the time leading up to the conclusion of the Uruguay Round of multilateral trade negotiations in the 1990s that transformed the world's institutional structure for dealing with trade in ways that reflected John's rules-oriented approach to international relations; and the most recent period, illustrating John's lifelong curiosity and the pursuit of knowledge, as he extended his study into other areas of international economic relationships including environment and financial regulation.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Antonio Ianni

L'insolvenza sovrana come fenomeno di mutazione giuridica imposta. Le politiche di condizionalità

in *Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo*, no. 3 , 735-764

This essay firstly describes the origin and the development of conditionalities policies adopted by the International Monetary Fund to face the crisis in both the balance of payments and the sovereign insolvencies. These conditionalities are aligned to a neoliberal approach and they follow the so-called «Washington Consensus» criteria. By analyzing the european financial crisis - especially the ones of Cipro and Greece - the essay explores the possibility that conditionality exists in Europe too, and analyses whether such a policy has authoritatively influenced the legal systems of countries that have faced the debt crisis in recent years. On this aspect, the essay finally argues whether the hegemonic role of Germany has created a sort of «Berlin Consensus».

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Riegner Michael

Legal Frameworks and General Principles for Indicators in Sovereign Debt Restructuring

in *Yale Journal of International Law (The)*, Volume 41, Special Edition on Sovereign Debt

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Tesfayesus Asrat

Liberalization Agreements in the GATT/WTO and the Terms-of-trade Externality Theory: Evidence from Three



Developing Countries

in *Review of International Economics*, Volume 24, Issue 5, November 2016 , 1000–1022

The terms-of-trade theory suggests that governments engage in trade negotiations with their trade partners in an effort to escape from a terms-of-trade prisoner's dilemma by mutually internalizing externalities that they impose on each other. In this paper, I use predictions of the terms-of-trade relationship to provide support for the theory based on the negotiating patterns of three developing countries during the Uruguay Round of the Generalized Agreements on Tariff and Trade. I use industry level import value as well as tariff schedules from these contracting party states that were graduated from the US Generalized System of Preferences list during the Uruguay Round. I exploit the rapid change in their tariff schedules from the best response to the optimal level within a single negotiation round to empirically test the terms-of-trade theory. I find that my estimates are consistent with the predictions of the theory as applied to these three developing countries that were compelled to negotiate for tariff concessions during the Uruguay Round.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Gracia Marín Durán

Measures with Multiple Competing Purposes after EC – Seal Products: Avoiding a Conflict between GATT Article XX-Chapeau and Article 2.1 TBT Agreement

in *Journal of International Economic Law*, Volume 19 Issue 2 , 467-495

One of the issues on which the report of the Appellate Body in EC – Seal Products has stirred considerable debate among legal academics is how to deal with product regulations allegedly having multiple policy purposes under World Trade Organization (WTO) law. For the most part, academic discussions have focused on the Appellate Body's analysis of this issue under the chapeau of Article XX of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). This article seeks to contribute to this debate by taking a more systemic perspective and considering also how this type of measure would be appraised under Article 2.1 Agreement on Technical Barriers to Trade (TBT). It begins by examining why measures purportedly balancing multiple competing purposes, as in the EC - Seal Products case, may necessitate justification under WTO law and why the Appellate Body's self-imposed rational connection requirement is not appropriate to that end. A second argument advanced in this article is that, contrary to what the Appellate Body appeared to suggest in EC – Seal Products, the legal standards for justifying discrimination under the GATT Article XX-chapeau and Article 2.1 TBT Agreement should be essentially the same, and thus conflicting interpretations avoided in relation to the rational connection standard. A two-tier test for bringing in line these justification provisions is suggested which enquires, first, into whether there is a genuinely legitimate rationale for the discrimination, and secondly, whether the discriminatory impact is necessary to achieve that legitimate purpose.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Klabbers Jan

On Functions and Finance: Sovereign Debt Workouts and Equality in International Organizations Law

in *Yale Journal of International Law (The)*, Volume 41, Special Edition on Sovereign Debt

No abstract available



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Isabelle Van Damme

Professor John H. Jackson and the Normative Challenges of the WTO

in *Journal of International Economic Law*, Volume 19 Issue 2 , 343-346

In November 2002, Professor John H. Jackson delivered his Hersch Lauterpacht Memorial Lecture at the University of Cambridge on the topic of 'Sovereignty, the WTO, and Changing Fundamentals of International Law'. He subsequently published under that title a revised version of his lecture with Cambridge University Press.¹ In this book, Professor Jackson explored a set of themes relating to the institutional and normative challenges of international economic law, with particular focus on the World Trade Organization (WTO). He did so at a time when, on the one hand, practitioners and academics specialized in other fields of international law were only very prudently drawing on the practice and law of the WTO and, on the other hand, some parts of the community of international trade lawyers risked settling into a 'status quo thinking' about the relevance of the WTO and its covered agreements to international economic law and public international law in general. Professor Jackson continued to re-examine those themes during the final years of his academic career, against the background of a much more active and informed dialogue between those different professional communities.

The main thrust of his Lauterpacht Lecture was a multi-faceted inquiry into the interaction between WTO law and international law. Professor Jackson viewed that relationship as being symbiotic. I have elsewhere, in the context of the relationship between the European Union (EU) and the WTO, coined this type of relationship as being one of coadaptation, meaning that different fields of international law evolve as they interact and that, through their mutual influence, international law changes.² Thus, in his lecture, Professor Jackson sought to test the hypothesis according to which the practice and law of the WTO contribute to the development of international law in general as well as to offer a window through which to ...

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Andrew D. Mitchell, Tania Voon

Professor John H. Jackson: The WTO and Public International Law

in *Journal of International Economic Law*, Volume 19 Issue 2 , 383-385

In reading and re-reading just some of Professor John H. Jackson's extensive works shedding light on the relationship between the World Trade Organization (WTO) and general international law, we have discovered his voice again. Within a few sentences, the elegance of his writing, the immediacy of his ideas, the breadth and depth of his analysis, all forcefully proclaim his significance to the field of international economic law, with no need to examine his long and impressive biography and bibliography. In those circumstances, we ourselves write with trepidation. It seems unfair to comment at all, with no opportunity for an 'author's response'.¹

We first met Professor Jackson at Georgetown Law in 2003, when he had nearly half a century of groundbreaking contributions to the field behind him and we were but lowly PhD candidates having seriously turned our minds to the WTO only a few years before (under the watchful eye of Professor Joseph HH Weiler). Professor Jackson welcomed us



as Visiting Scholars to the Institute of International Economic Law with an astonishing degree of warmth and personal and professional kindness, although perhaps less astonishing to anyone who knew him or to the hundreds of students and academics he mentored before and since. Our short summer visit led to continued interactions, ...

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Edna Ramirez-Robles

**Professor John H. Jackson's contributions to Development in WTO Law
in Journal of International Economic Law**, Volume 19 Issue 2 , 363-366

his article identifies Professor's Jackson philosophies which permeated the "development aspect" of WTO Law. Firstly, it illustrates that throughout, he influenced the WTO legal framework. Specifically, he inspired GATT Contracting Parties in the establishment of the WTO's institutional structure. His motivation was to improve the accuracy of the GATT rules applicable to developing countries. One of his most prevalent innovative strategies included a rule-based WTO dispute settlement system. In the Doha Development Agenda, he recommended the modification of the decision-making process with the objective of enhancing the participation of developing and LDC Members.

Secondly, Prof. Jackson educated fellows, therefore pioneering the development of new WTO experts. Under his directorship, a new vigorous platform comprising researchers was founded, namely, the Institute of International of Economic Law (IIEL). Amongst them were world prominent professors from the Editorial Board of the Journal of International Economic Law (JIEL); International students and editorial assistants. Prof. Jackson also included professionals from developing countries and LDCs, thereby increasing capacities for integration of their respective countries into the WTO community. His annual conferences which were hosted in Washington D.C. and London were attended by lawyers, diplomats and economists, amongst others. These conferences remain, and serve as a reminder of the legacy that he created.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Rebecca L. Stanley and Ross P. Buckley

**Protecting the West, Excluding the Rest: The Impact of the AML/CTF Regime on Financial Inclusion in the Pacific and Potential Responses
in Melbourne Journal of International Law**, volume 17, issue 1 , 83-106

Financial inclusion is an important international policy goal. Remittances promote financial inclusion by contributing almost half a trillion dollars to the economies of developing countries each year and by giving people a strong reason to engage with formal financial services. In the Pacific, remittances represent a significant proportion of many countries' GDPs. The G20 has committed to reducing the global average cost of sending remittances to 5 per cent. At the same time, financial service providers are facing increasingly onerous regulatory requirements to combat the global rise in money laundering and terrorism financing. In Australia, these requirements have led to the bank account closures of many money transfer operators, posing a real risk to financial inclusion, growth and stability in the Pacific. This paper examines the G20's goals for financial inclusion, the role of remittances in achieving these goals for the Pacific region, and the impact of anti-money laundering and counter-terror financing ('AML/CTF') regulations on the Australian remittance industry. A number of solutions are proposed to address the challenges facing the remittance industry in



Australia, including the adoption of risk-based regulatory measures such as limiting transfer sums, digitising payments and encouraging greater use of technological innovation to reduce risks.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Maria Anna Corvaglia

Public Procurement and Private Standards: Ensuring Sustainability Under the WTO Agreement on Government Procurement

in *Journal of International Economic Law*, Volume 19 Issue 3 , 607-627

With the globalization of the supply chain around different countries, the effective implementation of social and environmental objectives in procurement practices becomes a crucial priority. For this reason, the inclusion in procurement practices of transnational private regulations (TPRs) such as standards, labelling, and certifications has drastically increased as an instrument of verification for environmental and social criteria. However, the use of these private initiatives is not immune from critics and concerns, in particular regarding its international legal implications. If standards and labels provide important information on the suppliers and guidance alongside the procurement process, their inclusion in the procurement documents has also the potential to generate distortive and discriminatory effects on international competition and market access dynamics, resulting in a barrier to trade. This article analyses the main international legal implications inside the World Trade Organization (WTO) regulatory framework of the use of private standards in public procurement. The inclusion of these voluntary initiatives will be analysed under the lens of the non-discriminatory principle framed in the Government Procurement Agreement (GPA) of the WTO, establishing a comparative analysis with the Agreement on Technical Barrier to Trade.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Betz Timm, Kerner Andrew

Real Exchange Rate Overvaluation and WTO Dispute Initiation in Developing Countries

in *International Organization*, vol. 70, issue 4, october , 797-821

ABSTRACT: Why and when do developing countries file trade disputes at the World Trade Organization (WTO)? Although financial conditions have long been considered an important driver of trade policy, they have been largely absent from the literature on trade disputes. We argue that developing country governments bring more trade dispute to the WTO when overvalued real exchange rates put exporters at a competitive disadvantage. This dynamic is most prevalent in countries where large foreign currency debt burdens discourage nominal currency devaluations that would otherwise serve exporters' interests. Our findings provide an explanation for differences in dispute participation rates among developing countries, and also suggest a new link between exchange rate regimes and trade policy.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Ji Yeong Yoo, Dukgeun Ahn

Security Exceptions in the WTO System: Bridge or Bottle-Neck for Trade and Security?

in *Journal of International Economic Law*, Volume 19 Issue 2 , 417-444



The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) Article XXI remains intact, without any modification, since the inception of the GATT in 1947. Recent economic and political developments, however, are not well addressed in the Security Exceptions enshrined in Article XXI. Moreover, the security exceptions that have been incorporated into the General Agreement on Trade in Services and the Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights Agreement feature some discrepancies as compared to the text in the GATT, which causes confusion. Some free trade agreements have occasionally introduced security exception provisions as well, with notable distinctions compared to those of the World Trade Organization (WTO). The current world trading system has to deal with wholly different dimensions of national security such as cyber-security, terrorism, and energy security. This situation raises an imminent question on how to make those arcane security exception provisions effectively workable legal disciplines. This article examines legal developments in WTO and Free Trade Agreement security exceptions and diagnoses the systematic challenges to effectively apply the Security Exceptions. The WTO Members need to address this issue as early as possible to avoid an unnecessary and inappropriate burden for the dispute settlement system.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Broude Tomer

**Selective Subsidiarity and Dialectic Deference in the World Trade Organization
in Law and contemporary problems**, Volume 79, Number 3

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Barry Eichengreen, Livia Chiţu, Arnaud Mehl

**Stability or Upheaval? The Currency Composition of International Reserves in the Long Run
in IMF Economic Review** , Volume 64, Issue 2 , 354-380

The paper analyzes how the role of different national currencies as international reserves was affected by the shift from fixed to flexible exchange rates. It extends data on the currency composition of foreign reserves backward and forward to investigate whether there was a shift in the determinants of the currency composition of international reserves around the breakdown of Bretton Woods. It finds that inertia and policy-credibility effects in international reserve currency choice have become stronger post-Bretton Woods, while network effects appear to have weakened. The paper shows that negative policy interventions designed to discourage international use of a currency have been more effective than positive interventions to encourage its use. These findings speak to the prospects of currencies like the euro and the renminbi seeking to acquire international reserve status and others like the U.S. dollar seeking to preserve it.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Feichtner Isabel

Subsidiarity in the World Trade Organization: The Promise of Waivers



in *Law and contemporary problems*, Volume 79, Number 3

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Bernard Hoekman

Subsidies, Spillovers and WTO Rules in a Value-chain World

in *Global Policy*, Volume 7, Issue 3 , 351–359

As tariffs have fallen, subsidies and related policies with similar effect are being used to support local production. This raises the question of whether the existing World Trade Organization (WTO) 'rules of the game' are adequate. Assessing the economic effects of subsidies is complicated, given the need to consider linkages within and across supply-chain networks. Many of the policies that affect supply-chain operations are not considered subsidies under the WTO. There are no rules on subsidies for services or investment incentives by local governments. Conversely, some WTO rules may not be appropriate or effective given the increasing prevalence of global value chains. The widespread use of subsidies post-2008 suggests WTO members should launch a process of deliberation to revisit the status quo set of multilateral rules on subsidies. The 2015 Nairobi WTO ministerial declaration has created the necessary window to permit interested countries to do so. A central element of this should involve a concerted effort to collect better data and to analyze how subsidies and policies with equivalent effect impact on value chains, whether negative international spillovers are created and, if so, their magnitude and incidence.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Oba Mie

TPP, RCEP, and FTAAP: Multilayered Regional Economic Integration and International Relations

in *Asia Pacific Review*, Volume 23, Issue 1, 2016 , 100-114

In the Asia-Pacific region, multiple efforts to facilitate economic integration and cooperation are underway. The various frameworks come in a range of scale and scope, membership, and degree of clarity. ASEAN member countries, in a variety of combinations, are party to these trade agreements. Overlapping and multilayered, these frameworks are venues for both creating large economic areas as well as for competition for regional leadership. Besides the international dimension, the domestic situations of each participating member country affect the process of negotiations and achievement of the agreements.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Rosa M. Lastra

The Coming of Age of International Monetary and Financial Law after the Global Financial Crisis

in *Journal of International Economic Law*, Volume 19 Issue 2 , 371-373



John Jackson's legacy as one of the founding fathers of International Trade Law is widely recognized. His formidable mind, work ethic, and sheer brilliance radiated throughout his career. His contribution to theory (whether in the understanding of the different dimension of sovereignty or in debates about WTO dispute settlement procedures) and practice (nationally and internationally) made him a unique scholar, universally respected and revered.

What is perhaps less well-known is the passion with which he embraced the challenges faced by the international community—policy makers, lawyers, economists, market practitioners—in the immediate aftermath of the global financial crisis. He was a renaissance man, always ready to move beyond established parameters in order to break new ground. He approached novel themes with the enthusiasm of a child. His desire to contribute to a world ruled by norms and institutions rather than by force or by the 'law of the jungle' led him to embrace the evolution of international economic law—this time in the area of international money and finance—with boundless optimism and energy. The birth of WTO was for him the fulfillment of an intellectual dream, which he had designed in part. And it is those dreams of a better World that also led him to link with younger academics, to reach out to other disciplines, to think conventionally and unconventionally in order to solve the complex issues involved in the proper functioning of the international financial system.¹

Different areas of International Economic Law (IEL) have grown at different speeds over the past decades and are characterized by different degrees of 'internationalization'. The regime in trade is multilateral, with the WTO providing a mature system of international rules and dispute settlement,² while the regime in foreign investment is mostly bilateral (what glues it together is arbitration). But the regime in finance ...

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Jochem de Kok

The Future of EU Trade Defence Investigations against Imports from China

in *Journal of International Economic Law*, Volume 19 Issue 2 , 515-547

China's 'Non-Market Economy' (NME) status, under which the EU may, prima facie, reject the appropriateness of domestic Chinese prices in the calculation of anti-dumping duties, has sustained consistent criticism and constitutes one of the most contentious issues in EU–Chinese bilateral relations. Despite claims to the contrary, the EU may no longer have recourse to the NME methodology after 11 December 2016, by virtue of the expiration of a key provision in China's Accession Protocol to the World Trade Organization (WTO). Since some of the underlying concerns that triggered the creation of this provision may persist following December 2016, the EU may resort to other alternative methods. Firstly, the European Commission has often used the cost construction method under the Anti-Dumping Agreement to counteract NME like situations. However, the recent ruling of the panel in EU—Biodiesel has found this method to be largely incompatible with WTO law. Secondly, China's Accession Protocol provides for special benchmarking and state owned enterprises provisions in the context of subsidy investigations that may serve as a means to counteract government subsidization. Thirdly, safeguards could also provide for an alternative method to counteract sharp unforeseen increases of imports causing or threatening to cause serious injury to Union producers. These alternative methods will likely replace the current NME methodology as a major source of contention between the EU and China.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations



Roberto Echandi

The Impact of an Idea: John Jackson's Striving for a Rule-Oriented International Economic System
in *Journal of International Economic Law*, Volume 19 Issue 2 , 359-362

In discussing the evolution of the international trading system throughout his prolific scholarship, John Jackson consistently argued for the need to evolve from power-oriented diplomacy toward a system governed by law: "... [t]he only appropriate way to turn seems to be toward a rule-oriented system, whereby the various citizens, parliaments, executives and international organizations will all have their inputs, arriving tortuously to a rule –which, however, when established will enable business and other decentralized decision makers to rely upon the stability and predictability of governmental activity in relation to the rule."

This simple, and yet very profound and fundamental idea was at the base of John's work for many decades. Such notion had a profound impact on many individuals like myself who had the good fortune to become part of John's large community of disciples in different parts of the world. In addition, this idea not only impacted the orientation of many governments' trade and investment policies since the 1990s, but also still remains valid today when discussing the direction of the evolution of international economic law.

From a professional perspective, I consider myself a very fortunate human being. I became familiar with John's work when I was still a law student in Costa Rica. It was 1989. After more than five years of market-oriented reforms triggered by the economic crisis of 1982, successive governments had opted to leave behind inward-looking import-substitution industrialization policies and instead base the country's development strategy on finding the best way to insert the \$4 million national economy into international markets. Costa Rica was finalizing its process of accession to GATT. The Uruguay Round had still some way to go. I was concluding my legal studies; and fortunately, I had opted ...

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Makane Moïse Mbengue

The Settlement of Trade Disputes. Is There a Monopoly for the WTO?

in *Law and Practice of International Courts and Tribunals (The)*, vol. 15, n. 2 , 207-248

ABSTRACT: This article examines the question of whether the WTO enjoys a monopoly over the settlement of trade disputes by examining the historical context of the Dispute Settlement Understanding of the WTO, including early dispute resolution under the GATT and the goal behind the transformation leading to the WTO of curbing potential unilateralism within the trade regime. It argues that this culminated in the intention to create a centralized rule-based system for the settlement of disputes, rather than an intention to create a monopoly for the WTO. The article examines potential threats to the so-called monopoly, in particular with the proliferation of Regional Trade Agreements (RTAs) and the development of Mutually Agreed Solutions (MAS). It also addresses relevant case law to demonstrate that the WTO does not and was not intended to enjoy a monopoly over trade disputes. Rather, the WTO pursues the objective of strengthening the multilateral trading system rather than encouraging unilateral trade action, which would not appear to be undermined by resort to the dispute settlement mechanisms of relevant RTAs or other dispute settlement mechanisms.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations



Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Amari Akira

The Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) Agreement

in *Asia Pacific Review*, Volume 23, Issue 1, 2016 , 11-20

On October 5, 2015, the 12 countries reached an agreement in principle on the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) that will build 21st-century trade and investment rules concerning tariffs, services, investment, intellectual property, state-owned enterprises, and other areas. Going beyond the myriad bilateral FTAs and EPAs, the TPP is intended to give shape to policy relating to trade in the Asia-Pacific. Since Japan officially participated in TPP negotiations in 2013, one focus has been on an economic growth strategy that provides opportunities for small- and medium-sized enterprises to consider overseas expansion and that allows Japan to re-emerge as a major exporting country. Regionally, the TPP is expected to contribute to economic development in the Asia-Pacific as a whole at the dawn of an “Asia-Pacific Century.” As the minister in charge of negotiating for Japan's national interest in the TPP, the author shares his perspective about the agreement.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Bazbauers Adrian

The World Bank as a Development Teacher

in *Global Governance*, vol. 22, n. 3, july-september , 409-426

ABSTRACT: The World Bank has been widely critiqued as a source of development norms. Yet one aspect of its activities has received relatively little academic attention: the socialization of development norms through training programs. This article addresses this gap in the literature by analyzing changes in the curricula, pedagogy, and methodology of the Economic Development Institute and the World Bank Institute—the teaching and learning arm of the World Bank. The article argues that, unlike the coercive nature of World Bank loan conditionality, the two teaching institutes have operated quietly in the background attempting to persuasively habitualize and naturalize member country participants into accepting particular understandings of and approaches to development as best practice and common sense. It concludes that the institutes have been active in the creation of toolkits used to socialize individuals into accepting and following World Bank development norms.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

MARKUS HINTERLEITNER, FRITZ SAGER and EVA THOMANN

The politics of external approval: Explaining the IMF's evaluation of austerity programmes

in *European Journal of Political Research*, Volume 55, Issue 3 , 549–567

During the European debt crisis, numerous states launched austerity programmes. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) evaluates and forecasts the likelihood of member states' success in implementing these programmes. Although IMF evaluations influence country risk perceptions on capital markets, little is known about their reasoning. This article uses fuzzy-set qualitative comparative analysis (fsQCA) to explore on what grounds the IMF evaluated the success prospects of austerity programmes during the European debt crisis. Results reveal that IMF evaluations are heavily influenced by the programme's implementation credibility. They require a tractable policy problem, a country's



institutional capacity to structure implementation, and favour expenditure reduction over revenue measures. By acting as a strict guide on the road to fiscal adjustment, the IMF indirectly influences member states' scope of policy making through its surveillance activities. Extensive austerity programmes that need to be implemented swiftly are evaluated negatively if the country is not involved in an IMF programme.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Marc Hooghe, Jennifer Oser

Trade union density and social expenditure: a longitudinal analysis of policy feedback effects in OECD countries, 1980–2010

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 23, Issue 10

Two causal mechanisms have been invoked to explain the positive correlation between union membership and social expenditure. Unions try to influence policy, but they are also more successful in mobilizing members in economic systems in which actors engage in co-ordinated strategic interaction. Applying insights from the policy feedback and comparative capitalism literatures, our analysis indicates that union density is a determinant of social expenditure. A strong policy feedback effect is also present whereby social expenditure has a positive effect on union density. We find a positive effect of union density on social expenditure in co-ordinated market economies, but not in liberal market economies. We discuss the implications of these findings for citizens' capacity to influence policy in varied contexts and for the 'varieties of capitalism' literature, and we close with some speculation about the implications of these findings in the current economic downturn.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Laurence Boisson de Chazournes

WTO and Non-Trade Issues: Inside/Outside WTO

in *Journal of International Economic Law*, Volume 19 Issue 2 , 379-381

There is no doubt that John Jackson had tremendous foresight. He foresaw that the GATT would become a crucial institution and that the WTO would need to be soundly established. International economic law was the prism through which he would distill his analysis of international law. For him, WTO law was 'the central illustration of legal jurisprudential developments influenced by phenomena of our contemporary world'.¹ His vision of the role of the WTO was always as an institution that was perceptive of the changes to come, most notably of the complexity introduced through the globalization of markets, communications, and transport. Institutions and rules needed to evolve to accommodate reactions and responses to this phenomenon.² Jackson saw that non-trade policies had to be considered in connection with the trade policies of the WTO.³ The WTO should not be considered as omnipotent and would always need partnerships to be most effective. Complementarity is crucial to respond adequately to the challenges of a globalized and interdependent world. This complementarity can be understood in two ways: on the one hand, it implies 'externalizing' the regulation of some of the 'trade and ...' issues outside the WTO; on the other, it calls also for 'internalizing', within the WTO, regulatory approaches which have been negotiated in other fora. The case law of the WTO Appellate Body has laid the foundations for such an approach. The Shrimp–Turtle decision of the Appellate Body⁴ in particular has highlighted the need to address WTO law within the broader framework of the international legal system. Some WTO agreements contain ...



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Arnoud R. Willems, Bregt Natens

What's Wrong with EU Anti-Circumvention Rules and How to Fix it
in *Journal of International Economic Law*, Volume 19 Issue 2 , 497-514

Where circumvention of anti-dumping duties is taking place, some countries' anti-dumping laws allow the extension of the anti-dumping duty to imports of the like product from a third country, or of a slightly modified product from a third country or the country subject to the duty. The objective of anti-circumvention rules is to ensure the effectiveness of the imposed anti-dumping duties, i.e. that no unfairly traded products are sold on the export market. However, most anti-circumvention rules do not require the investigating authorities to conduct a fully fledged anti-dumping investigation in order to extend the anti-dumping duties. Taking EU anti-circumvention provisions as an example, this article explains, first, that anti-circumvention provisions are imperfect in addressing circumvention practices from a substantive perspective; second, that these provisions arguably are inconsistent with the World Trade Organization's Anti-dumping Agreement; and, third, that the laudable objective behind such rules can be achieved by using other legal tools.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Kempf Olivier

Varsovie : un Sommet finalement mesuré
in *Revue Défense Nationale*, n° 793, Octobre

Le Sommet de l'Otan à Varsovie devait concilier des approches différentes dans une ambiance de crise avec d'une part le refroidissement avec la Russie et de l'autre la lutte contre le terrorisme islamiste. Au final, ce Sommet a su ménager la « chèvre et le chou »

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Lopes Rui

Accommodating and Confronting the Portuguese Dictatorship within NATO, 1970–4
in *International History Review (The)*, Volume 38, Issue 3 , pp. 505-526

During the early 1970s, NATO member-states such as Norway, Denmark, and the Netherlands repeatedly sought to use the Atlantic Alliance as a forum to confront Portuguese domestic and colonial policies. However, the larger members of the organisation - including the United States, the UK, France, and West Germany - successfully blocked their efforts. While the former expressed concern over the challenges posed by the Lisbon regime to NATO's credibility at home and abroad, the latter sought to preserve their interests and institutional cohesion in view of the challenges posed by détente. This fault line reflected core differences in the allies' perspectives about both Portugal and NATO itself. Drawing on extensive multi-archival research, this article examines the motivations and actions of various member-states on the North Atlantic Assembly and the NATO Council ministerial meetings. It reconsiders the international dimension of the Marcelo Caetano dictatorship and the connection between the cold war framework and the process of Portuguese



resistance to decolonisation in Africa.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Pesme Frédéric

Après Varsovie. L'Otan, la PSDC et les enjeux de la défense européenne

in **Revue Défense Nationale**, n° 794, Novembre

Le Sommet de Varsovie pourrait marquer une régionalisation accrue de l'Otan concentrée sur la défense de l'Europe, alors que la PSDC, tournée vers l'extérieur du continent, pourrait de facto voir son rôle s'accroître. Il est urgent qu'une meilleure complémentarité s'établisse entre l'Otan et l'UE.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Bjola Corneliu, Pamment James

Digital containment: Revisiting containment strategy in the digital age

in **Global Affairs**, Volume 2, Issue 2 , 131-142

Since the Ukraine conflict began in 2014, there has been an increased awareness of the threat to EU interests posed by Russia. In early 2015, the EEAS created the East StratCom Team to respond by promoting the EU's soft power, strengthen media resilience, and catalogue disinformation. This article categorizes several examples of Russian disinformation in order to conceptualize the conduct of digital warfare and suggest how it might be contained. We argue that Russian disinformation earns its effectiveness by focusing upon efforts to exploit differences between EU media systems (strategic asymmetry), the targeting of disenfranchised or vulnerable audiences (tactical flexibility), and the ability to mask the sources of disinformation (plausible deniability). We argue that the EU and NATO's response should be informed by a strategy of digital containment based on the tenets of supporting media literacy and source criticism, encouraging institutional resilience, and promoting a clear and coherent strategic narrative capable of containing the threat from inconsistent counter-messaging.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Nina Græger

European security as practice: EU-NATO communities of practice in the making?

in **European Security**, Volume 25, Issue 4 , 478-501

European security is at a critical juncture and many have called for a more coherent and efficient response, involving both the EU and NATO. However, the primary tool for EU-NATO cooperation, "Berlin Plus", has been stuck in a political quagmire since the mid-2000s, making a lot of scholars to conclude that this cooperation is obsolete and outdated. This article is challenging this view by analysing a range of informal but regular interaction patterns that have emerged. Using practice theory, it sheds new light on and explores how EU and NATO staff at all levels engage in informal practices on various sites in headquarters in Brussels and in field operations. A study of EU-NATO cooperation as practice focuses on the everyday, patterned production of security as well as what makes action possible, such as (tacit) practical



knowledge and shared "background" knowledge (education, training, and experience). The article also discusses the extent to which shared repertoires of practice may evolve into loose communities of practice that cut across organisational and professional boundaries.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Stoltenberg Jens

L'indispensabile dialogo tra la NATO e Mosca

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLVIII, numero speciale, n. 178, autunno , 528-531

Full text available online at http://www.affari-esteri.it/Affari_Esteri_178.pdf

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Hédoin Mathieu, Mercier Denis

La France et l'Otan en 2016

in *Revue Défense Nationale*, n° 796, Janvier

La France est redevenue un acteur majeur au sein de l'Otan, reconnue par ses partenaires. Ses atouts, dont la dissuasion nucléaire, et son expérience opérationnelle lui confèrent un rôle essentiel alors même que l'environnement de l'Alliance est de plus en plus incertain et dangereux.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

KARL-HEINZ KAMP

La OTAN y el regreso de Rusia

in *Política Exterior*, n° 172

Tan importante como el orden del día de la cumbre de Varsovia de la OTAN serán las dos cuestiones que se abrirán a continuación: la estrategia de futuro hacia Rusia y el papel de la disuasión nuclear.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Dupont Benoît

La gouvernance polycentrique du cybercrime : les réseaux fragmentés de la coopération internationale

in *Cultures & Conflits*, n. 102, Questions de méthodes Savoir-faire des études critiques de sécurité, été , 95-120

One of the main features of digital crime is its transnational character, which seems to pose a major challenge to the harmonization and coordination of police resources, which are by definition local. However, an empirical analysis of the international governance of cybercrime provides an alternative reading. This article uses a social network analysis



(SNA) approach to model the polycentric structure of actors and initiatives that make up the web of international anti-cybercrime cooperation. Based on a dataset of 657 organisational actors affiliated to 51 initiatives, an affiliation network (or 2-mode network) methodology is applied in order to measure the network's cohesion while equally identifying public and private actors that play a central role in these arrangements or that fulfill a brokerage function between segmented geographical and functional subsets of nodes.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

J.P.B. Bidias à Mbassa

Le recours à la légitime défense par les organisations régionales dans la lutte contre le terrorisme
in *Revue de droit international et de droit comparé.*, no. 4 , 501-535

La présente réflexion se donne pour objectif de questionner les modalités du recours au droit de légitime défense par les organisations régionales, instances réduites de la sécurité collective universelle dans le cadre de la lutte contre le terrorisme. Dans cette mesure, le recours à la légitime défense est-il régulièrement opératoire au sein des organisations régionales dans la lutte contre le terrorisme ? À cet égard, la réponse ne peut aujourd'hui qu'être ambivalente dans la mesure où tant le Conseil de sécurité des Nations Unies que la pratique actuelle des États laissent entrevoir des possibilités pour une légitime défense émancipée de son encadrement normatif classique.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

RISSO LINDA

NATO and the Environment: The Committee on the Challenges of Modern Society
in *Contemporary European History* , Vol. 25, n. 3, August, special issue "European integration" , 505-535

Launched with considerable fanfare in 1969, the Committee on the Challenges of Modern Society (CCMS) was supposed to bring new life to NATO by both re-energising public support and engaging with a variety of themes, issues and partners well beyond the alliance's traditional scope. The first aim of this article is to go beyond the careful media operation that surrounded the launch of the CCMS and to examine the scepticism and resistance of some European partners, particularly the British. The second aim is to demonstrate that NATO started to think in terms of crisis management, disaster relief and environmental disasters well before 1989. The sheer military strength of the alliance and of its partners did remain central – and notably came back to the forefront in 1979 – but the alliance did start to see itself as a geopolitical player and to consider engagement beyond its strictly defined geographical area as early as 1969.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Ryan C. Hendrickson

NATO's next secretary general: Rasmussen's leadership legacy for Jens Stoltenberg
in *Journal of Transatlantic Studies* , Volume 14, Issue 3 , 237-251

Former Norwegian Prime Minister Jens Stoltenberg became NATO's secretary general on 1 October 2014, succeeding Anders Fogh Rasmussen. As NATO's leader, Rasmussen aggressively pushed this military alliance in new and



challenging directions. He also viewed his leadership post in a fundamentally different way when compared to his predecessors. His legacy provides his successor with more opportunities to serve as a 'general', rather than solely as a 'secretary'. This article addresses Rasmussen's influence on the office of secretary general, and also examines two additional personality trait variables of previous NATO leaders that may shape Stoltenberg's term at the alliance's helm.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Bugajski Janusz

Only NATO can defend Europe

in *European View* , vol. 15, n. 1, June , 27-35

Twenty-five years after the end of the Cold War, there is no viable alternative to NATO's security umbrella over an expanded Europe. The eastern part of the continent is confronting a revisionist and expansionist Russia. Its stability can only be ensured by an effective alliance that establishes permanent bases in the most vulnerable regions as a deterrent to Moscow's aggression. A strong US presence within a broad alliance that includes all of Europe's democracies is in America's national interest and that of all NATO members. This is needed to preserve security across the European continent and to assist in confronting assorted threats to the transatlantic commonwealth.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Grenfell Katarina

Partnerships in UN Peacekeeping

in *International Organizations Law Review*, vol. 13, n. 1 , 55-73

ABSTRACT: The United Nations is increasingly working together in partnership with regional organizations, in particular the African Union and the European Union, to carry out tasks related to the maintenance of international peace and security. As more attention is paid to the comparative advantages of working together with partners in the field of peacekeeping operations, and these partnerships become increasingly integrated and coordinated to meet the needs on the ground, questions arise as to how the United Nations and its partners deal with issues of responsibility in connection with the conduct of these operations. This article examines the policy and practice of the United Nations regarding the use of partnerships in peacekeeping operations, including the legal framework that applies in respect of issues of responsibility. It concludes with some general observations regarding the challenges of addressing responsibility in this context.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Kiesewetter Roderich, Zielke Ingmar

Permanent NATO deployment is not the answer to European security

in *European View* , vol. 15, n. 1, June , 37-45

alls for the permanent deployment of substantial combat forces in Eastern European NATO states, primarily in the Baltics and Poland, have been part of the debates on strategy among the member states for years. In the wake of the



Ukrainian crisis, the defence capabilities of the Eastern European allies must undoubtedly be strengthened. However, in light of the yet-to-be-implemented measures that the allies decided upon at the Wales Summit, a more general shift of international security challenges towards 'hybrid' warfare scenarios, Russia's centrality in the Middle East peace process and the long-term viability of the Alliance, permanently deploying substantial combat forces in Eastern Europe would not strengthen the security of Europe and the coherence of NATO.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Ian Lesser

**The NATO Warsaw Summit: Reflections on Unfinished Business
in International Spectator (The),** Volume 51, Issue 4 , 131-133

The deterioration of the European security environment has put NATO back at the centre of transatlantic strategy. The recent Alliance summit in Warsaw focused on some critical priorities, above all strengthening European security vis-à-vis an increasingly assertive Russia. But the summit left some other pressing matters to be addressed, including the difficult questions of strategy toward the Black Sea, the Mediterranean and the south in general. Concerns about Brexit, the US elections and the challenge of trust on both sides of the Atlantic were just below the surface in Warsaw.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Allers Robin

**The framework nation: can Germany lead on security?
in International Affairs ,** vol. 92, issue 5, september , 1167-1187

ABSTRACT: Can Germany lead on security? This article aims to address this question by looking at recent German contributions to European defence cooperation. In 2013 Germany introduced the Framework Nations Concept (FNC) as a systematic and structured approach towards joint capability development. The concept relies on the idea that bigger nations take the overall responsibility for coordinating the contributions of smaller partners in a capability package. The framework nation model as such is not new but the initiative has been welcomed as a potential game changer in European defence cooperation and as confirmation of Germany's commitment to NATO. In light of the Ukraine crisis, measures to adapt NATO and to strengthen the European pillar of the alliance have become more urgent. Allies and partners increasingly want Germany to extend its role as Europe's dominant economic and financial power to matters of security and defence. The framework nation model allows Germany to take international responsibility, while avoiding debates about leadership and hegemony. Moreover, as a framework nation, Germany can advance flexible cooperation among a smaller number of allies without undermining its commitment to multilateralism. But the FNC initiative also raises further questions: what is the added value of the framework nation model compared to similar formats; what should be the place of smaller groupings in the evolving Euro-Atlantic security architecture; and how reliable is Germany in the role of a lead nation?

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations



Lundestad Ingrid

Turning Foe to Friend? US Objectives in Including Russia in Post-Cold War Euro-Atlantic Security Co-operation in *International History Review* (The), Volume 38, Issue 4 , pp.694-718

his article scrutinises four moments in the post-Cold War era where the United States engaged to include Russia in Euro-Atlantic security forums: the establishment of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council; Partnership for Peace; Permanent Joint Council; and the NATO-Russia Council. The overall puzzle is: why did consecutive US administrations aim to formalise co-operation between NATO and Russia? Current tensions highlight the issue's significance, yet in the literature, there is no study looking specifically at these episodes of US efforts to integrate Moscow. Building on a broad set of primary sources, this article determines what we can now know of US objectives concerning the role of Russia in Euro-Atlantic co-operation. It concludes that US objectives moved from seeking new and stable relations between former adversaries, to facilitating US objectives in the Euro-Atlantic context with NATO enlargement, to expressing more global interests in confronting emerging crises and challenges, amongst others in the war on terror. Co-operation was limited to where interests were overlapping. Russia would not be placed in a position to influence NATO as an alliance. US officials remained hopeful that co-operation with Russia was possible, and would benefit all. At the same time, decisions would serve US interests should relations sour.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Pergantis Vassilis

UN–AU Partnerships in International Peace and Security and Issues of Responsibility Allocation in Cases of UN Support to Regional Missions

in *International Organizations Law Review*, vol. 13, n. 1 , 74-99

ABSTRACT: In the last decade, the United Nations and the African Union have forged a close partnership in matters of international peace and security. This article attempts to shed light on the multifaceted role of the UN in the strategic and operational planning and evolution, as well as the funding, of regional (African Union) peace support operations. Such involvement goes well beyond a simple authorization by the UN Security Council and raises crucial questions in respect of the allocation of responsibility between the UN and the African Union. The analysis of the relevant responsibility allocation clauses showcases that a holistic approach should be adopted that does not micromanage the different aspects of the UN involvement in regional missions, but treats them as an aggregate that should be taken into account as a whole when allocating responsibility. Otherwise, the soft or indirect (but crucial) influence exercised by the UN will inevitably escape responsibility.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Duchêne Hélène

Une adaptation sereine : premier bilan du Sommet de Varsovie

in *Revue Défense Nationale*, n° 793, Octobre

Le Sommet de l'Otan à Varsovie doit être considéré comme un succès avec une Alliance dont la détermination et l'unité ont été réaffirmées face aux menaces actuelles. Les pays membres y ont pris des engagements dont le renforcement des moyens consacrés à la défense, à travers l'augmentation des budgets



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Hooijmaaijers Bas, Keukeleire Stephan

Voting Cohesion of the BRICS Countries in the UN General Assembly, 2006–2014: A BRICS Too Far?
in **Global Governance**, vol. 22, n. 3, july-september , 389-407

ABSTRACT: In July 2014 during the sixth BRICS summit, the leaders of Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa launched the Fortaleza Declaration and Action Plan, suggesting a further intensification and institutionalization of their cooperation in the field of foreign policy, including within the framework of the United Nations. This article examines the extent to which the intensification of BRICS cooperation in the field of foreign policy is reflected in their voting patterns in the UN General Assembly. It presents an original dataset of the degree of voting cohesion among the five BRICS countries. It demonstrates that, overall, there is no significant increase in the degree of voting cohesion since the start of the consultations in the BRIC framework in 2006.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Zwanenburg Marten

What's in a Word? 'Partnerships' between NATO and Other International Institutions and Some Issues of Shared Responsibility
in **International Organizations Law Review**, vol. 13, n. 1 , 100-125

ABSTRACT: This article discusses partnerships between NATO and other international institutions, with a particular focus on questions of international responsibility raised by such partnerships. It concludes that 'partnership' is a notion that is used by NATO in a rather general sense, rather than as referring to a clearly delineated category with specific legal connotations. In practice, NATO has partnerships with States, international organizations, NGOs and private actors. Such partnerships are relatively little formalized, including where questions of responsibility are concerned. As a consequence of the lack of specific arrangements between NATO and partners, and the lack of practice—or in any event practice that has been made public—the ARS and ARIO have a potentially important role to play. Upon closer scrutiny, however, the application of these principles raises many questions. One reason for this is that they are relatively underdeveloped in respect of situations where multiple actors are involved.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Koplow David

You're Gonna Need a Bigger Boat: Alternatives to the UN Security Council for Enforcing Nuclear Disarmament and Human Rights
in **Harvard Human Rights Journal**, vol. 29, spring

No abstract available



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Sayle Timothy Andrews

'A great list of potential mistakes': NATO, Africa, and British efforts to limit the Global Cold War
in *Cold War History*, Volume 16, Issue 1, pp. 19-36

The scholarly consensus on why NATO adopted a 'non-policy' towards the non-North Atlantic world rests on the logic of the Cold War. But British diplomats and officials did not see NATO's policy towards Africa through a Cold War lens. NATO's 'non-policy' towards the world beyond the North Atlantic was not the product of an allied Cold War consensus among the allies. Instead, it was the result of a determined British effort to channel growing pressure for NATO action into a bureaucratic dead-end in an effort to keep the Cold War out of Africa.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Andersson Nils

À quoi sert l'Otan?
in *Pensée (La)*, n° 385

Avec le "concept stratégique pour le XXI^e siècle", adopté en avril 1999, l'Otan montre sa volonté de devenir une organisation militaire mondialisée capable de contourner le droit de veto au Conseil de sécurité. Sa mission est la défense des intérêts idéologiques, politiques et économiques de l'Occident et d'imposer, partout dans le monde, le néolibéralisme et l'économie de marché. C'est par la guerre (froide ou chaude), qu'elle peut légitimer son existence et son rôle. Une autre politique de sécurité et de défense est possible. L'objectif : faire prévaloir le multilatéralisme et la culture de la négociation dans les relations internationales et donner à l'Onu toute sa légitimité pour agir en cas de menace contre la paix.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Plesch Dan, Weiss Thomas G.

1945's Forgotten Insight: Multilateralism as Realist Necessity
in *International Studies Perspectives*, vol. 17, issue 1, february, 4-16

ABSTRACT: The 70th anniversary of the signing and entry into force of the UN Charter provided an occasion to explore the historical underpinnings of contemporary global governance. This article redresses the neglect of the United Nations as a multilateral structure before the conference that drafted the Charter in 1945. It rehabilitates an underappreciated aspect of the period that began on January 1, 1942, with the "Declaration by United Nations," namely, the combination of multilateral strategies for military and human security to achieve victory in war and peace. The wide substantive and geographic resonance suggests the extent to which the pressures of the second war to end all wars helped states to overcome their disinclination to collaborate. Today's fashionable calls for "good enough" global governance abandon the strategy of constructing robust intergovernmental organizations; they are not good enough, especially, because our forebears did much better. Many insights and operational approaches from 1942 to 1945 remain valid for addressing twenty-first-century global challenges.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Hall Nina W.T.

A Catalyst for Cooperation: The Inter-Agency Standing Committee and the Humanitarian Response to Climate Change

in **Global Governance**, vol. 22, n. 3, july-september , 369-387

ABSTRACT: Climate change is predicted to lead to an increasing frequency of natural disasters and humanitarian emergencies, yet scholars have not examined how the humanitarian community is responding to this issue. This article examines its initial engagement with the climate change regime and finds it was remarkably coordinated. Humanitarian agencies coauthored submissions to the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change, and the leaders of major humanitarian organizations spoke on co-organized panels on the humanitarian perils of climate change. In fact, the overarching trend was cooperation, not competition, among humanitarian agencies. This is an intriguing finding as it runs counter to the dominant account of a humanitarian marketplace in which actors are constantly competing for resources. Instead, this article suggests that the Inter-Agency Standing Committee played a significant role in mobilizing and coordinating humanitarian organizations' initial efforts. It highlights how and to what extent institutionalized cooperation between international organizations enables further cooperation in new issue areas and regimes. Scholars of international organizations, global environmental politics, and humanitarianism will be interested in how cooperation emerged in the humanitarian regime and shaped subsequent interaction with the climate change regime.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Savaresi Annalisa

A Glimpse into the Future of the Climate Regime: Lessons from the REDD+ Architecture

in **Review of European Community & International Environmental Law**, Volume 25, Issue 2, Special Issue: The Paris Agreement, July , 186-196

In 2015, parties to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) formally closed negotiations on measures to maintain and enhance the carbon storage capacity of forests in developing countries, commonly referred to as 'REDD+'. This unusual and largely symbolic gesture seemingly signals that UNFCCC parties consider the international set of rules on REDD+ a 'job done', at least for the time being. This article reflects on the outcome of these negotiations and on the related lawmaking process, arguing that REDD+ may be regarded as the first ripe fruit in the pledge-and-review architecture recently enshrined in the Paris Agreement. REDD+ is therefore used in this article as a lens to understand how the new architecture for climate change governance may work, as well as challenges facing its implementation. In doing so, the article aims to shine a light on the path ahead for the Paris Agreement, making predictions on challenges likely to emerge with its implementation, the solutions that may be adopted, as well as areas where more international rules may be needed.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Vandyck Toon, Keramidas Kimon, Saveyn Bert, Kitous Alban, Vrontisi Zoi



A global stocktake of the Paris pledges: Implications for energy systems and economy

in *Global Environmental Change*, Volume 41, November , 46-63

The United Nations-led international climate change negotiations in Paris in December 2015 (COP21) trigger and enhance climate action across the globe. This paper presents a model-based assessment of the Paris Agreement. In particular, we assess the mitigation policies implied by the Intended Nationally Determined Contributions (INDCs) put forward in the run-up to COP21 by individual member states and a policy that is likely to limit global warming to 2 °C above pre-industrial levels. We combine a technology-rich bottom-up energy system model with an economy-wide top-down CGE model to analyse the impact on greenhouse gas emissions, energy demand and supply, and the wider economic effects, including the implications for trade flows and employment levels. In addition, we illustrate how the gap between the Paris mitigation pledges and a pathway that is likely to restrict global warming to 2 °C can be bridged. Results indicate that energy demand reduction and a decarbonisation of the power sector are important contributors to overall emission reductions up to 2050. Further, the analysis shows that the Paris pledges lead to relatively small losses in GDP, indicating that global action to cut emissions is consistent with robust economic growth. The results for employment indicate a potential transition of jobs from energy-intensive to low-carbon, service oriented sectors. Full text available online at <http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S095937801630142X>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

José Antonio Ocampo and Natalie Gómez-Arteaga

Accountability in International Governance and the 2030 Development Agenda

in *Global Policy*, Volume 7, Issue 3 , 305–314

After revisiting the concept of accountability in national governance, this paper analyzes the challenges of its application to international governance, including an assessment of some of the modalities it has assumed. It then proposes a bottom-up multilayered and multistakeholder accountability framework for the 2030 Development Agenda: national follow-up processes at the base of the pyramid, consultations and possibly peer reviews at the regional level, a global accountability system led by the High-Level Political Forum (HLPF) and supported by the ECOSOC system, United Nations and other international organizations, and active participation by civil society and the private sector with their own accountability frameworks in place.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Jarle Trondal

Advances to the study of international public administration

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 23, Issue 7

As an area of research, specifying crucial conditions under which international public administration (IPA) may enjoy independence from member-state governments has become an increasingly vibrant research area. This collection responds to three as yet unresolved research tasks: (1) systematically comparing IPAs by offering large-N data across cases; (2) taking organization seriously by identifying how the organizational architectures of IPAs affect decision-making processes and subsequently the pursuit of public policy-making; and (3) examining the varied consequences of the autonomization of IPAs, notably for member-state public sector governance and for the integration



of transnational regulatory regimes.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Markus Patberg

Against democratic intergovernmentalism: The case for a theory of constituent power in the global realm
in *International Journal of Constitutional Law*, volume 14, issue 3 , 622-638

The normative school of global constitutionalism lacks a convincing model of constitutional politics. As far as the democratic legitimacy of constitution making at the supra-state level is addressed at all, scholars usually resort to democratic intergovernmentalism. According to this normative model, processes in which constitutional norms in the global realm are made or amended are democratically legitimate if they are organized as treaty making among the executives of democratic states, followed by parliamentary ratification. In this article, I argue that this model should be rejected because it puts the democratic legal domestication of public authority at risk. Specifically, democratic intergovernmentalism is characterized by five shortcomings: (a) it does not distinguish between norms of contractual and constitutional quality; (b) it undermines the separation of powers; (c) it breaches the division and hierarchization of constituent and constituted powers; (d) it disregards the deliberative dimension of democratic control; and (e) it does neither provide the citizens nor their representatives with a capacity to begin. Ultimately, I suggest that a superior approach should build on the notion of constituent power.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Chan Sander, Brandi Clara, Bauer Steffen

Aligning Transnational Climate Action with International Climate Governance: The Road from Paris
in *Review of European Community & International Environmental Law*, Volume 25, Issue 2, Special Issue: The Paris Agreement, July , 238-247

Transnational climate actions have come to constitute a distinguishable sphere of climate governance. Reflecting on the Paris outcome, this article discusses the role of non-State and subnational actors – especially on the road to the Paris climate change conference. It argues that the intergovernmental and transnational spheres of global climate governance could mutually reinforce each other by continuing mobilization efforts to engage non-State actors and by harnessing greater ambition, both from State and non-State actors. For such mutual reinforcement to take effect, however, the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change should engage non-State actors consistently and systematically. The article also argues that the Paris outcome and, above all, the building blocks that are part of the decision on enhancing pre-2020 action, constitute the most comprehensive framework of non-State engagement yet, offering a promising basis for mutual reinforcement of the intergovernmental and transnational spheres of global climate governance.

Full text available online at <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/reel.12168/full>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Bohoslavsky Juan Pablo, Goldmann Matthias



An Incremental Approach to Sovereign Debt Restructuring: Sovereign Debt

in *Yale Journal of International Law (The)*, Volume 41, Special Edition on Sovereign Debt

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Palchetti Paolo

Applying the Rules of Attribution in Complex Scenarios

in *International Organizations Law Review*, vol. 13, n. 1 , 37-54

ABSTRACT: One of the difficulties with partnerships among international organizations concerns the problem of determining the subject who must bear responsibility for a harmful conduct, or for having contributed to the harmful conduct of others. By examining a numbers of issues relating to this problem—such as, for instance, whether, and to what extent, the fact that an organization hosts a partnership has an impact on attribution of conduct—this study aims to assess the potential and limits of the current rules of attribution in dealing with the complex scenarios created by partnerships. It is submitted that, while, no doubt, there are areas in which existing international law does not seem to offer sufficient solutions, on the whole the rules of attribution set forth in the ILC's texts of 2001 and 2011 appear to provide adequate guidance for solving problems arising in connection to the activities of partnerships.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Karlsson Rasmus

Après Paris: Breakthrough innovation as the primary moral obligation of rich countries

in *Environmental Science & Policy* , Volume 63, September , 170-176

While the notion of differentiated responsibility has always included an element of technological transfer, the growing disparity between the deployment of non-scalable renewable energy sources in the rich countries and the massive expansion of fossil infrastructure elsewhere has brought new urgency to issues of climate leadership. Breakthrough innovation into technologies capable of providing an abundance of clean energy now appears necessary not only to broaden energy access but also to ensure that fossil fuels are quickly displaced globally (including in those countries that have failed to take climate change seriously). Moreover, it is reasonable to expect that a climatechanged world in itself will demand abundant energy to facilitate everything from carbon dioxide removal to mass desalination for agriculture and other adaptation measures. Considering the moral and political impossibility of treating sustained poverty as the “solution” to the climate crisis, this paper suggests that rich countries have a moral obligation to invest in breakthrough innovation into technologies that are compatible with a future global economic convergence around OECD-levels.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Linos Katerina, Pegram Tom

Architects of Their own Making: National Human Rights Institutions and the United Nations



in *Human Rights Quarterly*, vol. 38, n. 4, november , 1109-1134

ABSTRACT: The United Nations promoted a novel idea in the 1990s: National Human Rights Institutions (NHRIs). Their codification in the Paris Principles and subsequent UN General Assembly endorsement precipitated a global norm cascade. We demonstrate that NHRIs have spread rapidly. Furthermore, we document that structures established after UN endorsement have just as many institutional safeguards as earlier NHRIs. What explains this compliance pull? A transgovernmental NHRI network operating a system of independent monitoring of NHRIs is an important part of the explanation. We examine how this network has interacted with the UN system to create incentives for governments to strengthen NHRIs.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Sangiovanni Andrea

Are Moral Rights Necessary for the Justification of International Legal Human Rights?

in *Ethics and International Affairs*, vol. 30, n. 4, january , 471-481

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Konrad Lachmayer

Between International Standards and Transnational Greed: Providing Transnational Rule of Law in Times of Economic Crisis

in *Hague Journal on the Rule of Law*, volume 8, issue 2 , 291-309

The article discusses the process of transnationalisation of the rule of law in times of globalisation. The economic crisis serves as a stage for our analysis, in which the preconditions of the rule of law are challenged. The Austrian case study focuses on the breakdown of the Austrian banking systems and enables us to understand how international standards and European regulation affect the domestic concept of the rule of law, especially in terms of helping to re-establish the rule of law in times of crisis. The example provides insights into how, in the specific interrelation between the domestic rule of law shaped by Austrian legal culture and the implementation of international and European elements of the rule of law, a unique transnational concept of the rule of law is developed. The article concludes that it is necessary to understand the rule of law in a global context in its plurality of transnational rules of law, which depend on the unique interrelation between the respective national legal systems and the international level.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Leila Ullrich

Beyond the 'Global-Local Divide': Local Intermediaries, Victims and the Justice Contestations of the International Criminal Court

in *Journal of International Criminal Justice*, volume 14, issue 3 , 543-568



This article examines the role of a new category of actors in the International Criminal Court's (ICC) justice process, so-called 'local intermediaries', who have largely been ignored in the research on the Court's work. Intermediaries are diverse actors, from community leaders to grassroots organizations, who help the Court with evidence collection and victims' engagement in situation countries. While much controversy surrounds the ICC's engagement with intermediaries, there is a shared analytical framework for making sense of this relationship: the 'global-local divide'. While many scholars advocate for a combination or even integration of 'global' and 'local' justice processes, the premise that the important misunderstandings and contestations in international criminal justice happen between the 'global Court' and 'local communities' is hardly put in doubt. Drawing on fieldwork at the ICC in The Hague, in Kenya and in Uganda, I will argue that the global v. local framework obscures more than it illuminates about the Court's victims' engagement through intermediaries. By developing a theory of interactional justice, the article will show that some of the most important justice contestations happen within the ICC and in the field rather than between the 'global Court' and 'local communities'. In fact, the ICC's internal contradictions, rather than the much vaunted 'mischievousness' of intermediaries, explain much of the Court's ambiguous victims' engagement. Ultimately, the article aims to close the empirical gap in research on ICC intermediaries by releasing them from the analytical confines of the global v. local conceptual framework.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Perry James L.

Building Global Public Administration Knowledge

in *Public Administration Review*, Volume 76, Issue 4, 533–534

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Michael W. Bauer, Jörn Ege

Bureaucratic autonomy of international organizations' secretariats

in *Journal of European Public Policy*, Volume 23, Issue 7

The contribution advances a theoretical conceptualization of the bureaucratic autonomy of international secretariats and suggests an empirical yardstick for its measurement. The proposed concept of bureaucratic autonomy focuses on administrative structures and provides an indicator-based approximation for the bureaucratic capacities of international organizations in order to systematically reveal variation in intra-organizational potential for autonomous bureaucratic behaviour. The usefulness and limitations of the concept are discussed in light of an empirical examination of 15 international secretariats.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Slovic Scott

COP21 and Business as Usual

in *Environment: Science and Policy for Sustainable Development*, July-August



Six months out from COP21, the sober reality of how difficult it will be to achieve the aspirations of this unique international agreement is setting in. Let's not downplay the significance of the Paris accord. How often do 196 nations agree on anything, let alone something as complex and contentious as a blueprint for mitigating global climate change? But if last December's historic meeting revealed a broad course of action, it also brought to light—and I hesitate to say this—the virtual impossibility of making actual progress in this direction.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Pasgaard M., Sun Z., Müller D., Mertz O.

Challenges and opportunities for REDD+: A reality check from perspectives of effectiveness, efficiency and equity

in *Environmental Science & Policy* , Volume 63, September , 161-169

Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and forest Degradation (REDD+) is a promising mechanism of payments for ecosystem services with the aim to effectively reduce emissions in an efficient and equitable manner. REDD+ is part of the Paris-agreement reached at the UNFCCC COP21 in December 2015, but questions on whether REDD+ will work and bring multi-benefits are still hotly debated. Moreover, the results and messages from research on REDD+ in different regions are mixed, context-based and fragmented. Here, we employ a survey among REDD+ stakeholders, researchers, and consultants to evaluate the opportunities and challenges of REDD+ for achieving effective, efficient and equitable outcomes and co-benefits (3E+). We substantiate our survey results with a literature review. Results suggest that the challenges in achieving the 3E+ relate to the disproportionality between deforestation drivers and mitigation measures, diverging perceptions of equity among REDD+ stakeholders, complexity of property rights, and fragile willingness of stakeholders to engage in REDD+. If these challenges can be successfully addressed by the involved stakeholder groups, they can be turned into opportunities for realizing REDD+.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Mark Beeson and Fujian Li

China's Place in Regional and Global Governance: A New World Comes Into View

in *Global Policy* , Volume 7, Issue 4 , 491–499

The 'rise of China' means that – once again – China plays a pivotal role in international affairs. China's economic weight and growing political influence means that its foreign policies and the ideas that shape them have major consequences for established ideas about 'global governance'. Rather than accepting the institutional and ideational status quo, however, Chinese policy makers are actively trying to develop a new international order through the creation of new institutions such as the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank, and the 'One Belt, One Road' blueprint for international trade and investment centered on China. The paper explains how this process is developing and assesses its implications for the extant international order.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Zhimin Chen



China, the European Union and the Fragile World Order

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 54, Issue 4

The EU (European Union) and China are the two arguably most unusual powers in today's world: the EU as the most integrated regional association of states and China as the largest developing great power. As the post-Cold War American-led liberal world order is facing challenges from forces unleashed by the power transition and power diffusion in the international system, this article will look into the order-shaping roles of the EU and China, to identify their respective visions of a desirable world order and to conceptualize how the EU and China can make themselves 'building blocks' of a working world order through parallel, complementary and concerted order-shaping.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Schmeier Susanne, Gerlak Andrea K., Blumstein Sabine

Clearing the muddy waters of shared watercourses governance: conceptualizing international River Basin Organizations

in *International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics*, Volume 16, Issue 4, August , 597-619

Institutions that have been set up by riparian states to internationally govern shared water resources—international River Basin Organizations (RBOs)—play a key role in river basin governance. Despite an increased attention paid to RBOs in international relations and water scholarship, there has been little focus on defining and conceptualizing RBOs and, subsequently, on comprehensively identifying the RBOs that exist around the world. This has challenged research around RBOs in both methodological and theoretical ways. This paper aims to meet this challenge by offering a theoretically grounded definition of an international RBO and crafting a comprehensive list of international RBOs. We do so deductively, building from the larger neo-institutionalist research and international water resources governance literature. Our definition identifies three broad categories of constitutive elements: internationalization, institutionalization and governance. We apply this definition to potential cases to better identify the extent of RBOs around the world today and outline which cases qualify as RBOs and which cases fail to meet our constitutive criteria. This allows us to compile a comprehensive list of all existing international RBOs, including the identification of RBOs with specific characteristics. The article concludes by crafting an agenda for future research around RBOs that builds on this more complete understanding of RBOs.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Chan Nicholas

Climate Contributions and the Paris Agreement: Fairness and Equity in a Bottom-Up Architecture

in *Ethics and International Affairs*, vol. 30, n. 3, october , 291-301

ABSTRACT: One of the chief aspects of last December's landmark Paris Agreement on climate change was the acceptance of the notion that all states would make a "contribution" to the global effort to address climate change. These voluntary, nationally determined, non-binding pledges are the most visible feature of the reorientation of the international climate regime away from its previous emphasis on "top-down" international coordination, and toward a "bottom-up" architecture that provides greater national flexibility in order to induce broader participation. At the same time, however, the agreement to keep the rise in average global temperatures to below 2 degrees Celsius indicates that there is a limit



to the quantity of carbon that can be emitted to meet this temperature goal, raising the challenge of how to apportion this carbon “budget” among states. Can a fair distribution of the carbon budget be achieved amid voluntary contributions? This paper first discusses the tension between the top-down distribution that a carbon budget approach generally implies, and the bottom-up institutional elements of the new climate architecture. Second, it reviews the alternative ways in which considerations of fairness have been integrated into the design of the Paris Agreement, and the rise of “national circumstances” as the context for fairness. Finally, this paper points to the increased role for normative argumentation in this bottom-up world, where new norms embedded in the Paris Agreement, especially relating to increases in national ambition, take on greater importance in efforts to achieve an equitable response to climate change.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Yamineva Yulia

Climate Finance in the Paris Outcome: Why Do Today What You Can Put Off Till Tomorrow?

in Review of European Community & International Environmental Law, Volume 25, Issue 2, Special Issue: The Paris Agreement, July , 174-185

The United Nations meeting in Paris resulting in a new treaty on climate change has been described as a major success in multilateral processes to address global challenges. Prior to the meeting, there were fair concerns as to the fate of the negotiations, not least because of serious disagreements about climate financing provided by developed countries to developing countries. The negotiations did not resolve these disagreements. The Paris Agreement simply formalized what was previously proposed in the Copenhagen Accord and subsequent decisions of parties to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change. On divisive issues, such as a new quantified goal for mobilizing funds in the post-2020 period and transparency of climate finance, parties avoided substantive solutions and instead established processes for negotiating them further. Importantly, however, these procedural decisions contain clear goals and deadlines. The successful adoption of the Paris Agreement is also significant as a symbolic milestone signalling to public and private entities the global consensus on a low-carbon and climate-resilient future.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Pinheiro Walla Alice

Common Possession of the Earth and Cosmopolitan Right

in Kant-Studien, Volume 107, Issue 1 (Mar 2016) , 160–178

Abstract

Common possession of the earth was a prominent idea in seventeenth-century modern philosophy. In this paper I will argue that Kant not only provides a secularized version of common possession of the earth but also radically departs from the conception of his natural law theory predecessors. I argue that Kant's account of cosmopolitan right seeks to address the same problem as Grotius' right of necessity, namely the implausibility of assuming inflexible acquired rights when this would go against the rationale for introducing these rights. However, while Grotius intended to excuse violations of private property in cases of necessity, Kant restricts his discussion to the right of host peoples to reject entrants in their territory. I show that in Kant's account, to deny life-saving occupation of space to another being who is in principle just as entitled as anyone else to any place of the earth is to contradict the very justification for the territorial



rights of states. This is because the permission to control territory and the right of the involuntary visitor to be admitted are based on the same legal foundation or Rechtsgrund, namely, the original community of the earth.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Hug Simon, Wegmann Simone

Complying with Human Rights

in *International Affairs* , vol. 92, issue 6, november , 590-615

ABSTRACT: The empirical assessment of how signatories of human rights conventions comply with their obligations has, so far, yielded conflicting results, especially regarding the compliance mechanisms that are the most promising to ensure improving human rights records. We argue that this is due to the fact that differences in compliance systems have been neglected and that different compliance mechanisms have been assessed in isolation, without considering possible interactions. To analyze this argument, we propose a novel way to assess the effect of these mechanisms by relying on a Markov-transition model. Our results show that human rights violations are time dependent and that the effect of independent variables is conditional on previous human rights violations as well as on the strength of human rights compliance systems.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Martha Finnemore and Duncan B. Hollis

Constructing Norms for Global Cybersecurity

in *American journal of international law*, volume 110, issue 3 , 425-479

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Milewicz Karolina M., Snidal Duncan

Cooperation by Treaty: The Role of Multilateral Powers

in *International Organization*, vol. 70, issue 4, october , 823-844

ABSTRACT: Who supports multilateral treaties and who does not? We offer a systematic account of treaty ratification patterns paying particular attention to different states' roles in international legal cooperation in relation to the United States' ratification behavior. States' ability to influence the terms of treaties and their acceptance increases their incentives for treaty ratification. Multilateral powers—states that are powerful and independent from the United States—support multilateral legal cooperation because it offers them an opportunity to shape treaty content. Their engagement in multilateral treaties is strongest when the United States does not lead. States that are weak and/or dependent cannot greatly affect treaties and are therefore less supportive of them but are subject to US pressure. An empirical analysis of states' decisions to ratify prominent postwar multilateral treaties covering a wide range of global issues supports our argument.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Francescato Grazia

Cop 22 a Marrakech: nuove strade per il cambiamento climatico

in *CNS Ecologia politica*, XXVI, n. 11, 30 novembre , 3

Full text available at <http://www.ecologiapolitica.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2016/12/Marrakesh-Francescato.pdf>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Daniel Levy

Cosmopolitanizing Catastrophism: Remembering the Future

in *Theory, Culture & Society*, 33 (7-8)

Ulrich Beck's quest to unshackle the social sciences from their methodological nationalism has yielded numerous influential concepts. In his last work he theorized the transformation of a globally connected world through the notion of 'metamorphosis' understood as a form of radical (paradigmatic) change. This transfiguration is driven by different perceptions of catastrophism, carrying the potential to re-shape world risk society. In this essay I critically assess what Beck refers to as 'emancipatory catastrophism'. I suggest substituting emancipatory with cosmopolitan catastrophism. Cosmopolitan catastrophism seeks to adjoin an event-centered approach with a relational understanding of world risk society. By emphasizing cosmopolitan trajectories we avoid the linear fallacies plaguing earlier theories of modernity. Beck's iterative approach provides us with a heuristic tool, which addresses the ongoing interplay of universal scripts and local appropriations in the context of contingencies and uncertainties. Previously seen as residual, catastrophism becomes the center of our analytic efforts.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Berthelet Pierre

De la "Rechtsgemeinschaft" européenne à la "Wertgemeinschaft" cosmopolitique, la constitutionnalisation du droit de l'Union sous le signe des valeurs

in *Revue du droit de l'Union Européenne*, n. 2 , 315-355

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Dryzek John S., Pickering Jonathan



Deliberation as a catalyst for reflexive environmental governance

in *Ecological Economics*, Volume 131, January , 353-360

Ecological or ecosystemic reflexivity involves the capacity of social-ecological systems to reconfigure themselves in response to reflection on their performance. In this paper we argue that deliberation is central to reflexive governance, mainly because it can reconcile many if not most of the sometimes contradictory claims that are made in the literature about its drivers. We take four key dimensions along which reflexivity may be sought, each of which features a binary that puts two plausible drivers of reflexivity in tension with one another: (i) sources of knowledge (public participation versus expertise); (ii) composition of public discourse (diversity versus consensus); (iii) institutional architecture (polycentricity versus centralization); (iv) institutional dynamics (flexibility versus stability). In each case, we demonstrate that deliberative ideas can manage the tension between the two plausible drivers of reflexivity.

Full text available online at <http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0921800916306619>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Gerhardt Volker

Demokratie als politische Form der Menschheit

in *Information Philosophie*, Jahrgang 2015, Heft 4, 2015 , 8-19

Mit dem Begriff der „Achsenzeit“ hat Karl Jaspers erstmals den epochengeschichtlichen Einschnitt ausgezeichnet, mit dem die auf Wissenschaft und Öffentlichkeit gegründete Form der Zivilisation ihren Anfang nimmt. Der Terminus, der die Zeit einer ersten, bereits als „global“ anzusehenden Aufklärung um 500 v. Chr. bezeichnet, hat sich in der jüngeren historischen Forschung als tragfähig erwiesen.

Die Demokratie in Athen war der Versuch, einer nicht mehr bloß auf natürliche Abstammung, geschichtliche Herkunft oder machthabenden Besitz, sondern auf humane Erwartungen und individuelle Leistungen gegründeten „offenen Gesellschaft“ (Karl Popper) eine angemessene politische Form zu geben. Sie scheiterte, weil mangelnde Erfahrung, geringer Bildungsstand, unzureichende Arbeitsteilung und fehlende institutionelle Entlastung den Bürgern zu viel abverlangten. Die Demokratie fordert ein wach gehaltenes geschichtliches Bewusstsein, ein Minimum an rechtlich gesicherter gesellschaftlicher Organisation sowie die mehrheitlich wirksame Fähigkeit zu bürgerlicher Disziplin, um die politischen Krisen abzuwehren, für die sie gewiss nicht weniger anfällig ist als andere Regierungsformen.

Die ersten Erfahrungen mit der Demokratie hat die politische Philosophie der Antike wiederholt reflektiert und in der Regel kritisch kommentiert. Das hat es der humanistischen Literatur schon vor Beginn der Renaissance ermöglicht, darauf mit Gewinn zurückzugreifen. Dabei hat sie, wie uns die Schriften Dantes und des Marsilius von Padua zu erkennen geben, eine an das Recht gebundene Monarchie favorisiert. Hundertfünfzig Jahre später plädiert Machiavelli in seinen *Discorsi* mit ganz ähnlichen Argumenten für eine Republik nach altrömischem Vorbild und liefert somit selbst das zukunftsweisende Gegenstück zu seinem *Principe*, der, obgleich gar nicht für die Veröffentlichung gedacht, mehr Aufmerksamkeit erregt und bis in die jüngste Gegenwart Nachahmer findet.

Für die auf Machiavelli folgenden Jahre hat man das Glück, auf die Schriften des Erasmus von Rotterdam verweisen zu können. Erasmus war einer der ersten wahrhaft europäischen Bürger mit langjährigem Wohnsitz in Basel, und er hat nicht nur den in den antiken Lehren schon von Platon stark gemachten Anteil von Erziehung und Bildung in Erinnerung gebracht, sondern vor allem die Rolle der rechtlichen Konstitution und den damit auf das engste verbundenen Anspruch auf Frieden hervorgehoben. Er hat selbst noch als ein von den Habsburgern in Dienst genommener Fürstenerzieher die Forderung erhoben, dass ein König nur so lange regieren darf, als er dem Staat Nutzen bringt. Der Erfolg für die Gemeinschaft als Ganzer muss das Kriterium politischen Handelns sein. Damit ist das Wohl aller zum entscheidenden



Kriterium erhoben.

Erasmus konnte sich noch auf das Vorverständnis einer auf Freiheit gegründeten christlichen Lehre berufen. So geschah es auch noch wenig später bei den weltläufigen spanischen Dominikanern und Jesuiten, die mit ihrer Kritik an der brandschatzenden Kolonisierung des neu entdeckten Amerikas erstmals das (ausdrücklich bereits 1552 so genannte) Menschenrecht zur politischen Forderung erhoben. Der Sache nach war dies bereits mit dem Gedanken der Toleranz verbunden, der dann im 17. Jahrhundert zur allgemeinen Forderung herangewachsen ist.

Zum wirksamen politischen Programm wurden die damit verbundenen Einsichten freilich erst mit der Virginia Bill of Rights und mit der Unabhängigkeitserklärung der Neuengland-Staaten. Ihnen schlossen sich, von den Amerikanern mit Rat, Tat und Geld unterstützt, auch die französischen Revolutionäre an. Obgleich der Begriff der Demokratie damals noch auf starke Vorbehalte stieß, führten die proklamierten Ziele des Menschenrechts, der Gewaltenteilung und der parlamentarischen Repräsentation nicht bloß eine Renaissance des antiken Begriffs der Republik herauf. Nach wenigen Jahrzehnten einer viele Beobachter überraschenden erfolgreichen Entwicklung der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika kam es zur Rehabilitierung des Begriffs der Demokratie...

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Gramlich Oliver, Conen Claudia

Der Streit um die Investor-Staat-Streitbeilegung im Kontext von CETA und TTIP – Erkenntnisse und -Lösungsansätze

in *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Internationales und Europäisches Recht*, Heft 3, 2016 , 391-440

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Schaal Gary S.

Der aktuelle Diskurs über die Krise der Demokratie (review article)

in *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Politikwissenschaft* , Volume 10, Issue 3-4, December 2016 , 371–390

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Bodeau-Livinec Pierre, Giorgetti Chiara

Developing International Law at the Bar. A Growing Competition among International Courts and Tribunals

in *Law and Practice of International Courts and Tribunals (The)*, vol. 15, n. 2 , 177-189

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy



Fuhrmann Matthew, Lupu Yonatan

Do Arms Control Treaties Work? Assessing the Effectiveness of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty
in *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 60, issue 3, september , 530-539

ABSTRACT: How do international arms control treaties influence state policies? This article investigates this question by analyzing the efficacy of the nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT). Despite fierce debate over the last several decades, scholars still lack a full understanding of whether or not the treaty “works.” This debate persists, in part, because existing studies suffer from a key limitation: they are not designed to infer a causal connection between NPT membership and nuclear proliferation. Prior research cannot determine whether membership in the treaty restrains states from developing nuclear weapons or simply reflects existing preferences. To address this limitation, this article accounts for selection effects by using a measure of states’ ex ante treaty commitment preferences. Our analysis of nuclear proliferation from 1970 to 2000 provides evidence that the NPT has played a key role in curbing the spread of nuclear weapons. Even after accounting for strategic selection into the treaty, NPT ratification is robustly associated with a lower likelihood of pursuing nuclear weapons. Our results not only matter for debates over the NPT and nonproliferation but also have broad implications for the study of how international institutions affect international politics.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Kucik Jeffrey, Pelc Krzysztof J.

Do International Rulings have Spillover Effects?: The View from Financial Markets
in *World Politics*, vol. 68, n. 4, october , 713-751

ABSTRACT: How influential are international courts? Can their rulings reach beyond a given case and affect the behavior of countries not party to the dispute? International law is clear on the matter: rulings have no formal authority beyond the case at hand. This tenet is consistent with the incentives of sovereign states wary of delegating too much authority to courts. By contrast, the authors claim that even in the absence of formal authority, the rulings of international courts can affect behavior by mobilizing pro-compliance groups in countries not party to a dispute. They test these beliefs in the context of the World Trade Organization (WTO) through a novel approach. Because WTO rulings have implications for the fortunes of publicly traded firms, they examine whether financial markets bet on there being spillover effects beyond the case at hand. They rely on two quantitative case studies to test for a cross-border and a cross-industry spillover effect: can rulings have effects in countries and on industries other than those at issue in the initial dispute? The results suggest that the answer is a tentative yes. The spillover effects of international rulings may be a matter of scholarly contention, but their existence is something that financial markets appear willing to bet on.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Bakaki Zorzeta, Bernauer Thomas

Do global climate summits influence public awareness and policy preferences concerning climate change?
in *Environmental Politics*, Volume 26, Issue 1 , 1-26

A survey-embedded experiment implemented around the time of the 2014 annual Conference of the Parties (COP) to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (N 8776; 1200) examined whether such summits are able to increase citizens’ awareness of climate problems. This study finds that exposure to positive or negative cues



about the COP increases climate change awareness, particularly among participants who start out with a low level of awareness. Neither positive nor negative cues about the COP significantly affect people's policy preferences. Our finding resonates with Bernard Cohen's observation that the mass media may not often be successful in telling people what to think, but they are successful in telling readers what to think about.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Bearce David H., Eldredge Cody D., Jolliff Brandy J.

Does Institutional Design Matter? A Study of Trade Effectiveness and PTA Flexibility/Rigidity
in *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 60, issue 2, June, 307-316

ABSTRACT: This article examines the trade effect of flexibility design features within preferential trading arrangements (PTAs). Using a gravity model of bilateral trade that incorporates multilateral trade resistance, we report three main results. First, unconstrained escape provisions undermine the effectiveness of PTAs when it comes to increasing trade. Second, adding some restrictions to these escape provisions more than offsets the negative effect of unconstrained escape, leading to more effective PTAs than those without escape options. Third, adding more restrictions beyond a certain point serves only to make PTAs less effective. Thus, both too much institutional flexibility and too much institutional rigidity reduces the ability of PTAs to promote trade. However, fitting these results to the descriptive data makes it appear that most PTAs would be even more trade effective if they included greater restrictions on the use of their escape provisions. Consequently, it appears that policymakers generally choose fewer escape restrictions than would be optimal in terms of trade performance.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Wey Roland

Droit international et souveraineté des peuples
in *Pensée (La)*, n°387

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Velázquez Gomar José Octavio

Environmental policy integration among multilateral environmental agreements: the case of biodiversity
in *International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics*, Volume 16, Issue 4, August, 525-541

The system of multilateral environmental agreements (MEAs) comprises hundreds of conventions and protocols designed to protect the environment. Institutional interaction within the MEA system raises issues of environmental policy integration (EPI), i.e. balancing different environmental objectives and considerations. Mainstream proposals for enhancing EPI in environmental governance build upon the assumption that environmental institutions are fragmented. However, recent research reveals that the MEA system has been defragmenting over the years such that EPI is less a problem of institutional fragmentation than of effective management of institutional interplay. This paper examines the



factors affecting EPI among MEAs by looking at experiences in the cluster of biodiversity-related multilateral agreements. The analysis is based on a series of interviews with MEA secretariat officials and international experts conducted between September 2011 and January 2012. The paper identifies institutional, political and cognitive barriers constraining interplay management efforts. While some have proposed regulatory changes in the cluster, national-level co-ordination appears to be the best way to advance EPI.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Helge Jörgens, Nina Kolleck, Barbara Saerbeck

Exploring the hidden influence of international treaty secretariats: using social network analysis to analyse the Twitter debate on the 'Lima Work Programme on Gender'

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 23, Issue 7

While there is little doubt that international public administrations (IPAs) exert autonomous influence on international policy outputs, scholars struggle with the problem of how to measure this influence. Established methods for assessing political influence are of limited use when focusing on international bureaucracies. The main reason is that IPAs do not explicitly state their policy preferences. Instead, they tend to present themselves as neutral administrators, aiming to facilitate intergovernmental agreement. They normally act 'behind the scenes'. We propose social network analysis (SNA) as an alternative method for assessing the hidden influence of international treaty secretariats. SNA infers influence from an actor's relative position in issue-specific communication networks. We illustrate the application and usefulness of this method in a case study on the role of the United Nations climate secretariat in a policy-oriented Twitter debate on incorporating gender issues into the global climate policy regime.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Straehle Christine

Falling into the justice gap? Between duties of social and global justice

in *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, Volume 19, Issue 6, 2016 , 645-661

Abstract

The literature on cosmopolitan justice has yet to address what principles to adopt when duties of global justice and duties of social justice are in conflict. In this paper, I address David Miller's contention that some may fall into the justice gap since we need to prioritize duties of social justice in cases of conflict. I argue that Miller's analysis depends on three stipulations: the incommensurability of the values underlying duties of social justice and those of global justice; the need to justify duties of justice to their holders; and the need to consider the necessary institutions to realize and implement justice obligations. I argue against the incommensurability clause by showing that both conceptions of justice pursue moral equality as the underlying and commensurate value. Instead, I propose that the currencies of justice we employ in the two contexts of justice are different. Discussing the justifiability clause I agree with the stipulation that we have to justify decisions that affect the realization of justice to those who have to carry the burden of realizing them. This implies, however, that we may have to accept that some prioritize duties of global justice over duties of social justice. If this is the case, it seems as though the state has little recourse to prioritize duties of social justice. Finally, discussing Miller's institutional clause I ask why the justice relevant institutions can only be those of the state. It is plausible to say that in



our current world, institutions of humanitarian aid are effective means to satisfy duties of global justice.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Linnerud Kristin, Holden Erling

Five criteria for global sustainable development

in *International Journal of Global Environmental Issues*, Volume 15, No. 4 , 300-314

A clear understanding of the global-level sustainable development concept is necessary before applying it to projects at a national, local or firm level. Such lower-level projects may concern managing production and consumption of energy, organisation of cities and using land productively. However, the sustainable development goals adopted at the United Nations Summit in September 2015 do not provide adequate guidance, even at the global level, because the goals are too many, too vague and often not quantified. Based on the 1987 report *Our Common Future*, we derive five criteria for the development of primary goals and corresponding indicators and quantified thresholds to be met.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Peter Marcuse

For the Repoliticization of Global City Research

in *City & Community* , volume 15, issue 2 , 113-117

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Anuscheh Farahat and Nora Markard

Forced Migration Governance: In Search of Sovereignty

in *German Law Journal*, volume 17, issue 6 , 923-947

The European Union (EU) Member States have experienced the recent refugee protection crisis in the EU as a de-facto loss of control over their borders. They find themselves unable to subject entry into their territory to a sovereign decision. In response, the Member States have sought to regain full sovereignty over matters of forced migration, both unilaterally and cooperatively, seeking to govern a phenomenon—forced migration — that by definition defies governance. Unilateral measures include forced migration caps and a search for ways to circumvent responsibility under the Dublin system. Cooperative efforts by EU Member States include the search for ways to more effectively govern forced migration at the EU level and beyond. Supranational EU efforts include the introduction of an internal relocation scheme and support for Italy and Greece in processing asylum claims in so-called “hotspots.” Beyond the EU, Member States are seeking to externalize protection responsibility to third world countries under international agreements, in particular, by returning asylum seekers to Turkey. This Article outlines the unilateral and cooperative governance efforts undertaken and shows that states’ sovereign decisions over migration are significantly limited in the case of forced migrants, both by EU law and by international law.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Kemp Luke

Framework for the future? Exploring the possibility of majority voting in the climate negotiations

in International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics, Volume 16, Issue 5, October , 757-779

The United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) is struggling in its attempts to address the threat of anthropogenic climate change and create an effective international climate agreement. A substantial part of the problem is consensus decision-making within the Convention. Majority voting is a potential alternative which is already being discussed within the UNFCCC. A comparative analysis of consensus and majority voting suggests that majority voting is superior in terms of both efficiency and effectiveness by allowing for quicker decision-making and semi-global approaches to a climate agreement (termed here as "Critical Mass Governance"). This paper aims to investigate how majority voting could be implemented in the UNFCCC and to consider politically feasible and effective approaches to voting arrangements for the Convention. There is a legal opportunity to introduce voting through adoption of the draft Rules of Procedure, but this faces political opposition. A type of Layered Majority Voting with larger majorities for financial and substantial matters is considered to be the optimal approach in balancing political feasibility and effectiveness. For now, voting is not politically feasible for the UNFCCC, but could be introduced into future bodies or treaties under the Convention.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Vanhala Lisa, Hestbaek Cecilie

Framing Climate Change Loss and Damage in UNFCCC Negotiations

in Global Environmental Politics, Volume 16, Issue 4, November , 111-129

How does an idea emerge and gain traction in the international arena when its underpinning principles are contested by powerful players? The adoption in 2013 of the Warsaw International Mechanism on Loss and Damage as part of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) puzzled observers, because key state parties, such as the United States, had historically opposed the policy. This article examines the roles of frame contestation and ambiguity in accounting for the evolution and institutionalization of the "loss and damage" norm within the UNFCCC. The article applies frame analysis to the data from coverage of the negotiations and elite interviews. It reveals that two competing framings, one focused on liability and compensation and the other on risk and insurance, evolved into a single, overarching master frame. This more ambiguous framing allowed parties to attach different meanings to the policy that led to the resolution of differences among the parties and the embedding of the idea of loss and damage in international climate policy.

Full text available at http://www.mitpressjournals.org/doi/full/10.1162/GLEP_a_00379

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

André Dao, Andrew Godwin and Ian Ramsay

From enforcement to prevention: international cooperation and financial benchmark reform



in **Law and Financial Markets Review**, volume 10, issue 2 , 83-101

The London Interbank Offered Rate and forex scandals have shaken public trust in the global financial system. Despite the global nature of the scandals, the role of international cooperation in preventing financial benchmark manipulation has been surprisingly overlooked. Benchmark reform has tended to focus on structural changes to benchmark administration and regulation, with a particular emphasis on benchmark quality, methodology and governance. Where international cooperation has occurred, it has tended to operate ex post, in facilitating cross-border investigations after crises have already been revealed. Where ex ante cooperation has occurred, it has taken the form of high-level standard-setting. It is clear that further cooperation is needed to prevent misconduct rather than to merely punish it. This article addresses the question of international cooperation in the financial benchmark context and concludes that cooperative tools such as ad hoc discussions, supervisory colleges, equivalence measures and regulatory networks have the potential to bridge the preventative gap in this regard.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Gianluigi Palombella

German War Crimes and the Rule of International Law

in **Journal of International Criminal Justice**, volume 14, issue 3 , 607-613

This article considers the opposite stances taken by the International Court of Justice (ICJ), the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR) and the Italian Constitutional Court from the point of view of the international rule of law. On the one hand, the ICJ and the ECtHR relied on the existence of a customary rule of state immunity as hierarchically prevailing — either in the international legal order as a jus cogens rule or in state constitutions — over any commitments to human rights. On the other hand, the Constitutional Court considered the normative weight of the conflicting principles at stake. While acting as a gatekeeper of its constitutional order, the Court did not disregard normative imperatives stemming from international law and eventually struck a balance between the two legal orders on a substantive and contextual basis. In so doing, it encouraged an innovative, coherent attitude towards a comprehensive view of international law as a whole, one that the ICJ was unable to consider.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Surabhi Ranganathan

Global Commons

in **European Journal of International Law**, volume 27, issue 3 , 693-717

'The tragedy of the commons' and 'the common heritage of mankind' are concepts that dominate the legal discourse on governing global commons, including spaces beyond national jurisdictions, essential resources and concerns such as biodiversity conservation and climate change. This article offers a critical account of their origins. It associates each with a prominent speech act of the late 1960s: Garrett Hardin introduced the former to a group of scientists in 1968, while Arvid Pardo articulated the latter to the First Committee of the UN General Assembly in 1967. The article shows that Hardin's and Pardo's interventions responded to pressing issues of the time: decolonization, developed/developing state relations and pressures of population and resource security. Channelling this period's fascination with integrative knowledge, they were impressive, if error-laden, feats of synthesis of economic, legal and scientific data and theories. At



the same time, they had parochial, illiberal and even imperial dimensions, playing upon, and exacerbating, the mistrust that then typified international relations. These are all legacies we must contend with today in our legal engagements with global commons.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Hamdi-Cherif Meriem, Waisman Henri

Global carbon pricing and the “Common But Differentiated Responsibilities”: the case of China

in *International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics*, Volume 16, Issue 5, October , 671-689

This paper analyzes whether using carbon pricing as the major mitigation policy instrument is compatible with the implementation of the “common but differentiated responsibility” principle in a global climate agreement. We focus more specifically on China, a key player in climate negotiations. This is done by adopting the Imacim-R model to assess the economic effect of carbon pricing on the Chinese economy in different climate architectures which, despite aiming at the same stabilization target, differ in terms of the temporal profile of emission reductions and the regional distribution of efforts (different quota allocation schemes). Model outcomes prove that neither temporal nor regional flexibilities provides a satisfactory answer since the Chinese economy remains significantly hurt at certain time periods. This suggests the recourse to complementary measures to carbon pricing in order to help smoothing the necessary shift toward a low-carbon society. This means in particular that, to build a climate policy architecture that could be compatible with the “common but differentiated responsibility” principle, climate negotiations must go beyond global top-down systems relying on cap-and-trade to include bottom-up measures likely to complement the carbon price and make carbon mitigation acceptable in countries like China.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Kyla Tienhaara

Governing the Global Green Economy

in *Global Policy*, Volume 7, Issue 4 , 481–490

The concept of a ‘green economy’ has risen to prominence in recent years. However, little has been said about what actors could drive its widespread adoption at the global level. At present, global governance generally occurs in distinct policy domains or ‘silos’; the global environment and the global economy are segregated. Within these domains, authority is highly fragmented among numerous institutions. However, two particular institutions have the broad scope and potentially the capacity to coordinate and steer green economy efforts: the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) and the Group of Twenty (G20). This article examines why some (including UNEP itself) have called for the G20 to take a greater role in steering the green economy and assesses the extent to which it has done so. The article concludes that the G20 was ineffective in promoting a ‘green recovery’ from the Global Financial Crisis (GFC) and has similarly failed to stimulate ‘green growth’. Reform of both the G20 and UNEP could improve global policy on the green economy, but changes to the G20 would likely have a greater impact.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy



Garriga Ana Carolina

Human Rights Regimes, Reputation, and Foreign Direct Investment
in *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 60, issue 1, march , 160-172

ABSTRACT: What are the effects of international human-rights regimes on foreign direct investment (FDI)? Existing scholarship generally suggests a negative relationship between human-rights violations and FDI. Furthermore, research shows that international regimes can have effects on third parties such as non-member countries and other nonstate actors. However, it remains unclear how a country's participation in human-rights regimes could affect investors' decisions. I argue that host country participation in human-rights regimes provides a "reputational umbrella" for investors and therefore positively affects FDI. This effect proves stronger in countries with poor human rights records. Interestingly, investors appear not to punish human-rights violations if the state is a party to many human-rights regimes. Empirical analyses on a sample of 135 developing countries, from 1982 to 2011, provide support for the existence of these direct and indirect effects. The findings help to disentangle reputational effects from other possible causal mechanisms. Results are robust to various model specifications, including tests for endogeneity and reverse causality.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Guinn David E.

Human Rights as Peacemaker: An Integrative Theory of International Human Rights
in *Human Rights Quarterly*, vol. 38, n. 3, august , 754-786

ABSTRACT: To enhance and expand human rights, advocates have increasingly reached to include international humanitarian law (IHL) and international criminal law (ICL) as bodies of law also based on the ideal of human dignity and worth. However, while human rights clearly express a moral dimension, the human rights project did not originate as a movement of moral reform, but rather as a means of sustaining peaceful coexistence. To demonstrate the salience of this perspective, I will begin by reviewing the development of human rights, humanitarian law, and international criminal law in light of how they promote peace by protecting human dignity.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Hencken Ritter Emily, Conrad Courtenay R.

Human rights treaties and mobilized dissent against the state
in *Review of International Organizations (The)* , vol. 11, n. 4, december , 449-475

ABSTRACT: How does state obligation to international human rights treaties (HRTs) affect mobilized dissent? We argue that obligations to protect human rights affect not only state behavior but also the behavior of dissidents. We present a theory in which the effect of HRTs on dissent is conditional on expectations of when it will constrain government behavior. We assume that HRT obligation increases the likelihood that government agents face litigation costs for repression but argue that leaders are only constrained when they would be most likely to repress. The expectation of constraint creates opportunity: citizens are more likely to dissent in HRT-obligated states with secure leaders and weak domestic courts. We find empirical support for the implications of our theory using country-month data on HRT obligation and dissent events from 1990 to 2004.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Odutayo Aramide

Human security and the international refugee crisis

in **Journal of Global Ethics**, Volume 12, Issue 3, 2016 , 365-379

ABSTRACT

Despite offering some protection for refugees, realpolitik in international affairs ensures that the paradigm of human security remains aspirational rather than practical. This paper begins by providing a brief snapshot of the current global refugee crisis, encompassing multiple local crises in the Middle East, Europe, Africa, and Latin America. It next details the international community's response to these crises, highlighting the punitive policies used by the Australian government and the European Union (EU) to impede the asylum process. Lastly, the paper will assess whether the framework of human security can support the right to asylum, a right that is enshrined in international law. Following a brief introduction to the concept of human security, the paper will explore its strengths and limitations, examining whether it offers a complementary source of protection to the right to asylum in the face of eroding refugee rights. I argue that human security is a useful but imperfect framework for protecting refugee rights.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Hjorthen Fredrik D., Duus-Otterström Göran

Humanitarian intervention and historical responsibility

in **Journal of Global Ethics**, Volume 12, Issue 2, 2016 , 187-203

ABSTRACT

Some suggest that the duty of humanitarian intervention should be discharged by states that are historically responsible for the occurrence of violence. A fundamental problem with this suggestion is that historically responsible states might be ill-suited to intervene because they are unlikely to enjoy support from the local population. Cécile Fabre has suggested a way around that problem, arguing that responsible states ought to pay for humanitarian interventions even though they ought not to take part in the military operations. We claim that Fabre's idea is subject to two concerns. First, the duty to perform might not be appropriately transferrable from the historically responsible state to another state because it would allow the primary duty bearer to escape the worst costs of intervention. Second, an intervention might be as unlikely to generate local support when a historically responsible state pays for an intervention as when it performs it. These problems are enough to cast doubt on Fabre's idea. However, the idea is helpful because it highlights as yet neglected questions about how the financial and material burden of humanitarian intervention is to be shared.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy



O'Sullivan Kevin, Hilton Matthew, Fiori Juliano

Humanitarianisms in context

in *European Review of History - Revue Européenne d'Histoire*, Volume 23 - Issue 1-2 , pp. 1-15

This introduction describes the rapidly expanding history of non-state humanitarianism in terms of three themes. First, it argues that we should think about humanitarianism less in terms of ruptures or breaks, and focus more on the moments of acceleration and the continuities that shaped that narrative: how the relationships among local, national and international discourses were played out in the shift between imperial and post-colonial worlds, in the dialogue between religious and secular traditions, and in the transformative processes of decolonization, de-regulation and globalization. Second, we suggest the need to re-think the geography of non-state humanitarianism. Drawing attention to the transnational contexts and traditions in which ideas of humanitarianism have been articulated not only adds to our understanding of transnational action and the strength of global civil society beyond the West, we argue, it allows us to better appreciate the myriad languages and practices of humanitarianism employed in a global context. Finally, this introduction also re-visits the question of motivation. By looking beyond the state, we argue, we can better understand the variety of motives that shaped the act of giving: from compassion to capturing markets, the search for efficiency, and the construction of local, national and international identities.

<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/13507486.2015.1117422>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Mangiameli Stelio

Il sistema europeo: dal diritto internazionale al diritto costituzionale e ritorno?

in *Diritto e società*, fasc. 1

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Pembleton Matthew R. Pembleton

Imagining a Global Sovereignty: U.S. Counternarcotic Operations in Istanbul during the Early Cold War and the Origins of the Foreign "War on Drugs"

in *Journal of Cold War Studies*, Volume 18, Issue 2 - Spring , pp.28-63

Drawing on declassified records of the little-known Federal Bureau of Narcotics, this article examines counternarcotics operations in postwar Istanbul in the context of the Cold War and its impact on U.S. officials' conceptions of national security. Ever-expanding drug control operations demonstrated the emergence of U.S. hegemonic impulses independent of the deepening conflict with the Soviet Union. The article challenges the view that U.S. policy on drug control during the early Cold War era existed primarily as an adjunct of the "deep state." Actual U.S. policies were shaped by a much more complex set of factors.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations



Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Dunlop Tessa, Corbera Esteve

Incentivizing REDD+: How developing countries are laying the groundwork for benefit-sharing
in *Environmental Science & Policy*, Volume 63, September, 44-54

Benefit distribution plays a central role in incentivizing action in REDD+ (Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Degradation and forest enhancement). Conceived as a global performance-based incentive mechanism to reduce land-use emissions in developing countries, REDD+ involves changes in resource governance by many actors at multiple scales, in order to minimize the climate impact of land-use activities or to maximize their contribution to reducing greenhouse gas emissions. A key governance issue for developing countries is how to incentivize action among stakeholders and the way countries design their benefit-sharing mechanisms (BSMs) is therefore seen as a critical factor in determining the success of REDD+ in the long term. This comprehensive research investigates up-to-date national level REDD+ planning documents to provide new evidence on how countries are planning to implement BSMs, including an analysis of common governance themes and where gaps exist. Our unique comparative study based on five country cases reveals that there is a lack of comprehensive participatory, transparent and accountable processes among country strategies and in particular, shortcomings in preparation for local and subnational governance, financial disbursement and dispute-resolution mechanisms. Furthermore, countries are making slow progress on land tenure and carbon rights reform. In fact, such ambiguous legislation on carbon benefits, coupled with weak institutional capacity and ineffective dispute-resolution mechanisms, may make it difficult for REDD+ stakeholders to participate fully in initiatives and receive a fair distribution of benefits. This research indicates that REDD+ actors including donors and national governments will need to further rethink strategies and policy frameworks to improve their BSMs and to guarantee effective, equitable and efficient REDD+ outcomes in the long term.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Orr Shannon K.

Institutional Control and Climate Change Activism at COP 21 in Paris
in *Global Environmental Politics*, Volume 16, Issue 3, August, 23-30

The 21st meeting of the Conference of the Parties (COP) to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change in Paris faced two particular challenges: the growth of civil society participation in the negotiations, and significant security concerns following the terrorist attacks on the city two weeks prior to the start of the negotiations. This report reflects on the impacts of these two challenges through an overview of civil society participation at the COP, highlighting the implications for the accountability of the negotiations.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Dryzek John S.

Institutions for the Anthropocene: Governance in a Changing Earth System
in *British Journal of Political Science*, vol. 46, issue 4, october, 937-956

ABSTRACT: The unusually stable Earth system of the Holocene epoch of the past 10,000 years, in which human civilization arose, is yielding to a more dynamic and unstable Anthropocene epoch driven by human practices. The



consequences for key institutions, such as states, markets and global governance, are profound. Path dependency in institutions complicit in destabilizing the Earth system constrains response to this emerging epoch. Institutional analysis highlights reflexivity as the antidote to problematic path dependency. A more ecological discourse stresses resilience, foresight and state shifts in the Earth system. Ecosystemic reflexivity can be located as the first virtue of political institutions in the Anthropocene. Undermining all normative institutional models, this analysis enables re-thinking of political institutions in dynamic social-ecological terms.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Jonathan W. Kuyper, Theresa Squatrito

International courts and global democratic values: Participation, accountability, and justification in Review of International Studies (The), Volume 43 - Issue 01 , 152-176

In a post-Cold War era characterised by globalisation and deep interdependence, the actions of national governments increasingly have an effect beyond their own territorial borders. Moreover, key agents of global governance – international organisations and their bureaucracies, non-state actors and private agents – exercise pervasive forms of authority. Due to these shifts, it is widely noted that world politics suffers from a democratic deficit. This article contributes to work on global democracy by looking at the role of international courts. Building upon an original dataset covering the 24 international courts in existence since the end of the Second World War, we argue that international courts are able to advance democratic values and shape democratic practices beyond the state. They can do so by fostering equal participation, accountability, and public justification that link individuals directly with sites of transnational authority. We contend that the ability of international courts to promote these values is conditioned by institutional design choices concerning access rules, review powers, and provisions regarding judicial reason-giving. We canvass these design features of different international courts and assess the promises and pitfalls for global democratisation. We conclude by linking our analysis of international courts and global democratisation with debates about the legitimation and politicisation of global governance at large.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Wallace Brown Garrett, Bohm Alexandra

Introducing Jus ante Bellum as a cosmopolitan approach to humanitarian intervention in European Journal of International Relations , vol. 22, n. 4, december , 897-919

ABSTRACT: Cosmopolitans often argue that the international community has a humanitarian responsibility to intervene militarily in order to protect vulnerable individuals from violent threats and to pursue the establishment of a condition of cosmopolitan justice based on the notion of a 'global rule of law'. The purpose of this article is to argue that many of these cosmopolitan claims are incomplete and untenable on cosmopolitan grounds because they ignore the systemic and chronic structural factors that underwrite the root causes of these humanitarian threats. By way of examining cosmopolitan arguments for humanitarian military intervention and how systemic problems are further ignored in iterations of the Responsibility to Protect, this article suggests that many contemporary cosmopolitan arguments are guilty of focusing too narrowly on justifying a responsibility to respond to the symptoms of crisis versus demanding a similarly robust justification for a responsibility to alleviate persistent structural causes. Although this article recognizes that immediate principles of humanitarian intervention will, at times, be necessary, the article seeks to draw attention to



what we are calling principles of Jus ante Bellum (right before war) and to stress that current cosmopolitan arguments about humanitarian intervention will remain insufficient without the incorporation of robust principles of distributive global justice that can provide secure foundations for a more thoroughgoing cosmopolitan condition of public right.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Brown Chester

Investment Treaty Tribunals and Human Rights Courts. Competitors or Collaborators?
in Law and Practice of International Courts and Tribunals (The), vol. 15, n. 2 , 287-304

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Colome Josep M.

Is democracy compatible with global institutions?
in Constitutional political economy, Volume 27, Issue 3, September 2016 , 260-272

The salience and relevance of the currently existing global institutions raise the question of their compatibility with some reasonable notion of democracy. I hold that democracy, as a form of government based on social consent, can be operationalized with different institutional formulas, mostly depending on the territorial scale and the degree of conflict of interests of the issues submitted to collective decision-making. Democratic institutional formulas include the people's assembly in small cities, party elections of representatives in large states, and expert accountable rulers at the global level. Analogously to how democracy was scaled up from the city level to the state level in early modern times, it needs to be scaled up to the global level by the design and adoption of appropriate institutional formulas.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Dirix Jo, Peeters Wouters, Sterckx Sigrid

Is the Clean Development Mechanism delivering benefits to the poorest communities in the developing world?
A critical evaluation and proposals for reform
in Environment, Development and Sustainability, Volume 18, Issue 3, June , 839-855

This paper explores whether the Clean Development Mechanism (CDM), a flexibility mechanism under the Kyoto Protocol, has contributed to poverty alleviation in countries that host CDM projects. We argue that the CDM should deliver pro-poor benefits to the communities in which projects are established, since poverty alleviation is integral to sustainable development, which is one of the main purposes of the CDM. After briefly discussing the background of the CDM, we discuss assessment difficulties to which research is prone when evaluating CDM projects for alleged sustainable development contributions. Section 4 brings together and analyses available empirical research on the pro-poor benefits the CDM purportedly delivers to host country communities, concluding that the CDM has failed to deliver poverty alleviation. Therefore, without attempting to be exhaustive, we suggest policy reforms that aim to redirect the CDM to those most in need of assistance.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Schmidt-Felzmann Anke

It's never "just business"

in **Global Affairs**, Volume 2, Issue 3 , 115-118

Full text available on line at <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/23340460.2016.1188480>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

William Durch, Joris Larik & Richard Ponzio

Just Security and the Crisis of Global Governance

in **Survival**, Volume 58, Issue 4 , 95-112

Pursuing security and justice jointly in global governance will be vital to human progress in the twenty-first century.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Ripstein Arthur

Just War, Regular War, and Perpetual Peace

in **Kant-Studien**, Volume 107, Issue 1 (Mar 2016) , 179–195

Abstract

Kant characterizes war as the "barbaric way (the way of savages)" of deciding disputes. This opposition to war is paired with a discussion of right in war, with respect to each of going to war, the conduct of war, and the behaviour of the victorious party after a war. I explain how Kant can have a conception of right in war, against the background of his more general view that war is by its nature barbaric and to be repudiated entirely. Right cannot be decided by war, but can only be "found" in it if we suppose it can decide a dispute, and so in another sense resolve a question of right. Kant's solution has two pillars: an account of the distinctively public nature of a state, and an account of peace as the only condition under which disputes can be resolved on their merits.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Tomalty Jesse

Justifying International Legal Human Rights

in **Ethics and International Affairs**, vol. 30, n. 4, january , 483-490

No abstract available



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Hanisch Christoph

Kant on Democracy

in *Kant-Studien*, Volume 107, Issue 1 (Mar 2016) , 64–88

Abstract

The first part of this paper analyzes Kant's remarks on state forms. It is true that Kant uses the term "democracy" in a pre-modern sense, denoting a radical form of despotic sovereignty that is incompatible with representative government and the separation of powers. In addition, he makes clear that it is only in non-ideal conditions that the provisional standards of republican legitimacy are less stringent than those that apply in ideal circumstances. These qualifications notwithstanding, the first part concludes that Kant fails to consider a satisfying conception of democratic sovereignty. In the remainder of this paper, I first develop this criticism in terms of the neglect of procedural (in contrast to substantive) criteria of republican legitimacy in Kant: a public norm's normative status is determined, partly but necessarily, by the procedures that led to its enactment. Second, I show that the multifarious aspects of the one innate right of humanity (independence, equality, the duty of rightful honor, etc.) provide sufficient grounds for identifying democratic procedures as non-optional features of a Kantian republic. Moreover, that the non-optional nature of democratic sovereignty, on the one hand, and the validity of the normative limits put on democratic procedures and their outcomes in the form of individual rights, on the other, rest in the same normative source (viz. innate right) presents a promising way to overcome problems concerning the idea of democratic authority.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Anderson Christopher C., McLaughlin Mitchell Sara,

Kantian Dynamics Revisited: Time-Varying Analyses of Dyadic IGO-Conflict Relationships

in *International Interactions*, vol. 42, issue 4 , 644-676

ABSTRACT: The literature on international organizations (IGOs) and interstate conflict in world politics produces a series of contradictory theoretical arguments and empirical findings about how IGOs help to prevent conflict and promote peace between member states. Empirical studies find a range of inconsistent results, ranging from pacifying effects of shared IGO memberships on dyadic militarized disputes to conflict-inducing effects of shared IGO memberships to null relationships. Theoretically, we consider how IGOs promote the rule of peace preservation through the mechanisms of coercion, self-interest, and legitimacy, and we describe how these mechanisms help explain the time-varying relationships between shared IGOs memberships and militarized conflict since WWII. Analyses of time-varying parameter models of dyad-year data from 1948 to 2000 suggest that shared IGO memberships reduce the likelihood of militarized conflict in some historical periods (Cold War) but increase the chances for dyadic conflict in other periods (post-Cold War). The design of IGOs is relevant as well, with security-based, highly institutionalized IGOs best suited to prevent militarized conflict between member states. The results suggest that evolutionary dynamics in the Kantian peace vary across legs of the Kantian tripod and that we cannot understand the Kantian peace without considering dynamic relationships over time.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Godement François

La visione di un ordine internazionale low cost

in *Aspenia*, n. 73 - giugno , pp. 158-164

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Montanino Andrea

Le responsabilità di Pechino e la governance mondiale

in *Aspenia*, n. 73 - giugno , pp. 72-81

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Lienau Odette

Legitimacy and Impartiality as Basic Principles for Sovereign Debt Restructuring

in *Yale Journal of International Law (The)*, Volume 41, Special Edition on Sovereign Debt

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Stéphane Pinon

Les visages cachés du constitutionnalisme global

in *Revue française de droit constitutionnel*, no. 108 , 927-938

Plan de l'article

I – La naissance de nouveaux rapports entre les pouvoirs dominés par l'oligarchie des juges

II – Une nouvelle vision de la société dominée par la centralité de l'individu

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Niblett Robin



**Liberalism in Retreat. The Demise of a Dream
in Foreign Affairs**, vol. 96, n. 1

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Vasuki Nesiah

Local Ownership of Global Governance

in Journal of International Criminal Justice, volume 14, issue 4 , 985-1009

Arguments for local ownership are often associated with a language and modality for resistance to a global order, and invocations of the local are often seen as a productive route for Third World Approaches to International Law. However, the core argument of this article is that the local is also constituted globally. Accordingly, the terrain of resistance and third world approaches has become much more complicated. The International Criminal Court (ICC) is an institution of global governance that is also a locus for policies and programmes regarding the local. The ICC has grounded its legitimacy, on the one hand, on claims that it is shaped by universal norms (including those reflected in human rights and humanitarian law); on the other, on claims that there is local ownership of the priorities and agendas that the ICC pursues. Through an analysis of two cases in the ICC docket from Uganda and the Democratic Republic of the Congo this article describes how technologies of governmentality and government have knit local ownership to global governance. Thus, local ownership moves from dissent against the dominant global order to being its conduit — sanitized, depoliticized and universally recommended as, (ostensibly), the rule of no one for everyone. This article is not arguing for or against local ownership; it is arguing instead that in the context of the ICC cases discussed, many of the strategies that were advanced in contesting global governance in the name of local ownership have been assimilated into the very governance armature they sought to challenge.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Mace M.J., Verheyen Roda

Loss, Damage and Responsibility after COP21: All Options Open for the Paris Agreement

in Review of European Community & International Environmental Law, Volume 25, Issue 2, Special Issue: The Paris Agreement, July , 197-214

The issue of 'loss and damage' has proven to be a legally and politically challenging one within the international climate change regime. This article presents a brief history of the issue, and reviews related Paris outcomes, focusing on the issues of compensation and liability, governance, financial support, insurance and displacement. It concludes that despite paragraph 51 of Decision 1/CP.21 adopting the Paris Agreement, all options remain open for the development of a system under the climate regime that can address the underlying concerns raised by small island developing States and others in calling for a system of compensation and liability. In the context of the 1.5 °C temperature limit and increasing climate impacts, this article also highlights the need for the Warsaw International Mechanism to play an active role in quantifying the scale of loss and damage that is projected from human-induced climate change in different regions and in different national contexts, over different time frames and at different emission pathways, and in sharing developments in attribution science, to help in the design of approaches to address loss and damage that are suited to



assisting the most vulnerable developing country parties and to underscore the need for urgent emission reductions.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Von Stein Jana

Making Promises, Keeping Promises: Democracy, Ratification and Compliance in International Human Rights Law

in *British Journal of Political Science*, vol. 46, issue 3, July, 655-679

ABSTRACT: This article argues that in order to understand how international human rights agreements (HRAs) work, scholars need to turn their attention to rights that are not definitional to democracy. When rights practices diverge from treaty rules, but the domestic enforcement mechanisms that give such agreements their bite are robust, how do governments behave? The study explores this question by examining a core treaty that prohibits child labor. When domestic enforcement is likely, states where many children work are often deterred from ratifying. Nevertheless, those that do ratify experience significant child labor improvements. By contrast, in non-democracies, ratification is a promise that is easily made but seldom kept.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Carbonell Joel R.

Military spending, liberal institutions and state compliance with international environmental agreements

in *International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics*, Volume 16, Issue 5, October, 691-719

The current paper examines the dynamics of state security behavior and international environmental protection. In particular, the study provides a liberal institutional approach in identifying a “guns and butter” relationship between military spending and state participation with international environmental agreements. This cross-national study employs both bivariate and multivariate regression models to analyze the relationship between military expenditures and state participation with international environmental agreements, particularly examining the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora. The empirics of the study suggest that states with higher military expenditures as a percent of GDP are less likely to comply with international environmental agreements. Theoretical and empirical implications are presented in the conclusion section.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Gampfer Robert

Minilateralism or the UNFCCC? The Political Feasibility of Climate Clubs

in *Global Environmental Politics*, Volume 16, Issue 3, August, 62-88

Climate clubs, or “minilateralism,” are increasingly advocated as a way to move global climate governance forward. Minilateralism supposedly carries structural advantages that facilitate effective climate governance. Some have cautioned, however, that climate clubs lack political legitimacy, commanding little domestic public support. Consequently, small coalitions might not always be politically feasible, even if they could deliver substantial mitigation.



Design features like the emission share regulated, commitment structure, club goods, and sanctions against nonmembers could help mitigate this deficit. I report results from conjoint experiments testing these propositions that were conducted with nationally representative samples in the United States and India. The findings indicate that unilateral approaches per se tend to receive low public support, but that support can be increased by certain configurations of design elements, especially through a combination of club goods for members and sanctions against nonmember countries. Climate clubs therefore need careful institutional design to be politically feasible.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Paavola Jouni

Multi-Level Environmental Governance: Exploring the economic explanations

in European Environment/Environmental Policy and Governance, Volume 26, Issue 3, May-June , 143-154

Multi-level environmental governance (MLEG) has become commonplace, yet few attempts have been made to explain in economic terms why it should have emerged. This article examines four economic explanations for MLEG. The first considers it as a solution for overcoming collective action challenges when a large number of actors are involved. The second explanation is that multiple levels of environmental governance may be needed to minimize governance costs. Thirdly, path dependence could explain MLEG. Fourthly, complex and multifunctional resource systems may generate ecosystem service flows that have benefit catchments of different size, and multi-level governance solutions may be needed to link providers and beneficiaries. While they are to a degree complementary, the analysis suggests that the multi-functionality explanation is the most nuanced one of them and offers the best diagnostic for governance challenges that an environmental resource system poses.

Full text available online at <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1002/eet.1698/full>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Nordbeck Ralf, Steurer Reinhard

Multi-sectoral strategies as dead ends of policy integration: Lessons to be learned from sustainable development

in Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy, Volume 34, Issue 4, June , 737-755

Until the mid-2000s, the rise of a “new pattern of strategy formation” in the context of sustainable development (SD) appeared to be a promising shift from mostly ineffective one-off-planning to iterative governance processes. The present paper revisits this once promising governance approach critically. Based on studies, evaluations and peer reviews, it synthesizes how national SD strategies have failed as policy documents and as governance processes in better integrating policies across sectors and levels of government. Based on the conclusion that comprehensive policy integration cannot be achieved through a single multi-sectoral strategy, we argue that it is time to either abandon an approach that has obviously failed to deliver or to recalibrate SD strategies towards the more realistic end of effectively communicating a long-term vision. Although the political relevance of SD strategies has declined in recent years, our findings are relevant to implementing other multi-sectoral strategies and the post-2015 United Nations Sustainable Development Goals. While the former replicate already the governance failures analyzed here, the implementation of the latter runs a considerable risk of doing so in the near future.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Grant J. Andrew

Norm dynamics and international organisations: South Africa in the African Union and International Criminal Court

in Commonwealth and Comparative Politics, Volume 54, Issue 2 , pp. 161-185

Over the past two decades, South Africa has sought to perform several roles on the world stage, such as the economic dynamo of Southern Africa, a diplomatic heavyweight representing the African continent, and a norm leader on the world stage as a so-called 'middle-power'. Although South Africa's evolution and rise as an important player in global affairs has generated a welcome body of critical scholarly literature, comparatively little analysis has been allocated to understanding how norm dynamics and the country's ever-evolving international identities have enabled it to construct and reconstruct its 'interests'. Social constructivism is best suited for such an analysis because it can operationalise norms, commitments, identities, and interests, and it provides the epistemological tools to map the increasingly multilateral connections between global, regional, and domestic forums. By employing a rationalist approach to constructivism, this paper remedies the aforementioned gap in the literature by illustrating how South Africa constructs and reconstructs its identities and interests in relation to membership in international organisations (IOs). To that end, the paper examines the evolution of South Africa's participation in the African Union (especially 'peacekeeping' contributions) and the International Criminal Court. The paper concludes by assessing the theoretical implications and practical ramifications of the norm dynamics involved in South Africa's commitment to these two IOs.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Nasiritousi Naghmeh, Hjerpe Mattias, Bäckstrand Karin

Normative arguments for non-state actor participation in international policymaking processes: Functionalism, neocorporatism or democratic pluralism?

in European Journal of International Relations , vol. 22, n. 4, december , 920-943

ABSTRACT: The participation of non-state actors in multilateral institutions is often portrayed as one way of decreasing the perceived legitimacy deficit in global governance. The literature on non-state actors has identified several ways in which these actors can enhance the legitimacy of intergovernmental organisations and global governance arrangements. Three partially competing normative arguments, or rationales, for the inclusion of non-state actors in international policymaking — functionalism, neocorporatism and democratic pluralism — have been identified. Whereas functionalism highlights the contribution of non-state actors to output legitimacy in terms of expertise, neocorporatism emphasises the inclusion of affected interests, and democratic pluralism claims that non-state actors increase input legitimacy through procedural values. These three normative arguments thus offer different understandings of the motives for the inclusion and representation of non-state actors in international negotiations and diplomacy. Through a single case study of United Nations climate diplomacy, we analyse the extent to which the three rationales for non-state actor inclusion are found in views held by state and non-state actors participating in the annual United Nations climate change conferences. Our results show that different actor groups place varying degrees of emphasis on the different rationales for non-state actor inclusion, even though the neocorporatist rationale remains most favoured overall. We discuss the implications of our findings for the democratic legitimacy of increasing participation of non-state actors in



intergovernmental affairs and recent trends in the participation of non-state actors in the international climate change policymaking process.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Christodoulos Kaoutzanis, Poast Paul, Urpelainen Johannes

Not letting 'bad apples' spoil the bunch: Democratization and strict international organization accession rules in Review of International Organizations (The), vol. 11, n. 4, december, 399-418

ABSTRACT: To solve their domestic and international problems, democratizing states often form new international organizations. In doing so, they face the question of institutional design: what types of rules and provisions should be included in the charter of the new international organization? We analyze this question through the lens of accession rules, with an emphasis on voting rules. We argue that democratizing states have strong incentives to design organizations with strict accession rules. Organizations with strict accession rules allow the founding members to regulate entry. This is particularly useful for transitional democracies, as democratizing states are initially unable to gain entry into the lucrative existing international organizations operated by the established democracies. Using original data on accession voting rules in 324 international organizations, we find strong evidence in support of our claims.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Lucier Cristina A., Gareau Brian J.

Obstacles to preserving precaution and equity in global hazardous waste regulation: an analysis of contested knowledge in the Basel Convention

in International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics, Volume 16, Issue 4, August, 493-508

The Basel Convention is regaining attention for the potential entry into force of the heretofore stalled Ban Amendment. In this paper, we draw parallels between the current debate surrounding the Ban Amendment and contestations that occurred in the early years of the Basel Convention's Technical Working Group (TWG) over defining 'hazardousness.' Like the present debate, TWG deliberations involved a contestation between two divergent discourses concerning how hazardous wastes should be regulated—as ideally managed versus actually managed in the global South. Scholars have shown how the TWG is a site for industry to press for a definition of hazardousness favorable to their economic interests. However, explorations of the specific processes by which this occurred—particularly, how a framework for defining hazardousness that privileges private technical expertise over concerns of precaution and equity was successfully institutionalized within the TWG—have yet to be completed. We show that it is important to reexamine this debate today in order to better understand current Basel Convention developments.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Ross Michael L., Voeten Erik

Oil and International Cooperation

in International Studies Quarterly, vol. 60, issue 1, march, 85-97



ABSTRACT: The more that states depend on oil exports, the less cooperative they become: they grow less likely to join intergovernmental organizations, to accept the compulsory jurisdiction of international judicial bodies, and to agree to binding arbitration for investment disputes. This pattern is robust to the use of country and year fixed effects, to alternative measures of the key variables, and to the exclusion of all countries in the Middle East. To explain this pattern, we consider the economic incentives that foster participation in international institutions: the desire to attract foreign investment and to gain access to foreign markets. Oil-exporting states, we argue, find it relatively easy to achieve these aims without making costly commitments to international institutions. In other words, natural resource wealth liberates states from the economic pressures that would otherwise drive them toward cooperation.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Maffettone Pietro

**On Constitutional Democracy and Robust International Law
in Ethics and International Affairs**, vol. 30, n. 4, January, 451-460

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Blokker Niels

**On the Nature and Future of Partnerships in the Practice of International Organizations
in International Organizations Law Review**, vol. 13, n. 1, 21-36

ABSTRACT: This contribution offers a brief analysis of partnerships among international institutions. It shows that there is a wide variety of forms of cooperation between international organizations and external entities in the current practice of international organizations. No single concept or term has emerged for such forms of cooperation. Some of these are called partnerships, others carry different names. It is argued that the need for international organizations to cooperate with external entities is likely to stay, that it may be expected that more partnerships—or whatever other name is used—will be established in the future, and that this is in principle a positive development.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Nhamo Godwell

**One global deal from Paris 2015: Convergence and contestations on the future climate mitigation agenda
in South African Journal of International Affairs**, vol. 23, issue 3, 323-346

ABSTRACT: This article analyses the 2015 Paris Agreement of the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change, with a focus on mitigation. The history of climate negotiations and the mitigation agenda shows the divide between developed and developing countries, with the latter insisting that the former, having caused the problem, need to do more to reduce carbon emissions to address climate change. However, as some emerging economies had continued to emit more carbon, there were calls to treat these as developed countries, requiring increased mitigation measures. The article examines the record of these emerging economies, and establishes that there was some convergence in Paris, a



positive element that resulted in a single global climate treaty. However, the Paris negotiations also witnessed contestations, with the final agreement insufficient to keep global warming within advised limits, and in any case only partly legally binding, leaving its implementation success to good will.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Cerrina Feroni Ginevra

Organismi sovranazionali e legittimazione democratica. Spunti per una riflessione
in *Federalismi*, Anno XIV - Nr 20

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Daniel Augenstein

Paradise Lost: Sovereign State Interest, Global Resource Exploitation and the Politics of Human Rights
in *European Journal of International Law*, volume 27, issue 3 , 669-691

Taking its cue from the US Supreme Court judgment in *Kiobel* that restricted the extraterritorial reach of the Alien Tort Claims Act, this article explores how sovereignty structures the relationship between global resource exploitation and the localization of human rights in the international order of states. The argument situates international human rights law in an area of tension between national political self-determination and the global economic exploitation of natural resources. Global business operations in resource-rich developing countries undermine the protective role of sovereignty in relation to political self-determination that once justified the confinement of human rights to the territorial state legal order. At the same time, jurisdiction as an expression of sovereignty restricts access to justice for victims of extraterritorial human rights violations in Western home states of 'multi-national' corporations. I contend that this asymmetry should be resolved through a territorial extension of international human rights law that accounts for the human rights impacts of global resource exploitation. This entails that transnational tort litigation for corporate human rights violations should be appraised in the light of states' human rights obligations to ensure effective civil remedies for victims located outside their borders. Moreover, it suggests that victims' quest for justice through private litigation is not merely about the satisfaction of pecuniary damages but also represents a public and political attempt to reclaim their human rights in the judicial fora of Western states.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Boisson de Chazournes Laurence, Nollkaemper André

Partnerships between International Institutions and Issues of (Shared) Responsibility
in *International Organizations Law Review*, vol. 13, n. 1 , 1-20

ABSTRACT: More and more, international institutions pursue their objectives together in the form of partnerships. Partnerships are established to work towards important policy objectives in relation to global health, environmental protection, and so on. However, the activities of partnerships may lead to questions of responsibility when such



objectives are not achieved, or when third party interests are affected. This Forum explores questions of responsibility—the term responsibility being used in a broad sense—that may arise in relation to partnerships and in particular the question of whether responsibility can be shared between the actors that participate in a partnership. These introductory notes provide the necessary background by defining the concepts of partnerships and shared responsibility, and identify ten conclusions on shared responsibility that can be drawn from the case-studies on particular partnerships.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Christoph Knill, Michael W. Bauer

Policy-making by international public administrations: concepts, causes and consequences
in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 23, Issue 7

As the demand and necessity for greater international and transnational co-operation increase, the bureaucratic bodies of international organizations are receiving ever more scholarly attention. Yet, the relevance of international public administrations (IPAs) for global policy-making remains neither empirically nor theoretically well understood. A heuristic that links considerations of policy scope and policy type is provided to differentiate between the various aims and levels of potential IPA influence. Combining such a distinction with a taxonomy of administrative resources – namely, nodality, authority, treasure and organization – facilitates the development of concepts to systematically study patterns, constellations and conditions of IPA influence.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Kersting Norbert

Politische Online-Beteiligung im internationalen Vergleich. Eine Revitalisierung politischer Beteiligung?
in *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Politikwissenschaft* , Volume 10, Issue 2 Supplement, July 2016 , 91–113

Political Online Participation in global perspective. A re-vitalization of political engagement?

Abstract

The crisis of representative political system is characterized by the growing political apathy, lower electoral turnouts and shrinking party membership on one hand, while on the other hand, strong political protest in new social movements and new political parties became obvious. Offline political participation such as participation in representative, participation in direct-democracy, deliberative participation as well as demonstrative participation are enhanced by equivalent forms of online political participation. On the basis of the survey data, in this article, the pairwise comparisons in four different continents are presented and analyzed. The analysis use the case studies of the countries such as Germany and Austria, Sweden and Norway, USA and Canada, Poland, Russia and Brazil, Chile, Japan and Thailand. The results show different forms of online and off-line participation and the social structural as well as political motivation for online participation. Nonetheless, some of these countries, online-participation is not regarded as a full switch for analogue offline political engagement (substitution thesis). Meanwhile, in some countries, online participation is attracting politically excluded critical citizen, who express themselves now in internet forums.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Pierre Guibentif

Pour une société-monde durable par l'auto-constitutionnalisation des grands domaines sociaux
in Droit et société, no. 93 , 455-465

Book review of Teubner Gunther, *Fragments constitutionnels. Le constitutionnalisme sociétal à l'ère de la globalisation*, Paris : Classiques Garnier, 2016, 326 p. (traduction par Isabelle Aubert de *Verfassungsfragmente. Gesellschaftlicher Konstitutionalismus in der Globalisierung*, Berlin : Suhrkamp, 2012, 291 p.)

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Avant Deborah D.

Pragmatic Networks and Transnational Governance of Private Military and Security Services
in International Studies Quarterly, vol. 60, issue 2, june , 330-342

ABSTRACT: In 2004 private military and security companies lacked effective transnational governance. Ten years later, however, an agreed-upon framework drew these services within established international law. It inspired various complementary non-binding instruments and instigated changes in government policy. Hegemonic-order theories, whether realist or liberal, would expect this change to reflect shifts in US preferences. But the United States displayed no initial interest in transnational coordination. I build an alternative explanation from pragmatism and network theory. A Swiss-led process created connections among stakeholders around the problem of regulating private military and security companies. Relatively open interactions among participants spurred original ideas, which in turn appeared useful for addressing the issue. Their usefulness, led more actors to "buy into" the process. This relational-pragmatic account offers new ways for understanding the nature and development of governance.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Downie Christian

Prolonged international environmental negotiations: the roles and strategies of non-state actors in the EU
in International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics, Volume 16, Issue 5, October , 739-755

For scholars of international environmental agreements, the role of non-state actors has been a central focus. There is a considerable literature on the influence of environmental NGOs and business groups on state behaviour and in turn international environmental outcomes. However, much less empirical work has been done to examine the influence of these actors and the strategies they can use in prolonged international environmental negotiations that last for years or decades. This article takes up this task. Drawing on a rich empirical data set on the role of European-based actors in the international climate change negotiations, it considers the influence of non-state actors in prolonged negotiations and identifies four strategies that these actors can use to influence state actors and non-state actors alike.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Ong David M.

Public Accountability for Private International Financing of Natural Resource Development Projects: The UN Rule of Law Initiative and the Equator Principles

in *Nordic Journal of International Law*, vol. 85, issue 3 , 201-233

ABSTRACT: A striking feature of public international financing for natural resource development projects in developing economies is the introduction of public accountability mechanisms to ensure that these projects comply with social and environmental principles and standards. As the public international financing of such projects gives way to private international finance, this article will examine whether similar accountability mechanisms have been developed for this type of private international financing for such projects. Within this context, the third iteration of the Equator Principles has recently been adopted by a growing number of private international finance institutions in the 'project finance' field. By comparing these public and private accountability mechanisms, with reference to the UN's 'rule of law' initiative, this article will assess whether there has been adequate replication of public accountability standards in the movement from public to private international financing of natural resource projects, especially within developing economies.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Rosendal Kristin, Andresen Steinar

Realizing access and benefit sharing from use of genetic resources between diverging international regimes: the scope for leadership

in *International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics*, Volume 16, Issue 4, August , 579-596

This article examines how access and benefit sharing (ABS) in international transactions with genetic resources can be achieved and how Norway contributes to their realization. Regarding the first question, progress on the ground has been slow, but important principles have been agreed within the convention on biological diversity (CBD) and its Nagoya Protocol (NP). Although domestic legislation is adopted, key user countries remain reluctant. They argue that the ABS regime needs to be supplemented with sector approaches within forums such as the Food and Agriculture Organization. In principle, this may sound logical, but sector approaches may risk undermining the ABS regime of the CBD/NP. The principle of access is more user-oriented and benefit sharing is weaker in the relevant FAO negotiations. Against this background, the future practical significance of the ABS regime remains uncertain. Norway has played an important leadership role in ABS within the CBD/NP framework. This stems in part from 'fortunate circumstances', as Norway has relatively few stakes in this issue area, but also includes strong normative elements: Norway's inclination to support weaker part, the South. The Norwegian position has also been solidified by good coordination and strong institutional capacity among the actors involved. However, there are indications of a growing split in the Norwegian position along sector lines. We do not yet have sufficient empirical evidence that this is the case—but if it is, achieving an effective ABS regime may be even more difficult.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

David Tyfield

Realizing the Beckian Vision: Cosmopolitan Cosmopolitanism and Low-Carbon China as Political Education



in *Theory, Culture & Society*, 33 (7-8)

'Methodological cosmopolitanism' connotes a profound transformation of the (social) sciences as forms of public reflexive social analysis on learning to live well together through building homes in the world: what may be called the 'Beckian vision', in memory of Ulrich Beck. This short note considers how Beck's concept of emancipatory catastrophism may not be the most productive development of his own programme. This is precisely brought out by a methodologically cosmopolitan analysis of a key East Asian response to the global risk of climate change: innovation of low-carbon cities in China. Instead, these presumptively archetypically cosmopolitan initiatives offer something of a political education regarding the irreducibly strategic power/knowledge dynamics at work – including in ongoing contestation about the very term 'cosmopolitan'.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Buckley Ross P

Reconceptualizing the Regulation of Global Finance

in *Oxford Journal of Legal Studies*, Volume 36 Issue 2 Summer , 242-271

The post-crisis reforms to the global financial system may serve us well if the next crisis is 2008 revisited. But it will not be. So instead of preparing to fight the last war, this paper analyses the five major changes in the global financial system in the past 40 years, and explores potential regulatory responses that could make the system more stable and resilient. These changes include (i) the globalisation of the global financial system; (ii) the legalisation of financial gambling; (iii) the rise in algorithmic and high frequency trading and in dark pools; (iv) the fundamental changes in banks and bankers; and (v) the rise in the role and power of ratings agencies. The potential responses to these changes include (i) a sovereign bankruptcy regime; (ii) higher mandated capital levels for banks; (iii) levies on banks; (iv) a financial transactions tax; (v) rigorous regulation of high frequency trading and dark pools; and (vi) removing the conflict in the role of the ratings agencies.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Hackmann Bernd

Regime Learning in Global Environmental Governance

in *Environmental Values*, Volume 25, Number 6, December , 663-686

An increasingly complex governance architecture has become a major characteristic of current global environmental governance, often resulting in different degrees of complexity and fragmentation within global environmental regimes. Social learning processes are introduced by scholars and policy makers alike as management approaches for governing complex dynamic systems in situations that feature a high degree of complexity and uncertainty. Scholars argue that actors in complex environmental issue areas can learn in their social context and could develop the necessary knowledge, attitudes and behaviour to enhance their capacity to effectively address the environmental problem. This is where this article picks up the discussion and assesses the impact of a regime's complexity on its learning capabilities. It further identifies major drivers and barriers of regime learning processes in international environmental regimes.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Gomez-Mera Laura

**Regime complexity and global governance: The case of trafficking in persons
in European Journal of International Relations** , vol. 22, n. 3, september , 566-595

ABSTRACT: What are the consequences of increasing regime complexity and institutional proliferation on global governance? Does the growing density and overlaps among institutions facilitate or hinder the ability of states to manage transnational threats through cooperation? This article argues that the impact of regime complexity on the effectiveness of cooperation depends not only on the nature of spillovers among overlapping regimes, but also on the cross-institutional strategies of states and non-state actors. I distinguish between two types of strategies through which actors can take advantage of institutional overlaps: (1) "opportunistic" or non-cooperative attempts by states to bypass legal commitments, which tend to undermine the goals of cooperation; and (2) "cooperative" strategies by intergovernmental organizations, civil society organizations, and other principled actors. These actors also engage in regime shifting, forum linking, and other cross-forum strategies to promote their institutional mandates and normative agendas. To probe the plausibility of these theoretical claims, I focus on the case of the anti-trafficking in persons regime. The overlaps between anti-trafficking laws and the migration, labor, and human rights regimes illustrate the different ways in which intergovernmental organizations and their allies in society can exploit institutional overlaps to promote greater cooperation and expand the regime complex.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Forteau Mathias

**Regulating the Competition between International Courts and Tribunals. The Role of Ratione Materiae
Jurisdiction under Part XV of UNCLOS**
in *Law and Practice of International Courts and Tribunals (The)*, vol. 15, n. 2 , 190-206

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Paul James Cardwell

Rethinking Law and New Governance in the European Union: The Case of Migration Management
in *European Law Review*, Volume 41, issue 3 , 362-378

This article proposes a way forward in the debate about law and new governance in the contemporary EU. Migration management is used as a prism through which we can see what is happening in a significant area of EU activity and re-evaluate new governance, in terms of both its opportunities, but also, crucially, its dangers. A rethink on new governance and its application to external migration implies an alteration of the lenses by which we see migration, by uncoupling new governance from its synergy with "good" governance and to instead consider that new governance may offer policy-makers opportunities to meet goals beyond legislative processes. The article does not argue that new



governance should be used in migration management. Rather, by using governance as an explanatory concept and providing a critique, the contribution of the article is to highlight the potential dangers that new modes of governance may pose to transparency and legitimacy in the contemporary EU, especially if they are used to bypass legislative processes and avoid civic involvement.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Eckmann Ted C.

Revisiting Laudato si' in the Context of the COP21 Paris Climate Agreement

in Environment: Science and Policy for Sustainable Development , September-October

In their reflections on Laudato si', the second encyclical by Pope Francis, several authors from the November/December issue of Environment (Hulme, Stinson, Tucker) mention the United Nations 21st Conference of the Parties (COP21), which at that time had not yet happened. We now know that at COP21, 195 nations adopted what is in many ways the first-ever universal, legally binding global climate agreement, often referred to as the Paris Climate Agreement.¹ The purpose of my commentary here is to continue conversations the November/December issue of Environment began by revisiting Laudato si' now that we have seen the Paris Climate Agreement and the world's initial reactions to that groundbreaking environmental negotiation.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Jan Lin

Sassen's Tandem of Texts on Global Cities, 1988 and 1991

in City & Community , volume 15, issue 2 , 109-112

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Aambø Langvatn Silje

Should International Courts Use Public Reason?

in Ethics and International Affairs, vol. 30, n. 3, October , 355-377

ABSTRACT: This article assesses recent claims that international courts and tribunals can enhance their legitimacy through public reason. Section one argues that international legal scholars attribute a wide range of meanings to public reason, and goes on to provide clarification of how this range of conceptions, or ideas and ideals, referred to as public reason fits into the dominant and broadly Rawlsian tradition. Section two analyses properties and features of international courts that make public reason normatively relevant. Section three then sketches an ideal of public reason for ICs that suggests guidelines and principles to limit the discretion of judges when reasoning about morally and politically contentious issues. This ideal is designed to address a particular legitimacy concern raised against many new international courts, namely, that they engage in judicial activism, passing judgments on contentious moral and political issues without being sufficiently authorized and accountable. This ideal does not encourage the judges to engage in



more judicial review, rather it seeks to restrict the judges' reasoning and judicial discretion when engaging in review and judicial development of the law. The final section compares and contrasts the proposed account of public reason to other adjudicative ideals, both from the general adjudicative accounts of Ronald Dworkin and Cass Sunstein, as well as the more ambitious and cosmopolitan accounts of public reason for ICs offered by the legal scholars Kumm, Sadurski, and Petersmann.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Casini Lorenzo

Solidarity Between States in the Global Legal Space

in *Revue européenne de droit public*, vol. 26, no 1,

What does solidarity exactly mean in international law? There is no conclusive answer to this question, because solidarity can often wear more coats and operate both as a value and as a principle. To address these issues, this paper will first provide some historical and theoretical remarks on the idea of solidarity and its multiple meanings. Thereafter, it will focus on the solidarity both as a value, in its constitutional dimension, and as a principle, in its administrative dimension. It will then examine the ambiguous relationship between solidarity and sovereignty. Finally, the key role of solidarity in the global legal space will be outlined: if fraternité helped French legal scholars to build domestic administrative law to also be a machine that addresses collective interests, solidarity appears to be capable of strengthening the normative claims of many of the legal projects ideated to tame global governance.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Gelpern Anna

Sovereign Debt: Now What?

in *Yale Journal of International Law (The)*, Volume 41, Special Edition on Sovereign Debt

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Lafont Cristina

Sovereignty and the International Protection of Human Rights

in *Journal of Political Philosophy*, Volume 24, Issue 4, December 2016 , 427–445

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Kumm Mattias



Sovereignty and the Right to Be Left Alone: Subsidiarity, Justice-Sensitive Externalities, and the Proper Domain of the Consent Requirement in International Law

in *Law and contemporary problems*, Volume 79, Number 2

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Stokes Leah C., Giang Amanda, Selin Noelle E.

Splitting the South: China and India's Divergence in International Environmental Negotiations

in *Global Environmental Politics*, Volume 16, Issue 4, November , 12-31

International environmental negotiations often involve conflicts between developed and developing countries. However, considering environmental cooperation in a North-South dichotomy obscures important variation within the Global South, particularly as emerging economies become more important politically, economically, and environmentally. This article examines change in the Southern coalition in environmental negotiations, using the recently concluded Minamata Convention on Mercury as its primary case. Focusing on India and China, we argue that three key factors explain divergence in their positions as the negotiations progressed: domestic resources and regulatory politics, development constraints, and domestic scientific and technological capacity. We conclude that the intersection between scientific and technological development and domestic policy is of increasing importance in shaping emerging economies' engagement in international environmental negotiations. We also discuss how this divergence is affecting international environmental cooperation on other issues, including the ozone and climate negotiations. Full text available online at http://www.mitpressjournals.org/doi/full/10.1162/GLEP_a_00378

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Føllesdal Andreas

Subsidiarity and International Human-Rights Courts: Respecting Self-Governance and Protecting Human Rights—Or Neither?

in *Law and contemporary problems*, Volume 79, Number 2

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Jachtenfuchs Markus, Krisch Nico

Subsidiarity in Global Governance

in *Law and contemporary problems*, Volume 79, Number 2



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Kanetake Machiko

**Subsidiarity in the Maintenance of International Peace and Security
in Law and contemporary problems**, Volume 79, Number 2

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Zürn Michael

**Survey Article: Four Models of a Global Order with Cosmopolitan Intent: An Empirical Assessment
in Journal of Political Philosophy**, Volume 24, Issue 1, March 2016 , 88-119

The full text is free:

<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/jopp.12070/full>

IF a world state were desirable, is it also possible? Is cosmopolitan democracy a viable political concept or are political values best achieved in the framework of an intergovernmental model of democratic states? This article aims at answering such questions by investigating the empirical viability and plausibility of each of four models of global order with cosmopolitan intent. In doing so, it also sheds light on the relationship between normative and empirical propositions in notions of global order as a contribution to “International Political Theory” (IPT)...

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Selin E. Noelle

**Teaching and Learning from Environmental Summits: COP 21 and Beyond
in Global Environmental Politics**, Volume 16, Issue 3, August , 31-40

High-profile environmental summits like the recent Paris climate conference (COP 21) offer an opportunity to incorporate real-world, timely issues into teaching and learning about global environmental governance. Using COP 21 as an example, this Forum article summarizes the ways that contemporary environmental summits can be incorporated into university-level education, providing content and context to help address the challenges of interdisciplinary sustainability education. Faculty members have incorporated COP-21-related content in ways ranging from traditional lectures and discussions to field trips, which have contributed to a broad range of course content and learning goals. However, the challenges of including environmental summits in educational settings include knowledge-based, normative, and



structural barriers. While environmental summits can be an effective way to incorporate knowledge of global environmental governance into interdisciplinary education, more resources, experimentation, and extensions beyond climate change are needed.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Harman Sophie

The Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation and Legitimacy in Global Health Governance
in *Global Governance*, vol. 22, n. 3, july-september , 349-368

ABSTRACT: The Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation brings to light the legitimacy problem with global philanthropy. The legitimacy problem here is twofold: first, with regard to the criteria used to assess the presence or absence of legitimacy in global governance; and, second, how analysis of legitimacy does not fully account for how we understand the legitimate basis of rule drawn from private wealth. This article begins to address this lacuna by analyzing the legitimacy of an actor that wields considerable authority in the field of global health politics and has growing prominence in contemporary global governance, the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Voigt Cristina

The Compliance and Implementation Mechanism of the Paris Agreement
in *Review of European Community & International Environmental Law*, Volume 25, Issue 2, Special Issue: The Paris Agreement, July , 161-173

Parties to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change decided to include an in-house compliance arrangement in the Paris Agreement. Article 15 of the Agreement establishes a mechanism to facilitate implementation of, and promote compliance with, the provisions of the Agreement. The mechanism consists of a committee whose exact competence and function have yet to be decided. However, the establishment of the mechanism clearly shows convergence among parties on the necessity and desirability of promoting compliance. This article tracks the negotiation history of the compliance arrangement and analyses the relevant provisions in the Paris Agreement. While the mechanism is in place, significant negotiation time will still be needed to sort out the details for the effective operation of the compliance arrangement. For that reason, the Paris Agreement has set up a work programme for the Ad Hoc Working Group on the Paris Agreement to develop modalities and procedures to be adopted by the first meeting of the Conference of Parties serving as the Meeting of the Parties to the Paris Agreement. The article also discusses the work programme and suggests possible design choices.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Zucca Lorenzo

The Fragility of International Human Rights Law
in *Ethics and International Affairs*, vol. 30, n. 4, january , 491-499



No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Saskia Sassen

**The Global City: Enabling Economic Intermediation and Bearing Its Costs
in *City & Community* , volume 15, issue 2 , 97-108**

Contesting the widespread notion in the 1980s that place no longer mattered to highly digitized economic sectors turned out to be the first step towards conceptualizing the Global City function. It became an effort to detect a new, somewhat elusive formation deep inside major cities. Then came 8 years of endless data analyses and exciting fieldwork. My basic mode was discovery, not replication. What was the combination of elements that might produce this ironic outcome: the fact that the most powerful, rich, and digitized economic actors needed “central places,” and perhaps more than ever before? Large corporate firms engaged in routinized production could locate anywhere. But if they went global they needed access to a whole new mix of complex specialized services almost impossible to produce in-house as had been the practice. A second hypothesis that was stronger than I expected was that this new economic logic, partial as it was, would generate high-level jobs and low-wage jobs; it would need far fewer middle-range jobs than traditional corporations. But those low-level jobs, whether in the office or in households, would matter more than one might imagine. I described them as the work of maintaining a strategic infrastructure.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Harris Steven M.

**The Global Construction of International Law in the Nineteenth Century: The Case of Arbitration
in *Journal of World History* , Volume 27, Number 2, June , pp. 303-325**

The history of international law has been Eurocentric, and properly so. That particular concatenation of state practice, political theory, religious and philosophical influences, diplomatic practices and events and imperial engagements that has led to the dominance of our current global states system has been driven primarily from Europe, by Europe, and for Europe. At the same time, the reconsideration of the history of international law over the past few decades has begun to integrate perspectives not only from outside of Europe—from individuals, cultures, and governments who were subjects of this aspect of European modernity over the past five hundred years—but also from ideas and practices of pre-contact cultures.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Perrone Nicolas M.

**The International Investment Regime After the Global Crisis of Neoliberalism: Rupture or Continuity?
in *Indiana Journal for Global Legal Studies* , vol. 23, issue 2 , 603-627**

ABSTRACT: This article aims to show that the tools being used to recalibrate the international investment regime, in particular proportionality and corporate social responsibility, constitute continuity rather than rupture with neoliberalism



and neoliberal legality. Neoliberalism has been discredited, and few actors suggest a return to self-regulation after the 2008 global economic crisis. This call for regulation, however, finds international economic law scholarship divided between those who claim that standards of review and corporate social responsibility can solve the crisis of neoliberalism, and those who believe that the problem is more profound. In the case of the international investment regime, this article suggests that the current strategy to balance this regime consists only of adjustments to states' regulatory authority, leaving intact the legal techniques that foreign investors use to control local resources. The contractualization of foreign investment relations remains today as important as it was before the 2008 global economic crisis. In this way, this article concludes, the current balancing strategy marginally changes the means and does not change the purpose provided by neoliberalism.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Massimo Iovane

The Italian Constitutional Court Judgment No. 238 and the Myth of the 'Constitutionalization' of International Law

in *Journal of International Criminal Justice*, volume 14, issue 3, 595-605

This article investigates three major international law issues raised by Judgment No. 238, which was handed down by the Constitutional Court of Italy in 2014. First, the Constitutional Court rejected the distinction between procedural and substantial norms of international law. This argument had been maintained by both the International Court of Justice and the European Court of Human Rights in order to deny any actual conflict between the (procedural) customary rule on state immunity and (substantial) jus cogens obligations. In giving priority to fundamental rights, the Constitutional Court instead resorted to interpretative devices typical of the doctrine of constitutionalism. Secondly, in the process of balancing the various constitutional principles at stake, the Court concluded that the commission of crimes against humanity could not justify the total sacrifice of the victims' right to a judge. In doing so, the judges relied on arguments developed by the international law doctrine of jus cogens. Thirdly, although Judgment No. 238 does not constitute an internationally wrongful act per se, its application by the Italian judiciary could perhaps entail Italy's international responsibility. Italy could justify itself by adducing respect for the fundamental rights enshrined in the Constitution of Italy or resorting to the doctrine of 'counter-limits'. However, it is doubtful whether these two claims already possess the necessary degree of recognition in international practice. In conclusion, despite the views expressed by influential scholars over a supposed 'constitutionalization' of international law, this article argues that the doctrine of constitutionalism is still applied reluctantly by both international and national courts.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Raffaella Kunz

The Italian Constitutional Court and 'Constructive Contestation': A Miscarried Attempt?

in *Journal of International Criminal Justice*, volume 14, issue 3, 621-627

Subsequent to precedents like *Solange* and *Kadi*, Judgment No. 238 handed down by the Italian Constitutional Court, represents novel jurisprudence that raises fundamental questions concerning the relationship between distinct legal orders. The present contribution aims to explore whether the judgment represents an instance of so-called 'constructive contestation' by domestic courts against international law not adhering to fundamental rights. It argues that, even though



in the short term the judgment of the Constitutional Court seemingly favours human rights, and therefore, also fosters a certain understanding of the ideals of the rule of law, strong reasons can be brought forward in support of the opposing interpretation. In the long run, this judgment may hamper the system of international adjudication and the (international) rule of law.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Martin Scheinin

The Italian Constitutional Court's Judgment 238 of 2014 Is Not Another Kadi Case

in Journal of International Criminal Justice, volume 14, issue 3 , 615-620

This article provides a critical view of Judgment No. 238 of 2014 handed down by the Italian Constitutional Court. By and large the comments presented below pertain to the single issue of the relationship between different legal orders — between the legal orders of two states, or between the legal order of one state and the legal order of international law. The following comments are based on a postulate that law is pluralist in its structure. Law is about officially enforced normativity between human beings. As there are multiple sources of law and multiple enforcers, there are also multiple legal systems. These legal systems may choose to yield to each other, they may seek to coordinate between themselves, but they may also conflict and collide. As a matter of principle, a legal order can proclaim the primacy of another legal order in respect of its own norms, including within the proclaiming legal order itself. However, a legal order cannot proclaim the primacy of its own norms within another legal order. This is why Judgment No. 238 represents what this author terms a 'category error' when the ruling seeks to determine the content of international law through a methodology that leans heavily upon the primacy of the Constitution of Italy.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Bodansky Daniel

The Legal Character of the Paris Agreement

in Review of European Community & International Environmental Law, Volume 25, Issue 2, Special Issue: The Paris Agreement, July , 142-150

From start to finish, the question of legal form or character was central to the Paris negotiations. The Paris Agreement is a treaty within the definition of the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties, but not every provision of the agreement creates a legal obligation. It contains a mix of mandatory and non-mandatory provisions relating to parties' mitigation contributions, as well as to the other elements of the Durban Platform, including adaptation and finance. One cannot definitively say how much the legally binding character of the Paris Agreement matters. Making the agreement legally binding may provide a greater signal of commitment and greater assurance of compliance. But transparency, accountability and precision can also make a significant difference, and legal bindingness can be a double-edged sword if it leads States not to participate or to make less ambitious commitments. Thus, the issue of legal character, though important, is only one factor in assessing the significance of the Paris outcome.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy



Marchiafava Giovanni

The Montreal Protocol 2014 and Current International Regulation Issues on Aviation Security

in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, Volume 83, n. 2, aprile-giugno , 235-262

The purpose of the article is to provide an overview of the international regulation framework on aviation security in the light of the adoption of the Montreal Protocol 2014. Once in force it will amend the Tokyo Convention 1963 on offences and certain other unlawful acts committed on board aircraft. The article considers the main provisions of the Tokyo Convention adopted to cope with the increase of aircraft hijackings in the early 1960s, highlighting critical aspects. In addition, it covers the subsequent international legal instruments in the same field. Furthermore, the article focuses on the innovative provisions of the Montreal Protocol 2014 with particular regard to the scope of the Convention, definitions, jurisdiction, aircraft commander role and powers, Contracting States obligations, in flight security officers and compensation for damages. The article also deals with the related issue on the fragmentation of the international framework on aviation security and its implementation. In this regard, the article takes into account the proposal to adopt a unique global convention and the introduction of binding common standards and recommended practices on aviation security. Finally, considerations are provided in respect to combining the «indirect enforcement system» adopted to implement the international regulation on aviation security in the national legal systems with a «direct enforcement system» through the establishment of an international tribunal. To avoid the increase of ad hoc international courts it is decisive to establish a permanent international criminal tribunal for the enforcement of the International Criminal Law. Pending the achievement of an entirely integrated «direct enforcement system», the complementary jurisdiction of the International Criminal Court could be extended to the offences and unlawful acts against civil aviation security which are at present excluded as other treaty crimes. Even though the system adopted by the International Criminal Court is not an «indirect enforcement system», but instead is dependent on interstate criminal cooperation.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Lüthi Lorenz M.

The Non-Aligned Movement and the Cold War, 1961–1973

in *Journal of Cold War Studies*, Volume 18, Issue 4 - Fall , pp. 98-147

The Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) tried to transcend the Cold War, but the NAM ended up as one of the Cold War's chief victims. During the movement's first dozen years (1961–1973), four Cold War developments shaped its agenda and political orientation. East Germany's attempt to manipulate it started with the so-called construction of the Berlin Wall less than a month before the first NAM conference in Belgrade. Nuclear disarmament issues imposed themselves the day before that conference, with Nikita Khrushchev's sudden announcement that the USSR would resume nuclear testing. The war in the Middle East in June 1967 brought the NAM close to an association with the Soviet bloc—at least until the Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia the following year. Finally, the overthrow of Cambodia's Prince Sihanouk in 1970 split the movement over the question of that country's standing. The NAM again moved closer to the Soviet camp once the movement decided in 1972 to award representation both to the exiled Sihanouk, who lived in Communist China and was allied to Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge, and to the Communist insurgents in South Vietnam.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Martinez Romera Beatriz



The Paris Agreement and the Regulation of International Bunker Fuels

in Review of European Community & International Environmental Law, Volume 25, Issue 2, Special Issue: The Paris Agreement, July , 215-227

In 1992, the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change called for all sectors of the global economy, including transport, to contribute to the stabilization of greenhouse gas emissions. However, five years later, international aviation and maritime transport were explicitly excluded from the Kyoto Protocol's scope and have remained largely untouched. The negotiations on the regulation of these sectors' emissions under the United Nations climate regime, the International Civil Aviation Organization and the International Maritime Organization have played the buck-passing game for over two decades. In December 2015, the Paris Agreement was adopted without a reference to international aviation and maritime transport. Nevertheless, the Agreement is not without consequences for the regulation of these sectors. This article analyses the omission of the sectors from the Paris Agreement and the potential indirect effects of the Agreement in the regulation of emissions from international aviation and maritime transport. It argues that a multilateral regulatory shift to other venues outside the climate regime, unilateral measures and industry action will be further stimulated as a result of the omission of both sectors from the Paris Agreement.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Falkner Robert

The Paris Agreement and the new logic of international climate politics

in International Affairs , vol. 92, issue 5, september , 1107-1125

ABSTRACT: This article reviews and assesses the outcome of the 21st Conference of the Parties (COP-21) to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), held in Paris in December 2015. It argues that the Paris Agreement breaks new ground in international climate policy, by acknowledging the primacy of domestic politics in climate change and allowing countries to set their own level of ambition for climate change mitigation. It creates a framework for making voluntary pledges that can be compared and reviewed internationally, in the hope that global ambition can be increased through a process of 'naming and shaming'. By sidestepping distributional conflicts, the Paris Agreement manages to remove one of the biggest barriers to international climate cooperation. It recognizes that none of the major powers can be forced into drastic emissions cuts. However, instead of leaving mitigation efforts to an entirely bottom-up logic, it embeds country pledges in an international system of climate accountability and a 'ratchet mechanism', thus offering the chance of more durable international cooperation. At the same time, it is far from clear whether the treaty can actually deliver on the urgent need to de-carbonize the global economy. The past record of climate policies suggests that governments have a tendency to express lofty aspirations but avoid tough decisions. For the Paris Agreement to make a difference, the new logic of 'pledge and review' will need to mobilize international and domestic pressure and generate political momentum behind more substantial climate policies worldwide. It matters, therefore, whether the Paris Agreement's new approach can be made to work.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Dimitrov Radoslav S.

The Paris Agreement on Climate Change: Behind Closed Doors

in Global Environmental Politics, Volume 16, Issue 3, August , 1-11



The Paris Agreement constitutes a political success in climate negotiations and traditional state diplomacy, and offers important implications for academic research. Based on participatory research, the article examines the political dynamics in Paris and highlights features of the process that help us understand the outcome. It describes battles on key contentious issues behind closed doors, provides a summary and evaluation of the new agreement, identifies political winners and losers, and offers theoretical explanations of the outcome. The analysis emphasizes process variables and underscores the role of persuasion, argumentation, and organizational strategy. Climate diplomacy succeeded because the international conversation during negotiations induced cognitive change. Persuasive arguments about the economic benefits of climate action altered preferences in favor of policy commitments at both national and international levels. Full text available at http://www.mitpressjournals.org/doi/full/10.1162/GLEP_a_00361

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Maljean-Dubois Sandrine

The Paris Agreement: A New Step in the Gradual Evolution of Differential Treatment in the Climate Regime?
in *Review of European Community & International Environmental Law*, Volume 25, Issue 2, Special Issue: The Paris Agreement, July , 151-160

Among international environmental agreements, the early climate regime gave the best illustration of the principle of common but differentiated responsibilities. The principle has been frequently invoked in the delicate negotiations on the future climate regime, and its role has gradually evolved. The 2010 Cancún Agreements promoted a type of self-differentiation which tended to blur the distinction between developing and developed countries. In the post-2020 negotiations, the notion of intended nationally determined contributions to be communicated by each party took this approach further. However, differentiation was still at the core of discussions. The Paris Agreement represents a fine balance between the requirements of differentiation and ambition. Differentiation has grown both in flexibility and adaptability. The Agreement marks a decisive step forward in the gradual blurring of country categories, and better takes into account diverse national circumstances, capabilities and vulnerabilities, all of which are by their very nature changing over time.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Daniel Bodansky

The Paris Climate Change Agreement: A New Hope?
in *American journal of international law*, volume 110, issue 2 , 288-319

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Davor Jančić

The Role of the European Parliament and the US Congress in Shaping Transatlantic Relations: TTIP, NSA Surveillance, and CIA Renditions
in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 54, Issue 4



This article analyses the manner in which the parliaments of the EU and the US – two key global strategic partners – participate in the shaping of transatlantic relations. The article argues that the European Parliament (EP) and Congress aim not only to influence their executive branches but also to act autonomously in the transnational arena through parliamentary diplomacy. They seek to secure concessions both formally by scrutinizing transatlantic international agreements, such as TTIP, as well as informally by exposing injustices and diplomatic misconduct through human rights advocacy and institutional pressure, such as in the cases of the NSA surveillance and CIA renditions. The article demonstrates that the EP and Congress have created capacities for internal scrutiny and transnational interparliamentary dialogue and that they utilize their consent powers to make claims, condition transatlantic negotiations and gain greater presence, visibility and influence in international affairs.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Gianluigi Palombella

The Rule of Law at Home and Abroad

in **Hague Journal on the Rule of Law**, volume 8, issue 1 , 1-23

The article addresses the meaning of the Rule of Law and its import between domestic and supra-State legalities, starting from problems raised by real cases, and the insufficiency of some received ideas or more common notions- from those requisites-based to formal, material, or procedural ones- to cope with them. Accordingly it focuses upon a “dual” structure of legality as an institutional condition for the Rule of Law to pursue its normative ideal. The “duality condition” for the Rule of law is historically and theoretically reconstructed in its origin and development, and the notion is carefully distinguished from rule compliance, procedural fairness, substantive justice, the principle of legality, and other different achievements of the present legal civilization. Its essential content shapes a separate, distinct identity vis à vis democracy and human rights, while it appears conducive to the appraisal of several problems related to the Rule of law oversight in diverse current circumstances.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Schulz Christopher, Julia Martin-Ortega Julia, Glenk Klaus, Ioris Antonio A.R.

The Value Base of Water Governance: A Multi-Disciplinary Perspective

in **Ecological Economics**, Volume 131, January , 241-249

Some scholars promote water governance as a normative concept to improve water resources management globally, while others conceive of it as an analytical term to describe the processes, systems and institutions around the management of water resources and water supply. Critics often highlight how specific water governance scenarios fail to deliver socially desirable outcomes, such as social justice or environmental sustainability. While water governance is often perceived as a technical matter, its conceptual and practical components are in fact based on multiple values that, nonetheless, often remain implicit. The present paper seeks to uncover this value base and discusses existing research on values from multiple perspectives, using material from economics, philosophy, psychology, and other social sciences. In different disciplines, values can be understood as fundamental guiding principles, governance-related values or as values assigned to water resources. Together, they shape complex relationships with water governance, which from an analytical perspective is understood as a combination of policy, politics, and polity. Introducing a new conceptual framework, this study seeks to provide a theoretical foundation for empirical research on water governance processes



and conflicts.

Full text available online at <http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0921800915303967>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Stevenson Hailey

The Wisdom of the Many in Global Governance: An Epistemic-Democratic Defense of Diversity and Inclusion
in *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 60, issue 3, september , 400-412

ABSTRACT: A growing body of literature highlights moral reasons for embracing global democracy. This literature justifies democracy on the grounds of its intrinsic value. But democracy also has instrumental value: the rule of the many is epistemically superior to the rule of one or the rule of the few. I draw on the tradition of epistemic democracy to develop an instrumentalist justification for democratizing global governance. I develop an epistemic-democratic framework for evaluating political institutions—one composed of three principles. The likelihood of making correct decisions within institutions of global governance increases when those institutions maximize (1) human development and capacity for participation; (2) their internal cognitive diversity; and (3) public opportunities for sharing objective and subjective knowledge. Applying this framework to global governance produces a better understanding of the nature and extent of its “democratic deficit,” as well as the actions required to address this deficit.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Jonas Tallberg, Thomas Sommerer, Theresa Squatrito, Magnus Lundgren

The performance of international organizations: a policy output approach
in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 23, Issue 7

Many problems confronting today's societies are transnational in character, leading states to increasingly rely on international organizations (IOs) for policy solutions. Yet, the performance of IOs varies extensively. This contribution suggests that systematic, comparative research is required to advance our understanding of IO performance, and that a policy output approach offers particular advantages for that purpose. This approach privileges the results IOs produce in terms of policies, and is distinct from the main alternative approaches to IO performance, emphasizing either behavioural change by targets (policy outcome) or problem-solving effectiveness (policy impact). The contribution introduces a typology that captures five generic features of policy – volume, orientation, type, instrument and target – and explains how these dimensions may be used to map the output and assess the performance of IOs. The contribution concludes by discussing what methods and theories may be most useful in explaining policy output, as the research agenda on IO performance advances.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Belis David, Kerremans Bart

The socialization potential of the CDM in EU–China climate relations
in *International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics*, Volume 16, Issue 4, August , 543-559



This article hypothesizes that the material incentives associated with the clean development mechanism (CDM) have contributed to the internalization of climate protection norms in China. In current academic research, the CDM has both been extolled as a cost-effective and vilified as an environmentally and ethically inadequate climate mitigation instrument. Few studies so far, however, have looked into the CDM's potential contribution to socialization-related phenomena such as raising climate change awareness in emerging economies. The relationship with the EU is highly relevant in this context, as the emission reduction credits (CERs) resulting from CDM projects would not have had any meaningful prices without the European Union's Emissions Trading System (EU ETS). This article aims to fill the current research gap by studying the socialization potential of the CDM in EU–China climate relations in four periods, namely initiation (2001–2005), improvement (2005–2007), consolidation (2008–2010) and habit formation (2010–2014). We argue that there is at least a discernible effect and that the underlying causal mechanism involves the emergence and activities of norm entrepreneurs and habit formation through a process of legal institutionalization.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Chan Nicholas

The 'New' Impacts of the Implementation of Climate Change Response Measures

in Review of European Community & International Environmental Law, Volume 25, Issue 2, Special Issue: The Paris Agreement, July , 228-237

One of the more politically sensitive elements of the Paris package (although one of the less well known) is how it addresses the negative impacts of mitigation action on economic development – also known as 'response measures'. This article analyses the Paris outcome in the context of protracted discussions on response measures across the historical span of the climate negotiations. First, it charts the widening scope of the debate beyond the traditional concern of oil-exporting developing countries about the negative economic impacts of decarbonization. Other developing countries have also raised concerns in relation to sectors such as agriculture and tourism, especially from trade-related measures. Second, efforts at constructing an institutional space have had mixed results, finding deadlock on the appropriate structure for substantive discussions. The Paris Agreement marks a new phase in how response measures are treated in the global climate change governance architecture, reflecting the substantive and institutional evolution of the subject.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Schünemann Wolf J., Steiger Stefan, Stier Sebastian

Transnationalisierung und Demokratisierung politischer Öffentlichkeit über Soziale Medien – ein Politikfeldvergleich

in Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Politikwissenschaft , Volume 10, Issue 2 Supplement, July 2016 , 233-257

Is there a transnationalization and democratization of public spheres? A comparison of two global political issues

Abstract

The internet has been regarded as a medium with a potential to transnationalize and democratize political public spheres. The present article discusses these expectations and tests them empirically by analyzing twitter



communication on two policy fields: net neutrality and climate change. The results show a transnationalization of political twitter communication; however, its degree depends on the specific structural characteristics of the policy fields. There are no indications of a substantial equalization of political participation, as the traditional gatekeepers from media and politics still maintain a central role in the twitter networks related to the two policy fields.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Meijers Tim, Glasius Marlies

Trials as Messages of Justice: What Should Be Expected of International Criminal Courts?

in Ethics and International Affairs, vol. 30, n. 4, January, 429-447

ABSTRACT: This article addresses the question what—if anything—we can and should expect from the practice of international criminal justice. It argues that neither retributive nor purely consequentialist, deterrence-based justifications give sufficient guidance as to what international criminal courts should aim to achieve. Instead, the legal theory of expressivism provides a more viable (but not unproblematic) guide. Contrary to other expressivist views, this article argues for the importance of the trial, not just the punishment, as a form of expressivist messaging. Specifically, we emphasize the communicative aspect of the judicial process. The final section, acknowledging the limited success of international criminal justice so far in terms of fulfilling its expressivist potential, diagnoses the main obstacles to, and opportunities for, expressivist messaging in the contemporary practice of international criminal justice.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Michel Wieviorka

Ulrich Beck: Some Ideas for Tomorrow

in Theory, Culture & Society, 33 (7-8)

Ulrich Beck was both a committed intellectual and one of the most original and innovative thinkers in our times, bringing new ideas and knowledge about the world in which we live. Among his more recent conceptual tributes, one finds such concepts as cosmopolitization of the world, the idea that social science has a lot to say about love in the second modernity, the importance of the city in a globalized world, and the notion of 'emancipatory catastrophism'.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Fonlupt Dominique

Un Forum social mondial de transition

in Esprit, Octobre

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy



Fonlupt Dominique

Un Forum social mondial de transition

in *Esprit*, Octobre

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Anders Blok

Urban Climate Risk Communities: East Asian World Cities as Cosmopolitan Spaces of Collective Action?

in *Theory, Culture & Society*, 33 (7-8)

Ulrich Beck's cosmopolitan sociology affords a much-needed rethinking of the transnational politics of climate change, not least in pointing to an emerging inter-urban geography of world cities as a potential new source of community, change and solidarity. This short essay, written in honour of Beck's forward-looking agenda for a post-Euro-centric social science, outlines the contours of such an urban-cosmopolitan 'realpolitik' of climate risks, as this is presently unfolding across East Asian world cities. Much more than a theory-building endeavour, the essay suggests, Beck's sociology provides a standing invitation for further transnational dialogue and collaborative empirical work, in East Asia and beyond, on what are, arguably, the defining challenges for the 21st century world of global risks.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Ulrich Beck

Varieties of Second Modernity and the Cosmopolitan Vision

in *Theory, Culture & Society*, 33 (7-8)

This text was prepared for presentation in Nagoya, Japan, in 2010. Its aim was to explore a dialogue with Asians toward a cosmopolitan sociology. Beginning from the idea of entangled modernities which threaten their own foundations, Ulrich Beck advocated a complete conceptual innovation of sociology in order to better comprehend the fundamental fragility and mutability of societal dynamics shaped by the globalization of capital and risks today. More specifically, he proposed a cosmopolitan turn of sociology: first, by criticizing methodological nationalism; second, by introducing the concept of cosmopolitization; third, by re-mapping social inequalities; fourth, by discussing risk society in the context of East Asian development; and fifth and finally, by proposing a cosmopolitan vision. Along this line, Beck attempted an overview of the researches done on second modern transformation in East Asia and suggested that an active dialogue may be possible when Asians begin to see the West from their perspectives rather than being caught in the Euro-centric and West-hegemonic presuppositions.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Keranan Oti

What Happened to the Responsibility to Rebuild?

in *Global Governance*, vol. 22, n. 3, july-september , 331-348



ABSTRACT: While significant obstacles to the realization of the Responsibility to Protect in practice remain, it has nonetheless made considerable progress in transforming from an idea to an emerging norm. At the same time, however, its sister component, the Responsibility to Rebuild has elicited less scholarly and policy attention. The lack of attention to rebuilding responsibilities has been made all the more urgent by the violent aftermath of the first protection intervention in Libya in 2011. Against this backdrop, the article examines the way in which the Responsibility to Rebuild is understood and operationalized, with reference to Libya and Côte d'Ivoire, theaters of two recent protection interventions. The conceptual evolution of the Responsibility to Rebuild reveals a distinct shift toward a more statist understanding of the rebuilding phase; what was initially considered a part of the wider international protection responsibility has come to be viewed as a domestic responsibility. This recalibration of the responsibility to rebuild stems from the concept's association with the reactive element of R2P as well as from the changes in the wider normative environment. The more statist understanding of rebuilding responsibilities has manifested itself not only in the emphasis on domestic ownership of the rebuilding process in the wake of protection interventions, but also in the reconceptualization of the wider international Responsibility to Rebuild as a narrower responsibility to assist in building the capacity of the state subjected to protection intervention. This has been problematic in policy terms as the attempt to build capacity through the standard state-building measures has resulted at best in negative peace and at worst in armed violence.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Zylberman Ariel

Why Human Rights? Because of You

in *Journal of Political Philosophy*, Volume 24, Issue 3, September 2016 , 321–343

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Nye Joseph S., Jr

Will the Liberal Order Survive? The History of an Idea

in *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 96, n. 1

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Haas Richard N.

World Order 2.0. The Case for Sovereign Obligation

in *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 96, n. 1

No abstract available



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Hale Thomas

“All Hands on Deck”: The Paris Agreement and Nonstate Climate Action

in *Global Environmental Politics*, Volume 16, Issue 3, August , 12-22

The 2015 Paris Climate summit consolidated the transition of the climate regime from a “regulatory” to a “catalytic and facilitative” model. A key component of this shift was the intergovernmental regime’s embrace of climate action by sub- and nonstate actors. Although a groundswell of transnational climate action has been growing over time, the Paris Agreement seeks to bring this phenomenon into the heart of the new climate regime. This forum article describes that transition and considers its implications.

Full text available online at http://www.mitpressjournals.org/doi/full/10.1162/GLEP_a_00362

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Guy Jean-Sébastien

Beyond global modernity, global consciousness and global governmentality. The symmetrical anthropology of globalization

in *European Journal of Social Theory*, Volume 19, Issue 4, November 2016 , 451-467

The full text is free:

<http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/1368431016655066>

Abstract

The article combines the research strategies developed by Bruno Latour and Niklas Luhmann to problematize how we interpret the world when discussing globalization. Two previous approaches – global modernity and global consciousness – interpret the world as completely objective (nature transcends culture). Another approach – global governmentality – interprets the world as completely subjective (culture transcends nature). Against these approaches, this article proposes a new one: the symmetrical anthropology (or sociology) of globalization. Inspired by Latour’s variable ontologies, it considers multiple descriptions of the world and multiple descriptions of society simultaneously. It considers globalization as one description of society and searches for the description of the world corresponding to it. It distinguishes three descriptions of the world: (1) the world as natural order; (2) the world as external object; and (3) the world as levels of organization. It is argued that the description of the world that is the most closely connected with globalization is the third one.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Marialuisa Stazio

Global media and local worlds: The devotees of Madonna of the Arch are using social media – An exploratory case study

in *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, Volume 19, Issue 4, August 2016 , 369-386



The full text is free:

<http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/1367549415592897>

Abstract

This 'exploratory case study' focuses on the Web 2.0 practices related to the popular cult of 'Madonna dell'Arco'. Actually, the devotees share a large number of contents regarding the devotional practices using social networking sites, blogs and video sharing sites. The use of social media by the devotees is striking, as the novelty of technology and practices seems to contrast with the ancestral themes of popular religiosity. In fact, the penitential pilgrimage on foot to the Sanctuary of Madonna dell'Arco in Sant'Anastasía (Province of Naples) has taken place on Easter Mondays every year since the end of the 15th century. It is also rooted in very ancient fertility rites, probably tied to Cybele's cults. In other words, the use of social media by the devotees seems to reveal for us how the slowly evolving structures and the short-term time-scale events intertwine, in a space and time in which we find the coexistence of forms, practices and power relations, both established and innovative. Therefore, the principal aim of this article is not to consider the use of social media by the devotees in its religious substance. It would rather confront these evidences with the metanarratives which describe how the homogenisation, the mediatisation and the network society are reducing cultural diversities and eroding national identities. At the same time, it aims at confronting them with some widely diffused ideas about the 'trajectory' or 'logic' of the media and some narratives (and/or mythologies) about information and communications technologies and their social effects. Otherwise, we could consider this article as an attempt towards 'non-media-centric media studies' which acknowledges the distinctive characteristics and affordances of the media but also, and fundamentally, puts the social and everyday practices at the centre of the investigation, not necessarily explaining them through media features.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Horner Rory

A New Economic Geography of Trade and Development? Governing South–South Trade, Value Chains and Production Networks

in Territory, Politics, Governance, Volume 4, Issue 4 , 400-420

While South–South development cooperation has “win–win” aims, it is unclear the extent to which its horizontal, mutually beneficial objectives translate into “South–South” trade and move beyond the asymmetrical nature of North–South trade. Global value chain and global production network research can make progress into an understanding of the dynamics of these emerging trade patterns. To date, however, such research has largely focused on the development prospects for firms and regions in the global South integrating into the production networks of lead firms from the global North. Evidence presented for the growth of South–South trade, including firms emerging from new home regions and the rise of new end markets in the global South, questions this focus. Emerging research suggests that the growth of South–South trade will be linked to a trade-off involving relatively easier access to Southern markets and potentially greater competition from competitors across the South. Avenues and questions for further research are identified here in terms of the governance, upgrading opportunities and territorial development outcomes associated with South–South chains and networks. Such research can move beyond win–win notions from development cooperation to highlight the commercial realities and very uneven geographies and development outcomes associated with expanding South–South trade.

Full text available online at <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/21622671.2015.1073614>



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

De Wilde Pieter, Junk Wiebke Marie, Palmtag Talea

Accountability and opposition to globalization in international assemblies

in European Journal of International Relations , vol. 22, n. 4, december , 823-846

ABSTRACT: Advocates of a global democratic parliament have expressed hopes that this would not only legitimize global governance in procedural terms, but also bring about more cosmopolitan policies. They point to the European Parliament as an example of a successful real existing democratic parliament beyond the state with cosmopolitan intent. We analyse plenary debates in the United Nations General Assembly and the European Parliament about the issues of climate change, human rights, migration, trade and European integration between 2004 and 2011 to study the nature of opposition to cosmopolitanism within these two assemblies. We find more vocal and better-organized opposition to cosmopolitanism in the European Parliament than in the United Nations General Assembly. We demonstrate the plausibility that direct and more proportional mechanisms of delegation and accountability in the case of the European Parliament account for this observed difference. Should further research confirm these initial findings, advocates of a global democratic parliament may find that an empowered democratic World Parliament would support less cosmopolitan policies than the current United Nations General Assembly.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Moellendorf Darrel

Anti-Poverty, Development, and the Limits of Progress

in Res Publica, Volume 22, Issue 3, August , 317-325

In this paper I critically engage with Hennie Lötter's impressive book, *Poverty, Ethics and Justice*. I discuss his conception of poverty, and offer an interpretation of his claim that poverty is a uniquely human scourge. I exam the various harms of poverty that Lötter discusses. I consider two reasons that he offers for why we have a moral duty to end poverty, and I argue that the reason based on what we can justify to others if we take their human dignity seriously is most compelling. Finally, I argue that Lötter overemphasizes of the moral importance of aid and downplays in the importance of the justice of institutional and structural change. I close by considering the prospects for social equality given our experience of capitalist development as a means for poverty eradication. I consider the moral importance of limits to the achievement of robust equality.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Hardie Iain, Maxfield Sylvia

Atlas constrained: the US external balance sheet and international monetary power

in Review of International Political Economy, Volume 23, Issue 4, 2016 , 583-613

We address the impact on international monetary power of the size and nature of the US's international financial assets and liabilities. Financial globalization makes critical a focus on a nation's international financial assets and liabilities, its



'external balance sheet'. We suggest an expansion of Cohen's existing framework of international monetary power to include the implications of valuation changes in these external balance sheets, focusing on sources of valuation, sensitivity and vulnerability of the US economy to these changes and implications for US ability to use monetary statecraft. By focusing on developments since 2007 and on events over the financial crisis period, we show that the increased size and nature of the US's external balance sheet has reduced US autonomy and monetary power. Underpinning the changes in the US's external balance sheet are activities of private financial market actors whose influence in international monetary affairs has grown markedly.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Hertel Thomas W., Baldos Uris Lantz C.

Attaining food and environmental security in an era of globalization

in Global Environmental Change, Volume 41, November , 195-205

Attaining the twin goals of food and environmental security in the coming decades poses a significant sustainability challenge. This paper examines the food and environmental security implications of a range of policies affecting the global food economy and terrestrial ecosystems, first in the context of historically segmented markets, and secondly in a hypothetical future world of fully integrated crop commodity markets. We begin by revisiting history, considering how food production and global land use would have evolved over the period: 1961–2006 in the presence of greater market integration. We find that there would have been greater disparities in regional crop output growth, with regions experiencing higher productivity growth tending to expand more rapidly under this counterfactual experiment. Going forward, greater market integration can be expected to reshape the way we think about future food and environmental security. In the presence of continued market segmentation, strong population growth, accompanied by robust overall income projections, results in exceptionally high demand growth, rising prices and increased non-farm undernutrition in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) by 2050. On the other hand, if markets are fully integrated, relative rates of productivity growth become key to the regional composition of world crop output and agricultural production and cropland grow much more slowly in SSA. We explore the implications of four policy initiatives aimed at improving food security and environmental outcomes, including enhanced on-farm productivity and reductions in post-harvest losses in SSA, reductions in food waste in the wealthy economies, and a global terrestrial carbon policy. We also evaluate the potential impacts of climate change under these two trade regimes. Our results suggest that, in some cases, the food and terrestrial implications will be radically different in a more integrated global economy.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Callahan William A.

China 2035: from the China Dream to the World Dream

in Global Affairs, Volume 2, Issue 3 , 247-258

One of the great puzzles of the early twenty-first century is predicting what world order will look like by mid-century. This essay examines how Chinese futurologists are planning for the PRC to surpass the US to become the most important country in the world by around 2035. It argues that China is moving from a defensive and inward-looking notion of the future, exemplified by former president Hu Jintao's Harmonious World policy, to a more offensive and expansionist view of the future that is informed by Xi Jinping's China Dream policy, which includes a Sinocentric 'World Dream'. While the



geopolitics of US-China relations is the main focus of China's futurology, the essay also explores how Europe's normative power impacts China's futures. With this in mind, the essay concludes that Beijing's plans are unlikely to succeed. Rather, it is more likely that 2035 will see either 1) a fragmented world order that is neither unipolar nor bipolar, or 2) a continuation of the existing global liberal order, albeit in a more shallow form. The question remains: how Chinese people will respond when the PRC does not gain the world leadership that has been promised as 'inevitable' by China's leaders?

Full text available online at <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/23340460.2016.1210240>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Rod Tyers

China and Global Macroeconomic Interdependence

in World Economy, Volume 39, Issue 11 , 1674-1702

China is transitioning towards more inward-focussed growth, causing adverse changes in the product and financial terms of trade in the advanced economies. At the same time, international financial markets tussle between tightening forces associated with the US recovery on the one hand and unconventional monetary expansion in Europe and Japan on the other. The way these shocks interact is examined in this paper using a global macromodel with national portfolio rebalancing and asset differentiation and a representation of unconventional monetary policy. Results are found to be sensitive to the contributions of productivity and capital accumulation to China's growth. When these are offered in realistic combination, the effects are deflationary in the United States and China, militating against contractionary US monetary policy. Monetary responses in the United States and China then combine with price targeting regimes in the EU and Japan to expand liquidity globally, amplifying impacts on financial markets and the global distribution of real investment.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Tim Summers

China's 'New Silk Roads': sub-national regions and networks of global political economy

in Third World Quarterly, Volume 37, Issue 9 , 1628-1643

This paper argues that the Chinese government's 'belt and road' initiative – the Silk Roads vision of land and maritime logistics and communications networks connecting Asia, Europe and Africa – has its roots in sub-national ideas and practices, and that it reflects their elevation to the national level more than the creation of substantially new policy content. Further, the spatial paradigms inherent in the Silk Roads vision reveal the reproduction of capitalist developmental ideas expressed particularly in the form of networks, which themselves have become a feature of contemporary global political economy. In other words, the Silk Roads vision is more of a 'spatial fix' than a geopolitical manoeuvre.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Duménil Gérard



Classes supérieures de tous les pays unissez-vous sous une bannière impériale !

in *Actuel Marx*, n° 60 , pp. 90-105

Upper Classes of all Countries unite under an Imperial Banner! Class patterns (capitalists and managers) in contemporary managerial capitalism are analyzed in relation to financial globalization. At the center of the global network of ownership relationships (defined by the holding of corporate equity), one can locate a tightly intertwined set of financial institutions, overseen by the managers of these corporations and the managers sitting on the boards of transnational nonfinancial corporations. This network controls 40 percent of all transnational corporations worldwide and 94 percent of profits. It is still structured in geographical communities. This means that financial corporations still display national features : big capitalists still belong to their national communities and states are still strongly committed to the defense of the interest of their countries. While a globalization of class and states relationships is indeed underway, as it had been the case in the national unification processes in Europe (and elsewhere), it is being conducted under the leadership of hegemonic powers, such as the United States. However nothing implies that the current process will remain unipolar.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Richard Sťahel

Climate Change and Social Conflicts

in *Perspectives on Global Development and Technology* , Volume 15, Issue 5

This article outlines the role of globalized mass media in the perception of environmental and social threats and its reciprocal conditionality in the globalized society. It examines the reasons why the global environmental crisis will not lead to a world-wide environmental movement for change of the basic imperatives of the world economic-political system. Coherency between globalized mass media and wide-spreading of consumer lifestyle exists despite the fact that it deepens the devastation of environment and social conflicts. Globalized mass media owned by transnational corporations are not only a part of the current global economic-political system, but also the prerequisite of its creation and existence, as well as social contradictions and conflicts.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Ledo Gretel

Climate Change: a Leitmotif of Global Sustainability

in *Federalist Debate (The)*, Year XXIX, Number 2, July 2016

Countries acting alone had to face a set of problems which challenge the conventional limits of a national state. In recent times, global risks got the focus of major attention. They constitute an uncertain condition which, should it develop without control, will have a negative impact able to cause serious damages for the next 10 years. The recent Survey of the Perception of Global Risks (The Global Risks Report, 2016), edited by the World Economic Forum and including 29 global risks classified as social, technological, economic, environmental and geopolitical, in a time horizon of 10 years, put the absence of mitigation and adaptation measures to climate changes at the first place. In the last three years, climate change ranked in the fifth place. Today, it moves up to the first. Thus it proves to be the risk of major impact, above weapons of mass destruction (second place) and water crises (third place). Unintentional large-scale



migrations and the impact caused by changes of energy prices (whether price increase or price decrease) follow. Economic risks, which include financial crises in leading economies and high structural unemployment or underemployment, ask for an analysis apart.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Knight Carl

Climate change, fundamental interests, and global justice

in Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy, Volume 19, Issue 5, 2016 , 629-644

Abstract

Political philosophers commonly tackle the issue of climate change by focusing on fundamental interests as a basis for human rights. This approach struggles, however, in cases where one set of fundamental interests requires one course of action, and another set of fundamental interests requires a contradictory course of action. This article advances an alternative response to climate change based on an account of global justice that gives weight to utilitarian, prioritarian, and luck egalitarian considerations. A practical application of this pluralistic account is provided, which shows that it handles trade-offs between individuals' interests in an appealing way and that it supports an aggressive policy of climate change mitigation. This account provides a more plausible justification for rights against the harms of climate change.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Nele Noesselt

Contested global order(s): Rising powers and the re-legitimation of global constitutionalization

in International Journal of Constitutional Law, volume 14, issue 3 , 639-656

The global financial crisis, sometimes even referred to as a crisis of liberal-style capitalism, functions as a critical juncture that has triggered a critical reassessment of the global system and its normative underpinnings. To shed more light on the changing constituent power of global constitutionalization, this article starts with some general reflections on the role of regional and network actors in global affairs. It then continues with a short discussion of the difficulties encountered during analyzing the BRICS as a unified network actor. In order to clarify whether recent critical junctures and moments of contestation are contributing to a higher global constitutional quality, this article then continues by analyzing the sector of global financial governance. It argues that moments of contestation do not automatically result in an overthrow of the existing global order but might facilitate sectoral adjustments and partial reforms of select sub-systems. The establishment of inter-regional quasi constitutional arrangements with regard to global finance adds to the fragmentation of global constitutionalization—but does so far not result in a substitution of the organizational structures and normative principles established after 1945.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process



Tsang John C.

Coping with Policy Complexity in the Globalized World

in *Public Administration Review*, Volume 76, Issue 6 , 840–841

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Maffettone Pietro, Di Paola Marcello

Cosmopolitanism in a Gridlocked World

in *Filosofia e Questioni Pubbliche*, Nuova Serie, Vol. 6, No. 3 (2016) , 3-14

The full text is free:

http://fqp.luiss.it/files/2016/11/1_Maffettone_Di_Paola_PPI_vol6_n3_2016.pdf

In the past sixty years, the international community has achieved unprecedented levels of cooperation in an impressive array of domains, entrenching important principles of global coexistence, securing relatively high levels of peace and stability, and enabling the free movement and exchange of goods, people, wealth, knowledge, and innovation.

Today, however, global cooperation is failing, largely incapacitated in the face of pressing challenges such as climate change, nuclear proliferation, financial insecurity, cross-border mass migrations, transnational terrorism, and more.

This failure has deep structural reasons. This is the main claim made by Hale, Held and Young in their excellent book, *Gridlock: Why Global Cooperation Is Failing When We Need It Most*.

This number of *Philosophy and Public Issues* convenes leading scholars to discuss that claim and some of its most significant implications for political theory.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Valvo Anna Lucia

Crisi europea e cosmopolitismo post-globale

in *Studi sull'integrazione europea*, Anno XI, n. 2-3, maggio-dicembre , 253-264

With this contribution I want to emphasize that the phenomenon of globalization has led, on the one hand, to the de-politicization of the exercise of State power, and, on the other hand, to the politicization of other entities: multinationals, international organizations, international finance, etc. Consequently, political decisions are made in “places” far from the national context and without any democratic guarantees. In other words, the global society is not attributable to the more or less democratic classic socio-state model in which decisions originated from the State through the use of policy instruments but is referable to a plurality of economic and financial models that are an expression of a post-global cosmopolitanism that took away space to the classical democratic organization. In this context, the European Union must necessarily go through an integration of political character which can stem the de-politicization process carried out by globalization.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Bassetti Piero

Dagli affari esteri agli affari globali

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLVIII, numero speciale, n. 178, autunno , 645-651

Full text available online at http://www.affari-esteri.it/Affari_Esteri_178.pdf

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Cassee Andreas, Hoesch Matthias, Oberprantacher Andreas

Das Flüchtlingsdrama und die Philosophie

in *Information Philosophie*, Jahrgang 2016, Heft 3, 2016 , 52-60

Worin liegt die Verantwortung, die wir gegenüber Flüchtlingen haben, die zu uns kommen, begründet?

Andreas Cassee: Zum einen haben wir eine Hilfspflicht gegenüber Menschen, die in ihrem Herkunftsland keinen sicheren Zugang zu menschenrechtlichen Grundgütern haben. Das trifft auf politisch Verfolgte und Kriegsflüchtlinge zu, aber auch auf viele derjenigen Migrantinnen und Migranten, die gerne als „falsche“ Wirtschaftsflüchtlinge verunglimpft werden.

Zum anderen besteht die Alternative zur Aufnahme von Flüchtlingen nicht bloß in der Unterlassung einer Hilfeleistung, sondern darin, verzweifelte Menschen unter Androhung (und nötigenfalls unter Einsatz) von Zwang von einem Land fernzuhalten. Diese Ausübung staatlicher Zwangsgewalt darf aber nicht ohne Rechtfertigung erfolgen. Daran ändert auch die Tatsache nichts, dass die Durchführung von Zwangsmaßnahmen gerne an externe Akteure (aktuell etwa an die Türkei) delegiert wird.

Dieses Rechtfertigungsproblem besteht grundsätzlich mit Blick auf alle Einwanderungsbeschränkungen, auch wenn sie nicht Flüchtlinge, sondern freiwillig Migrierende betreffen. Mit welchem Recht kann eine Gruppe von Menschen andere gewaltsam vom Betreten eines Teils der Erdoberfläche abhalten? Bei Flüchtlingen tritt dieses Problem aber in verschärfter Form auf: Was berechtigt uns dazu, Menschen mit Gewalt zu bedrohen, die sich vor menschenrechtlich erheblichen Notlagen in Sicherheit bringen wollen? Ich sehe nicht, wie eine solche Rechtfertigung aussehen könnte, jedenfalls solange auf Seiten der potenziellen Aufnahmegesellschaft keine Güter von vergleichbarer Bedeutung auf dem Spiel stehen.

Andreas Oberprantacher: Vielleicht ist es ja bereits eine Frage der Verantwortung, nicht so zu antworten, dass schon der eine oder andere Grund genannt wird, sondern Fragen wie diese selbst in Frage zu stellen und somit dem Drang, Grundlegendes ergründen zu wollen, nicht übereilt nachzukommen. Fragwürdig ist ja nicht allein die – häufig unhinterfragte – Gegenüberstellung von „uns“ und „Flüchtlingen“, als ob bereits entschieden wäre, wer „wir“ eigentlich sind und mit welchem Recht von „Flüchtlingen“ in diesem Zusammenhang die Rede ist. Fraglich ist vor allem, was denn „Verantwortung“ in einem Kontext besagen könnte, der, wie es scheint, eine Menge von problematischen Definitionen und Assoziationen fraglos unterstellt. Anders gesagt, wie lässt sich begründen, was sich im Moment des Nachfragens



als schwammig erweist?

Es könnte demnach darauf ankommen zu bedenken, dass die Dramatik der gegenwärtigen Situation nicht zuletzt dem Umstand geschuldet ist, dass zurzeit Zonen generiert und toleriert werden, für die niemand bereit ist, die Verantwortung zu übernehmen. Oder, um es etwas polemischer zu formulieren: Es sollte ja nicht verdrängt werden, dass sich vielerorts die Tendenz erkennen lässt, im Prinzip das zu vermeiden bzw. zu verwischen, was mit der Theorie rechtsstaatlicher Verantwortung verbunden wäre: die Praxis der Jurisdiktion. Ob nun an das Mittelmeergebiet, an die Sonora-Wüste oder an die pazifischen Gewässer gedacht wird, um nur die bekanntesten jener zwischenstaatlichen Zonen namentlich zu nennen, wo unzählige Menschen auf der Überfahrt untergehen, dramatisch sind solche Situationen insofern, als es scheinbar der gegenwärtigen Logik des transnationalen Regierens entspricht, sich von der Frage der Verantwortung tendenziell entbinden: indem etwa hoheitliche Aufgaben an Dritte delegiert wird, Rechte suspendiert werden, die eigene Überlastung deklariert wird etc., um also strategisch unverantwortlich zu agieren.

Gäbe es denn so etwas wie Verantwortung, dann kann diese unter Berücksichtigung der erwähnten Bedenken wohl kaum begründet werden, indem unkritisch, ja unreflektiert auf ein Narrativ rechtsstaatlicher Verbindlichkeiten und all seiner Derivate rekurriert wird, welches stillschweigend der eigenen Argumentation zugrunde gelegt wird, um dann im Detail zu eruieren, welche Gründe zählen und welche nicht. Was wäre, wenn die Frage der Verantwortung so gestellt würde, dass die Krise diverser gesellschaftlicher Institutionen, Klassifikationen, aber auch Visionen als Chance begriffen wird, um – just in Abwesenheit von bestimmten Gründen – Antworten zu probieren, die eventuell alternative Infrastrukturen zum Vorschein bringen könnten?

...

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Gonzalo Berrón

Derechos humanos y empresas transnacionales. Una discusión urgente in Nueva Sociedad, n. 264

Existen fuertes asimetrías de poder entre las empresas y las poblaciones e incluso entre las empresas y varios Estados. Estas asimetrías generan situaciones de abusos y violaciones de los derechos humanos, además de bloquear el acceso a la justicia de las poblaciones afectadas. Y muchas veces las compañías tienen responsabilidad directa o indirecta por una serie de delitos contra la vida, el medio ambiente, la libertad sindical, los consumidores y la salud de las personas. El artículo analiza ese contexto para destacar la problemático vínculo «derechos humanos-empresas», y las iniciativas que buscan limitar la apropiación extrema y desigual de las riquezas comunes y promover un sistema jurídico que proteja a las personas.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Joel R. Hillison & Avram Isaacson

Deviant globalization: the application of strategic landpower in Defense and Security Analysis, Volume 32, Issue 4 , 281-292

In both Afghanistan and Iraq, US landpower was able to gain control rapidly over terrain. However, that control ebbed as



US presence weakened. Non-state actors, such as the Taliban, the Haqqani network, the Islamic State, and Al Qaeda, gained control of segments of the population. Transnational Criminal Organizations capitalized on this permissive environment to strengthen their networks, often eroding the legitimacy of the host nation government, fueling regional instability, and, ultimately, undermining US policy objectives. The proliferation of deviant globalization, or the connectedness of subversive elements, is a key indicator of future conflict. Strategic landpower is uniquely positioned to influence the physical, psychological, economic, and social interactions of various non-state actors and their association with deviant globalization. It is no longer enough to seize and hold terrain. Landpower must also have the capability to influence the actions and attitudes of populations on that terrain wherever and whenever these interactions occur.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Nicholas Charron

Diverging cohesion? Globalisation, state capacity and regional inequalities within and across European countries

in *European Urban and Regional Studies*, volume 23, issue 4 , 355-373

Why do increases in globalisation in the face of European expansion lead to sharp levels of regional divergences in wealth in some countries but not in others? The central crux of this paper is that convergence/divergence trends in European states are conditioned by 'state capacity'. State capacity – which we define here as a combination of impartial bureaucratic practices, corruption and the rule of law – limits, and in some cases reverses the tendency towards greater divergence linked to trade. Countries with high levels of state capacity – that is, those that have greater government effectiveness, stronger rule of law and lower corruption – experience lower levels of divergence, as they have the mechanisms to counterbalance the strong centripetal forces linked to openness. This claim is tested on countries that have experienced relatively high levels of increases in levels of economic and political globalisation – European Union (EU) member states – using aggregated regional-level data from 1995 to 2008. Strong and robust empirical evidence is found for this claim.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Sébastien Jean, Jean-Christophe Bureau

Do regional trade agreements really boost trade? Evidence from agricultural products

in *Review of World Economics (Weltwirtschaftliches Archiv)*, Volume 152, Issue 3 , 477-499

We evaluate the impact on trade of regional trade agreements (RTAs) using a panel data approach at the detailed product level which exploits exports to third destinations and imports from third origins as benchmarks. This method is robust to both endogeneity and heterogeneity across agreements and across products, and allows differentiation between the impacts of tariff provisions and non-tariff provisions. The analysis covers agricultural and food products for 74 country pairs linked by an agreement entered into force during the period 1998–2009. Our estimate of the mean elasticity of substitution across imports at product level is slightly below four. Counterfactual simulations suggest that RTAs have increased partners' bilateral agricultural and food exports by 30–40 % on average, with marked heterogeneity across agreements. Also, RTAs are found to increase the probability of exporting a given product to a partner country although this impact is small. Finally, we found non-tariff provisions have no measurable trade impact.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Weiwei Wang

Does Deep Integration Promote Trade Development?

in **International Trade Journal**, Volume 30, Issue 5 , 415-433

Based on the Design of Trade Agreement database, which includes almost all free trade agreements (FTAs) after World War II, this article presents a comprehensive analysis of the development of FTAs. With the increased number of FTAs, more and more clauses in the agreements are focusing on non-tariff trade barriers and the coordination of cross-border measures. This article tests FTAs' effect on trade. The signing and deepening of FTAs has increased foreign trade, especially in the long run. Furthermore, FTAs have a slightly more significant positive effect on imports than they do on exports.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Anya Kleymenova, Andrew K. Rose, Tomasz Wieladek

Does government intervention affect banking globalization?

in **Journal of the Japanese and International Economies**, Volume 42 , 146-161

Using data from British and American banks, we provide empirical evidence that government intervention affects the global activities of individual banks along three dimensions: depth, breadth and persistence. We examine depth by studying whether a bank's preference for domestic, as opposed to external, lending (funding) changes when it is subjected to a large public intervention, such as bank nationalization. Our results suggest that, following nationalization, non-British banks allocate their lending away from the UK and increase their external funding. Second, we find that nationalized banks from the same country tend to have portfolios of foreign assets that are spread across countries in a way that is far more similar than those of either private banks from the same country or nationalized banks from different countries, consistent with an impact on the breadth of globalization. Third, we study the Troubled Asset Relief Program (TARP) to examine the persistence of the effect of large government interventions. We find weak evidence that upon entry into the TARP, foreign lending declines but domestic does not. This effect is observable at the aggregate level, and seems to disappear upon TARP exit. Collectively, this evidence suggests that large government interventions affect the depth and breadth of banking globalization, but may not persist after public interventions are unwound.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Shawkat Hammoudeh, Sang Hoon Kang, Walid Mensi, Duc Khuong Nguyen

Dynamic Global Linkages of the BRICS Stock Markets with the United States and Europe Under External Crisis Shocks: Implications for Portfolio Risk Forecasting

in **World Economy**, Volume 39, Issue 11 , 1703-1727

Crisis shocks often lead to changes in the interdependence across stock markets and thus affect risk assessment and management. This paper investigates the extent to which the global financial crisis of 2008–09, which was triggered by



the US subprime crisis in 2007, and the European debt crisis that started at the end of 2009, affects the interdependence of the leading emerging markets of the BRICS countries with those of the United States and Europe. Our empirical analysis makes use of the FIAPARCH model combined with the Dynamic Equicorrelation (DECO-FIAPARCH), which allows for the estimation of market linkage for a large group of countries as a whole, while controlling for asymmetric volatility and long memory. The results reveal the presence of important changes in the time-varying linkages of the BRICS stock markets with the US and European ones. In particular, the average linkages have significantly been higher between 2007 and the first half of 2012 than the remaining part of the sample, and there is also evidence of a structural change around the Lehman Brothers collapse. We also show the effects of these stylised facts on portfolio risk assessment and forecasting.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Martin Christian Walter , Steiner Nils D.

Economic globalization and the change of electoral rules

in Constitutional political economy, Volume 27, Issue 4, December 2016 , 355-376

This paper takes up an argument from Ronald Rogowski about the “natural affinity” between trade and an electoral system with proportional representation. We draw on literature on the historical determinants of electoral system choice to advance the general argument that trade integration and PR are related because the adoption of PR helps to secure gains from trade. Our specific model of electoral rule changes in the age of globalization predicts that the likelihood of electoral rule change towards more proportionality increases with levels of trade integration in the world economy. The theoretical model draws on a micro model of the distributive effects of increased economic integration. Because more proportional systems are more credibly able to commit to compensate the losers of globalization processes, there will be increased demand to change the electoral system towards more proportionality under economic circumstances that increase the costs of maintaining a closed economy. In accordance with our model, our empirical tests find a positive association between (a) trade integration and the proportionality of the electoral system, (b) proportionality and social spending, and (c) global integration levels and the probability of electoral rules changes that render voting rules more proportional.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Wilkinson Iain

Editorial introduction: Understanding modern humanitarianism

in International Social Science Journal , Volume 65, Issue 215-216, March–June 2014 , 7-11

The full text is free:

<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/issj.12081/full>

Over the last 30 years there has been an unprecedented gathering of academic interest around the topic of modern humanitarianism. The issues congregated here suggest that some significant changes are taking place in the political currency of social problems and in our shared frames of cultural self-understanding. When studying modern humanitarianism we are involved in charting the moral character and institutional formations of global civil society (Calhoun 2004, 2008; DeChaine 2002; Delanty 2000; Kaldor 2002). This is further understood to provide us with insights



into the presiding rationalities within structures of global governance (Fassin 2012; Narkunas 2014). On many accounts, the study of modern humanitarian principles and practices is important for the extent to which it serves to expose the dynamics set in contemporary power relations; and especially where these are held to be justified on the grounds that they operate to promote “human rights” and/or the “good of humanity”...

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Arneson Richard J.

Extreme cosmopolitanisms defended

in Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy, Volume 19, Issue 5, 2016 , 555-573

Abstract

Some theorists hold that there is no serious, significant issue concerning cosmopolitanism. They hold that cosmopolitanism is either the anodyne doctrine that we have some duties to distant strangers merely on the ground of shared humanity or the absurd doctrine that we have no special moral duties based on special-ties such as those of friendship, family, and national community. This essay argues against this deflationary position by defending (1) a very extreme cosmopolitan doctrine that denies special-tie moral duties altogether and (2) a slightly milder but still extreme form of cosmopolitanism that allows that there might be special-tie moral duties to intimate associates such as friends and family members but denies that broader social group associations such as those of subjection to a national state or national or ethnic community memberships ever constitute special ties that ground special moral duties. The defense proceeds by rebutting bad arguments leveled against extreme cosmopolitanisms.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Ülgen Faruk

Financial Liberalization as a Process of Flawed Institutional Change

in Journal of Economic Issues, Volume 50, Issue 2, 2016 , Pages 485-493

I argue that the financial liberalization of the last decades, which resulted in a worldwide crisis, relied on an institutional change that ill-shaped actors' behavior so as to let them enter into unsustainable speculative activities at the expense of macro-stability. To support such an assertion, I draw upon a specific Veblen-Minsky approach to a credit-money economy and its endogenous fragilities. I also maintain that, when financial markets are liberalized and private-interests-related self-regulation replaces public macro-prudential supervision, the financial system undergoes institutional deadlock and the ensuing confusion is transformed into a market gridlock. Markets then become unable to recover without public rescue operations of banks. The subsequent negative economic and social consequences are beyond the limits of any acceptable liberal ideology and scientific understanding. Therefore, systemic stability calls for a tighter macro-regulatory framework to remove the domination of speculative finance over economic decisions and activities.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process



Georgina Murray, David Peetz

Financial Markets, Climate Change, and Paradoxes of Coordination and Intervention
in *Perspectives on Global Development and Technology*, Volume 15, Issue 5

While capitalism as a system follows a logic that drives it toward environmental degradation, not every corporation blindly follows. Not all capital is opposed to action on climate change as corporations have their own internal logic and agency. This divides different parts of capital. For some corporations their logic promotes long-termism and environmental sustainability as this maximizes their profit (e.g. insurance companies). So ownership and the old divisions between industrial and finance capital are less relevant as corporations become increasingly financialized. The principal cleavage on climate issues is between companies whose profits are enhanced or threatened by carbon emissions.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Zhu Shengjun, He Canfei

Global and local governance, industrial and geographical dynamics: A tale of two clusters

in *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, Volume 34, Issue 8, December, 1453-1473

This article closely examines two industrial clusters in China, and compares the various adaptations these two clusters have undergone, as well as the mechanisms underlying the industrial and geographical dynamics within these two clusters. Specifically, based on recent field investigation and in-depth interviews during 2011–2014, we examine two types of local governance, and pay attention to the articulation between “governance within global value chains” and “governance within local clusters,” and to how global and local governance co-shape the ways in which and the extents to which local firms participate in the global economy, producing diverse geographies of production and generating diverse trajectories of regional development. The article concludes that local and global governance co-determine domestic firms’ upgrading sources, the strength of their local embeddedness, and the ways in which they conduct spatial and organizational restructuring, such as factory consolidation, factory closure, industrial upgrading, and geographical relocation.

Full text available online at <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/0263774X15621760>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Brown Alexander

Global equality of resources and the problem of valuation

in *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, Volume 19, Issue 5, 2016, 609-628

Abstract

The principle that every individual on the planet has a claim to an equal share of Earth’s natural resources has an intuitive attraction. Yet the Principle of Natural Resource Equality is not without its problems. This article focuses on the problem of valuation. Unless and until its adherents are able to develop an adequate theoretical mechanism for determining the comparative value of two or more bundles of natural resources the principle lacks applicability and persuasive force. Three adequacy constraints on such a mechanism are presented and then applied to a theorisation of



the Principle of Natural Resource Equality that I have already expounded elsewhere: Global Equality of Resources. In each case I try to argue that Global Equality of Resources could satisfy the adequacy constraint, provided that both this theory and the relevant constraint are properly understood.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Devadason Evelyn S.

Global interactions of China and India: Divergent paths of trade?

in India Review, Volume 15, Issue 3 , 273-301

This article explores the global positions of China and India in merchandise trade. It first compares the integration models of China and India and, thereafter, examines the core factors that drive their trading relationships. With respect to their global trading partners, there are considerable differences in the influence of economic drivers of trade for China and India. Combined larger markets, similar consumer preferences, similar factor endowments and linguistic links enhance global exports from China. Alternatively, smaller market size, discrepancy in consumer demands, dissimilar factor endowments and combined stocks of foreign direct investments drive India's global trade. The findings suggest that differences in the structure and demand of China vis-a-vis India dictate the divergence in the profile of their trade determinants. Such divergence in trade drivers, however, dissipates when taking into account Chinese and Indian partnerships on a regional basis – with East Asia, Middle East and North Africa (MENA), Latin America, European Union (EU), and Africa.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Peter Herbel

Globalisation de l'économie et territorialité du droit : l'entreprise en tant que nouvel acteur juridique. Le cas du droit de l'environnement

in Revue internationale de droit comparé, no. 2 , 379-404

Cet article examine quelques aspects de la tension entre la globalisation économique et la territorialité juridique. Il prend comme point de départ la situation de l'entreprise multinationale faisant face à de multiples lois nationales du droit de l'environnement. Bien évidemment, l'entreprise est censée appliquer les lois environnementales et autres, mais elle participe également à leur élaboration et elle fabrique elle-même des règles devant s'appliquer à l'intérieur de son organisation internationale et parfois à l'extérieur, par exemple dans les relations avec ses partenaires et fournisseurs. L'impact de la globalisation sur l'application des normes environnementales par l'entreprise sera notre premier point d'examen suivi d'une analyse de quelques exemples de la participation de l'entreprise à l'élaboration du droit environnemental.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Nicolás Mariscal

Globalización – Unión Europea – Globalización



in **Cuadernos europeos de Deusto**, no. 54 , 27-58

Este artículo no pretende analizar la realidad de la globalización, ni de la Unión Europea, ni de su relación, de amplitud, complejidad y dinamismo casi insondables y aquí inabarcables, sino ofrecer solo una introducción a su estudio, que ayude a proseguir el debate. Éste ha generado en el siglo xxi numerosos y poderosos esfuerzos de definición, conceptualización y teorización; aquí se indican algunos puntos de referencia relevantes y algunas lógicas, que pueden servir como anclajes y cuerda para una posible vía por esos universos. La clave está en la paradoja de Castells: «la integración europea es, al mismo tiempo, una reacción al proceso de globalización y su expresión más avanzada» y se presentan tres estudios muy diferentes. A continuación, desde el constructivismo social, se exponen la «actoridad» («actorness») de la UE , constituida por la oportunidad, presencia y capacidad, y su identidad colectiva y se termina con la presentación de varias estrategias europeas globales.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Springborg Robert

Globalization and Its Discontents in the MENA Region

in **Middle East Policy**, Volume 23, Issue 2, Summer , 146-160

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Hayward Tim, Iwaki Yukinori

Had we but world enough, and time: integrating the dimensions of global justice

in **Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy**, Volume 19, Issue 4, 2016 , 383-399

Abstract

Requirements for a decent life are to be found in the dimensions both of human time and ecological space. While the latter has attracted attention from some global justice theorists, the former is a comparably neglected matter. This paper aims to integrate temporal and ecological perspectives in order to provide an enriched conceptual framework for grasping what global justice means today. We begin by showing that while contemporary political philosophy tends to assume a somewhat undifferentiated conception of time, treating temporal justice as a future-oriented concern distinct from issues of intra-generational justice, there are richer understandings to be found in some influential schools of critical social theory. Drawing then, particularly, on Alf Hornborg's theory of 'unequal exchange of time and space', and supplementing this with insights from David Harvey, we analyse three ways in which disadvantage can be perpetrated in the dimension of time. We then show how those categories of temporal disadvantage broadly correspond with the three basic rights identified by Henry Shue. On this basis, we claim there is a strong argument for regarding temporality as an integral aspect of global justice here and now, for the generation already – although too often precariously – living.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process



Brock Gillian

How Should We Discharge Our Responsibilities to Eradicate Poverty?

in *Res Publica*, Volume 22, Issue 3, August , 301-315

In this article I present four central challenges for Hennie Lötter's book *Poverty, Ethics and Justice*. The first criticism takes issue with Lötter's focus on social rather than global justice. Though he seems to be concerned with poverty everywhere, he takes social rather than global justice as the primary unit of analysis and this leads to a certain blindness to the ways in which discharging duties to the poor is a global not just society or state level project. My alternative perspective also gives us more insights into the nature of our duties to one another and can accommodate a wider range of duties. A second set of concerns revolves around what we must do to discharge our duties to the poor and what we need to know to help effectively. We come to appreciate that helping effectively is no easy matter and supplying more guidance would be helpful. Third, after discussing some relevant empirical research, I also discuss the kinds of initiatives that deserve support, that can act as rough guidelines for would-be assisters. These more simplified guidelines do not place such heavy epistemic demands on those aiming to help. Fourth, I explore whether we can offer some more guidelines for determining which of many plausible policy initiatives we should support, given that there are many good ideas and limited resources. I offer one guideline for choosing among what appear to be plausible policies to support.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Julian Culp

How irresponsible are rising powers?

in *Third World Quarterly*, Volume 37, Issue 9 , 1525-1536

Rising powers like Brazil, China and India have recently made significant gains in their capabilities as states. Therefore many IR scholars are claiming that these powers must now contribute more to the provision of global public goods like a clean environment, free trade and human rights. This article will argue that reasonably democratic international political discourses are another global public good whose greater supply is sorely needed and that rising powers are having a positive impact on the creation of such discourses. Thus rising powers are not behaving as irresponsibly as many IR scholars assume.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Waldron Arthur

How the East Asian Crisis Will Change International Relations

in *Asia Pacific Review*, Volume 23, Issue 2, 2016 , 60-85

We may expect regional response to the tension and conflict in Asia begun by China in 2009 gradually to transform the international order in that region, where the United States has been the active great power. Today the United States is so overextended in commitments and so lacking in force structure (and political will) that she can no longer play that role. Nor, however, has China succeeded in her initial assumption that regional powers would defer to her vastly increased military power. Unless China finds a way to extricate herself, we may expect regional powers, each strengthening herself, to grow closer together as a group in which Tokyo plays an unaccustomed central role, both in



diplomacy and arms supply, although in coordination with the United States. North Korea is also highly dangerous. The likely outcome is greater military strength generally, with South Korea and Japan nuclear powers.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Jansson André

How to become an "elite cosmopolitan": The mediatized trajectories of United Nations expatriates
in *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, Volume 19, Issue 5, October 2016 , 465-480

The full text is free:

<http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/1367549416631549>

Abstract

This article provides a Bourdieusian analysis of the mediatized lifeworlds of so-called elite cosmopolitans. Based on interviews with Nordic expatriates employed by United Nations organizations in Geneva, the study looks at how the increasing dependence on new media influences the field of United Nations organizations and the trajectories of cosmopolitan subjects. Theoretically, the analysis builds on two key concepts: communicational doxa, which establishes a link between Bourdieu's field theory and critical mediatization theory; and cosmopolitan capital, understood as a sub-form of cultural capital. The findings suggest that mediatization alters the social conditions for accumulating cosmopolitan capital. However, the appropriation and mastery of new media do not hold any symbolic value as such, but tend to expand the possibilities for making investments in the field without altering its overarching logic. It is also shown that new professional media habits are often interwoven with private communication and the emotional needs associated with highly mobile family lives, thus underlining the indirect nature of mediatization in this context.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Zylberman Ariel

Human rights and the rights of states: a relational account
in *Canadian Journal of Philosophy*, Volume 46, Issue 3, 2016 , 291-317

Abstract

What is the relationship between human rights and the rights of states? Roughly, while cosmopolitans insist that international morality must regard as basic the interests of individuals, statist maintain that the state is of fundamental moral significance. This article defends a relational version of statism. Human rights are ultimately grounded in a relational norm of reciprocal independence and set limits to the exercise of public authority, but, contra the cosmopolitan, the state is of fundamental moral significance. A relational account promises to justify a limited conception of state sovereignty while avoiding the familiar cosmopolitan criticisms of statist accounts.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Gilabert Pablo

Justice and beneficence

in Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy, Volume 19, Issue 5, 2016 , 508-533

Abstract

What is a duty of justice? And how is it different from a duty of beneficence? We need a clear account of the contrast. Unfortunately, there is no consensus in the philosophical literature as to how to characterize it. Different articulations of it have been provided, but it is hard to identify a common core that is invariant across them. In this paper, I propose an account of how to understand duties of justice, explain how it contrasts with several proposals as to how to distinguish justice and beneficence, respond to some objections, and suggest further elaborations of it. The conceptual exploration pursued in this paper has practical stakes. A central aim is to propose and defend a capacious concept of justice that makes a direct discussion of important demands of justice (domestic and global) possible. Duties of justice can be positive besides negative, they can be imperfect as well as perfect, they can range over personal besides institutional contexts, they can include multiple associative reasons such as non-domination, non-exploitation, and reciprocity, and they can even go beyond existing national, political, and economic associative frameworks to embrace strictly universal humanist concerns. We should reject ideological abridgments of the concept of justice that render these possibilities, and the important human interests and claims they may foster, invisible.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Marie-Claire Ponthoreau

La métaphore géographique. Les frontières du droit constitutionnel dans le monde global

in Revue internationale de droit comparé, no. 3 , 611-628

Le phénomène global est interdisciplinaire (car pluriel en raison de ses différentes facettes) et donc irréductible à la question des frontières disciplinaires. Notre compréhension de la globalisation n'est sans doute pas la même selon la discipline, d'où on parle. Cependant, les catégories de l'État national structurent encore aujourd'hui en grande partie notre compréhension sociale et spatiale du monde. Cet article vise à se déplacer pour une compréhension renouvelée par un décentrement disciplinaire. La métaphore géographique en est précisément l'expression. Le rapprochement entre le droit et la géographie est déjà largement concrétisé dans le monde anglo-américain avec la legal geography depuis les vingt dernières années. Il convient toutefois de remarquer que cette association regarde jusqu'à présent des domaines principalement liés à l'environnement ou encore à la réforme territoriale dans lesquels des objets sont partagés entre juristes et géographes. Pour faire dialoguer plus spécifiquement les constitutionnalistes et les géographes, nous appuierons sur les travaux des comparatistes qui ont déjà expérimenté les rapprochements disciplinaires et sur l'objet « frontière ». Ainsi, ce dialogue peut-il s'établir à partir de la question suivante : comment se traduit disciplinairement l'effacement et la permanence des frontières ?

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Petruciani Stefano



Le concept de classe dominante dans la théorie politique marxiste

in *Actuel Marx*, n° 60 , pp. 12-27

The World Ruling Class

Although widely present in the work of Marx and in Marxist writings, the concept of ruling class has never been fully clarified as to its meaning and implications. This essay thus seeks to point out some of the problems this concept entails, which have also emerged in the prolonged Marxist debate around it. After examining the way Marx and Engels depict the relation between the ruling class and the State, the main developments of the concept of ruling class in Marxist thought are analyzed. The article begins by a discussion of Ralph Miliband's perspective. It then examines the proposals for a transformation of the Marxist concept of ruling class advanced by Jacques Bidet, Gérard Duménil and Dominique Lévy. After a brief comparison between the Marxist theses and Michael Mann's theory of power, the article goes on to discuss the way in which the relation between ruling class and political institutions is transformed in the neo-liberalist era : the emergence of a global statuality, lacking in democratic legitimization, constitutes a fertile terrain for the coming to power of a transnational capitalist class, which controls political decisions in a much more direct way than in the traditional nation-state.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Bidet Jacques

Le concept de classe dominante, de l'État-Nation à l'État-Monde

in *Actuel Marx*, n° 60 , pp. 106-120

The Concept of Dominant Class, from the Nation-state to the World-State

As Gramsci put it, enforcing domination in capitalism requires not only means of coercion but also an ability to obtain social "consent". Metastructural analysis pushes the idea even further. The object of social domination in capitalism is profit as abstract wealth, while the field on which "ruling" (vs. "dominating") is exerted is the concrete space of use value. Thus the dominant class requires the articulation between, on the one hand, capital-power and, on the other, competency-power, whose relationship to the people as a whole is distinct. This pattern, formed within the context of the nationstate, is only very slowly emerging at the global scale. The key feature of the neoliberal moment, in which a world-state begins to penetrate the world-system, is domination without ruling.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Bellora Cecilia, Sébastien Jean

Le statut d'économie de marché de la Chine : un enjeu fort pour le commerce européen

in *Lettre du CEPII*, La Lettre du CEPII, N°370, octobre 2016

En décembre prochain expire une disposition qui, en matière de procédures antidumping, permettait jusqu'à présent de traiter la Chine comme n'étant pas une économie de marché. Le statut actuel implique plus de plaintes antidumping, des sanctions plus nombreuses et plus fortes. Il semble avoir aussi un effet dissuasif au-delà des produits directement ciblés par des sanctions antidumping, incitant les exportateurs à augmenter leurs prix. Le statut d'économie de marché pourrait accroître les importations européennes en provenance de Chine de 5 % environ, et jusqu'à 21 % si cela faisait disparaître l'effet dissuasif. Même si les conséquences sur la production sont beaucoup plus limitées, avec un impact



estimé à 0,3 % après élimination totale de l'effet dissuasif, ces chiffres suggèrent que les enjeux commerciaux d'un changement de statut sont considérables et posent la question d'une réforme d'envergure des instruments de défense commerciale de l'UE.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

van der Pijl Kees

Le transnational et le national dans la formation de la classe capitaliste

in *Actuel Marx*, n° 60 , pp. 75-89

The Transnational and the National in Capitalist Class Formation Capital originated in between the political jurisdictions of the late Middle Ages and came of age in the English-speaking West. The British Isles and North America offered a liberal space which proved most congenial to the circulation of capital. By the late 17th century it occupied the high ground in the global political economy. Rival states, beginning with France, sought to match the advantage of the English-speaking West, by way of state-led development. Such contender states must confiscate and nationalize their societies, in order to mobilize resources for the contest with the Lockean heartland, thus exposing themselves to a passive revolution in which liberalism slowly undermines the power of the state class. A liberal state/society thus develops under the auspices of alternating fractions of capital, which must also build national compromises, as with labour in the post-war period, and with asset-owning middle classes in a conjuncture where a formerly globalizing production is replaced by money capital as the dominant force. Contemporary capitalist society is losing the ability to forge such compromises, as oligarchic capital resorts more and more to authoritarianism and war.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Morin François

Les banques, la globalisation et la démocratie

in *Debat (Le)*, n° 189, Mars-avril , pp. 103-118

Nous avons changé de planète et celle-ci est entrée dans une crise d'une gravité exceptionnelle. Les conflits de nature géopolitique se radicalisent – guerres de religion, terrorismes – et provoquent des flux migratoires impressionnants. La montée des replis identitaires, notamment en Europe, n'est plus marginale. L'enjeu environnemental et énergétique, de son côté, se précise (...)

Plan de l'article

- De la globalisation
- L'oligopole
- De la souveraineté budgétaire
- Le cas grec
- De la souveraineté monétaire

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process



Gauchet Gauchet

Les démocraties nationales face à la finance globale

in *Debat (Le)*, n° 189, Mars-avril , pp. 126-130

Étrange moment historique que celui que nous vivons : tout le monde sent ou sait peu ou prou qu'il n'est pas possible de continuer comme par-devant, et cependant rien ne se passe. Nos sociétés sont entraînées par un mécanisme tellement puissant et les esprits enfermés dans un cadre de pensée à ce point contraignant qu'ils anesthésient les consciences et refoulent le doute général. (...)

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Eduardo Pérez

Los saldos rurales de la globalización

in *El Cotidiano : revista de la realidad mexicana actual* , n.200 , 128-146

El campo mexicano reúne viejos y nuevos problemas, configurando un cuadro sumamente complejo, más aún cuando sabemos que su suerte en gran medida va aparejada a la suerte del país y la de éste a la del mundo. No obstante, este encadenamiento que se abre a las escalas nacional y mundial no exime de poder entender y atender lo que hace a la especificidad del sector rural, sin que ello signifique que desde ahí se puede transformar a plenitud.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Robinson William I.

L'heure d'un changement de paradigme : la montée du capital transnational et le débat sur la classe dominante mondialisée

in *Actuel Marx*, n° 60 , pp. 43-60

Time for a Paradigm Shift: The Rise of Transnational Capital and the Debate on the Global Ruling Class It is time for a paradigm shift in our study of world capitalism and the global ruling class. The statecentrism informing much theorization and analysis of world politics, political economy, and class structure is less and less congruent with 21st century world developments. Global capitalism represents a new stage in the ongoing and open-ended evolution of world capitalism, characterized by the rise of transnational capital and a globally integrated production and financial system commanded by a transnational capitalist class, or TCC, that attempts to exercise its class power through transnational state apparatuses. The TCC, as the new global ruling class, has been attempting, albeit with limited success, to construct a global hegemonic bloc in which one group, the TCC, exercises leadership and imposes its project through the consent of those drawn into the bloc, while those from the majority who are not drawn into this hegemonic project, either through material rewards or ideological mechanisms, are contained or repressed. Global capitalism is in crisis. A popular revolt is spreading worldwide, thus posing many challenges. Transformative struggles must be informed by an accurate analysis of global capitalism and its ruling class.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process



Wolfgang Alschner, Dmitriy Skougarevskiy

Mapping the Universe of International Investment Agreements

in *Journal of International Economic Law*, Volume 19 Issue 3 , 561-588

Traditional means of content analysis are ill-equipped to deal with the vast universe of international investment agreements (IIAs). In this article, we propose a novel approach to efficiently investigate over 2100 IIAs and their 24,000 articles in unprecedented detail by treating treaty text as data. Our suggested metric yields new and surprising insights about the IIA universe at four different levels. First, at the global level, we use our approach to investigate the effect of asymmetries on negotiation outcomes finding that developed countries tend to be the IIA system's rule-makers, while developing countries tend to be its rule-takers. Second, on the country level, our method can trace consistency and legal innovation in national treaty networks uncovering hitherto unknown investment policy changes such as the Finnish shift to a pre-establishment template in 1999. Third, on the inter-treaty level, our metric can detect investment policy diffusion highlighting that Israel, for instance, copied its bilateral investment treaty (BIT) language from British investment agreements. Finally, on the individual treaty level, our approach enables us to assess the novelty of newly concluded agreements, like the Trans-Pacific Partnership, by relating them to prior practice. Our metric thus provides researchers, practitioners and policy-makers with a powerful novel tool to analyze the IIA universe.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Kincaid Jim

Marx after Minsky: Capital Surplus and the Current Crisis

in *Historical Materialism* , Volume 24, Issue 3, 2016 , 105–146

Minsky's theory of financial instability helps clarify how Marxist theory can explain the highly financialised capitalism of today, and the crisis which started in 2008. The advanced economies currently have high realised profits in the productive sector and lagging rates of investment. Shareholder pressures encourage corporate strategies which focus on stock-market ratings and M&A operations, less on productive investment. Tax evasion and the build-up of reserve cash piles by corporations have contributed to a global surplus of what Marx called loanable capital. This surplus has been augmented by the increasing inequality of personal wealth ownership and, in the international economy by, large current-account surpluses. The results include: huge profits for the financial system; low interest rates; recurrent boom and bust in asset markets; the fuelling of huge increases in household and government debt; and the combination of instability and stagnation which results from an excess supply of loanable capital.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Jansson André

Mobile elites: Understanding the ambiguous lifeworlds of Sojourners, Dwellers and Homecomers

in *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, Volume 19, Issue 5, October 2016 , 421-434

The full text is free:

<http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/1367549416631555>

Abstract



This article introduces the Special Issue Mobile Elites: Sojourners, Dwellers and Homecomers, in which five articles look into the hidden frictions and social and emotional costs involved in privileged forms of mobility. Such existentially oriented aspects of globalization are still relatively underresearched. It is argued that cultural studies hold a responsibility to carry out ethnographically oriented analyses of mobile elite groups in order to unveil the complexities of life trajectories commonly associated with social as well as economic success. The article outlines an epistemological platform for carrying out such analyses, combining the new mobilities paradigm with social field theory and social phenomenology. Based on the empirical analyses presented in the Special Issue, the article also introduces three 'registers of ambiguity and negotiation': ambiguities of moral geographies, ambiguities of re-embedding and ambiguities of flow-architectures.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

West Brad, O'Reilly Ruthie

National humanitarianism and the 2004 Indian Ocean tsunami
in *Journal of Sociology*, Volume 52, Issue 2, June 2016 , 340–354

Abstract

The 2004 Indian Ocean tsunami elicited the largest international humanitarian response of any disaster in history, yet comparatively little research has examined the way the disaster agent and the ensuing fundraising have been culturally framed in Western societies. While scholars have speculated that the humanitarian reaction is a response related to the capturing and distribution of the disaster through digital media, this paper focuses on the discursive meaning-making of the crisis as it appeared in a single national public sphere. From an analysis of articles in major Australian newspapers, the study finds that the tsunami discourses of risk, suffering, government aid and public charity were constructed in terms of Australian symbolic boundaries and national sentiment. Existing literature on humanitarian communication provides insights into this media portrayal; however, to more fully comprehend the ways in which national discourse can mobilise populations in responding generously to global catastrophes we propose the concept of national humanitarianism.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Opitz Sven

Neue Kollektivitäten: Das Kosmopolitische bei Bruno Latour und Ulrich Beck
in *Soziale Welt*, Jahrgang 67, Heft 3, 2016 , 249-266

Abstract

Bruno Latour and Ulrich Beck draw on the notion of cosmopolitics for conceptualizing new forms of collectivity. This articles analyses how, in doing so, both authors conceive of the social and the political as co-constitutive. It shows that



their approaches mirror each other: According to Latour the fabrication of planetary collectivity in the context of Gaia hinges on the distinction between friend and enemy. He thus emphasizes a cosmopolitical constitution of the social. For Beck, new collectives emerge under the universalizing influence of world risks. As opposed to Latour, he states a social constitution of the cosmopolitical. At the same time, a reversal of this contrast can be observed sporadically: While Beck takes into account the possibility of antagonistic risk conflicts, Latour ponders over feedback mechanisms designed to redirect ecological effects back at those who have caused them. Such techno-aesthetic procedures would generate the experience of collective connectedness in an earthly milieu. The paper shows that in each approach moral considerations play an important role in calibrating the oscillatory movement between a weak and a strong concept of the political.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

van der Ploeg Frederick, de Zeeuw Aart

Non-cooperative and Cooperative Responses to Climate Catastrophes in the Global Economy: A North–South Perspective

in Environmental & Resource Economics, Volume 65, Issue 3, Special Issue: The Economics of Tipping Points, November , 519-540

The optimal response to a potential productivity shock which becomes more imminent with global warming is to have carbon taxes to curb the risk of a calamity and to accumulate precautionary capital to facilitate smoothing of consumption. This paper investigates how differences between regions in terms of their vulnerability to climate change and their stage of development affect the cooperative and non-cooperative responses to this aspect of climate change. It is shown that the cooperative response to these stochastic tipping points requires converging carbon taxes for developing and developed regions. The non-cooperative response leads to a bit more precautionary saving and diverging carbon taxes. We illustrate the various outcomes with a simple stylized North–South model of the global economy.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Florian Mölders

On the Path to Trade Liberalisation: Political Regimes in Trade Negotiations

in World Economy, Volume 39, Issue 7 , 890-924

The number of free trade agreements (FTA) has increased substantially since 1990 despite efforts to promote multilateral trade liberalisation. While there is evidence on the determinants of FTA formation, still little is known on the processing of trade agreements, particularly regarding the pre-implementation duration. This paper fills the research gap by using event data on the negotiation, the signing and the implementation of trade agreements. Duration analysis is employed to examine the connection between regime types and the lengths of the negotiation and the ratification stages. The results support the claim that higher levels of democratisation are associated with shorter negotiations, while political constraints lead to delays. Moreover, the depth of an agreement matters: a higher number of WTO-X and WTO+ provisions do not only prolong the negotiation stage, but also the subsequent ratification. Against the background of potential anticipation effects of trade agreements, these results are of interest for exporting firms that assess the



timing of implementation.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Lötter H. P. P.

Poverty, Ethics and Justice Revisited

in **Res Publica**, Volume 22, Issue 3, August , 343-361

In this article I respond to the thoughtful criticisms of my book articulated by Gillian Brock, Thaddeus Metz, and Darrel Moellendorf. Their critical questioning offers me an opportunity to reformulate aspects of the book so that I more accurately say exactly what I had in mind when writing the book. The first section contains a reworking of my definition of poverty to eliminate any ambiguity and demonstrate what kind of comparative judgements the definition allows us to make. The second section looks anew at the multiple moral sources for our obligation to eradicate poverty. In the third section I focus on issues that could hinder attempts at eradicating poverty. One is the lack of accessible knowledge that might be too demanding to acquire. The other is the possibility that all attempts to eradicate poverty might have to be put on hold until oppressive capitalist development has prepared the circumstances for a more socialist distribution of resources. I argue that neither of these concerns should hinder the eradication of poverty.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Pisano Vittorfranco

Radicalizzazione e terrorismo nel contesto internazionale

in **Affari Esteri**, Anno XLVIII, numero speciale, n. 177, estate , 342-349

http://www.affari-esteri.it/Affari_Esteri_177.pdf

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Alessandra Cepparulo, Luisa Giuriato

Responses to global challenges: trends in aid-financed global public goods

in **Development Policy Review** , Volume 34, Issue 4 , 483-507

Based on four decades (1973–2013) of OECD-Development Assistance Committee aid to developing countries, this article aims to show aid-financed global public goods trends, their changing composition and their main drivers. In particular, a constant increase in the share of aid-financed global public goods and a shift towards weighted-sum and weakest-link global goods are observed. Economic conditions, imitation effects, global engagement and domestic spending result as the main drivers of donors' demand for aid-financed global public goods. Besides, a certain complementarity in the provision of global goods plays a role, especially in European countries and Japan, partially easing the prognosis for the collective action problems related to global goods.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations



Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Broner Fernando, Ventura Jaume

Rethinking the Effects of Financial Globalization

in **Quarterly Journal of Economics (The)**, Volume 131 Issue 3 August 2016 , 1497-1542

During the past three decades, many countries have lifted restrictions on cross-border financial transactions. We present a simple model that can account for the observed effects of financial globalization. The model emphasizes the role of imperfect enforcement of domestic debts and the interactions between domestic and foreign debts. Financial globalization can lead to a variety of outcomes: (i) domestic capital flight and ambiguous effects on net capital flows, investment, and growth; (ii) capital inflows and higher investment and growth; or (iii) volatile capital flows and unstable domestic financial markets. The model shows how the effects of financial globalization depend on the level of development, productivity, domestic savings, and the quality of institutions.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Van der Linden Marcel

Rosa Luxemburg's Global Class Analysis

in **Historical Materialism** , Volume 24, Issue 1, 2016 , 135–159

How did Rosa Luxemburg, in her *The Accumulation of Capital* and other writings, analyse the development of the working class and other subordinate classes under capitalism, and how did she view the relationship between these classes and those living in 'natural economic societies'? Following primary sources closely, the present essay reconstructs and evaluates Luxemburg's class analysis of global society. It is shown that Luxemburg pioneered a truly global concept of solidarity from below, including the most oppressed – women and colonised peoples.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Sabino Cassese

Stato in trasformazione

in **Rivista trimestrale di diritto pubblico**, no. 2 , 331-345

Le tre principali caratteristiche dello Stato nazionale (confini, cittadinanza, sovranità) stanno subendo mutamenti. In particolare, territorio e confini si indeboliscono; le comunità nazionali sono sempre più composte da non-cittadini; la sovranità statale è condivisa, in quanto i poteri statali vengono ridefiniti, divisi, riallocati, con una condivisione di responsabilità. Tali sviluppi comportano una ridefinizione dello Stato e producono numerose contraddizioni, rendendo evidente la storicità del fenomeno statale, non solo nella sua essenza fenomenica, ma anche in quella concettuale.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Azzolini Giulio

Sur la nouvelle classe capitaliste, transnationale et dominante ?

in **Actuel Marx**, n° 60 , pp. 28-42



On the New Class: Capitalist, Transnational and Dominant?

To what extent have power relations changed in the age of globalization? Contemporary Marxism offers various answers. One of the most innovative and persuasive perspectives is that suggested by Leslie Sklair, who recently theorized the dominance of a transnational capitalist class. After explaining Sklair's core theses, the article focuses on four questions raised by the English sociologist: (i) is there only one global class or are there multiple global classes?; (ii) can the current dominant class be considered to be really transnational, or is it merely "Atlantic"?; (iii) who are the members of the new capitalist class?; (iv) is the transnational capitalist class a ruling class or is it a dominant class? Without examining the empirical research methods, the intention of the article is to outline the main available hermeneutical alternatives, while clarifying the strongest arguments in support of each of them and delineating their theoretical consequences. To this end, the various criticisms which neo- and post-Marxist interpreters have addressed to Sklair over the last fifteen years will be analyzed.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Metz Thaddeus

The Nature of Poverty as an Inhuman Condition

in *Res Publica*, Volume 22, Issue 3, August, 327-342

In this article, part of a symposium devoted to Hennie Lötter's *Poverty, Ethics and Justice*, my aims are threefold. First, I present a careful reading of Lötter's original and compelling central conception of the nature of poverty as the inability to 'obtain adequate economic resources....to maintain physical health and engage in social activities distinctive of human beings in their respective societies'. After motivating this view, particularly in comparison to other salient accounts of poverty, I, second, raise some objections to it, regarding relativistic implications that it has. Third, I propose another, more universalist conception of the nature of poverty, which is inspired by some of Lötter's other remarks and which is all the stronger. According to this view, people are more poor, the less they can obtain adequate economic resources to pursue a wide array of finally valuable activities and states characteristic of human beings. I conclude by briefly pointing out how this view merits critical comparison with related views, such as Martha Nussbaum's Capabilities Approach.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Jacobs Lindsay Marie, Van Rossem Ronan

The Rising Powers and Globalization: Structural Change to the Global System Between 1965 and 2005

in *Journal of World-Systems Research*, vol. XXII, n. 2, 373-403

ABSTRACT: This article sets out to critically assess the increasingly prevalent claims of rapidly changing global power relations under influence of the 'rising powers' and 'globalization'. Our main contention is that current analyses of countries' degree of global power (especially for the BRICS) has been dominated by the control over resources approach that, though gauging power potential, insufficiently takes into account how this potential is converted into actual global might. By drawing on a unique and extensive dataset comprising of a wide array of political, economic and military networks for a vast number of countries between 1965 and 2005, we aim to 1) reassess alleged changes in the structure of the world-system since 1965 and 2) to analyze whether these changes can be attributed to 'globalization'. Significant attention is paid to the trajectories of the BRICS and to the possibly divergent structural evolutions of the



political and economic dimensions that constitute the system. Our results show that despite a certain degree of power convergence between countries at the sub-top of the system, overall, divergence continues to take place between the most and least powerful, and stratification is reproduced. Globalization is further shown to exacerbate this trend, though its effect differs on the political and economic dimensions of the system. Overall, though the traditional 'core powers' might have to share their power with newcomer China in the future, this hardly heralds a new age in which the global system of power relations are converging to the extent that stratification is being undermined.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Julien Sylvestre Fleury, Jean-Michel Marcoux

**The US Shaping of State-Owned Enterprise Disciplines in the Trans-Pacific Partnership
in Journal of International Economic Law**, Volume 19 Issue 2 , 445-465

The involvement of states as commercial actors in the marketplace can potentially distort trade and investment patterns. This article addresses the inclusion of a chapter on state-owned enterprises (SOEs) and designated monopolies in the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) in light of the avowed intent of the USA to elaborate a 21st-century free trade agreement template. More specifically, it argues that the outcome of the negotiations reflects the role of the USA as a norm entrepreneur to shape an innovative set of SOE disciplines. Publicly available statements made during the course of the TPP negotiations illustrate this role of the USA. Moreover, a comparison with the provisions of other free trade agreements signed by the USA suggests that the SOE disciplines found in the TPP extensively build on the previous practice of the USA, as well as the position advanced by this negotiating Party. Provisions pertaining to the definition of entities covered by this chapter, scope and exclusions, commercial considerations, non-discrimination, regulatory discretion, non-commercial assistance, exceptions, transparency, and dispute settlement support this argument.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

1-11

The effects of regional trade agreements on FDI by its origin and type: Evidence from U.S. multinational enterprises activities

in Japan and the World Economy, Volume 39 , Hyejoon Im

The effects of regional trade agreements (RTAs) on foreign direct investment (FDI) depend on both the origin and type of FDI. To estimate the various effects of RTAs, I differentiate between various types of FDI by using data on the sales destinations of foreign subsidiaries of U.S. multinational enterprises (MNEs), while also addressing the endogeneity of RTA formation. Consistent with the theory of MNEs, I find that RTAs reduce horizontal FDI from intra-RTA countries and increase export-platform and total FDI from extra-RTA countries. Moreover, the overall effects of RTAs are positive for extra-RTA FDI, but inconclusive for intra-RTA FDI. The results also support the effect of integrated markets' economies of scale in inducing extra-RTA FDI.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Child Richard



The global justice gap

in *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, Volume 19, Issue 5, 2016 , 574-590

Abstract

The 'global justice gap' refers to the state of affairs in which the just entitlements of the global poor do not correlate with the justly enforceable duties of the global rich. The possibility of a global justice gap is controversial, because it is widely thought that claims of justice cannot exist unless they are matched up with corresponding duties. In this essay, I refute this sceptical view by showing that the global justice gap is indeed a theoretical possibility. My strategy is to argue for a particular way of understanding the concept of distributive justice which I call the 'dual-component model of justice'. On this view, distributive justice is a single value with two distinct components: (1) a fairness component, which specifies the situation that people would be in if they lived under conditions of what I call 'basic distributive fairness', and (2) a legitimacy component, specifying the rights that people have according to what I call the 'principles of justified coercion', which limit the ways in which they may permissibly be coerced. The global justice gap arises when the two components of justice are not in alignment. This happens when, although it is within the collective capacity of the members of the developed world to bring the global distribution much closer to the ideal of basic distributive fairness, there are considerations that make it unjust to coerce them into exercising this capacity.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Barnett Michael

The humanitarian act: how humanitarian?

in *International Social Science Journal* , Volume 65, Issue 215-216, March–June 2014 , 13-24

The full text is free:

<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/issj.12072/full>

What makes an act humanitarian? Those in the humanitarian community tend to offer two potentially complementary answers. An oft-heard definition is that it is the neutral, impartial, and independent provision of life-saving assistance to victims of conflict and natural disasters. Impartiality means that relief is given to those in need, not those who we like or who look like us. Neutrality demands that humanitarian organisations refrain from taking part in hostilities or from any action that either benefits or disadvantages the parties to the conflict. Independence demands that assistance should not be connected to any of the parties directly involved in armed conflicts or who have a stake in the outcome; accordingly, there is a general rule that agencies should either refuse or limit their reliance on government funding. These principles are often treated as enabling humanitarians to do their job; if they are seen as neutral, impartial, and independent, and thus are apolitical, then they will be better able to get access to those in need.¹ These operational principles, in other words, are prescriptive, situational and functional. Because of the circumstances in which they often find themselves, humanitarians should adopt principles to increase the likelihood that they can deliver relief...

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process



Dürschmidt Jörg

The irresolvable unease about be-longing: Exploring globalized dynamics of homecoming
in *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, Volume 19, Issue 5, October 2016 , 495-510

The full text is free:

<http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/1367549416631553>

Abstract

Homecomings tend to be unsettling. Any effort of embarking on the balancing act of bringing cosmopolitan experience and local life together is mediated by absence and sequences of life lived elsewhere. Return, consequently, is by no means a concluding movement in geographic space but an enduring process of regaining the precarious good of social 'recurrence'. Thus, despite global flow of information, 'homecomers' often find themselves as involuntary marginals in the local societies that used to be 'home' because they have missed out on the crucial process of an onrolling local everyday life. This in turn often sets into motion a process of actively generating elective soils of significance. Based on Alfred Schütz's phenomenology of the modern 'homecomer', this article attempts to outline the life world-related potential of contemporary return. Drawing on semi-structured interviews, this article aims at revealing the typical features of the 'art of reconnecting' that lies at the heart of what is conventionally called 'reembedding'.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Wilkinson Iain

The problem of understanding modern humanitarianism and its sociological value
in *International Social Science Journal* , Volume 65, Issue 215-216, March-June 2014 , 65-78

The full text is free:

<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/issj.12073/full>

The character, conditions and conduct of modern humanitarianism are widely studied and are frequently taken up as matters for critical debate. They form a substantial field of trans-disciplinary inquiry (Barnett and Weiss 2008). This is identified with efforts to chart new conditions and formations of global civil society (DeChaine 2005; Kaldor 2002). It involves inquiries into emergent forms of cosmopolitan political consciousness and action (Calhoun 2004, 2008; Delanty 2000). Moreover, many take an interest in these issues out of a concern to explain how humanitarian discourse along with the sentiment-fired terms on which it issues its moral demands operate as political ideologies and as forces of 'governmentality' (Larner and Walters 2004; Walters 2011).

This article is designed as a sociological contribution to these inquiries...

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Domenico Giannino

The virtual state: national sovereignty and constitutions facing globalisation processes
in *Panoptica. Revista Eletrônica Acadêmica de Direito*, volume 11, issue 1 , 19-35



Este artigo se propõe descrever como e em qual a extensão os processos de globalização influenciam o “mundo jurídico” e, em particular, a soberania estatal e as constituições. O propósito desse artigo é fornecer algumas ferramentas interpretativas que ajudem a abandonar os elementos da análise constitucional inseparável do conceito de Estado, oferecendo uma revisão de literatura, principalmente italiana, sobre a soberania nacional e as constituições, enfrentando os processos de globalização. A superação da teoria constitucional centralizada no Estado é descrita a partir da hipótese interpretativa de Günther Teubner, cuja abordagem de constitucionalismo societal é a alternativa “extrema” ao constitucionalismo clássico do século XX. A interpretação da teoria de Teubner – fortemente influenciada pela teoria dos sistemas sociais – parece ser confirmada por uma natureza altamente fragmentada do panorama social e jurídico globalizado no qual a política perdeu sua liderança.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Roudometof Victor

Theorizing glocalization. Three interpretations

in European Journal of Social Theory, Volume 19, Issue 3, August 2016 , 391–408

The full text is free:

<http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/1368431015605443>

Abstract

This article presents three interpretations of glocalization in social-scientific literature as a means of reframing the terms of scholarly engagement with the concept. Although glocalization is relatively under-theorized, two key interpretations of the concept have been developed by Roland Robertson and George Ritzer. Through a critical and comparative overview, the article offers an assessment of the advances and weaknesses of each perspective. Both demonstrate awareness regarding the differences between globalization and glocalization, but this awareness is far from explicit. Both interpretations fail to draw a consistent analytical distinction between the two concepts and ultimately succumb to reductionism: either glocalization is subsumed under globalization or globalization is transformed into glocalization. Next, a third interpretation of glocalization as an analytically autonomous concept is presented. Working definitions of glocalization and of glocality as analytically autonomous from globalization and globality are developed and examples are offered. By addressing the key themes of power and temporality, this third interpretation transcends the limits of the other two interpretations.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Leitch David G.

There and back again

in European Journal of Political Theory, Volume 15, Issue 4, October 2016 , 467-476

The full text is free:

<http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/1474885115578298>

Abstract



This article examines and critiques Susan McWilliams's recent book, *Traveling Back: Toward a Global Political Theory*. The book is a largely successful examination of the role of travel writing in western thought and its possible use in articulating a global politics. I offer some critiques, including a discussion of some places I found the analytic framework unclear, as well as noting some routes for extending the argument.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Howse Robert , Nicolaïdis Kalypso

**Toward a Global Ethics of Trade Governance: Subsidiarity Writ Large
in Law and contemporary problems**, Volume 79, Number 2

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Hiro Ito, Masahiro Kawai

**Trade invoicing in major currencies in the 1970s–1990s: Lessons for renminbi internationalization
in Journal of the Japanese and International Economies**, Volume 42 , 123-145

In this paper, we investigate how much a major currency is used for trade invoicing by focusing primarily on the experiences of the U.S. dollar, the Japanese yen, and the Deutsche mark (DM) in the 1970s through the 1990s. We then attempt to draw lessons for China's renminbi (RMB) internationalization. Our data on the shares of the three major currencies in export invoicing show that the dollar was unequivocally a global invoicing currency, and that the DM was the most important regional currency in Europe while the yen was never a global or a regional currency. DM invoicing was driven by European countries' trade ties with Germany. In contrast, the yen was not widely used for trade invoicing by Asia–Oceania countries despite the latter's strong trade ties with Japan. Our regression analysis on the determinants of the major currency share in trade invoicing (also including UK pound sterling, the French franc, the Italian lira, and the Swiss franc) in the 1970–1998 period shows that the invoicing share of a major currency tended to be positively affected by the degree of other economies' trade ties with the major currency country and negatively affected by the degree of their financial development or openness. Also, the major currency share in trade invoicing was affected by both other economies' assigned weights of the major currency in their implicit currency baskets and these economies' trade shares with major-currency zone countries. Economies belonging to the U.S. dollar (or DM) zone tended to invoice their trade more in the dollar (or DM) and less in the DM (or dollar). The use of yen for trade invoicing was not much affected by these factors. European countries largely belonged to the DM zone and tended to use the DM for trade invoicing, whereas Asia–Oceania countries belonged mainly to the U.S. dollar zone, leading to a high degree of dollar use. We also find that major currency countries tended to invoice their trade in their own currencies when they had a large presence in international trade, high levels of per capita income, and financial markets that were developed and open. For China, its low level of per capita income, limited financial openness, and the presence of U.S. dollar zone countries in Asia stand as a challenge to the nation's ambition to promote the RMB as a major trade-invoicing currency.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Dorsch Sebastian

**Translokale Wissensakteure: Ein Debattenvorschlag zu Wissens- und Globalgeschichtsschreibung.
Besprechungssessay**

in *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, Jahrgang 64, Heft 9, 2016 , 778-795

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Meckled-Garcia Saladin

Two concepts of justice – and of its scope

in *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, Volume 19, Issue 5, 2016 , 534-554

Abstract

I argue that there are two concepts of distributive justice in play in debates on whether principles of distributive justice apply to the global sphere. Critics of the idea that the scope of distributive justice is restricted assume, without argument, a particular conception of justice in which justice-based evaluations apply to basic structural institutional actions only instrumentally, whilst applying intrinsically to distributive outcomes for people. I call these outcomes-focused views. I show that at least one view in the literature on global justice, the agency argument, appeals to a distinct concept of social distributive justice where the descriptors 'justice' and 'injustice', intrinsically apply to the actions of certain types of institutional agents, and only derivatively to the description of states of affairs such as distributive outcomes. This alternative view is treatment-focused and deontological. It focuses on special goods that are only available as a matter of how one is treated by political institutions: relational-goods. It is also sensitive to considerations of fairness in practical reason in ways that outcomes-focused views are not. I show why, on this agency-focused approach, the scope of principles of distributive justice is restricted to how people who are subject to special institutional authority are treated. My main aim in this paper is to demonstrate that on a competitor approach to justice the anti-scope restriction arguments fail, and that the competitor approach is not obviously incoherent. Thus, criticising scope restriction by assuming an outcomes-focused approach to distributive justice begs the question against agency-focused arguments. This shows the real dispute is at a more fundamental level.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Devaud Emmanuel

Un universel désordre

in *Debat (Le)*, n° 190, Mai-juin , pp. 175-178

Rarement l'état du monde afficha pareille confusion. Chaos au Proche-Orient, diffusant ses métastases terroristes au hasard de la planète. Dépression dans les pays dits émergents. Guignol's band électoral et panne du pouvoir aux



États-Unis. Délitescence et incurie européennes. Et, à son modeste niveau, un scénario français affligeant, « mélange sans précédent d'incompétence, (...)

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Garapon Antoine

Une gauche « ringardisée » par la mondialisation ?

in *Esprit*, Septembre

La mondialisation est une nouvelle forme symbolique, qui remplace le jugement par le calcul et le droit par le fait. Elle affaiblit ainsi la posture critique des sujets qui sont poussés à devenir exploités d'eux-mêmes, ainsi que les États qui sont invités à renoncer à leur souveraineté. ...

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Koch Natalie

We Entrepreneurial Academics: Governing Globalized Higher Education in 'Illiberal' States

in *Territory, Politics, Governance*, Volume 4, Issue 4, 438-452

The global landscape of higher education has been in rapid flux, especially apparent in the recent proliferation of new universities, international partnerships, and foreign branch campuses being established in various nondemocratic states across Asia. This trend is exemplified in the Gulf Arab monarchies of Qatar and the United Arab Emirates, which have successfully managed to recruit Western-educated scholars to administer and staff these various higher education projects. In this article, I ask how Western-educated scholars narrate their motives for working in higher education in the Gulf, and what this can tell us about shifting modes of governance of globalized higher education today. Based on interviews conducted in Fall 2014, I illustrate how these diasporic academics are 'normal' entrepreneurial subjects acting on a wide range of opportunities and constraints, desires, and aspirations. I also show how their decisions to work in illiberal states are deeply stigmatized 'at home', and argue that these interpretations are based on geopolitical imaginaries that counterpose liberal and illiberal states through territorially based, normative mappings of space.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Dufour

Why Local Social Forums Emerge Where They do: Beyond Diffusion, Geographical Appropriation

in *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, Volume 40, Issue 2, March, 357-377

Social forums are, quintessentially, a transnationally mobile institutional enterprise. Since the first World Social Forum in Porto Alegre, Brazil, in 2001, thousands of local initiatives have emerged all over the world. Yet we know very little about the diffusion processes involved. This article examines nine local social forums (LSFs) in two societies (France and Québec) in order to understand how social forums (SFs) spread throughout or within each territory. Aside from the usual



factors, such as the presence or absence of an initiator, favorable political opportunity structure and access to resources, I consider the geography of appropriation, with an emphasis on the dimensions of place (where the forums are organized), and scales of action built by activists. First, I show that, as proposed in the social movement literature, SFs spread from the global South to the global North as a direct result of activists willing to reproduce within their localities that which they have seen and experienced on a larger scale. Political opportunity structures and access to resources appear relevant to understanding the longevity of LSFs and their capacity to be more or less encompassing experiences. But beyond these 'usual suspects', the geographical appropriation of social forums is an important consideration that helps us understand the specific diffusion of LSFs in each national territory. In Québec, the region is perceived as a 'given' by activists and becomes the relevant scale of collective action, while in France, scale building is at stake and LSFs are used as a tool to escape the centralization of the main national organization in the field of global protest.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Blok Anders, Tschötschel Robin

World port cities as cosmopolitan risk community: Mapping urban climate policy experiments in Europe and East Asia

in Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy, Volume 34, Issue 4, June , 717-736

Extending Ulrich Beck's theory of world risk society, this article traces the emergence of a cosmopolitan risk community of world port cities in Europe and East Asia, constituted around shared imaginations of the global risks and opportunities of climate change. Such urban risk imaginations are shaped and circulated, we argue, within transnational assemblages of local government networks, international organizations, multinational insurance companies and transnational non-governmental organizations. Adopting the methodology of mapping urban climate experiments, we then document one policy indication of this cosmopolitan risk community, in terms of the timing, intensity, priorities and modes of government manifested in the climate policy engagements of 16 major world port cities across the regions of Europe and East Asia. The substantial similarities in such policy engagements, we conclude, amount to a new urban-cosmopolitan realism, reshaping urban politics in the face of climate change.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Panitch Leo, Gindin Sam

État, classes et mondialisation : au-delà du concept de classe dominante mondiale

in Actuel Marx, n° 60 , 61-74

States, Classes and Globalization: Beyond the Concept of a Global Ruling Class This paper addresses the alleged contradiction between the international space of accumulation and the national space of states. In particular, it challenges the argument that the internationalization of production directly establishes a transnational capitalist class (TCC) as a coherent and self-conscious social force engaged in the formation of a putative transnational state (TNS). This contention rests on a set of mechanistic understandings of class formation and the role of the capitalist state. Against this, the emphasis here is on the 'internationalization of the state' whereby nation states have, in an uneven and asymmetric way, come to take responsibility for promoting, underwriting and superintending a globalizing capitalism, both abroad and within their own domains. The political significance of this distinction is that the attempt to match the



advanced internationalization of capital with a parallel internationalization of working class solidarity leads to a misguided internationalism. It mistakenly assumes that the weaknesses of working classes at a national level can be skipped over at an international level, and fails to properly grasp the continuing centrality, even under globalization, of the national-social formation.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes

Epaulard Anne, Pommeret Aude

Financial Integration, Growth and Volatility

in **Pacific Economic Review**, Volume 21, Issue 3, August 2016 , 330–357

The aim of this paper is to evaluate the welfare gains from financial integration for developing and emerging market economies. To do so, we build a stochastic endogenous growth model for a small open economy that can: (i) borrow from the rest of the world; (ii) invest in foreign assets; and (iii) receive foreign direct investment. The model is calibrated on 46 emerging market and developing economies for which we evaluate the upper bound for the welfare gain from financial integration. For plausible values of preference parameters and actual levels of financial integration, the mean welfare gain from financial integration is around 13.5% of initial wealth. Compared with financial autarky, actual levels of financial integration translate into higher annual growth rates.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes

Bellanca Nicolò

Il futuro dell'Europa secondo Stiglitz

in **Il Ponte**, numero 10, 2016

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes

Henderson John, Stephen Clarkson

International Public Finance and the Rise of Brazil: Comparing Brazil's Use of Regionalism with Its Unilateralism and Bilateralism

in **Latin American Research Review**, Volume 51, Number 4, 2016 , 43-61

Within the extensive literature on international regionalism, the more limited academic work done on regional financial organizations (RFOs) tends to assume that, by pooling resources to address such common international economic issues as development funding and financial crises, RFOs contribute to economic stability in their parts of the global landscape. Although South America has led the pack in creating such RFOs, their effectiveness is limited by the asymmetry in economic heft of the continent's governments. Rather than weighing the significance of financial regionalism in South America from the point of view of the majority, we assess whether and how this phenomenon has contributed to Brazil's politico-economic rise to near-major-power standing on the world stage in the twenty-first century. Drawing on extensive interviews with Brazilian officials conducted in March 2013, we analyze three instances of South



America's international public finance: development lending, crisis lending, and payment systems. Our findings suggest that self-generated unilateral and bilateral financial initiatives have brought Brasília far more significant economic and political results than have RFOs, whose various incarnations have yielded the continental giant few economic and only minor political gains.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes

Arrighi Paul

Per un'altra Europa, osiamo ripensare la teoria

in *Il Ponte*, numero 10, 2016

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes

von Staden Andreas

Subsidiarity in Regional Integration Regimes in Latin America and Africa

in *Law and contemporary problems*, Volume 79, Number 2

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes

Braymen Charles, Chang Yang-Ming, Luo Zijun

Tax Policies, Regional Trade Agreements and Foreign Direct Investment: A Welfare Analysis

in *Pacific Economic Review*, Volume 21, Issue 2, May 2016 , 123–150

In this paper, we develop a partial equilibrium three-country model to examine the relationship between regional trade agreements (RTAs) and foreign direct investment (FDI) in an environment with double taxation. Our analysis shows that FDI is welfare-improving for at least one or both of the two regional countries if wage asymmetry is significantly large. FDI and an RTA are also welfare-improving for the high-wage country and the region if the wage differential is not small. We also examine the role of repatriation taxes in affecting the determination of firm location under an RTA. Our results suggest that the signing of an RTA may induce relocation from the high-wage country to the low-wage country unless an increase in the repatriation tax rate also occurs.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Sarkin Jeremy



A Critique of the Decision of the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights Permitting the Demolition of the SADC Tribunal: Politics versus Economics and Human Rights

in *African Journal of International and Comparative Law*, Volume 24, Issue 2, , 215–241

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Aning Kwesi, Edu-Afful Flifi

African Agency in R2P: Interventions by African Union and ECOWAS in Mali, Cote D'ivoire, and Libya
in *International Studies Review*, vol. 18, issue 1, march , 120-133

ABSTRACT: Both the African Union (AU) and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) have been global leaders in embracing and operationalizing responsibility to protect (R2P). The adoption of the AU's Constitutive Act, Article 4 (h) in 2000, has transformed its old-fashioned principle of noninterference to one of nonindifference. This authorizes the AU to intervene in Member States with respect to war crimes, genocide, ethnic cleansing, and crimes against humanity. ECOWAS has through its conflict prevention, management, and resolution protocol and its conflict prevention framework deepened and practicalized the notion of sovereignty as responsibility. These frameworks from both the AU and the ECOWAS have close similarities to the R2P norms. However, although these notions are captured in official documents, their actual operationalization faces challenges relating to sovereignty, limited institutional capacity, a restricted appetite for enforcement action, and a lack of explicit instruments to activate their intervention clauses in R2P-like situations. In spite of these challenges, the article argues that the initiatives of both the AU and the ECOWAS in Mali, Cote d'Ivoire, and Libya demonstrated a positively active African agency in contributing to global peace processes. This article, therefore, assesses the successes and limitations of African regional agency in enforcing R2P-like norms among its member states and its implications for and contributions to global international relations discourses.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Ueli Staeger

Africa–EU Relations and Normative Power Europe: A Decolonial Pan-African Critique
in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 54, Issue 4

The debate on NPE (Normative Power Europe) has flourished for more than a decade. NPE has shaped Africa–EU relations considerably, especially since the founding of the AU (African Union). Yet while the EU aspires to be a post-imperial, normative power, this postcolonial critique suggests NPE is a neo-Kantian, Eurocentric discourse that reinvigorates an outdated European moral paternalism. The article explores the role of NPE in Africa–EU relations through a Foucauldian conceptualization of knowledge in EU foreign policy, and insists particularly on how pan-African regionalization and NPE led to unwarranted optimism about deploying European norms in Africa. To the contrary, a decolonial perspective reveals that AU–EU inter-regional structural and organizational convergence enchains only frail normative convergence, which will diminish as the pan-African project unfolds further.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Karen J. Alter, James T. Gathii and Laurence R. Helfer

Backlash against International Courts in West, East and Southern Africa: Causes and Consequences
in *European Journal of International Law*, volume 27, issue 2, 293-328

This article discusses three credible attempts by African governments to restrict the jurisdiction of three similarly situated sub-regional courts in response to politically controversial rulings. In West Africa, when the Court of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) upheld allegations of torture by opposition journalists in Gambia, that country's political leaders sought to restrict the Court's power to review human rights complaints. The other member states ultimately defeated Gambia's proposal. In East Africa, Kenya failed in its efforts to eliminate the East African Court of Justice (EACJ) and to remove some of its judges after a decision challenging an election to a sub-regional legislature. However, the member states agreed to restructure the EACJ in ways that have significantly affected the Court's subsequent trajectory. In Southern Africa, after the Southern African Development Community (SADC) Tribunal ruled in favour of white farmers in disputes over land seizures, Zimbabwe prevailed upon SADC member states to suspend the Tribunal and strip its power to review complaints from private litigants. Variations in the mobilization efforts of community secretariats, civil society groups and sub-regional parliaments explain why efforts to eliminate the three courts or narrow their jurisdiction were defeated in ECOWAS, scaled back in the EACJ and largely succeeded in the SADC.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Pennetta Piero

Brevi note su alcune nuove espressioni del regionalismo africano
in *Comunità Internazionale (La)*, vol. LXX, n. 4, quarto trimestre

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Éric- Adol T. Gatsi

Coopération judiciaire entre les Etats de la CEMAC : vers un espace judiciaire commun ?
in *Revue de droit international et de droit comparé.*, no. 2, 159-213

L'intégration économique et monétaire voulue par les six États de la CEMAC a inéluctablement entraîné la construction d'un vaste marché judiciaire favorisé à la fois par le brassage des populations des différents États et la nécessité impérieuse de fédérer les efforts dans le but de combattre la criminalité transfrontalière. Le législateur communautaire a, peu à peu, pris conscience de l'ampleur du défi à relever puisqu'il a adopté un ensemble de règles applicables sur l'ensemble de la Communauté dans le domaine judiciaire, posant ainsi les bases d'un espace judiciaire commun. Les actions du législateur communautaire en cette matière s'inscrivent sur le double plan substantiel et procédural. Sur le plan substantiel, il s'agit de l'ensemble des règles matérielles consacrées par le législateur en la



matière tant dans le domaine civil et commercial que pénal. Sur le plan procédural, il s'agit des règles formelles instituées pour mettre en œuvre ces normes matérielles.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Nilaus Tarp Kristoffer, Haldrup Søren Vester, Lassen Malene Alber

Does the well-being of 'embedded' staff affect programme performance? The case of the IGAD initiative in South Sudan

in *South African Journal of International Affairs* , vol. 23, issue 3 , 385-402

ABSTRACT: South–South Cooperation is an emerging trend in international development assistance. Since 2011, the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) initiative in South Sudan has been one of the most comprehensive attempts at post-conflict capacity development through South–South Cooperation, in terms of both scope and level of funding. This paper looks at the well-being of civil servant support officers deployed under the IGAD initiative, and the relationship between well-being and project performance. The paper explores assumptions underpinning South–South Cooperation and seeks to establish a better understanding of well-being and its impact on project performance. The paper also examines whether the second phase of the initiative has adequately addressed various challenges identified in the first phase. The paper finds that well-being, although often overlooked, has been critical to programme success in the IGAD initiative.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Khalifa Isaac Sally

EU Action in the Mediterranean: Structural Impediments Post-2011

in *Middle East Policy* , Volume 23, Issue 4, Winter , 92-102

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Husain Aasim M., Fraker Ford M., Burton Edward, Young Karen E., Al Absi Ausamah Abdulla

Economic Reform and Political Risk in The GCC: Implications for U.S. Government and Business

in *Middle East Policy* , Volume 23, Issue 3, Fall , 5-29

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Lisakafu Jacob

Exploring the role and place of the Permanent Representative Committee within the African Union

in *South African Journal of International Affairs* , vol. 23, issue 2 , 225-241



ABSTRACT: It can be confidently stated that, since its constitutive act came into effect in July, 2001, the African Union (AU) has enjoyed increasing attention at the administrative level from a number of scholars. Most of these scholars focus, however, on the evolution of the AU in general or on the Peace and Security Council and its components and how it links with regional organisations and the United Nations. This article adds to the existing literature by looking closely at the role and place of the Permanent Representatives Committee (PRC) in the decision-making framework of the AU. It also critically analyses the potential of the PRC and the challenges facing it as one of the most important decision-making committees of the AU. Lastly, it examines the evolution of the PRC and its functions. Finally, among other things, the article questions the lack of transparency practised by the PRC and proposes new approaches.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Killander Magnus

Human rights developments in the African Union during 2015

in *African Human Rights Law Journal*, vol. 16, n. 2 , 532-553

ABSTRACT: There were few significant normative developments in the African human rights system during 2015. Draft protocols on the death penalty and the right to nationality were adopted by the African Commission, but whether these will be adopted eventually by the African Union remains to be seen. The Commission also adopted soft law instruments, such as a General Comment on the right to life. The Commission made a small dent in the backlog of communications by adopting a number of merits decisions, including one decision in which it found that hanging as a method of executing the death penalty violated the African Charter. Other merits decisions dealt with the right to nationality and gender-based violence. Despite an increasing docket, the African Court handed down only one merits judgment in 2015. The African Children's Committee made some progress in examining state reports, while some attempts were made to revive the African Peer Review Mechanism, which has not in recent years made much progress in its mandate. The dominant challenge facing the African human rights system in 2015 was the reaction of the AU Executive Council to the granting by the African Commission of observer status to the Coalition of African Lesbians. The directives by the Executive Council clearly challenged the independence of the African Commission as an autonomous organ of the African Union.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Guignard Lison

La construction d'une norme juridique régionale : le cas des mutilations génitales féminines en Afrique

in *Critique Internationale*, n° 70 , pp. 87-100

Pourquoi et comment l'Union africaine a-t-elle adopté en 2003 une norme juridique visant à interdire les mutilations génitales féminines (MGF) alors même que ces dernières font encore l'objet de controverses dans les États concernés, la lutte contre ces pratiques étant parfois perçue comme une cause « occidentale » ? L'analyse se centre sur les acteurs et sur les arguments qu'ils ont utilisés dans l'entreprise de production de cette norme juridique régionale. Il s'avère que l'adoption du protocole de Maputo ne s'explique pas tant par un souci de conformité à des injonctions internationales que par la mobilisation d'un « réseau de plaidoyer régional » doté de compétences juridiques propres. Cette coalition de différents types d'organisations qui avaient sur cette thématique des intérêts communs a joué un rôle de « passeur » et de traducteur de la norme au niveau régional. L'approche adoptée ici vise à réintégrer l'analyse de



l'échelle régionale dans les recherches sur la production, la diffusion et la circulation de normes transnationales en matière de droits humains.

How and why did the African Union in 2003 adopt a legal norm seeking to prohibit female genital mutilation (FGM) even though the practice was still a matter of controversy in the states concerned, where the fight against the practice was sometimes perceived as a "Western" cause? This article focuses on the actors and the arguments they employed in their efforts to produce this regional legal norm. It argues that the adoption of the Maputo protocol is to be explained as the result of the mobilization of a "regional advocacy network" endowed with its own legal competencies rather than in terms of a desire to conform to international requirements. Consisting of various types of organization united by common interests in the domain, this coalition acted as a "go-between", translating the norm at the regional level. The approach adopted here seeks to restore regional scale analysis to research into the production, diffusion and circulation of transnational norms in the area of human rights.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Mohamed Najim Elhadj

La coopération transfrontalière

in *Revue Défense Nationale*, n° 792, Été

Le G5 Sahel est une initiative conduite par les pays de la Région pour répondre ensemble aux défis actuels autour de la sécurité mais aussi du développement en privilégiant la coopération transfrontalière.

The G5 Sahel is an initiative conducted by countries in the region to respond together to the current security-related challenges as well as fostering development through cross-border cooperation.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Valeria Piergigli

La protezione dei diritti fondamentali davanti alla Corte africana tra segnali di consolidamento e istanze di riforma

in *Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo*, no. 2, 365-394

This article deals with the recent caselaw of the African Court of human and peoples' rights. In the period 2013-2015, the Court judged four times on the merit some individual and NGOs petitions. It largely declared the violation of the Banjul Charter, as well as of other relevant international treaties, on behalf of the states involved. Moreover, the Court began to judge on the reparations asked by the victims of those violations. In that way, the Court seems to inaugurate some positive trends, even though several aspects require to be corrected. In the meantime, within the African Union, the merging of the African Court of human and peoples' rights and the African Court of Justice is still under discussion.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Hailbronner Michaela



Laws in conflict: The relationship between human rights and international humanitarian law under the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights

in *African Human Rights Law Journal*, vol. 16, n. 2 , 339-364

ABSTRACT: Most armed conflicts today take place in Africa and it is increasingly African actors who are engaged in peacekeeping on the continent, yet scholarly writing on the regulation of these conflicts lags behind. One area where this is particularly true concerns sanctioning violations of international humanitarian law. This has long been difficult, given the tendency of domestic systems to close ranks and insulate their citizens from legal action. To provide at least some forum for justice in this situation, regional human rights bodies increasingly deal with rights violations even in situations of war, raising questions about their mandate and the relationship between human rights and humanitarian law. In the European and American context, these questions have already been the subject of considerable academic writing, but the same is not true for Africa. This article seeks to fill this gap. It first situates the existing approach of the major pan-African human rights institutions to international humanitarian law within the broader global debate. As a second step, it argues that an interpretive approach which takes international humanitarian law into consideration when interpreting rights in the African Charter provides the best approach to this question in the African context.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Abdoulaye Soma

Le régionalisme africain en droit international pénal

in *Revue générale de droit international publique*, volume 120, no. 3 , 515-544

Une dialectique caractérise les rapports de l'Afrique au droit international pénal, marqués de flux centripètes et de reflux centrifuges. L'Afrique semble rechercher un certain équilibre entre universalisme et régionalisme, dans le processus de régionalisation du droit international pénal qu'elle engage. Le régionalisme africain en droit international pénal se rapporte au développement d'un droit international pénal régional par l'Union Africaine. Ce mouvement juridique se traduit par la détermination d'incriminations et la création de juridictions pénales internationales propres au continent africain. Cette régionalisation du droit international pénal semble avoir été déclenchée par la critique d'une focalisation sur l'Afrique dans la répression pénale internationale. Le développement progressif du droit international pénal au plan mondial semble devoir désormais se conjuguer avec le développement progressif d'un droit international pénal au plan continental. Il y a controverse, à la fois juridique et politique à ce sujet. Notre thèse est qu'au-delà des réticences que le mouvement de formation d'un droit pénal régional en Afrique suscite chez certains acteurs de la société internationale, le processus ne devrait pas être perçu comme une contestation du droit international pénal général. Le mouvement paraît fondé. La communauté internationale devrait contribuer à assurer l'opérationnalisation du système pénal africain et sa coordination avec le système pénal universel. C'est cette thèse que la contribution a pour but de présenter et soutenir et démontrer, en analysant la légitimité et la légalité internationales du phénomène, ainsi que les linéaments fondamentaux du processus.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Martz Olivier

Les origines du Conseil de coopération du Golfe, 1979-1981

in *Bulletin de l'Institut Pierre Renouvin*, n. 43, Printemps



Fondé le 25 mai 1981, le Conseil de coopération des États arabes du Golfe (CCEAG), encore appelé Conseil de coopération du Golfe (CCG), rassemble les six pétromonarchies de la péninsule Arabique : Oman, le Qatar, l'Arabie saoudite, le Koweït, Bahreïn ainsi que les Émirats arabes unis.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Serrurier Enguerrand

L'évolution du droit au développement devant les juridictions et quasi-juridictions régionales africaines
in *Revue Tiers Monde*, nn° 226-227 , pp. 173-196

Le droit au développement passe pour une notion quelque peu oubliée, souvent caricaturée, et apparemment décevante dans sa concrétisation depuis sa reconnaissance consensuelle lors de la Conférence mondiale sur les droits de l'homme de 1993. Tout n'a pourtant pas été dit et ce concept connaît ces dernières années des progrès discrets mais notables, qui s'expriment sur le terrain contentieux sous l'impulsion des juridictions et quasi-juridictions africaines.
Plan de l'article

Introduction

1. La notion de droit au développement en droit international
 - 1.1. La distinction entre droit du développement et droit au développement
 - 1.2. L'intégration dans le droit africain des droits de l'homme
2. Les patientes esquisses d'un droit mouvant à partir de l'an 2000
 - 2.1. Une justiciabilité associée à d'autres droits de l'homme, ou un droit au développement incident
 - 2.2. L'émergence contentieuse propre de l'article 22 de la Charte africaine
3. L'apport essentiel d'une décision historique : Endorois c. Kenya (2009)
 - 3.1. La formulation juridique d'une éthique du processus de développement
 - 3.2. Un droit au développement plus lisible et rénové

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Cafiero Giorgio, Yefet Adam

Oman and the GCC: A Solid Relationship?
in *Middle East Policy*, Volume 23, Issue 3, Fall , 49-55

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Aideyan Osaore

Political and Institutional Prerequisites for Monetary Union: Assessing Progress in the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)
in *Politics & Policy*, Volume 44, Issue 6, December , pp. 1192-1212



In this article, I analyze why it has been difficult to achieve the proposed common currency, the “ECO” by the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), using a constructivist approach that emphasizes the importance of institutions. I argue that a common currency has not been implemented due to the absence of an intense and institutionalized set of political and economic relationships among member states. The analysis places emphasis on how historical, social, and cultural factors structure the operation of a common currency to ground the behavior of actors in widely shared experiences and institutionalized principles.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Matiangai V.S. Sirleaf

Regionalism, Regime Complexes, and the Crisis in International Criminal Justice
in *Columbia Journal of Transnational Law*, vol. 54, issue 3 , 699-778

This Article identifies an emerging regime complex in the field of international criminal law and analyzes the development of the regional criminal court to the African Court of Justice and Human Rights. A regime complex refers to the way in which two or more institutions intersect in terms of their scope and purpose. This Article discusses how the International Criminal Court's institutional crisis created a space for regional innovation. It demonstrates how the development of a regional criminal court in Africa is the result of intersecting factors in international criminal justice. It finds that regime complexes can form not only due to strategic inconsistencies as discussed in the literature, but also because of the influence of regional integration. It argues that the regionalization of international criminal law is a useful addition to the field of international criminal justice, which has hitherto been hampered by the limitations of both domestic and international adjudication. This Article concludes that regionalization of international criminal law is a positive development.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Kahan Jerome H.

Security Assurances for the Gulf States: A Bearable Burden?
in *Middle East Policy*, Volume 23, Issue 3, Fall , 30-38

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Bülent Aras, Emirhan Yorulmazlar

State, region and order: geopolitics of the Arab Spring
in *Third World Quarterly*, Volume 37, Issue 12 , 2259-2273

State failure, sovereignty disputes, non-state territorial structures, and revolutionary and counter-revolutionary currents, among others, are intertwined within the Arab Spring process, compelling old and emerging regional actors to operate in the absence of a regional order. The emergent geopolitical picture introduces the poisonous mix of loss of state authority spiralling toward instability, defined by sectarianism, extremism, global rivalries, and ultimately irredentism within



interdependent subregional formations. This assertion is substantiated by detailed and specific evidence from the shifting and multi-layered alliance formation practices of intra- and inter-state relations, and non-state and state actors. Analysis of the relations and alliances through a dichotomous flow from domestic to regional and regional to global also sheds light on prospective future order. A possible future order may take shape around a new imagination of the MENA, with porous delimitations in the form of emerging subregions.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Andreas von Staden

Subsidiarity, exhaustion of domestic remedies, and the margin of appreciation in the human rights jurisprudence of African sub-regional courts

in *International Journal of Human Rights (The)*, volume 20, issue 8 , 1113-1131

As an organising principle within multi-level governance systems, subsidiarity stipulates that decisions should be taken at the lower of any two levels of politico-legal organisation, unless compelling reasons argue in favour of moving decision-making to the higher level. In the judicial field, the principle has found expression, procedurally, in the exhaustion of domestic remedies rule and, substantively, in the margin of appreciation and similar deference-granting doctrines. These judicial manifestations of the subsidiarity principle should particularly likely to appear in the context of courts exercising jurisdiction over individual human rights complaints. This article investigates the extent to which three sub-regional courts in Africa that shortly after their creation began to foray into the human rights domain – the ECOWAS Community Court of Justice, the East African Court of Justice, and the Tribunal of the Southern African Development Community – have recognised subsidiarity as a guiding principle for the exercise of their human rights jurisdiction. Contrary to expectations, neither the exhaustion of domestic remedies rule nor margin-of-appreciation-type doctrines have so far played any meaningful role in the human rights jurisprudence of the three sub-regional courts.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Ogbonnaya Ufiem Maurice

Terrorism, Agenda 2063 and the challenges of development in Africa

in *South African Journal of International Affairs* , vol. 23, issue 2 , 185-199

ABSTRACT: The nobility of the objectives and aspiration of the African Union's Agenda 2063 towards the developmental needs of the African people are laudable, as are the attempts being made to ensure collective action, despite the 'shield of sovereignty behind which too many corrupt leaders have hidden'. However, these noble objectives and aspirations may be undermined and threatened by the upsurge in militant Islamism and the spread of terrorism within and outside Africa, a fact not being addressed by Agenda 2063. Yet while Agenda 2063 does not seek to address the challenges posed by terrorist networks within the continent, which are threatening human security as well as the sovereignty, territoriality, legitimacy and stability of political regimes, these issues are at the core of the agenda. This article argues for Agenda 2063 to step up its efforts to combat both the roots of terrorism and the threat to development that terrorism itself poses.

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Shumba Tapiwa

The New Global Economic Order as a Stimulus for Harmonising the Law of Sale in the Southern African Development Community (SADC) Region

in *African Journal of International and Comparative Law*, Volume 24, Issue 3, , 346–361

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Reuben E. Brigety II

The New Pan-Africanism: Implications for US Africa Policy

in *Survival*, Volume 58, Issue 4 , 159-176

There is a convergence of interests, a sufficient degree of trust and the collective capacity to establish a strategic partnership between the United States and Africa.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Buigut Steven

Trade Effects of the East African Community Customs Union: Hype Versus Reality

in *South African Journal of Economics (The)*, Volume 84, Issue 3, September 2016 , 422–439

This study uses a theoretically consistent gravity model to assess the average trade effect of the East African Community customs union implemented in 2005. The estimation is carried out using a framework that controls for endogeneity. Country-pair fixed effects are included to control for time constant factors while importer-year and exporter-year fixed effects account for time varying multilateral resistance variables. To check for robustness a Poisson pseudo-maximum likelihood estimation is used. The study covers the period 2000 to 2013 with a total of forty nine trading partners. The results suggest that the EAC customs union has produced a moderate positive effect on intra-EAC trade of about 22.1%.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Ana Peyró Llopis

À propos de « La décision de l'O.U.A. de ne plus respecter les sanctions décrétées par l'ONU contre la Libye : désobéissance civile des Etats africains à l'égard de l'ONU » de Kalala Tshibangu ...

in *Revue belge de droit international*, no. 1 , 385-394

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 3. Cooperations and integration in Central and North America

Shushanik Hakobyan, John McLaren

Looking for Local Labor Market Effects of NAFTA

in *Review of Economics and Statistics*, Volume 98, Issue 4 , 728-741

Using U.S. Census data for 1990 to 2000, we estimate effects of NAFTA on U.S. wages. We look for effects of the agreement by industry and by geography, measuring each industry's vulnerability to Mexican imports and each locality's dependence on vulnerable industries. We find evidence of both effects, dramatically lowering wage growth for blue-collar workers in the most affected industries and localities (even for service-sector workers in affected localities, whose jobs do not compete with imports). These distributional effects are much larger than aggregate welfare effects estimated by other authors.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 3. Cooperations and integration in Central and North America

Castro-Rea Julián

Snubbing Mexico: how Canada's conservatives contributed to undermine trilateralism in North America

in *Fédéralisme Régionalisme* , Volume 16, 21st century Latin American regionalism in the spotlight

North American integration, launched with the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA, 1994), was supposed to be a trilateral affair; linking Canada, Mexico and the United States into a horizontal relationship aimed at improving joint global competitiveness. Twenty years later, however, North America is caught into a "business as usual" mode: two bilateral relations with the United States at their centre, limited trilateral contents and mostly rhetorical relations between Mexico and Canada. This article aims at determining to what extent Canada's recent Conservative governments have undermined NAFTA's trilateral spirit. The hypothesis to be tested is the following: The successive Harper governments have purposely marginalized Mexico from the decision-making process in North America. This is because they see Mexico as an encumbrance for the realization of major interconnected goals of the Conservative foreign policy agenda (an agenda that Lagassé, Massie and Roussel call neocontinentalism).

Full text available online at <http://popups.ulg.ac.be/1374-3864/index.php?id=1645>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 3. Cooperations and integration in Central and North America

Régis Bismuth

À propos de « Les mesures économiques américaines et de l'O.E.A. contre Cuba » de Denise Mathy (1984/1985-I)

in *Revue belge de droit international*, no. 1 , 93-104

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Capece Galeota Francesco

America Latina e nuove sfide mondiali



in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, Volume 83, n. 2, aprile-giugno , 189-204

'The lost decade of Latin America' is a term referring to the crisis which hit that area in the last century due to its delayed entry into the world economy. The main cause of that condition was the burden of a huge external debt. Regional cooperation among the countries of Mercosur and Andean Pact is slowing. A 'Long Chinese March' has been marked by investment in vast impressive projects and extensive trading in commodities. The framework of the area, as a whole, shows progressive governments in power. The picture could change, as in the recent case of Argentina. Uncertainty regards Brazil with its progressive government considered responsible for the present economic crisis, and menaced by scandals that could bring on a constitutional crisis. The region is affected by some anti-democratic trends, seen in the repeated renewal of presidential mandates, though subject to constitutional amendments. The United States shows concern for Venezuela. Ambitious construction projects threaten the eco system of the Amazon basin. Some countries are affected by extra-State problems. In Colombia the government has reached a peace agreement with the major guerilla movement. The drug trade in Mexico has entered the international money recycling system. Corruption in various sectors is rife in many countries. The economic crisis extending to emerging countries also affects Latin America, which can however recuperate. Compared to the past, the general social frame work shows stability. The normalization of relations between the United States and Cuba is a positive asset for the region.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Vitelli Marina

América del Sur: de la seguridad cooperativa a la cooperación disuasoria

in *Foro Internacional*, Vol. LVI, 3

The article reflects the apparent paradox of the existence of the South American Defense Council (cds) in a context of both violence and cooperation in South America. The principal argument is that the model of regional security under construction represents a transformation with regard to the one established at the end of the Cold War. By studying the nature of the activities carried out by the cds, this body is interpreted as the outcome of the relative failure of the US multidimensional security project, which brings together in its place cooperative security with the deterrence model, both tendencies associated with post-liberal regionalism.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Federico Vázquez

Brasil: la crisis de un proyecto nacional y regional

in *Nueva Sociedad*, n. 264

¿Qué supone el fin del ciclo de gobiernos del Partido de los Trabajadores (pt) en Brasil para la realidad política de la región? En estos días, algunos medios brasileños recuerdan la frase que el hoy canciller José Serra pronunció en



marzo de 2015 en el Senado de Brasil: «El Mercosur fue un delirio megalomaniaco». Y, de mantenerse en el cargo, el nuevo gobierno de Michel Temer anuncia cambios geopolíticos respecto de la integración sudamericana debido al fuerte peso de Brasil en la región, junto con las redistribuciones internas de poder entre diferentes grupos sociales.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Blanco Alvarado, Ruth Carolina

Connection between territorial decentralization in Colombia and integration andina
in *Análisis político* , vol.28 no.84 , 207-216

Through these pages we will develop the connection and the importance of the Colombian territorial decentralization under the Andean integration process. For purposes of the foregoing, establish, from a general perspective, the main benefits that the Andean Community (CAN) can be obtained in the framework of the Colombian territorial decentralization; doing an analysis that discards the economic outlook, and consequently, preferring a political legal analysis. The type of research work used for these pages is synthetic, that is, try to highlight the entire contents of a subject or topic exposing their main and essential parts. At the same time and under the cited research work mode, these pages are confined in a scientific work typified in the form of "state of the art", ie a research work which reflects the scientific situation of a subject at a given time. Additionally, the method used for this research is analytic, ie that part of the complex, reaching as simple.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Leonardo García Jaramillo

Desafíos de la interamericanización del Derecho: la contribución del Ius Constitutionale Commune
in *Revista de derecho político*, no. 97 , 335-368

Este trabajo analiza algunas particularidades del proceso de globalización del derecho en el contexto latinoamericano, por cuyas especificidades resulta útil el concepto «interamericanización». Si bien los países de la región han tenido históricamente, al crear e interpretar derecho, fronteras fracturadas y relativas, desde hace algunas décadas se ha venido modificando el diálogo entre países, fundamentalmente, exportadores de reglas, principios y ciencia jurídica (el llamado norte global) y países receptores (el llamado sur global). En la actualidad la interacción se ha vuelto también horizontal entre los países del sur global que, a partir de elementos teóricos y judiciales de los cánones creados en el norte global, han construido un diálogo propio. El Ius Constitutionale Commune es la concepción jurídica que mayor potencial tiene en la región actualmente para comprender la interamericanización del derecho y analizar una de sus características más desafiantes, como es la posibilidad de transformación social desde el constitucionalismo.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Bobadilla Ángela Moreno

El interés superior del menor en la jurisprudencia de la Corte Interamericana de Derechos Humanos
in *Cuadernos Manuel Giménez Abad*, n. 11, junio , 142-149



Full text available online at

http://www.fundacionmgimenezabad.es/images/Documentos/Cuadernos/cuadernos11_junio_2016.pdf

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Busón Buesa Carlos, Capusso Walkiria

El laboratorio de fronteras - Una propuesta para estudiar experiencias y proyectos en áreas de frontera
in **Cuadernos Manuel Giménez Abad**, n. 12, diciembre , 201-209

Full text available online at

http://www.fundacionmgimenezabad.es/images/Documentos/Cuadernos/cuadernos12_diciembre_2016.pdf

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Nino Tsereteli

Emerging doctrine of deference of the Inter-American Court of Human Rights?
in **International Journal of Human Rights (The)**, volume 20, issue 8 , 1097-1112

In its early days, almost all cases examined by the Inter-American Court of Human Rights (IACtHR) involved acts of state violence. Deference to national decision-makers was out of the question, due to their manifest lack of willingness and/or ability to deliver on human rights promises. A partial shift of focus away from such cases, due to the change in a legal and political landscape, created the need for the IACtHR to reconsider its relationship with national jurisdictions and become more deferential. This would enable the IACtHR to ensure conformity of its approach with its subsidiary role and strengthen its legitimacy and effectiveness. This article reflects on how deference does and should operate at each of the two stages of judicial reasoning, norm interpretation and norm application. It asks: does the IACtHR exercise deference? Should it exercise deference? If so, with regard to what, under what conditions and to what extent? As regards norm interpretation, the article suggests ways of adopting a middle ground between overreliance on national interpretations to the detriment of individuals and complete disregard of those interpretations at the risk of antagonising states. As regards norm application, it suggests that some of the recent judgments signalled the willingness of the IACtHR to exercise deference (refusing to impose its determination of consequences that should follow from the treaty norms in the given situation) and calls for a clear articulation of conditions and the extent of deference.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Matiuzzi de Souza Gustavo

Introduction: 21st century Latin American regionalism in the spotlight
in **Fédéralisme Régionalisme** , Volume 16, 21st century Latin American regionalism in the spotlight

Full text available online at <http://popups.ulg.ac.be/1374-3864/index.php?id=1657>

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Defraigne Jean-Christophe

Is a strengthening south-south regional integration possible? The case of Mercosur and Latin America
in *Fédéralisme Régionalisme* , Volume 16, 21st century Latin American regionalism in the spotlight

This article will look at the structural difficulties that regional integration faces in Latin America and in particular will analyze the evolution and prospects of Mercosur. It will show that regional integration could only fully develop at the end of the Cold War but this period coincided with the adoption of the Washington Consensus and that meant that the largest Latin American economies renounced to a substantial part of their import substitution industrialization policies. The global economic context reinforced the specialization of Mercosur and the rest of South American economies on commodities and energy sectors. This has generated a higher macroeconomic instability and more tensions between the member States of the Mercosur. It has also weakened the lobby of industrialists in shaping economic policies. The relative weakness of the industry in this region explains why the enterprise-driven regionalization will be weaker than in other regional integration processes such as the EU, NAFTA or ASEAN where it played a decisive role in the deepening of the economic integration.

Full text available online at <http://popups.ulg.ac.be/1374-3864/index.php?id=1658>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Tremolada Álvarez Eric

La Alianza del Pacífico: ¿una sobrevalorada integración?

in *Studi sull'integrazione europea*, Anno XI, n. 1, gennaio-aprile , 21-40

In the middle of the unstable situation that prevails in Latin America by the coexistence of different political models – loaded ideologically – that offer different integration schemes, the irruption of the noisily traded Pacific Alliance deserves analyzing beyond the attraction that generates in political leaders and entrepreneurs of the world. This writing begins by asking whether the Pacific Alliance is really forming a new and pragmatic block as regionalization scheme in Latin America. To answer this question, this paper studies the Incorporation Treaty to interpret it, in the light of the economic and legal theories of integration. It evaluates the bombastic challenges of the preamble, focuses on the glare of its objectives, continues with the announced cooperative frameworks. Finally it analyzes its basic institutional framework and there are questions as to whether as an international organization it enjoys a legal personality.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Carvajal Donoso Hugo

La UNASUR de Samper, el último brazo del chavismo

in *Cuadernos de pensamiento político*, Número 51, Julio/Septiembre

<http://www.revistas culturales.com/xrevistas/PDF/103/1909.pdf>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America



Carvajal Donoso Hugo

La UNASUR de Samper, el último brazo del chavismo

in *Cuadernos de pensamiento político*, Número 51, Julio/Septiembre

<http://www.revistascultrales.com/xrevistas/PDF/103/1909.pdf>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Francesco Davide Ragno

La fine del Mercosur?

in *CeMiSS - Osservatorio Strategico e Quarterly*, n.5 , 44-48

Oggi, tuttavia, il Mercosur si presenta come un'istituzione politica desueta, stanca, lenta e, per certi aspetti, inutile.

Durante la conferenza organizzata per celebrare i 25 anni dalla sottoscrizione del

trattato, il ministro degli Esteri dell'Uruguay, Rodolfo Nin Novoa, ha sottolineato come molte «crisi esterne e problemi interni (all'interno del Mercosur e all'interno di ciascun paese membro) hanno rallentato il consolidamento delle tappe

d'integrazione previste nel Trattato [di Asunción], [...] Oggi, venticinque anni dopo il Trattato di Asuncion, dobbiamo ammettere che nel cammino ci sono stati avanzamenti e arrestamenti; impulsi e freni; sfide vinte e altre ancora non compiute». Una

percezione, questa, che corrobora quanto detto da Tabaré Vázquez, Presidente della Repubblica Uruguayana, che, nel dicembre del 2015, ha assunto la Presidenza provvisoria del Mercosur.

Come riporta il quotidiano di Montevideo *El Pais*, a proposito della sua elezione, «Vázquez ha assunto [...] la presidenza del Mercosur con l'impegno di tirarlo fuori dalle pastoie». Le ragioni che hanno portato il Mercosur a essere percepito in questo modo sono molteplici, per

quanto si possano sostanzialmente dividere in tre grandi ambiti: il primo di natura economica; il secondo di natura politica interna; il terzo riconducibile a ragioni di politica internazionale

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Chad P. Bown, Patricia Tovar

Preferential Liberalization, Antidumping, and Safeguards: Stumbling Block Evidence from MERCOSUR

in *Economics and Politics*, Volume 28, Issue 3 , 262-294

There is not yet consensus in the trade agreements literature as to whether preferential liberalization leads to more or less multilateral liberalization. However, research thus far has focused mostly on tariff measures of import protection. We develop more comprehensive measures of trade policy that include the temporary trade barrier (TTB) policies of antidumping and safeguards; studies in other contexts have also shown how these policies can erode some of the trade liberalization gains that arise when examining tariffs alone. We examine the experiences of Argentina and Brazil during the formation of the MERCOSUR over 1990–2001, and we find that an exclusive focus on applied tariffs may lead to a mischaracterization of the relationship between preferential liberalization and liberalization toward non-member countries. First, any “building block” evidence that arises by focusing on tariffs during the period in which MERCOSUR was only a free trade area can disappear once we also include changes in import protection that arise through TTBs. Furthermore, there is also evidence of a “stumbling block” effect of preferential tariff liberalization for the period in which



MERCOSUR became a customs union, and this result tends to strengthen upon inclusion of TTBs. Finally, we also provide a first empirical examination of whether market power motives can help explain the patterns of changes to import protection that are observed in these settings.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Trygve Alexander Giaever and Julian Schofield

South American Market Integration: The Argentina-Brazil Rivalry Myth and Motivations for the Southern Common Market

in *Canadian Journal of Political Science--Revue canadienne de science politique*, Volume 49 - Issue 2 , 221-241

This paper revisits and rebuts the mainstream view that Brazil and Argentina were led to form the Southern Common Market to end more than a century of rivalry and competition. We find the elements characterizing an interstate rivalry diminishing in the nineteenth century through the promotion of peaceful settlements and strategic alliances while those that could prompt security concerns disappeared years before the Southern Common Market was formed. Except for diplomatic disputes over the distribution of shared water resources, a disagreement settled in 1979, the decades preceding the Treaty of Asuncion were typified by security alliances, co-operation on economic complementarity and the promotion of bilateral institutions. We find little evidence for the implied security motivations being proposed in the literature. Rather, the establishment of the Southern Common Market was driven primarily by Argentina's and Brazil's desire to improve economic performance and advance political leverage through the promotion of a common stance in global affairs. This view challenges a common component in integration theory that, as applied to the European Union and elsewhere, asserts the privileged role of security concerns as prime driver for integration. This matters because there is a misapprehension that affects both the theory about integration as well as the formulation of policy prescriptions for South America.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Culpi Ludmila, Pereira Alexsandro Eugenio

The Argentine Role in the Promotion of Migration Policy in Mercosur (1991–2014)

in *Fédéralisme Régionalisme* , Volume 16, 21st century Latin American regionalism in the spotlight

The migration policy of the member states of Mercosur, culminating with the signing of the Mercosur Residence Agreements (RA) in 2002, has been successful since the 2000s. The main goal of this study is to investigate the process by which Mercosur's migration policies were constructed, and to understand the role of Argentine leadership in the process. In addition, Mercosur changed its initial purposes (first set in the 2000s) and refocused on concerns regarding the social and political development of the region. This change resulted from a political and ideological convergence among the states after the shift to the left in South America, which can be explained in terms of post-neoliberal regionalism. Thus, the reorganization of the bloc prevented paralysis in the decision-making processes, particularly regarding social issues. The theoretical framework of this study is liberal intergovernmentalism, which argues that regional integration is a result of deals made among the states controlled by the national leaders. The study assumes that more progressive policies in Argentine migration policy (including the creation of additional policies in respect to human rights) and the important role of Argentina in proposing the Mercosur Residence Agreement, were crucial to ensuring the modification of migration policy in the bloc.



Full text available online at <http://popups.ulg.ac.be/1374-3864/index.php?id=1660>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Matiuzzi de Souza Gustavo

The institutionalization process of border integration in Mercosur (2003-2015): regional uncoordinated attempts toward social development

in *Fédéralisme Régionalisme* , Volume 16, 21st century Latin American regionalism in the spotlight

This article aims at analyzing the creation of institutional bodies in Mercosur concerning border integration. It also aims at analyzing the outcomes of Mercosur's institutional dynamics for the furthering of border integration. Understanding the character of Mercosur's institutions and institutionalization dynamics is a key analytical factor for the comprehension of this political process. By conducting a documental and bibliographical analysis, the article found that the impossibility to reach consensus, the lack of coordination and the existence of internal communication problems hindered border integration. Moreover, the replication of the intergovernmental character of Mercosur at the functioning of the bodies responsible for the matter impeded any deepening process of border integration.

Full text available at <http://popups.ulg.ac.be/1374-3864/index.php?id=1654>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

De Lombaerde Philippe

Theorizing Latin American Regionalism in the 21st Century

in *Fédéralisme Régionalisme* , Volume 16, 21st century Latin American regionalism in the spotlight

This short article takes the new developments in Latin American regionalism in the 21st century and the academic production which is derived from them as a starting point. The article reflects on some methodological aspects of this recent literature and explores possible pathways that could guide the research agenda in this area. It is argued that (i) the debate on Latin American regionalism could be better connected to the debates on the future of IR, (ii) a pragmatic and nuanced approach is needed with respect to the comparability of cases and to the location of Latin America and the EU in comparative regionalism, and (iii) the rich empirical material that is generated (or could be generated) by Latin American regionalisms is underutilized in analytical work that speaks to the global community of comparative regionalists.

Full text available online at <http://popups.ulg.ac.be/1374-3864/index.php?id=1644>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Julie Ferrero

État des lieux de la justiciabilité des droits économiques, sociaux et culturels dans le système interaméricain

in *Revue trimestrielle des droits de l'homme*, no. 108 , 983-1005

L'arrêt Gonzales Lluy e.a. c. Équateur du 1er septembre 2015 a permis à la Cour interaméricaine des droits de l'homme de clarifier sa position quant à la justiciabilité des droits économiques, sociaux et culturels. À cette occasion s'exprime



toute l'ambivalence de la protection juridictionnelle des droits dits de deuxième génération, dont il est encore impossible, à l'heure actuelle, d'établir un régime unifié.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Bridget Lewis and Rowena Maguire

A Human Rights-based Approach to Disaster Displacement in the Asia-Pacific
in *Asian Journal of International Law*, volume 6, issue 2 , 326-352

This paper analyzes the application of rights-based approaches to disaster displacement in the Asia-Pacific region in order to assess whether the current framework is sufficient to protect the rights of internally displaced persons. It identifies that disaster-induced displacement is increasingly prevalent in the region and that economic and social conditions in many countries mean that the impact of displacement is often prolonged and more severe. The paper identifies the relevant human rights principles which apply in the context of disaster-induced displacement and examines their implementation in a number of soft-law instruments. While it identifies shortcomings in implementation and enforcement, the paper concludes that a rights-based approach could be enhanced by greater engagement with existing human rights treaties and greater implementation of soft-law principles, and that no new instrument is required.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Hui Loh Dylan Ming

ASEAN's norm adherence and its unintended consequences in HADR and SAR operations
in *Pacific Review (The)* , Volume 29, Issue 4, 2016 , 549-572

This paper examines the effects and expressions of norm compliance in Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and the 'unintended consequences' arising from such compliance. This is done through an analysis of ASEAN's responses in humanitarian assistance and disaster relief (HADR) efforts in the Typhoon Haiyan disaster and in the search for missing flight MH370. It argues that the lethargic ASEAN responses in the Haiyan disaster and the uncoordinated search efforts for missing flight MH370 are unintended outcomes arising from norm adherence specifically to the norms of 'respect for sovereignty' and 'consensual decision-making' which constrained the range of ASEAN responses.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Laura Allison & Monique Taylor

ASEAN's 'people-oriented' aspirations: civil society influences on non-traditional security governance
in *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol.71, Issue 1 , 24-41

Since the Asian financial crisis, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) has sought to reorient itself towards becoming a 'people-oriented' association. Democratic transitions in the region and increased demands from civil society to be actively involved in regional governance have prompted ASEAN to develop forms of participatory regionalism. In practice, however, the rhetorical aspirations of ASEAN have not often matched the level of participation



or support expected by civil society organisations. It has often been the case that ASEAN's decisions, especially those related to sensitive issues, have been influenced by external pressure as opposed to participatory mechanisms. The aim of this article is to determine to what extent participatory mechanisms impact ASEAN's approach to non-traditional security. By doing so, the authors combine two key elements central to a 'people-oriented' approach to regionalism: the incorporation of deliberative and participatory processes and the acknowledgement of transboundary security issues which require cooperation to move beyond state-centric approaches. This article explains that despite the rhetorical emphasis on participatory regionalism, it continues to be the case that regional civil society organisations and non-state actors have limited capacity to influence ASEAN. By providing a critical analysis of influences on ASEAN's non-traditional security policies, the authors offer a modest yet valuable contribution to the emerging literature on ASEAN's 'people-oriented' regionalism and advance a nuanced understanding of ASEAN's participatory mechanisms.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Rahul Mishra

Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank: An Assessment

in India Quarterly, volume 72, issue 2, 163-176

Lauded as one of the most remarkable Chinese initiatives in the international financial arena, the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) sets the stage for China's greater role in the international economic system as a prominent stakeholder. Headquartered in Beijing, the bank is expected to play a key role in plugging the infrastructure gaps in Asia, which have been estimated at US\$8 trillion between the years 2010 and 2020. The setting up of the AIIB will have far-reaching economic as well as politico-strategic implications for countries across Asia and beyond. While the AIIB has been seen as a remedy to address infrastructure deficit in Asia, it is unlikely to meet the US\$8 trillion goal on its own. The biggest challenge before the bank, therefore, is to prioritise in terms of selecting projects so that it optimally utilises the available financial resources and functions as a transparent and impartial organisation, in addition to making a swift and smooth transition from a 'Chinese initiative' to a 'China-led initiative' that yields equitable benefits to all its member countries.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Sang-Jin Han, Young-Hee Shim, Young-Do Park

Cosmopolitan Sociology and Confucian Worldview: Beck's Theory in East Asia

in Theory, Culture & Society, 33 (7-8)

This article aims at an active dialogue between Ulrich Beck and East Asia with respect to cosmopolitan imagination. Beck's cosmopolitan sociology requires a reflective cosmopolitan publicness to cope with various kinds of global risks. We therefore extract three different layers of publicness from neo-Confucianism – survival-oriented, deliberative, and ecological – and argue that Beck's cosmopolitan vision can be better conceptualized when properly linked to, or founded upon, the Tianxiaweigong normative potentials of neo-Confucianism. In so doing our intention is to make Beck's implicit (Asian) sensibilities and the implicit Asian (cosmopolitan) orientations explicit, as a double process of cosmopolitan self-reflection and dialogue. We also draw attention to the analysis of the cosmopolitan actor in East Asia. Finally, we note that the cosmopolitan future of East Asia still remains uncertain and that reconciling global risk politics, national interests and cosmopolitan morality presents a big challenge to second modern transformation.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Yoshimatsu Hidetaka

Critical junctures and institution-building: regional cooperation on free trade and food security in East Asia
in Pacific Review (The) , Volume 29, Issue 5, 2016 , 693-715

This study examines conditions under which states in East Asia engage in the development of regional institutions. It assumes that crucial external events and shocks, which produce specific historical breakpoints – critical junctures – constitute a significant breakpoint at which the regional states willingly elevated a path to develop regional institutions to a new level. The analysis of the development of regional institutions for a free trade area and food stock for emergency revealed that regional states in East Asia changed their views on the evolving reality created by external shocks and such changes led to the creation of new regional institutions.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

ChangJ un Yan

Essence of security communities: explaining ASEAN
in International Relations of the Asia-Pacific, Volume 16 Issue 3 September 2016 , 335-369

Despite declaring the ASEAN Community to come into effect on 31 December 2015, ASEAN is not a security community. This article demonstrates this by firstly identifying three models of the security community, the Deutschian, the constructivist, and the instrumental models and subsequently applying these to ASEAN. Although the paradox of the 'long peace' of ASEAN seems to be validated by the latter, such is mistaking effect for cause. Through a process of critique, the shortfalls of the models are highlighted and consequently addressed through conjoining Critical Security Studies to the 'security community' concept in a Model IV critical security community formulation to achieve a holistic and comprehensive concept relevant to the world today. Employing this to assess ASEAN, the puzzle of whether ASEAN is a security community is laid to rest; its security is not truly comprehensive, its people are not emancipated, and its various domestic and transnational instabilities affect it adversely.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Jones Lee

Explaining the failure of the ASEAN economic community: the primacy of domestic political economy
in Pacific Review (The) , Volume 29, Issue 5, 2016 , 647-670

All reliable indicators suggest that ASEAN's (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) Economic Community (AEC) will not be successfully established by its 2015 deadline. Why? Against technocratic, realist and constructivist accounts, this article offers an explanation rooted in the political economy of ASEAN's member-states. Economic liberalisation agreements promote the rescaling of economic governance, involving regulatory changes that may radically redistribute power and resources. Consequently, they are heavily contested between coalitions of social and political forces, without outcomes reflecting the outcome of these struggles. The argument is demonstrated by exploring the uneven sectoral



liberalisation achieved under the AEC, the constrained integration of ASEAN's energy markets, and the limited deregulation of skilled labour migration.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Yoo In Tae, Kim Inkyoung

Free trade agreements for the environment? Regional economic integration and environmental cooperation in East Asia

in International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics, Volume 16, Issue 5, October , 721-738

Traditionally, it has been argued that increased economic competition through free trade agreements would bring about environmental degradation. This study, however, argues that recent international free trade agreements have tended to enhance environmental cooperation among participating countries. This study has examined the process by which East Asian countries have developed mechanisms for the extant level of regional environmental cooperation, particularly highlighting the reasons for commonalities and differences in regional environmental cooperation between ASEAN and the dominant economies in the region. It finds that three factors particularly matter for developing regional environmental cooperative mechanisms: networks of intergovernmental organizations, the strong willingness of political leaders which is often embodied in national strategies for regionalism and the establishment, and the institutionalized linkage—particularly through FTAs—between trade and the environment. Tracing the process of policy evolution within three groups of countries sheds light on the political conditions under which the four entities involved (the ASEAN, Japan, China, and the Republic of Korea) have produced and strengthened cooperative environmental mechanisms among them along with free trade agreements. Focusing especially on the environmental policy changes in Japan, China, and the ROK associated with the creation of its FTAs with ASEAN, the study concludes that each of free trade agreements has incrementally developed environmental cooperation, especially when integrated into a vision for regional integration.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Ng Boon-Kwee, Kanagasundram Thiruchelvam, Wong Chan-Yuan, Chandran V.G.R.

Innovation for inclusive development in Southeast Asia: the roles of regional coordination mechanisms in Pacific Review (The) , Volume 29, Issue 4, 2016 , 573-602

In the past, studies on inclusive development involve mainly the perspective of equitable distribution of economic and societal outputs. This study, however, takes a different approach and analyses the potential roles of regional coordination mechanisms (RCMs), specifically universities and research council's networks within Southeast Asia, in disseminating the innovation-related activities for inclusive development or Innovation for Inclusive Development (IID). The literature on innovation intermediaries within the realm of innovation systems studies was used to establish the framework of the study. The findings indicate that RCMs have a huge potential role to play. However, due to a number of reasons, including lack of funding support, lack of attention and commitment to IID, weak engagement with industry and non-governmental organisations, the implementation of the IID activities was rather poor. As a whole, the study argues that current approaches are not well positioned and it is fragmented preventing the effective use of RCMs despite their potentials for IID efforts. The study attributes this to the systemic failures in the regional coordinating systems. In enhancing the role of RCMs in IID, this study recommends the promotion of IID platform, the leveraging of



non-government organisations and industry as well as energising the Southeast Asia engagement in promoting IID.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Postigo Antonio

Institutional spillovers from the negotiation and formulation of East Asian free trade agreements

in Review of International Political Economy, Volume 23, Issue 3, 2016 , 379-417

East Asian countries have implemented around 60 free trade agreements (FTAs), mostly bilateral, to become one of the most active sites of regionalism. The dominant analyses portray these FTAs as driven primarily by foreign policy motivations and promoted by political leaders with businesses marginally involved or interested. It is contended here that, compared to other forms of liberalization, bilateral FTA negotiations promote new institutional arrangements within government agencies and business associations and unique configurations of government–business relations. Formulation of FTAs imposes greater information demands on government officials, which should compel them to consult business associations. In turn, clearer identification of FTAs' impacts and greater chances to affect their formulation should increase business incentives to lobby for or against FTA liberalization domestically and across borders. Demands on officials and business associations upon successive FTAs should foster institutional change/creation to reduce information and coordination costs. These hypotheses were tested on the bilateral FTAs of Thailand and Malaysia. FTAs in these countries stimulated government–business consultations and lobbying by businesses that, for some key FTAs, took the initiative. Successive negotiations strengthened the technical capacities of officials and business associations and stimulated the emergence of new institutions, which may endure to provide similar functions for multilateral rounds.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

James D. Fry and Agnes Chong

International Water Law and China's Management of Its International Rivers

in Boston College International and Comparative Law Review, volume 39, issue 2 , 227-266

This Article explores China's management of its international rivers. China has various domestic pieces of legislation, including the Water Law of 2002, to regulate the uses and protection of its international rivers. It is clear that international water law influenced China inasmuch as there are similarities between the 1997 Watercourses Convention and the Water Law of 2002, and even China has recognized the influence of international law in the formation of its Water Law of 2002. This runs contrary to the widespread belief among Western commentators that China generally does not engage in these types of matters with international water law in mind. As evidence, these commentators point to China's objection to signing the 1997 Watercourses Convention and its refusal to join any river-basin commissions for any of its international rivers. This Article, however, shows how China has been strongly influenced by the international water-law regime and has engaged with other states in the management of its international rivers, albeit with a limited number of states. This Article posits that China can further benefit from engaging in international fora when trying to manage its domestic water issues.

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Rubul Patgiri and Obja Borah Hazarika

Locating Northeast in India's Neighbourhood Policy: Transnational Solutions to the Problems of a Periphery in India Quarterly, volume 72, issue 3 , 235-249

India's neighbourhood policy seems to be devoid of any strategy to integrate national interests with the concerns of border regions like Northeast India. India's security-centric approach prevented a cooperative relationship from emerging with its neighbours, while a deeper and intense engagement with them would have benefitted India and helped solve many of the problems that Northeast India is facing today. However, the recent move by India under the Act East Policy to cultivate a much closer relationship with its eastern neighbours is full of possibilities to make India's neighbourhood policy more accommodative and sensitive towards the needs of Northeast India. In the light of this, the proposed article intends to examine the nature of India's neighbourhood policy, to assess its implications for the Northeast and finally, to examine whether the recent transnational engagements can initiate development of the Northeast by relieving it from its peripheral and landlocked status.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Roda Mushkat

Loose Regionalism and Global Governance: The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) Factor in Melbourne Journal of International Law, volume 17, issue 1 , 238-256

The international regulatory structure is heavily skewed in favour of a handful of industrialised countries operating as a 'club'. This undermines its efficiency and legitimacy. An in-depth and sophisticated study, part of a large-scale and multidisciplinary research initiative by the Centre for International Law at the National University of Singapore, convincingly and elegantly demonstrates that insufficiently cohesive groupings such as ASEAN lack the will and capacity to ameliorate the situation. However, because of the narrow theoretical path trodden by the authors, the picture that emerges is incomplete and needs to be augmented with insights derived from complementary paradigmatic sources.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Sudesh Ratna Rajan, Kumar Sharma Sachin

Mega Trading Blocks: Is Time Ripe for ASEAN-SAARC FTA?
in **South Asia Economic Journal**, September 2016; 17 (2) , 181-199

The plethora of Regional Trade Agreements, especially in Asia, has created a complex web of noodle bowl, which has made trade more difficult. Many countries of Asia are now trying to be part of mega-free trade agreements (FTAs). While Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) is consolidating through ASEAN+1 initiative leading to Regional Cooperation and Economic Partnership (RCEP), no such effort has been initiated so far by the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC). This study thus examines the possible effects of regional integration between ASEAN and SAARC on various sectors, as well as on macro-economic and trade areas by using the Global Trade Analysis Project (GTAP) model and database. A scenario of a complete integration between ASEAN and SAARC is simulated using the GTAP model, where the tariffs between ASEAN and SAARC are eliminated on all items but



maintained for other trading partners. This article suggests for, among others, consolidation of ASEAN and SAARC FTAs, which will have a greater welfare enhancement, though some sectors will require adjustments due to their sensitivities. The article recommends for a policy dialogue between ASEAN and SAARC as such a process can only be initiated through a political engagement. It also recommends that the developing countries shall eliminate their tariffs in 5 years and allow longer time frame for the LDCs

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Tham Siew Yean, Kam Andrew Jia Yi, Abdul Aziz Nor Izzatina

Moving Up the Value Chain in ICT: ASEAN Trade With China

in *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, Volume 46, Issue 4, 2016 , 680-699

The rise of China increased competition for foreign direct investment and exports for the ASEAN economies. It also increased ASEAN trade with China. But, are ASEAN countries able to move up the value chain in their trade with China? The objectives of this article are to examine upgrading in the information and communications technology (ICT) value chain through changes in the product quality of parts and components (PNC) exports from ASEAN to China and the influence of these changes on their ICT trade with China. The main findings indicate that there is little or no product upgrading in the most important SITC 776 sub-component of the PNC exports from the four major ASEAN economies (ASEAN-4) to China after 2005. It is also found that improvements in product quality are more apparent for SITC 772 but this product group constitutes a small share in total manufactured exports from the ASEAN-4 to China. Lastly, with little or no product upgrading, exporters from the ASEAN-4 have shifted to exports of non-PNC goods to China. This shift has enabled the overall ICT exports from the ASEAN-4 to China to continue to grow for the period of this study.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Fahua Qiu

Nationalism and Construction of Regional Security Order in Northeast Asia

in *Pacific Focus*, Volume 31, Issue 3 , 311–332

Based on the perspectives of popular nationalism and state nationalism, this article investigates the current status of nationalism as well as its effects on the regional security order in Northeast Asia. The rise of nationalism in Northeast Asia is multifaceted and presents a dynamic development trend, which has a profound impact on the regional security order in Northeast Asia. Although the popular nationalism of Northeast Asian nations has various effects on the diplomatic decision-making of the respective governments, all of these versions of nationalism affect normal communications among nations in the region. Thus, each government should be careful when utilizing nationalism to realize its political purposes. Indeed, Japan and China should learn from the lessons of history in World War II and avoid falling into the abyss of state nationalism. Each nation in Northeast Asia should pay more attention to the rise of nationalism in the region, constrain its narrow-mindedness and exclusiveness, and aspire to rational patriotism. By doing so, a peaceful, secure, and prosperous regional security order in Northeast Asia could be constructed.

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Daniel Seah

Problems Concerning the International Law-Making Practice of ASEAN: A Reply to Chen Zhida
in *Asian Journal of International Law*, volume 6, issue 2 , 265-293

The separate legal personality of ASEAN, an international organization, is a matter of some significance. ASEAN is capable of separate action and can carry rights and obligations on the international plane, as a distinct entity from its Member States. In this Journal, Chen Zhida advances the proposition that ASEAN is entitled to conclude treaties on behalf of its Member States, a practice which, it is argued, should be valid at international law. This paper responds by drawing attention to the difficulties with this argument on technical and conceptual grounds. For technical reasons, it is important to make a meaningful distinction in the ASEAN practice of concluding instruments such as Memoranda of Understandings, which can be distinguished from treaties. At a conceptual level, the treaty practice of ASEAN as a separate legal person must be based on what was consented to by Member States in the ASEAN Charter, a constituent instrument.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Dibyendu Maiti, Sunil Kumar

Regional agreements, trade cost and flows in the Pacific
in *Economia Politica*, Volume 33, Issue 2 , 181-199

This paper investigates the effects of regional trade agreements initiated during the last two decades on the trade flows between small island states situated in the South Pacific Ocean. The agreements have contributed to the growth of regional trade flows positively, but to a limited extent due to a significant trade diversion to non-member countries. We argue that the incentive of trade with a large non-member country tends to be more than that with a small regional member because of limited demand, scale and industrial activities. Though the trade barriers have declined substantially in the Pacific, high trade costs due to poor logistics, bureaucratic regulations and weak institutions compared to the neighbours have remained the binding constraints for deriving potential benefits from such agreements. Collective negotiations for external trade and developing common logistics and institutions for facilitating trade among the members would encourage regional trade flow and minimize asymmetric gains among the members.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Biswanath Gupta

Space Exploration by India and Socio-economic Cooperation with SAARC Countries
in *India Quarterly*, volume 72, issue 3 , 278-289

For the last 50 years, Indian Space Research Organisation (ISRO) has seen a tremendous development in the field of space science and technology. Outer space exploration in social programme (education, telemedicine, communication and information) and economic activities (agricultural forecasting, meteorological data, telecommunication and broadcasting) helped India grow faster. Over the past few years, India is also engaging with other countries, offering



them the space science and technology for their overall development.

Very recently, Prime Minister of India offered the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) nations SAARC satellite for the socio-economic development of the region. Engaging with the SAARC countries will not only help India economically, but also geopolitically, and this is very important for India's future security reasons.

This article examines the tremendous success of India's space programme in the socio-economic field and finds out the scope of extending India's support to the SAARC nations for outer space development in the region. South Asia is considered as one of the most under-developed regions in the world, and this article tries to find out possible cooperation between India and SAARC nations in utilising the space science for socio-economic development of the inhabitants of the region.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Sang-Jin Han

The Legacy of Ulrich Beck in Asia: Introduction

in Theory, Culture & Society, 33 (7-8)

This introduction briefly describes the relational trajectory between Ulrich Beck and Asia in the last few years. It draws particular attention to his last words about the role of Asia in the global risk community. Beck began to speak of the concept of metamorphosis in the 2014 Seoul conference as the correct key to understanding emancipatory catastrophism that he had expressed in the 2013 Potsdam conference. He was fascinated by the explanatory power of this concept and was driven to complete a book to explain the cosmopolitan change of the world from this perspective. With his advocacy of cities as cosmopolitan transformers, he urged Asian cities, particularly Seoul, to initiate 'United Cities of Asia' for a cosmopolitan cooperation for risk governance. Beck also suggested 'a parliament of risk actors' as a practical task to be realized in the future. In this introduction the author attempts to trace back the formation of these ideas by focusing on the interaction between Beck and Asia before his sudden passing.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Stephanie Lawson

West Papua, Indonesia and the Melanesian Spearhead Group: competing logics in regional and international politics

in Australian Journal of International Affairs, Vol.70, Issue 5 , 506-524

The idea of a shared Melanesian identity has been consolidated over the last three decades or so through the most important subregional organisation in the South-West Pacific—the Melanesian Spearhead Group (MSG). The solidarity of this group has been strained over various issues from time to time, but none is as fraught as the Indonesian occupation of what is commonly known as West Papua, whose indigenous Papuan people are ethnically Melanesian. In addition to recounting the Indonesian takeover of West Papua in the context of the dynamics of decolonisation, the Cold War and early regional development, the article examines the emergence of Melanesian identity and the MSG, before considering more recent developments. These focus on a recent bid by West Papuans for MSG membership, key aspects of Indonesia's role in the Melanesian subregion, and the extent to which these developments highlight



competing logics in regional and international politics.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Cornell Anna Jonsson

The Swedish Riksdag as Scrutiniser of the Principle of Subsidiarity
in *European Constitutional Law Review*, Volume 12 - Issue 2 , 294-317

Early Warning Mechanism – Principle of Subsidiarity – Lisbon Treaty – Protocol No. 2 on Proportionality and Subsidiarity – A theoretical definition of the Principle of Subsidiarity – The scope of the Principle of Subsidiarity – Scrutiny of the respect for the principle of subsidiarity – The role of national parliaments in the EU legislative procedure – The Swedish Riksdag – national constitutional law – decentralised scrutiny – no selection mechanism – sectoral committees – reasoned opinions – the role of the Plenary – the Committee on the Constitution – method for scrutiny – the principle of proportionality – principle of conferral – legality – European Public Prosecutor’s Office – broad or narrow scrutiny – impact of the Early Warning Mechanism

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Claus Dieter Classen

Confiance mutuelle et identité constitutionnelle nationale — Quel avenir dans l'espace juridique européen ? À propos de la décision de la Cour constitutionnelle allemande sur le mandat d'arrêt européen du 15 décembre 2015

in *Les Cahiers de droit europeen*, volume 52, issue 2 , 667-686

Case note: judgment of the German Constitutional Court of 15 December 2015 (concerning the European Arrest Warrant).

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Angie Gago

Crisis, cambio en la UE y estrategias sindicales: el impacto de la condicionalidad en el repertorio estratégico de los sindicatos españoles durante la crisis de la eurozona

in *Revista española de ciencia política*, NÚMERO 42 , 45-68

Durante la crisis de la eurozona, los gobiernos del PSOE y del PP implementaron una serie de reformas del Estado de Bienestar y del mercado laboral a cambio de ayuda financiera por parte de la Unión Europea, lo que se conoce como condicionalidad. Los sindicatos, CC. OO. y UGT, respondieron ante tales reformas como representantes de los colectivos más afectados por las mismas. Existen dos argumentos distintos que explican las estrategias de los sindicatos durante la crisis. Por una parte, se argumenta que los sindicatos utilizaron la acción política tradicional para influir en los procesos de toma de decisiones. Por otra parte, los sindicatos han puesto en marcha nuevas acciones



bien de carácter transnacional o relacionadas con actividades propias de los movimientos sociales. El artículo explica por qué la crisis dio lugar a esta nueva combinación de repertorios sindicales que apelan a sectores y niveles de acción distintos. El argumento principal es que la condicionalidad de la UE dio lugar a la aparición de un nuevo régimen de decisión política que denominamos aquí «intergubernamentalismo neoliberal» por los cambios institucionales e ideológicos que trajo consigo. A su vez este nuevo régimen impactó en la estructura de oportunidad política, provocando una reorientación estratégica de los sindicatos.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Teney Céline

Does the EU Economic Crisis Undermine Subjective Europeanization? Assessing the Dynamics of Citizens' EU Framing between 2004 and 2013

in *European Sociological Review*, Volume 32, Issue 5, October 2016 , 619-633

Abstract

This study examines the effects of the recent economic crisis, the resulting European Union (EU) financial stability program, and the politicization of the EU on four dimensions of EU framing among Europeans. Based on a detailed set of items on EU meanings from pooled Eurobarometer data from 2004 to 2013, I investigate the evolution of cosmopolitan, utilitarian, libertarian, and communitarian EU framing across EU countries during the economic crisis. The results show, first, that poor economic performances increase negative and decrease positive dimensions of EU framing. Secondly, high unemployment rates affect the EU framing of high-educated citizens to a larger extent, while gross domestic product (GDP) growth impacts mainly on the EU framing of low-educated citizens: high unemployment rates are associated with a smaller gap between high- and low-educated citizens in the way they frame the EU and low GDP growth with a larger gap. Thirdly, benefiting from the EU financial stability program increases citizens' communitarian EU framing and decreases their cosmopolitan understanding of the EU. Lastly, the politicization of the EU is associated with higher positive EU framing and lower negative evaluation of the EU among citizens.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Zwaan Jaap W.

European Integration and Democracy - A Gradual Process, with Certain Limits

in *Revue européenne de droit public*, vol. 27, no 1,

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Ricard Zapata-Barrero

Exploring the contours of a EU in-mobility theory: an opportunity-based approach to EU citizenship and the need of a EU «culture of mobility»



in *Revista española de ciencia política*, NÚMERO 41 , 13-38

Due to current mobility patterns, basically related to the economic crisis and recent enlargements, EU citizens' free movement is being seen with fears and uncertainties by EU member states. This article explores the theoretical implications of the restrictions of EU in-mobility taking the ideal of EU citizenship as the main cornerstone, and it proposes an opportunity-based approach that can shape a potential EU in-mobility theory. Formulating these reflections from migration studies, I will also add arguments from the field of mobility studies, which allows us also to state that EU in-mobility is fundamental in the making of EU citizenship, European society and European legitimacy. Given the premise that governmental restrictions to freedom of movement are eroding the original idea(l) of EU citizenship, we may then ask: "how to transform EU in-mobility into a resource and an opportunity instead of a barrier and a risk?". At the end, I will argue that such EU in-mobility theory will need to address a "EU culture of mobility" in this new EU mobility age

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Berthelet Pierre

La nouvelle architecture européenne de gestion des crises majeures

in *Revue Défense Nationale*, n° 794, Novembre

L'UE est confrontée à de nouvelles crises l'obligeant à répondre à celles-ci en développant une architecture, une doctrine et des moyens, qui, une fois engagés, devraient permettre une meilleure gestion et conduire des opérations. Les outils ainsi mis à disposition s'inscrivent dans un processus d'adaptation face à la crise en cours.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Levi Guido

L'integrazione della Spagna nella Comunità europea: il ruolo dell'Italia

in *Spagna Contemporanea*, Anno XXV, n. 49 , 69-102

It is common knowledge that the Spanish process of integration in the European Community was long and filled with obstacles: until Franco's death its membership was hampered because Spain lacked the necessary democratic requirements, whereas after the dictatorship its entering the community was slowed down due to economic and commercial competition. The role played by Italy in the process was anything but secondary — at least from the 1970s — but it has not been clarified yet. Among the Italians who mostly championed the cause were Lorenzo Natali (European Commissioner for Enlargement) and Giulio Andreotti (Foreign Minister at the time of negotiations).

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Pullin Eric

Secrecy, State-Private Networks and Operational Effectiveness in Cold War Europe

in *Contemporary European History* , Vol. 25, n. 3, August, special issue "European integration" , 551-560



Secrecy has unintended consequences. The release on 9 December 2014 of the US Senate Intelligence Committee's report on the torture of terrorism detainees focused public attention on the secret activities of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). Regrettably, lost amidst debate over justifying or condemning state-sponsored torture is a more basic concern, the issue of state secrecy, which underlies the discussion of how governments promote national ends. Only two days after the issuance of the Senate Intelligence Committee's report, the US House of Representatives adjourned without taking action on the Freedom of Information Act reform bill – despite receiving unanimous approval in both houses. This bill would not have required complete openness, but it would have eliminated many of the arbitrary mechanisms that enable the CIA and other governmental agencies to suppress requests for information. Although the House Republican leadership failed to put the act on the legislative calendar, the Obama administration's Department of Justice also deserves opprobrium for surreptitiously opposing the act behind the scenes. The US government's disregard for establishing reasonable rules of transparency virtually guarantees that the CIA will continue to suppress its records, and thus public scrutiny of its unchecked activities, for a very long time to come.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Böttner Robert

The Treaty Amendment Procedures and the Relationship between Article 31(3) TEU and the General Bridging Clause of Article 48(7) TEU

in *European Constitutional Law Review*, Volume 12 - Issue 3 , 499-519

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Auer Andreas

The people have spoken: abide? A critical view of the EU's dramatic referendum (in)experienc

in *European Constitutional Law Review*, Volume 12 - Issue 3 , 397-408

6 December 1992 – 9 February 2014 – 23 June 2016: three national referendums related to the European integration process, the first two in Switzerland, the third in the United Kingdom, with a hardly expected but unmistakably clear anti-European and anti-establishment outcome. The people have spoken, the matter is settled, governments have to abide. So goes the common understanding. In constitutional terms and in the theory of (direct) democracy, however, things may look different.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Grobmann Johannes

« L'« Internationale des Conservateurs ». Cercles d'élites transnationaux, diplomatie informelle et biographies croisées en Europe occidentale depuis 1945 »

in *Histoire Economie et Société*, n° 2, juin , pp. 32-44



Contrairement à la coopération d'autres courants politiques, l'internationalisme conservateur n'a guère été étudié. En s'appuyant sur l'approche des « biographies croisées », cette contribution dépeint l'histoire entrelacée de quatre cercles d'élites transnationaux : le Centre européen de documentation et d'information (CEDI), le Comité international de défense de la civilisation chrétienne (CIDCC), l'Institut d'études politiques de Vaduz et le Cercle. Elle révèle les traces d'une « Internationale des Conservateurs » qui, malgré son caractère informel et son impact politique limité, contribua considérablement au rapprochement d'élites conservatrices et à la transformation idéologique du conservatisme européen dans la seconde moitié du XXe siècle.

Unlike the cooperation of other political forces, conservative internationalism has hardly been studied so far. Relying on the method of "biographies croisées", this contribution portrays the entangled history of four transnational elite circles : the Centre Européen de Documentation et d'Information (CEDI), the Comité international de défense de la civilisation chrétienne (CIDCC), the Institut d'études politiques de Vaduz and the Cercle. It uncovers the traces of a "Conservative International" that, despite its informal character and its limited political impact, contributed considerably to the rapprochement of conservative elites as well as to the ideological transformation of European conservatism during the second half of the 20th century.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Sabino Cassese

"L'Europa vive di crisi"

in *Rivista trimestrale di diritto pubblico*, no. 3 , 779-790

«Crisi» è una delle parole più frequentemente usate con riferimento all'Unione europea. Le crisi attuali riguardano specialmente un potere pubblico ancora in una fase di crescita. Questo perché l'Unione è una istituzione a formazione progressiva, oltretutto priva di un vero e proprio potere esecutivo. A questa evoluzione contribuiscono, dunque, le crisi stesse, o più precisamente momenti critici, fattori di crisi e reazioni dell'Unione alle crisi stesse. In questo senso, le crisi si sono rivelate uno strumento per tenere sotto controllo lo sviluppo dell'Unione, indirizzandone il percorso e stabilendo i tempi per procedere.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Martucci Francesco, Platon Sébastien

"My tailor is rich" . Quels habits pour le Royaume-uni?

in *Revue Trimestrielle de droit européen*, n. 4 , 735-758

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process



Torcol Sylvie, Josso Selma, Hurpy H el ene, Marti Ga elle

**"Peuple ou Pleuples europ een(s)"? - Deuxi eme partie Le peuple europ een introuvable. Recherche
jurisprudentielle et institutionnelle**

in *Revue de l'Union europ eenne/Revue du March e Commun et de l'Union europ eenne*, n. 600, juillet-ao ut , 436-447

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Lucia Serena Rossi

**'Stesso valore giuridico dei Trattati'? Rango, primato ed effetti diretti della Carta dei diritti fondamentali
dell'Unione europea**

in *Diritto dell'Unione europea*, no. 2 , 329-356

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Schl uter Karen

(Regional) Smart Specialisation – A new push for regionalism in Europe?

in *Europe en formation (L')*, 2016/1 (n  379) , 180-194

Smart specialisation is a concept that has been introduced in regional development policy by the European Commission by its communication "Regional Policy contributing to smart growth in Europe 2020". With smart specialisation strategies, all regions, including the ones that are far from the technology frontier, are trying to identify their innovation niches, based on bottom-up search processes. The main hypothesis of this paper is that the development of new governance structures in order to implement the innovation strategy in each region in the European Union plays an important role in enhancing regionalism and 'Europe of Regions'.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Muro Diego, Vlaksamp Martijn C.

**0 CrossRef citations Articles How do prospects of EU membership influence support for secession? A survey
experiment in Catalonia and Scotland**

in *West European Politics*, vol. 39, n. 6 , 1115-1138

ABSTRACT: The past years have been eventful for secessionist movements in Europe and in particular in Scotland and Catalonia. Supporters and opponents of secession of both stateless nations considered their prospects for future EU membership as an important part of the campaigns leading to the referendums. The article's aim is to explore whether international factors influence domestic support for secession. In order to answer this puzzle, an on-line survey experiment (n = 2408) was carried out in Catalonia and Scotland in which respondents were confronted with different scenarios concerning the EU membership of their hypothetical new state (inclusion or exclusion). Contrary to the



general perception, the prospects of EU membership had only a limited effect on support for the creation of a sovereign state. Moreover, it was found that the impact was strongly mediated by the participants' previous degree of nationalism and their attitudes with respect to the EU.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Spinelli Barbara

2016 Will Be Remembered as the Year of Shame

in Federalist Debate (The), Year XXIX, Number 2, July 2016

For years, after the great Lampedusa shipwreck on 3 October 2013, the EU has tacitly allowed the deaths at sea of thousands of refugees fleeing towards the European coasts, having been unable to guarantee safe and legal access routes to the Union. This year, in 2016, the EU has taken a further step towards barbarity: not only has it closed its internal borders by dismantling the Schengen area, but it has consciously decided to send refugees back to the war zones from which they had previously fled, and from which they are still escaping. The agreement with Turkey signed on 20 March 2016, which enables the mass deportation of refugees who manage to reach Greece, cannot be interpreted in any other way. Thousands of these returnees are sent back by the Erdogan regime to the Syrian war zones from which they had initially escaped: a deportation that violates national, European and international laws.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Neri Nicola

74 giorni: Il conflitto delle Falklands e la politica della Comunità Economica Europea

in Studi sull'integrazione europea, Anno XI, n. 2-3, maggio-dicembre , 377-390

The first real test of political solidarity in building up a unified European foreign policy that was progressively taking shape after the Second World War is represented by the Anglo-Argentine conflict. For the first time the territory of a member country of the European Community was subjected to a military attack. Europe was divided between the political need to support an ally, Britain, the reluctance of public opinion opposed to the conflict, and the economic interests at stake with all the Latin America States. Overall the reaction was visibly both cohesive and consistent, also thanks to the relative brevity of the crisis.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

David Schäfer

A Banking Union of Ideas? The Impact of Ordoliberalism and the Vicious Circle on the EU Banking Union

in Journal of Common Market Studies, Volume 54, Issue 4

The establishment of the EU banking union reveals two major shortcomings of liberal intergovernmentalism. First, it fails to explain the preference formation of the most important actor – the German government. The banking sector was



divided between public and private banks, and there is no clear-cut pattern about whose interests the German government promoted. Second, material bargaining power cannot account for German concessions despite favourable power asymmetries. This article seeks to demonstrate how an ideational frame can convincingly fill these gaps. Ordoliberal ideas were constitutive for German preferences. The manipulative use of ideas as strategic resources by the German government's opponents explains why it made significant concessions. Germany's government publicly acknowledged that breaking the 'vicious circle' between banks and sovereigns was the main objective of the banking union. This became a rhetorical trap used by a coalition of Southern European member states to force the German government to make concessions.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Coulter Steve, Hancké Bob

A Bonfire of the Regulations, or Business as Usual? The UK Labour Market and the Political Economy of Brexit in *Political Quarterly* , Volume 87, Issue 2, april-june , pp. 148–156

Employment and labour market regulation initially appeared as one of the solid red lines in the UK's renegotiation of the country's place in the EU. The basic argument is that the UK's more deregulated labour market would sit uneasily in the more organised models, based on statutory instruments or collective bargaining, found on the continent. While there is a legitimate problem here, EU employment regulations appear manageable from the point of view of business, while unions see them as important tools for socially responsible economic restructuring. Most of UK employment case law is now deeply entangled with EU law; labour market regulations have, on the whole, become part of the way of doing business in the Single Market; and a simple cost–benefit analysis appears impossible because some costs are not quantifiable and the costs of others are reduced when taken as a bundle. Labour unions agree that transposition of European law needs to be done taking into account local sensitivities, while internationally oriented companies do not see EU regulations on the whole as detrimental to business. Importantly, though, the costs and benefits of EU employment regulations are not symmetrically distributed across different companies: large companies are better able to reap the rewards and accommodate the costs of operating in the Single Market than smaller companies.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Lipatov Vilen, Weichenrieder Alfons

A Decentralization Theorem of Taxation

in *CESifo Economic Studies*, Volume 62 Issue 2 June 2016 , 289-300

In the European Union (EU), there are longstanding and ongoing pressures toward a tax that is levied on the EU level to substitute for national contributions. We discuss conditions under which such a transition can make sense, starting from what we call a 'decentralization theorem of taxation' that is analogous to Oates' (1972) famous result that in the absence of spillover effects and economies of scale, decentralized public good provision weakly dominates central provision. We then drop assumptions that turn out to be unnecessary for this result. While spillover effects of taxation may call for central rules for taxation, as long as spillover effects do not depend on the intra-regional distribution of the tax burden, decentralized taxation plus tax coordination is found superior to a union-wide tax.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Andrea Brandolini, Francesca Carta, Francesco D'Amuri

A Feasible Unemployment-Based Shock Absorber for the Euro Area

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 54, Issue 5

Based on theoretical insights, this article identifies the broad characteristics that a shock absorber based on unemployment should have in order to be incentive-compatible and politically feasible. It then empirically derives the combination of activation thresholds, experience rating, eligibility criteria and benefit generosity which define the systems offering the highest stabilization for given levels of redistribution. The analysis suggests that the shock absorber should: (1) give rise to macro cross-national transfers, mimicking those that would be generated by a notional euro-wide unemployment benefit scheme of minimal coverage and generosity, (2) be activated by a trigger and (3) feature partial experience rating. The simulation results, confirmed by robustness checks, show that even systems that do not redistribute resources between countries can have a non-negligible stabilization impact in the medium run. Low benefit take-up rates in southern Europe reduce the stabilization properties and the size of the scheme.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Aiginger Karl, Schratzenstaller Margit

A New Strategy for Europe

in *Intereconomics*, Volume 51, Issue 4, July 2016 , 185-194

WWFforEurope has developed a comprehensive strategy to set Europe on a path to a socio-ecological transition. The strategy begins by renouncing the long-established concept of using GDP growth figures as the benchmark for economic and societal progress. In contrast, it sets "well-being in a sustainable environment" as the optimal benchmark for economic performance and social progress.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Curtice John

A Question of Culture or Economics? Public Attitudes to the European Union in Britain

in *Political Quarterly* , Volume 87, Issue 2, april-june , pp. 209-218

Previous research has suggested that attitudes towards the European Union (EU) are shaped by two sets of considerations—economic and cultural. Using data from the 2015 British Social Attitudes survey, this article assesses which matters more in shaping attitudes in Britain towards the EU as the country prepares to vote in a referendum on whether it should remain in or leave the European Union. It shows that while concern about the cultural consequences of EU membership is widespread, voters are inclined to think that membership is economically beneficial. This cultural concern underpins a widespread scepticism about Europe, but voters are only likely to want to leave the EU if they are also convinced of the economic case for doing so.

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 6. The European unification process

Carlos Espaliú Berdud

A Reflection on the Participation of Individuals in the Creation of European Law through the European Citizens' Initiative and its Scope in International Law

in *Cuadernos europeos de Deusto*, no. 54 , 181-202

The Lisbon Treaty introduced in the Law of the European Union (EU) the European citizens' initiative, with the aim to enhance further the democratic functioning of the Union. From the broader Public International Law perspective, it is a unique legal institution in the law of international organizations, considering that, so far, no similar right for citizens is supported by any other international organization in the world. Furthermore, this step seems to imply, potentially, an important push in the growing international subjectivity of individuals. Indeed, by associating European citizens in the formation of some important EU resolutions, the European citizens' initiative allows individuals to take part in the law making process of European Law, at least in an indirect way. Nevertheless, this potential influence is weakened by the poor outcome of the proposals reaching the European Commission have had in the first three years since the way was opened for presenting initiatives.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Holtug Nils

A fair distribution of refugees in the European Union

in *Journal of Global Ethics*, Volume 12, Issue 3, 2016 , 279-288

ABSTRACT

In light of the large recent inflow of refugees to the EU and the Commission's efforts to relocate them, I raise the question of what a fair distribution of refugees between EU countries would look like. More specifically, I consider what concerns such a distributive scheme should be sensitive to. First, I put forward some arguments for why states are obligated to admit refugees and outline how I believe the EU should respond to the refugee crisis. This involves, among other things, resettling a proportion of refugees from countries neighbouring Syria in the EU. Second, I consider how the intake into the EU should be distributed between member states, that is, the shares different countries can be expected to admit. I discuss the relevance of a number of different factors that may be claimed to affect such shares, including population size, GDP, number of refugees admitted so far, unemployment rate, country-specific costs and cultural 'closeness'. Third, I consider whether the distributive scheme should be restricted to reflect specific states' responsibility for creating refugees in the first place, levels of racism and xenophobia, and whether other states are required to pick up the slack if some refuse to admit their fair share.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Guinaudeau Isabelle, Palau Anna M

A matter of conflict: How events and parties shape the news coverage of EU affairs

in *European Union Politics* , vol. 17, n. 4, December , 593-615



This article argues that external factors of EU coverage in the media need to be reassessed against domestic factors, in particular how parties modulate media attention to EU affairs. We explain which parties may set the EU on the media agenda, and how parties interact with events depending on the level of conflict over EU issues. Drawing on the first long-term analysis of partisan agenda-setting of EU affairs in the media – based on ARIMA time-series models of monthly data collected for six newspapers from 1990 to 2015 – we determine the scale of partisan agenda-setting and find partial support for our model. Political parties do not face the intrusion of EU issues, but some of them are actively involved in this process.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Di Nucci Maria Rosaria, Tews Kerstin

A new climate for Europe's energy policy?

in *Europe's World*, vol. 33, Autumn

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

McCallion Malin Stegmann

A 'Europe of the Regions' – Swedish Regions as the Undead

in *Europe en formation (L')*, 2016/1 (n° 379) , 140-155

The 'Europe of the Regions' debate in the late 1980s and early 1990s influenced the current regionalisation process in Sweden; regional actors used it as an argument for further decentralisation of power with a degree of success (Warleigh-Lack & Stegmann McCallion 2012). Thus one important element in any discussion around a 'Europe of the Regions' and its possible obsolescence is its impact not just at the EU level but also in the regionalisation processes within member states. If the EU is a multi-level polity, then for a Europe of the Regions truly to be 'obsolete', it must be absent at each level of the polity, in each member state. This article argues that a Europe of the Regions is far from obsolete, although it may well be patchy and expressed differently, and to different degrees, in each EU state. Focusing on the case of Swedish regional actors, the paper argues that officials and politicians from this level, who participate in politics at the EU level or in the EU arena, see this participation as a win-win situation that they wish to preserve.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Gijs Jan, Brandsma Eva, Heidbreder Ellen Mastenbroek

Accountability in the post-Lisbon European Union

in *International Review of Administrative Sciences* , Volume 82, Issue 4

This special issue takes stock of recent post-Lisbon additions to the European Union's accountability toolkit. It provides indications that older decision-making tools tend to be more accountable than newer ones, and that, in some areas, decision-making is shifting towards less accountable arenas. This introductory article reviews the debate on the gradual



evolution of the European Union's accountability system and introduces key aspects of the post-Lisbon era that can be expected to affect accountability in the European Union, and that have been overlooked by the literature thus far: delegated acts, economic governance and regulatory evaluations. The contributions to this special issue address each of these domains in detail and highlight the degree to which accountability has been enhanced. A final contribution shows how these arrangements fit into the wider landscape of already-existing European Union accountabilities and how this landscape has developed over time.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Del Bo Chiara F, Sirtori Emanuela

Additionality and regional public finance – Evidence from Italy

in Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy, Volume 34, Issue 5, August , 855-878

To what extent do EU Structural Funds complement or substitute domestic public funds? The intended and unintended effects of the transfer of additional funds on recipients' domestic public expenditure structures are considered and their existence is empirically evaluated. After reviewing the literature on the complementarity, substitutability and displacement effects of additional funds on national and regional public expenditures, we empirically assess these effects in relation to EU funds in Italy. The empirical analysis is based on data on the allocation of EU Structural Funds from 1996 to 2010 with a regional and thematic breakdown and on the Italian Regional Public Accounts. The aim is to develop a useful framework, which can aid in effectively assessing to what extent Structural Funds, or other supranational funds, complement domestic public investments. In light of empirical results, the current verification mechanism in force in the EU is examined, stressing potential weaknesses and proposing possible solutions.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bol Damien, Harfst Philipp, Blais André, Golder Sona N, Laslier Jean-François, Stephenson Laura B, Van der Straeten Karine

Addressing Europe's democratic deficit: An experimental evaluation of the pan-European district proposal

in European Union Politics , vol. 17, n. 4, December , 525-545

Many academics and commentators argue that Europe is suffering from a democratic deficit. An interesting proposal that has been put forward to address this problem is to elect some members of the European parliament in a pan-European district. In this article, we evaluate this proposal using an online experiment, in which thousands of Europeans voted on a pan-European ballot we created. We find that the voting behaviour of European citizens would be strongly affected by the presence or absence of candidates from their own country on the lists. If a pan-European district is created, our findings provide an argument in favour of using a closed-list ballot and establishing a maximum number of candidates from each country on the lists.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Christoph Knill, Steffen Eckhard, Stephan Grohs

Administrative styles in the European Commission and the OSCE Secretariat: striking similarities despite



different organizational settings

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 23, Issue 7

With the growing importance of international institutions for global governance, international bureaucracies gain increasing influence on policy-making. Whereas for national bureaucracies specific administrative styles have been identified, this contribution explores for the first time administrative styles of two international organizations. The European Union (EU) Commission and the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) represent most different cases in matters of scope, autonomy and resources. The analysis of their specific patterns of policy initiation, policy formulation and policy implementation reveals striking similarities. Both organizations have developed an entrepreneurial style in policy initiation, a strategic approach to policy formulation and a mediating implementation style. These similarities lead to a paradox of weakness in the case of the OSCE and a paradox of strength in the case of the EU. These paradoxes can be understood by taking a closer look at the specific settings in which they are operating, in particular their dependence on member state resources and political support.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Goldoni Marco , Martinico Giuseppe

Alcune considerazioni giuridico-costituzionali sul c.d. Brexit

in *Federalismi*, Anno XIV - Nr 18

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

MITZNER VEERA

Almost in Europe? How Finland's Embarrassing Entry into Eureka Captured Policy Change

in *Contemporary European History* , Vol. 25, n. 3, August, special issue "European integration" , 481-504

Common historical narratives of Finnish European policy emphasise the sudden and dramatic change of 1991–1995, when Finland, as a reaction to the collapse of the Soviet Union, rejected its previously cautious approach and wholeheartedly embraced the goal of joining a unified Europe. This article, however, shows that, already in the mid-1980s, the Finnish political and economic elites questioned the country's position in the Cold War order and took bold steps in order to forge closer relations with Western Europe. A key event was the struggle for membership in Eureka, a novel European project designed to enhance cooperation in high technology.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Chalmers Damian

Alternatives to EU Membership and the Rational Imagination

in *Political Quarterly* , Volume 87, Issue 2, april-june , pp. 269-279

The domestic scenario following a Brexit vote is likely to be characterised by high stakes, uncertainty and fissile political



debate. No off-the-peg arrangement touted for Brexit—be it Norwegian, Swiss, Turkish or Canadian—was designed to engage with such a context. Nor does it seem wise to rush to medium-term commitments which might pre-empt democratic politics and wise choices. Far more important will be the legitimacy of any institutional settlement governing this arrangement, which will provide the context for its revision and development and the space for democratic reflection over how these policies are to be governed. It will be suggested that here there is much insight to be gained from looking at regional arrangements beyond the EU.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Hanna L Muehlenhoff

Ambiguities of power: Struggle and resistance in (the relations between) Turkey and the European Union in Cooperation and Conflict, Volume 51, Issue 3 , 291–306

Traditional definitions of power assume a unidirectional and coercive relationship between two actors. The debate about power in International Relations has questioned such a compulsive unidirectionality by pointing to the multidimensionality of power, as well as to the power of those who are traditionally seen at the receiving end. It is especially the latter aspect that has not been taken up seriously by empirical analyses. Moreover, research has ignored the complex power struggles the 'receiving' actors are engaged in and their possibility of resistance. If taken into account, these Foucauldian revisions of the concept of power allow us to analyse the development of the relationship between Turkey and the European Union (EU) since the turn of the millennium in a much more nuanced way than is often done in the existing Europeanisation literature. This case is particularly interesting, firstly because of the change in relations between the EU and Turkey, questioning the condition of a credible membership perspective under which the traditional form of power of the EU over its neighbourhood becomes effective. It secondly shows that the EU's power extends much beyond the imposition of policy changes and has restructuring effects on society as a whole, while domestic actors are by no means passive recipients in this process.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Dimitrova Elitsa

An ageing Bulgaria must make some big choices in Europe's World, vol. 33, Autumn

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Anna Herranz-Surrallés

An emerging EU energy diplomacy? Discursive shifts, enduring practices in Journal of European Public Policy , Volume 23, Issue 9

The European Union's (EU) external energy policy has been steadily taking shape since the mid-2000s. EU authorities appear to have even taken on functions that could be classified as 'energy diplomacy', i.e., the use of foreign policy



means to secure access to foreign energy supplies. With the aim of gauging and accounting for these developments, this article undertakes a double analytical move, one conceptual and one theoretical. Conceptually, it distinguishes between energy governance and energy diplomacy as tools for better comprehending the type and scope of policy change. Theoretically, it draws on discursive institutionalism to examine how and why policies change (or endure) by looking at the role of ideas in two dimensions of social action that are not often analysed side by side: policy discourses and policy practices. The article illustrates the practical relevance of this distinction through empirically examining the EU's promotion of diversification of natural gas supplies.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Alasdair R. Young

An inflection point in European Union studies?

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 23, Issue 8

This contribution introduces a selection of the best papers presented at the 2015 European Union Studies Association's biennial conference. It uses these papers as a jumping off point to consider whether European Union (EU) studies suffers the same 'gap' with real-world problems that is seen to afflict some portions of the academy and to ask whether EU studies is at an inflection point. It argues that EU studies are closely linked to the substance of the European project. It identifies how the contributions to this collection speak to different aspects of the EU: closer co-operation; policy-making within a 'normal' political system; the implications of European integration for its member states. Given this link between the substance of the European project and the focus of EU studies, this contribution argues that the challenges currently confronting the EU – the lingering eurozone debt crises; the migrant/refugee crisis; the prospect of a British exit; and recent terrorist attacks – may mark an inflection point in EU studies. The reason is that for the first time 'less Europe' has emerged as a serious option in response to crisis. This possibility reignites questions of (dis)integration and calls into question the assumption the EU policy only accumulates.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Obholzer Lukas, Daniel William T

An online electoral connection? How electoral systems condition representatives' social media use

in *European Union Politics* , vol. 17, n. 3, September , 387-407

This article analyses the impact of electoral institutions on the re-election campaigning and outreach strategies of Members of the European Parliament on the Twitter social media platform. Social media offers politicians a means to contact voters remotely and at low cost. We test the effect of diverse national proportional representation electoral institutions in European elections on a possible online electoral connection. We draw upon an original dataset of Members of the European Parliament Twitter activity before, during, and after the 2014 European elections. Our results confirm that variation in electoral institutions leads to meaningful differentiation in representatives' social media campaigning, which is further affected by national party, voter and legislator characteristics. Representatives make constructive use of Twitter, but there is no sustained online electoral connection.

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 6. The European unification process

Ruccia Nicola

Analogie, differenze e interazioni tra il Meccanismo europeo di stabilità e il Meccanismo di risoluzione unico in Studi sull'integrazione europea, Anno XI, n. 2-3, maggio-dicembre , 407-426

This paper is devoted to grasp similarities, differences and interactions between the European Stability Mechanism and the Single Resolution Mechanism, with particular regard to the level of control on their activity and to the relationships between them and the EMU institutions. To this end, its analysis is conducted under a comparative profile. Firstly, it examines the ambit of application of these mechanisms, their organisation and decision-making processes. Secondly, it focuses on their goals, resources and tools. Thirdly, it explores the most important features of their loans. Finally, it seeks to evaluate their joint impact on resolution for banks in the EMU.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Baquero Cruz Julio

Another Look at Constitutional Pluralism in the European Union
in *European law journal*, Volume 22, Issue 3 , 356–374

Constitutional pluralism is a theory, or movement, or idea, for some perhaps even an ideal, about the relationship between the legal system of the European Union and those of its Member States. In this paper, Julio Baquero Cruz analyses its assumptions and implications in the light of historical experience and of the consequences it could have for the practice of law in Europe. To do so, constitutional pluralism is compared with the other main positions about that relationship: the national constitutional position and the position of Union law.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

WWF, Concord, ETUC

Appello per una Nuova Europa
in *CNS Ecologia politica*, XXVI, n. 9, 30 settembre , 3

Full text available online at

<http://www.ecologiapolitica.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/Per-una-nuova-Europa.-appello.pdf>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Chavagneux Christian

Apple: comment l'Europe veut récupérer ses impôts
in *Esprit*, Octobre

No abstract available



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Torcol Sylvie

Après le Brexit : faut-il plus au moins d'Europe?

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 602, octobre-novembre , 570-572

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Chopin Thierry, Jamet Jean-François

Après le Brexit : redéfinir les relations entre les "deux Europe"

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 602, octobre-novembre , 567-569

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Teulings Coen

Are Bubbles Bad? Is a Higher Debt Target for the Eurozone Desirable?

in *CESifo Economic Studies*, Volume 62 Issue 2 June 2016 , 197-209  

Bubbles are usually viewed as a threat to financial stability. This paper takes a more nuanced view. The world economy is going through an episode of Secular Stagnation, where the equilibrium rate of return on capital r is below the growth rate of the economy g . As is well-known, rational bubbles are sustainable when $r \leq g$ in a steady-state equilibrium. Bubbles can then implement a dynamically efficient equilibrium. We show that from a structural point of view, bubbles, Pay-As-You-Go pensions, and sovereign debt are perfect substitutes. However, when dealing with unexpected short-run fluctuations in investment, sovereign debt is far more efficient than bubbles in shifting consumption over time and in risk-sharing between generations. An increase in sovereign debt is, therefore, an efficient response to Secular Stagnation. Instead, the current Stability and Growth Pact for the eurozone embarks on an opposite course.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Stavrianakis Anna

Arms sales rules working on paper – just not in practice

in *Europe's World*, vol. 33, Autumn

No abstract available



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Issue evolution and partisan polarization in a European multiparty system: Elite and mass repositioning in Denmark 1968–2011

Arndt Christoph

in *European Union Politics*, vol. 17, n. 4, December, 660-682

Issue evolution is a well-established theoretical perspective in the analysis of long-term party competition and partisanship in the US. However, this perspective has rarely been used to analyze political elite effects on partisan polarization in European multiparty systems. Consequently, I apply the issue evolution perspective to polarization in a European multiparty system. I find an emergence of cultural issues in Denmark, where mass level polarization on cultural issues followed elite level polarization. Unlike two-party systems, niche parties drive issue evolution on the elite level, which is then followed by niche partisan polarization and, finally, mainstream party adaptation. The findings illustrate the mechanisms of issue evolution in a European-style multiparty system and the role of niche parties.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Caggiano Giandonato

Ascesa e caduta della rotta balcanica. Esternalizzazione contro solidarietà per i richiedenti-asilo

in *Studi sull'integrazione europea*, Anno XI, n. 2-3, maggio-dicembre, 221-242

The EU governance of mixed influx of migrants and protection seekers has been characterized by a marked shift towards the externalization of internal problems and the search for alternatives to the only viable strategy to cope with the current mass movement: i.e. the recognition of fair treatment and solidarity towards migrants. Moving on from the legal framework, this paper highlights the EU multilateral initiatives leading to the rise and fall of the Balkan route. Moreover, the work analyses the reasons and pitfalls of the EU-Turkey deal and considers the consequences of the migratory crisis on the Schengen system, the reforms of the visa code and the border surveillance. It then focuses on the reform of the Dublin system and sheds light on the missing link of all the proposed and realized reforms: the early-integration of protection seekers.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Fullerton Maryellen

Asylum Crisis Italian Style: The Dublin Regulation Collides With European Human Rights Law

in *Harvard Human Rights Journal*, vol. 29, spring

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process



Kaiser Roman

**Auf dem Weg zum „Brexit“ – Die Europäische Union im britischen Verfassungsrecht
in Europarecht**, Heft 6, 2016

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Müller Patrick, Maurer Heidi

**Austrian foreign policy and 20 years of EU membership: opportunities and constraints
in Oesterreichische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft**, Bd. 45, Nr. 2 (2016), 1-9

Austrian foreign policy and 20 years of EU membership:
Opportunities and constraints

When Austria joined the EU in 1995 it had to find its place in a substantially altered world order. Yet, rather than conceiving its membership in the EU as an opportunity to reenergize its foreign policy through Europeanization, Austria has displayed little interest in developing an active foreign policy profile within, or through, the EU. While membership in the EU meant a broadening of Austria's foreign policy agenda – as Austria became involved in a broad range of international issues and started to participate in the multi-level negotiation process of the EU - its main contributions to European foreign policy occurred in areas close to its national interest, as exemplified by its active role in the Western Balkans. Simultaneously, EU membership placed considerable constraints on Austria's formerly independent national foreign policy, especially on Austria's neutrality. This special issue brings together different international scholars with a longstanding expertise on different aspects of Austrian foreign policy that they will cover to take stock of the Europeanization of Austrian foreign policy two decades after it joined the EU.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Di Comite Valeria

**Autonomia o controllo esterno? Il dilemma dell'adesione dell'UE alla CEDU alla luce del parere 2/13
in Comunità Internazionale (La)**, vol. LXX, n. 2, secondo trimestre

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Fusaro Paride

**Banche centrali, indipendenza e questione democratica: il caso della BCE
in Politico (II)**, n. 241, 2016, 83-110

ABSTRACT: The article examines the relationship between independent institutions, as central banks are, and the



democratic theory and practice. In particular, the analysis identifies the instruments, such as control mechanisms and accountability measures, that strengthen the democratic legitimacy of the European Central Bank (ECB) that is the principal subject of the essay. In addition to these elements, the article illustrates the presence of some problems linked to the accountability of the ECB, but also states that these issues cannot invalidate the ECB's democratic legitimacy that is confirmed.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Parrado-Martínez, P., Partal-Ureña, A., Gómez Fernández-Aguado, P.

Banking Soundness Indicators and Sovereign Risk in Time of Crisis: The Case of the European Union in World Economy, Volume 39, Issue 8 , 1172-1193

This study examines the impact of the soundness of the banking sector on sovereign risk of EU member countries during the financial crisis using a selection of financial soundness indicators (FSIs) and the sovereign ratings of the three main rating agencies. Unlike previous literature that typically focuses on the ability of FSIs to foresee banking crises, we estimate ordered response models to assess the power of these indicators to explain sovereign risk. Our results show that evaluations made by the rating agencies are related to the lagged values of core FSIs such that an improvement in these indicators leads to improvements in upcoming sovereign ratings. Hence, reinforced banking soundness would reduce the sovereign risk. Accordingly, governments, supervisors and central banks should pay close attention to the evolution of certain FSIs related to the banking sector, in addition to other variables that have traditionally been taken into account in analysing sovereign risk.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Emmanuel Murlon-Druol

Banking Union in Historical Perspective: The Initiative of the European Commission in the 1960s–1970s in Journal of Common Market Studies, Volume 54, Issue 4

This article shows that planning for the organization of EU banking regulation and supervision did not just appear on the agenda in recent years with discussions over the creation of the eurozone banking union. It unveils a hitherto neglected initiative of the European Commission in the 1960s and early 1970s. Drawing on extensive archival work, this article explains that this initiative, however, rested on a number of different assumptions, and emerged in a much different context. It first explains that the Commission's initial project was not crisis-driven; that it articulated the link between monetary integration and banking regulation; and finally that it did not set out to move the supervisory framework to the supranational level, unlike present-day developments.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Tim Haughton

Beelines, Bypasses and Blind Alleys: Theory and the Study of the European Union in Journal of Common Market Studies, Volume 54, Issue Supplement S1



A sizeable slice of recent literature on the EU has sought to offer new theories, new theoretical contributions or contributions to theory building. But to what extent have they improved our knowledge and understanding? After reflecting on the broader challenges associated with attempts to theorize and theory's role in the study of the EU, this contribution seeks to make four main arguments. First, four new theoretical routes are identified: alternative, adaptation, synthesis and explaining disintegration. Each of these adds something to our understanding of the European Union and, as the great scholar of European politics Stanley Hoffmann (1959) argued, help fulfil the purpose of theory: to pose better questions.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Dimitry Kochenov, Laurent Pech

Better Late than Never? On the European Commission's Rule of Law Framework and its First Activation
in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 54, Issue 5

This article first offers an overview of the European Commission's Rule of Law Framework, which was adopted in March 2014. The mechanism's potential effectiveness and the Commission's reasoning to justify its first activation against Poland in January 2016, when it has failed to do so against Hungary, are subsequently analyzed. While the Commission should be commended for seeking to address increasing rule of law backsliding at Member State level, our main submission is that reliance on the Rule of Law Framework alone, if only because of its soft and discursive nature, will not remedy a situation where systemic violations of EU values form part of a governmental plan to set up an 'illiberal' regime.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Dawson Mark

Better regulation and the future of EU regulatory law and politics
in *Common Market Law Review*, vol. 53, issue 5, 1209-1235

ABSTRACT: The flurry of recent activity in the EU over "Better Regulation" has important constitutional implications, particularly for the Union's institutional balance. As this article will argue, however, the main question the Better Regulation debate poses is one of how to reconcile the increasing tension in the EU between different paradigms of regulation. Is regulation "better" because it conforms to the preferences of citizens as expressed in national and EU elections, or rather because it meets technical and procedural standards, from consultation to impact assessment, able to improve the "objective" quality of EU legislation? While Better Regulation tries to split the difference between these two avenues for the future of EU regulatory law and politics, each avenue carries the capacity to significantly frustrate the other. Current debates in the EU about regulatory reform defer rather than answer a fundamental question: what makes regulation better?

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Patrikios Stratos, Cram Laura

Better the devil you know: Threat effects and attachment to the European Union



in **Comparative European Politics**, vol. 14, n. 6, november , 717-734

ABSTRACT: The EU is facing unprecedented challenges and significant threats to its economic and political security. Austerity, the Eurozone crisis, rising immigration and heightened fear of terrorism all present serious challenges to the process of integration. How does this context of insecurity impact on what the EU means to its citizens? Will the public become increasingly Eurosceptic or will they discover a hitherto unrecognised attachment to the EU as the prospect of its collapse becomes real? Psychological research has demonstrated that individual exposure to threat decreases cognitive capacity, inducing a tendency towards rigidity or conservatism – a tendency to cling to the ‘devil you know’. So what might this mean for the European integration process? Using experimental techniques drawn from political psychology, the authors find a dual threat effect. The EU symbol has a negative (anti-EU) effect on EU-related attitudes when presented in neutral context. This is consonant with conceptualisations of the EU as a threat to national cultural and political norms. In contrast, however, visual priming of participants with EU symbols has a positive (pro-EU) effect on related attitudes when symbols are presented in a context that implies a subtle but imminent threat to the benefits of EU membership.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Peter Wahl

Between Eurotopia and Nationalism: A Third Way for the Future of the EU

in **Globalizations** , Volume 14, Issue 1 , 157-163

The Brexit has put the question of the final goal of integration on the agenda. The debate is characterised by a binary logic: either ever more deepening of integration or total disintegration with falling back into a system of nation states. While further integration is stopped by the heterogeneity of member states returning to the nation state is unrealistic, as European integration overlaps and is amalgamated with globalisation. There is a third way: flexibilisation through selective integration in certain areas and selective disintegration in others, based on variable coalitions of the willing.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Floor Keuleers, Daan Fonck, Stephan Keukeleire

Beyond EU navel-gazing: Taking stock of EU-centrism in the analysis of EU foreign policy

in **Cooperation and Conflict**, Volume 51, Issue 3 , 345–364

Whilst concerns about the EU-centric character of EU foreign policy analysis have become more frequent in recent years, a systematic toolbox for diagnosing and remedying this problem is still lacking. This article's contribution is twofold. First, it proposes a new typology of three approaches to foreign policy analysis, offering conceptual body and nuance to the debate on EU-centrism. The typology can be used for scrutinising existing analyses, as well as for shaping new research projects. Second, this typology is applied in a meta-analysis of post-Lisbon EU foreign policy scholarship: a built-for-purpose dataset of 451 articles was analysed, covering all work on EU foreign policy published in seven key journals for the period 2010–2014, was analysed. It was found that academic work on EU foreign policy was indeed rife with EU-centric research questions, and, moreover, that this is the case irrespective of either the policy area under study or the focus of the journal.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Christian Kreuder-Sonnen

Beyond Integration Theory: The (Anti-)Constitutional Dimension of European Crisis Governance
in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 54, Issue 6

Political science analyses of the governance of the euro crisis largely build on conventional theories of European integration to account for the extent to which institutional developments either reflect supranationalism, inter-governmentalism or historical path-dependencies. This analytical focus captures the usual integration dynamics and institutional design outcomes, but overlooks the constitutional dimension of how the crisis affects the EU's legal order. In this agenda-setting article, I draw attention to legal scholarship that highlights important deviations from the EU's 'legal normalcy'. Legal studies find that a number of emergency measures were taken on an extra-legal basis and through quasi-autocratic procedures. Normative reconstructions interpret this practice as a form of transnational state of exception which transitions into permanent traits of authoritarianism in the EU's legal order. I argue that their findings offer a new terrain for political science research which transcends the explanatory categories of integration theory.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Costello Rory, Thomson Robert

Bicameralism, nationality and party cohesion in the European Parliament
in *Party Politics*, Volume 22, Issue 6, November , 773-783

Party cohesion in legislatures is a topic of longstanding concern to political scientists because cohesion facilitates democratic representation. We examine the cohesion of transnational party groups in the European Parliament, which is part of the EU's bicameral system, and study the oftentimes competing pressures to which MEPs are subject from their EP party groups and national governments. Our explanation focuses on the conditions under which MEPs take policy positions that differ from those of their party groups. We propose that national governments lobby their national MEPs more intensely on issues of high national salience and on which they are in a weak bargaining position in the Council. The analyses offer a unique approach to the study of party cohesion that is based on the policy positions taken by each national delegation of MEPs in each of the three main party groups and national governments on specific controversial issues.

Full text available online at <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/1354068814563972>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Halévi Ran

Brexit : retour sur un séisme politique
in *Revue des deux mondes*, Octobre

« Un grand festival de démocratie » : c'est ainsi que David Cameron a désigné la consultation nationale qui allait faire sortir le Royaume-Uni de l'Union européenne, mettre fin à sa propre carrière politique, déchirer le parti conservateur,



conduire le Labour au bord de l'implosion et mettre en péril, pour finir, l'intégrité du pays. La décision de recourir au référendum avait suscité de violentes critiques, notamment dans les milieux économiques, qui dénonçaient l'irresponsabilité du Premier ministre, en prédisant des lendemains catastrophiques si le non à l'Europe l'emportait...

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Brexit

in *European public Law*, Volume 22 - Issue 3 , 407–408

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Jacqué Jean-Paul

Brexit

in *Revue Trimestrielle de droit européen*, n. 4 , 683 -688

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Craig Calhoun

Brexit Is a Mutiny Against the Cosmopolitan Elite

in *New Perspectives Quarterly*, Volume 33, Issue 3

Brexit was a vote against London, globalization and multiculturalism as much as a vote against Europe.

London is the world's single most important center of global finance — though that may be at risk now. With the surrounding southeast region, it dominates the United Kingdom's economic growth. It has some of the world's most expensive real estate and richest residents — and absentee property owners. It is one of the world's most cosmopolitan cities. It is home to about 1 million continental Europeans. And it voted overwhelmingly to remain in the European Union. The rest of England did not.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Qvortrup Matt

Brexit as an Inelastic Good: A Microeconomic Theory of Direct Democracy

in *Intereconomics*, Volume 51, Issue 5, September 2016 , Pages 260-264

On 23 June 2016 a slight majority of 52% of UK voters opted to leave the European Union after 44 years of



membership. Many were surprised by the result. Why did a majority vote Leave? Why were the majority of the voters not susceptible to the economic arguments advanced by major economic institutions such as the Bank of England, OECD, IMF, HM Treasury and virtually all major investment banks? Why did (now former) Prime Minister David Cameron, who campaigned for Remain, lose the vote only a year after his party had won a surprise victory in the 2015 general election?

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Schmucker Claudia

Brexit changes the EU's trade dynamics: don't expect progress
in *Europe's World*, vol. 33, Autumn

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

la torre Massimo

Brexit e liberalismo autoritario
in *Critica liberale*, volume XXIII, n.228, estate, aprile-giugno

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bosse-Platière Isabelle, Flaesch-Mougin Catherine

Brexit et action extérieure de l'Union européenne
in *Revue Trimestrielle de droit européen*, n. 4 , 759-786

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Marshall Peter

Brexit in its Worldwide Aspect: An Opportunity to be Grasped
in *Round Table (The): the Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs*, Volume 105, Issue 5 , pp. 451-461

The article looks at the implications of Brexit for Britain and its place in the world. It considers how effective Britain can be in utilising its diplomacy, its trade links, and the application of soft power to secure its interests post-Brexit. The article concludes with an assessment of the possible role of the Commonwealth in assisting Britain going forward. However, in order for positive outcomes to be achieved both in regard to the Commonwealth and Brexit more generally, Britain must persuade its international partners of the merits of the new forms of cooperation being suggested, but also for the people



of Britain to shape proactively the future direction of the country.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Schwartz Pedro

Brexit will not be a Catastrophe if...

in **Economic Affairs**, Volume 36, Issue 3, October 2016 , 364-368

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Goulard Sylvie

Brexit, pour la défense de la souveraineté européenne

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 602, octobre-novembre , 520-523

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Ricketts Rita

Brexit: A Long March: Rita Ricketts Reflects on the Recent British Vote in Favour of Leaving the European Union

in *New Zealand International Review*, September 2016

The centenary of the battle of the Somme fell exactly a week after the momentous EU referendum. Now, where tanks once slunk, trucks march nose to tail between England and Europe. On the banks of the Somme is a vast, and unusually tasteful, service station. Nearing Calais travellers and tradespeople pass by the fields of Flanders, where still 'the poppies blow' 'Between the crosses row on row'. (1) If those who lay in these fields were awakened--like characters in Stanley Spenser's Resurrection paintings--they would recognise their immediate surroundings. Here now are the same flat fields and low-slung, sloping-roofed, buildings, housing landbouwers with their six or eight cows. One such old farmer, catching anyone with the time to listen to his childhood memories (of the Second World War), recounts how enemy soldiers requisitioned the farm's only, and much beloved, carhorse. Pointing out the bullet holes in his milking shed, he remembers the faces of enemy soldiers who crossed the farmyard with bayonets fixed.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Caravita Beniamino

Brexit: Keep calm and apply the European Constitution

in *Federalismi*, Anno XIV - Nr 13



No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Gordon Michael

Brexit: a challenge for the UK constitution, of the UK constitution?

in *European Constitutional Law Review*, Volume 12 - Issue 3 , 409-444

The United Kingdom 2016 referendum on membership of the European Union – challenges of pursuing the decision to withdraw – challenges for the UK constitution in commencing, executing, concluding, and legitimising EU withdrawal – domestic constitutional requirements for triggering Article 50 TEU – roles of UK government, UK Parliament, and devolved institutions in Brexit – a second referendum or a national general election on withdrawal terms – exiting the EU as a challenge of the UK's political constitution – Brexit as exposing limitations of the UK's current constitutional arrangements and architecture – Brexit as an unprecedented event and the centrality of politics – constitutional factors contributing to the outcome of the referendum – concerns about sovereignty and the (im)possibility of a national response – potential implications of the referendum for the UK and for the EU

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

JOAQUÍN ALMUNIA

Brexit: balance provisional de sus consecuencias

in *Política Exterior*, nº 172

El futuro de Reino Unido está en riesgo por una decisión de sus ciudadanos. Ello no puede significar que la UE esté también en riesgo. Reforzar la integración es algo que debemos a las generaciones que la pusieron en marcha y a los jóvenes que la necesitan para su futuro.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Moccia Luigi

Brexit: cronaca di una separazione annunciata e alcune riflessioni di scenario

in *Cittadinanza europea (La)*, Fascicolo 1/2016 , 13-25

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Menon Anand, Salter John-Paul

Brexit: initial reflections



in *International Affairs* , vol. 92, issue 6, november , 1297-1318

ABSTRACT: Even though the opinion polling before the British referendum on membership of the European Union showed a narrow gap between the two sides, the actual result—a vote to leave—on the morning of 24 June 2016 came as a surprise to many. Yet in truth both the referendum and its outcome had deep roots in British politics. In this article we cast an eye over the history of Britain's relationship with the EU, which has long been marked by a mixture of awkwardness and successful influence. We trace the origins of the referendum in long-run tensions between, and within, the political parties, and in the lukewarm public support for European integration. We also examine more contingent, short-term factors relating to the referendum campaign itself. We conclude by commenting on the divisions exposed by the vote along lines of geography, education, class and wealth, and suggest that reconciling these with the continuing tensions in the party landscape make a clean and speedy exit from the EU unlikely.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Claudio Catalano

Brexit: prime valutazioni

in *CeMiSS - Osservatorio Strategico e Quarterly*, n.3 , 39-45

Il 23 giugno 2016 si è svolto il referendum sulla partecipazione del Regno Unito di Gran Bretagna e Irlanda del Nord all'Unione Europea (UE). Il risultato è stato a favore della Brexit con la vittoria del "Leave" al 51,9% contro il Remain al 48,1% e un'affluenza alle urne del 71.8% dei 30 milioni di aventi diritto.

In Inghilterra e Galles il voto è stato in media a favore del Brexit, rispettivamente Leave 53.4% e Remain 46.6% e Leave 52.5% a Remain 47.5%, mentre in Scozia e Irlanda del Nord la maggioranza in media è stata per il Remain rispettivamente Remain a 62% e Leave a 38% e Remain a 55.8% e Leave a 44.2%. A Gibilterra il voto per il Remain ha raggiunto il record del 95%.¹

Londra si è espressa in media al 75% per il Remain.

Il referendum ha valore consultivo e spetta al Parlamento britannico approvare le leggi per abrogare gli atti di adesione all'allora Comunità Economica Europea (CEE) nel 1972.

Nonostante nell'immediato dopo referendum vi siano stati tentativi di raccolta di firme per un secondo referendum, il governo britannico ha affermato che intende rispettare l'espressione della maggioranza degli elettori e procedere verso l'uscita dalla UE.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Ahluwalia Pal, Miller Toby

Brexit: the way of dealing with populism

in *Social Identities*, Volume 22, Issue 5 , pp. 453-454

<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/13504630.2016.1186635>

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 6. The European unification process

Savastano Federico

Brexit: un'analisi del voto

in *Federalismi*, Anno XIV - Nr 13

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Brexit: verso un effetto domino in Europa?

in *Diorama*, n. 332

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Mandler Peter

Britain's London Problem

in *Dissent*, Fall 2016

On June 23 the UK voted to leave the European Union after thirty years of a halting, sometimes noble, often messy experiment in international cooperation. In my circles—professional, well-educated, Cambridge and London—the principal reaction was incredulity. How could this happen? Who could want this? A natural reaction. In my electoral district, 75 percent voted to Remain. In the hip parts of London where my daughter lives, a similar result. But a look at the electoral map showed (inevitably, given that a substantial majority of England—though only a narrow majority of the UK—voted to Leave) that huge swathes of England outside of London voted by similar proportions to Leave—the poorer areas on the East and South coasts, depressed former industrial districts in the North, though also more prosperous parts of the West Country and the Midlands.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Leonard Mark

Britannici bipolari

in *Aspenia*, n. 73 - giugno , pp. 198-207

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Pinna Anna Maria, Brau Rinaldo, Licio Vania Manuela



Broadening or jumping? An analysis of the first export market of European Union firms
in *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, Volume 34, Issue 4, June , 592-616

This paper explores the export activities of international firms from seven European countries with a special focus on the neighbourhoods of Europe, where 16 countries have been included in the neighbouring policy. Using a detailed dataset of the internationalisation activities of nearly 15,000 companies, we focus on the best export destinations of European Union firms. In 2008, only 6% of exporters had at least one neighbouring country in their top three export destinations. We subsequently model the export/no-export activity of each firm and the location of the first export destination by means of a nested logit model and find that this process is driven primarily by geography. No reduction (or even an increase) of the strength of the distance effect can be detected for a firm when exporting outside Europe to nearby countries, meaning that European Union firms do not have any particular advantage in exporting their goods in countries near their borders with respect to all the other possible destinations in the world. The 'repulsive force' of distance is alleviated only when moving outside of neighbourhoods where the size of the destination market becomes stronger.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Attinà Fulvio

Building management in the midst of the crisis: EU up 'against' the migrants
in *Cittadinanza europea (La)*, Fascicolo 1/2016 , 43-66

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Dullien Sebastian, Rapetti Martin, Schiaffino Pablo

Can Argentina's Experience Help Predict the Effects of a Potential Grexit?
in *Intereconomics*, Volume 51, Issue 4, July 2016 , 229-236

In the debate about a possible exit of Greece from the euro area, Argentina is often referred to as an example—both by those in favour of and those warning of the adverse effects of a Grexit. Yet, while Argentina pulled off an impressive economic recovery after its 2001-02 crisis—one that goes beyond a mere commodity boom—there are important structural differences between the two countries, which still render a potential Grexit a very risky endeavour.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Esben Høgh, Martin Vinæs Larsen

Can Information Increase Turnout in European Parliament Elections? Evidence from a Quasi-experiment in Denmark
in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 54, Issue 6

We examine the effect of information on turnout at a European Parliament election in Denmark. We utilize a quasi-experimental design to sidestep the substantial problems related to causal inference associated with identifying



the effect of information. Specifically, we look at a group of Danish first-time voters, some of whom were exogenously exposed to information in the run-up to the 2014 European Parliament election, by participating in a one-day workshop about EU (European Union) politics. We find that those who participated were more knowledgeable about and more likely to vote in the upcoming European Parliament election. This suggests that increasing political participation in the EU could, in part, be a matter of exposing the European public to more information about EU politics.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Niamh Moloney

Capital Markets Union: "Ever Closer Union" for the EU Financial System?
in *European Law Review*, Volume 41, issue 3, 307-337

A period of stability might have been expected following the epochal crisis era reforms to financial system governance in the EU. Instead, however, the EU is preoccupied with a new reform agenda - the Capital Markets Union (CMU) project. This article assesses whether the CMU project is likely to achieve the market transformation it seeks, how institutional factors are likely to shape the CMU project, and how it might change regulatory and supervisory governance for the EU financial system. It suggests that a complex feedback loop is likely to develop between single market and euro area interests with respect to CMU, and that the CMU project may consequently signal whether EU financial system governance is on a path to convergence or divergence. The CMU project may also reveal the extent of the impact of the European Council's February 2016 New Settlement for the UK within the EU on EU financial governance.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Lierse Hanna, Seelkopf Laura

Capital markets and tax policy making: A comparative analysis of European tax reforms since the crisis
in *Comparative European Politics*, vol. 14, n. 5, september, 686-716

ABSTRACT: Since the creation of monetary union, European governments have received loans from the international financial markets at low interest rates. The recent sovereign debt crisis has, however, once more revealed the structural dependence of capitalist governments on the capital markets. Countries such as Spain and Greece are charged unsustainable interest rates and their policy decisions have come under scrutiny by international bond holders who fear losing their investments. Based on a unique dataset of European tax policy decisions from 2008 to 2010, we show that financial market pressure, in the form of rising bond yields, has forced European governments to raise their taxes, especially in the more regressive field of indirect taxes. The findings suggest that capitalist democracies have little political room to maneuver and to conduct redistributive politics at times of high fiscal stress.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Wiesner Claudia

Capitalism, democracy, and the European Union
in *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Politikwissenschaft*, Volume 10, Issue 3-4, December 2016, 219-239



Abstract

Engaging with articles published in this journal by Wolfgang Merkel, Wolfgang Streeck and Colin Crouch, the present article seeks to elaborate on the relation between capitalism and democracy in the European Union. The key question addressed by the article is whether and to what extent democracy is possible within the EU, or whether the EU must be regarded as the Trojan horse of capitalism. The first two sections consist of a brief discussion of the main arguments raised in the foregoing debate and of the institutional and politico-cultural dimensions of democracy in the EU's multilevel system. The central section of the paper is devoted to a discussion of the complex contexts and actors influencing the relation between democracy and capitalism, or rather, economic liberalization and deregulation, in the EU. In the fifth and final section I consider whether and to what extent democracy is possible within the EU's system of liberal capitalism and how representative democracy in the EU and the multilevel system could be safeguarded and improved under current conditions. To this end, I present six possible pathways for institutional and democratic reform that are of varying complexity.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

ISABELLA THOMAS

Carta desde Londres: La UE y la democracia británica
in *Política Exterior*, nº 172

Los partidarios de la salida de Reino Unido de la UE han ganado. Ahora deben gestionar la erosión que la campaña por el Brexit ha infligido en la unión del propio país y en la democracia británica.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

de Sadeleer Nicolas

Case Note Court of Justice of the European Union Preliminary Ruling – Excise Duty on Certain Beverage Packaging: Case C-198/14 (Valev Visnapuu)

in *Review of European Community & International Environmental Law*, Volume 25, Issue 2, Special Issue: The Paris Agreement, July , 261-267

Both negative and positive harmonization are likely to restrict Member States' regulatory powers to protect the environment. Given that numerous environmental fiscal measures are likely to restrict one way or another inter-State trade, even though that may not be their objective, Member States are reluctant to foster green tax policies. Environmental protection measures and the free movement of goods enshrined in the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union seem thus to be at odds with one another. The case under review raises some critical issues regarding the validity of environmental taxes on certain beverage packaging. The Court of Justice of the European Union has handed down a preliminary ruling that provides important clarifications in that respect.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Puetter Uwe, Fabbrini Sergio



Catalysts of integration – the role of core intergovernmental forums in EU politics

in *Journal of European Integration*, vol. 38, n. 5, special issue: Integration without supranationalisation: the central role of the European Council in post-Lisbon EU politics , 633-642

This article synthesises the contributions of the special issue along three major lines of reasoning. First, the European Council is considered as a catalyst of post-Maastricht integration. This is mainly due to its policy-making role in core new areas of European Union (EU) activity. Second, inter-institutional relations that have emerged between the European Council, the Council, the Commission and the European Parliament in the post-Maastricht era and in particular the post-Lisbon era are seen to reflect both the centrality of the European Council and a novel way of initiating and implementing EU policy. Finally, the political process within and around the European Council is considered that has taken place against the background of the most recent crises conditions. In particular, the simultaneous occurrence of consensus and domination is identified as a key element of further research related to the 'new intergovernmentalism' and the 'intergovernmental union'.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Hubert de Verdelhan

Chronique de jurisprudence : Arrêt Gazprom

in *Revue internationale de droit économique* , t. XXX, 2016/1

L'arrêt Gazprom, rendu par la grande chambre de la Cour de justice de l'Union européenne (ci-après la « Cour ») le 13 mai 2015, offre, pour la première fois depuis l'arrêt controversé *West Tankers*, des développements essentiels s'agissant de la relation entre l'arbitrage et le règlement Bruxelles I. La Cour juge que le règlement Bruxelles I ne s'oppose pas à la reconnaissance et à l'exécution, par une juridiction d'un État membre, d'une sentence arbitrale ordonnant à une partie de se soumettre à l'arbitrage. Ce jugement, d'une importance certaine pour le fonctionnement des tribunaux arbitraux, donne l'occasion à la Cour de préciser les contours de sa jurisprudence *West Tankers*, qui avait posé certaines limites au pouvoir des juridictions des États membres de prendre des mesures en soutien à l'arbitrage. Gazprom offre d'importantes précisions concernant tant le principe de confiance mutuelle que le principe de compétence-compétence. Reconnaisant, d'une part, que le premier de ces principes n'est pas de nature à s'appliquer aux tribunaux arbitraux, la Cour estime, d'autre part, qu'une sentence arbitrale anti-suit dénuée de sanction financière n'entraîne pas d'effets incompatibles avec le second. En outre, elle rejette toute primauté des règles du règlement Bruxelles I sur celles de la Convention de New York, s'agissant de la reconnaissance des sentences arbitrales. Ce faisant, la Cour réaffirme une certaine séparation entre le règlement Bruxelles I et l'arbitrage, en limitant l'ingérence du premier dans la pratique des tribunaux arbitraux.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Peter Häberle

Cinco crisis europeas – Posibilidades y límites de una teoría constitucional para Europa

in *Revista de Derecho Constitucional Europeo* , no. 25

El ensayo da cuenta de las cinco crisis que aquejan a Europa (primera parte). A continuación se discute sobre las posibilidades y límites de la teoría constitucional en Europa –todo esto a la luz de mi teoría constitucional elaborada con



una perspectiva cultural desde 1982. Estas reflexiones conducen a analizar los límites de la ciencia europea (segunda parte).

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Cinalli Manliao, Giugni Marco

Citizens' Responses to the European Economic Crisis in the Public Domain

in Politics & Policy, Volume 44, Issue 3, June, pp. 388-399

Citizens may respond to economic crises and to policy responses to such crises in a variety of ways. This special issue focuses on collective responses as they express themselves in the public domain, in the form of social movements or other types of interventions. The special issue originates in a large-scale comparative research project funded by the European Commission and titled "Living with Hard Times: How Citizens React to Economic Crises and Their Social and Political Consequences" (LIVEWHAT). The eight articles all use a common dataset and adopt a common method, known as political claims analysis, which has proven fruitful in previous work on social movements and contentious politics, consisting in retrieving interventions in the public domain on a given issue, or range of issues, drawing from media sources, most often newspapers. The data stem from a systematic content analysis of newspapers in each of the countries under study.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Cebotari Victor

Civic, ethnic, hybrid and atomised identities in Central and Eastern Europe

in Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power, Power Volume 23, Issue 6, 2016, 648-666

While the topic of identity of ethnic minorities abounds in theoretical insights, most discussion is still clustered around the civic-ethnic divide while assuming conclusions with limited empirical evidence. By contrast, this article uses a four-category typology of identity that considers both in-group and out-group attachments to address hypotheses about competing identities and about factors influencing minorities to adopt one identity type over others. Based on unique data evidence of 12 ethnic minorities in Central and Eastern Europe, this study concludes that the 'hybrid' identity, rather than the literature-assumed 'ethnic' identity, tops the identification preference of minorities, although there are differences in levels and patterns when controlling for various covariates. The choice of identity depends on the socialisation process, the economic status, the perceived discrimination and intergroup tensions, reflecting variations in the system of values common to a region with complex ethnic dynamics.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

O'Brien Charlotte

Civis capitalist sum: Class as the new guiding principle of EU free movement rights

in Common Market Law Review, vol. 53, issue 4, 937-977

ABSTRACT: As the last traces of EU citizenship disappear, the definitional boundary between work and inactivity



becomes more critical. The ECJ's increasing tolerance of nationality-discrimination creates a moral vacuum at the heart of free movement law, which is being exploited by Member States to impose their own definitions of work. Migrant workers on low incomes and in insecure jobs are at risk of exclusion from any equal treatment, which is especially concerning as labour market patterns change and zero hours contracts proliferate. The working poor are alienated, while the benefits of free movement are reserved for the better resourced. These domestic distortions of EU law feed back into, and distort in turn, EU law at its source – a prime example being the proposed “in-work benefit brake” in the UK-EU new settlement.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Aris Trantidis

Clientelism and economic policy: hybrid characteristics of collective action in Greece
in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 23, Issue 10

How does clientelism affect policy-making? Can patrons in government discard groups of clients in order to pursue reforms in conditions of crisis? The article argues that clientelism goes beyond the exchange of votes and may permeate organizations with the capacity for collective action such as labour unions. This merger gives rise to a clientelist-collective system that changes both patron–client relations and the context of collective action with important implications for the design of economic policy. As evidence from Greece shows, patrons in government are better off avoiding reforms that deprive their client groups of collective and personal benefits (clientelist bias in policy-making). Labour unions infiltrated by party clients have weak autonomy from the patron party but, operating inside the party network, they can effectively safeguard their access to club goods. Interdependent preferences and organizational linkages between the patron party and its client organizations favour collaboration and co-optation over open confrontation in policy-making processes.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Hornat Jan

Closing the closing space: sustaining democracy promotion in European foreign policy
in *Global Affairs*, Volume 2, Issue 3 , 273-285

Democracy promotion is a policy firmly embedded in the EU's external action. However, amidst a proclaimed “backlash” against democracy and the questioning of the merits of value-based policies by certain European leaders, the EU needs to reaffirm the importance of democracy promotion activities in pursuing its interests. This issue is all the more relevant as the EU elaborates its planned Global Strategy. This article argues that the promotion of democracy is – on the one hand – an important aspect of the EU's political identity formation and – on the other hand – a policy with potentially important strategic payoffs. The EU needs to be aware of the strategic (as opposed to the normative) aspects of the policy and emphasize these to counter criticism that value-based policies only hurt the Union's material interests. Furthermore, the paper proposes policy recommendations for burden-sharing and instrumental labour division among the EU, member states and organizations to help all actors navigate through the “closing space” for democracy promotion.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Ellen Mastenbroek, Stijn van Voorst, Anne Meuwese

Closing the regulatory cycle? A meta evaluation of ex-post legislative evaluations by the European Commission
in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 23, Issue 9

Theoretically, ex-post legislative (EPL) evaluations play an important role in the European regulatory cycle. By critically assessing the administration, compliance or outcomes of legislation, they may allow for learning and inform enforcement. At the same time, the European Commission may have incentives not to evaluate, as EPL evaluations may lead to undesired policy change or repeal. Furthermore, the development of systematic, high-quality EPL evaluations is threatened by more technical problems in the sphere of evaluability. Hence, the odds are against the systematic production of high-quality evaluations in the European Union (EU). This article assesses this argument by conducting a meta evaluation of the coverage and quality of ex-post legislative evaluations by the European Commission, using two novel datasets. The main findings are that EPL evaluation coverage indeed is patchy, with no clear upward trend in recent years. EPL evaluation is primarily a matter of legislative obligation instead of own initiative. There is great scope, finally, for enhancing the quality of EPL evaluations, by improving methodological quality, stakeholder involvement and transparency.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Natasha Wunsch

Coming full circle? Differential empowerment in Croatia's EU accession process
in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 23, Issue 8

The process of European integration brings a profound transformation to the political opportunity structure in candidate countries, creating new possibilities for previously marginalized actors. Studying the differential empowerment of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) active in the area of rule of law during and after Croatian membership negotiations, this contribution makes two related claims: on the one hand, Croatian NGOs succeeded in strengthening their position during the final stages of the pre-accession period by actively using new European Union [EU] related opportunities. On the other, an overreliance on EU leverage posed important temporal and substantive limits on NGO empowerment and led to a rapid decline of their relevance in the post-accession phase. These findings shed light on the importance of actors' strategic choices for the functioning and outcome of differential empowerment, and suggest that both the EU and candidate country NGOs need to place more emphasis on fostering improved domestic practices of civil society inclusion throughout the accession process.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Maren Hofius

Community at the border or the boundaries of community? The case of EU field diplomats
in *Review of International Studies (The)*, Volume 42 - Issue 05 , 939-967

This article contributes to the communities of practice (CoP) literature by focusing on the neglected role of the boundary in constructing community. It takes issue with advocates of International Relations' (IR) most recent 'practice turn' who



have overrated inclusive practices of linking to the detriment of taking account of exclusive practices of demarcation. A conceptual turn to the boundary, understood as a 'site of difference', highlights how the two sets of practices operate simultaneously in creating shared senses of belonging to a community. The article empirically probes this turn to the boundary by studying how the postmodern community of the European Union (EU) is (re)constructed by EU diplomats in its neighbouring state Ukraine. As a borderland, it symbolises an interstitial zone of high connectivity where the EU's otherwise latent order is unearthed. A reconstructive analysis of interviews with members of this 'community of practice' reveals that they function as 'boundary workers' who engage in both boundary-spanning and boundary-drawing practices on an everyday basis. Zooming in on the 'boundary work' by EU diplomats exposes the complex process of community-building and thereby helps grasp community as an emergent structure of possibilities whose meaning is contextually mediated by its members' social experience of the boundary.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Trstenjak Verica

Comparative Law and the Influence and the Importance of the Court of Justice of the EU in Cittadinanza europea (La), Fascicolo 1/2016 , 67-76

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Michalski Anna, Norman Ludvig

Conceptualizing European security cooperation: Competing international political orders and domestic factors in European Journal of International Relations , vol. 22, n. 4, december , 749-772

ABSTRACT: It is commonly argued that political elites in Europe are increasingly acting in accordance with shared norms, identities and practices, thus shaping the character of international cooperation in Europe, not least in the field of security. However, in contrast to such expectations, European security cooperation often displays highly irregular and unpredictable patterns. This article offers a conceptual framework that seeks to make sense of these irregular patterns without refuting the assumption that social institutions in the sphere of international security shape cooperation in fundamental ways. Our point of departure is the observation that European states are embedded in international orders that produce norms and practices that sometimes complement and sometimes compete with each other. We contend that a general situational mechanism traceable through a number of domestic-level factors conditions the propensity of European states to coordinate national security policy. The framework, designed to make sense of the often-irregular patterns of European security cooperation, is illustrated by examples from European states' response to the 2011 crisis in Libya.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Kevin Featherstone

Conditionality, Democracy and Institutional Weakness: the Euro-crisis Trilemma in Journal of Common Market Studies, Volume 54, Issue Supplement S1



The sovereign debt crises of the eurozone have raised a set of systemic challenges for the European Union (EU) that questions the credibility and legitimacy of its governance across two levels, European and domestic. The challenges are both instrumental and normative. The critical case in these respects is Greece. In 2015 it needed a third bailout, but it also launched a political confrontation with the EU following the election of a leftist-led government. The political drama made the enduring challenges even more acute. Firstly, there were (and are) questions of leadership. How could the eurozone provide leadership and leverage domestic reform to keep Greece inside the euro? Was there the political will to do so, at either the European or national levels? Further, there was the institutional challenge that stems from the juxtaposition of complex and disparate leadership at the EU level with low-quality institutions for policy delivery domestically. Beyond the structural conditions there are normative questions of the terms of the rescue, but also issues of the accountability and legitimacy of the decision-making process. What can elections decide in a state under an adjustment programme? Together, these challenges pose a conundrum that is existential in nature for the EU: a trilemma in which the external leadership of reforms via conditionality confronts national democratic choice and the operational deficiencies of weak domestic institutions.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Emmanuelle Bribosia and Anne Weyembergh

Confiance mutuelle et droits fondamentaux: "back to the future"

in *Les Cahiers de droit européen*, volume 52, issue 2, 469-521

La confiance mutuelle est l'un des arguments majeurs dont s'est prévalu la Cour de justice de l'UE, dans son avis 2/13, pour fonder le constat d'incompatibilité du projet d'accord sur l'adhésion de l'UE à la Convention européenne des droits de l'homme. Si les études sur le rôle de cette notion dans l'espace de liberté, de sécurité et de justice se sont multipliées ces dernières années, force est de constater que les contours de la confiance mutuelle demeurent encore très flous. La présente contribution revient sur les relations tantôt vertueuses et tantôt tumultueuses entre cette confiance mutuelle et les droits fondamentaux dans la jurisprudence des deux cours européennes relative aux secteurs de l'asile (Dublin), de la coopération judiciaire en matière civile et en matière pénale. Alors que l'avis 2/13 donne à penser que des divergences entre les approches des deux cours sont susceptibles d'exister, une analyse plus fouillée témoigne d'une situation plus nuancée. Les tensions perceptibles dans le domaine de l'asile contrastent ainsi avec l'harmonie entre les juridictions européennes dans les secteurs de la coopération judiciaire en matière pénale et civile. C'est à l'aune de cette analyse rétrospective qu'est envisagé l'avenir de ces relations avec ou sans adhésion de l'Union à la Convention européenne des droits de l'homme.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Ferraro Fabio

Conflitti tra organi giurisdizionali: evoluzione e (in)certeza del diritto europeo

in *Studi sull'integrazione europea*, Anno XI, n. 1, gennaio-aprile, 57-84

This article deals with the questions concerning the system of multi-level protection of rights in European law, and seeks to underline the fact that the relations between lower courts and supreme courts, national and European, need to be considered not only from the perspective of cooperation but also in terms of conflict. Indeed, the possibility of conflicting court decisions is an inherent trait of any judicial system, since a failure to maintain a dynamic and evolution-based



approach would risk hindering reform or improvement. With this in mind, the article compares the solutions adopted by the European Court of Human Rights, the European Court of Justice and the Italian Constitutional Court, with a view to showing the differences and the developments in the case-law of those supreme courts.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Hauke Brunkhorst

Constituent power and constitutionalization in Europe

in *International Journal of Constitutional Law*, volume 14, issue 3, 680-696

In this article, I introduce a modified version of Koskenniemi's distinction between two kinds of constitutional mindsets: Kantian v. managerial. I combine this distinction with evolutionary theory, and in particular with the distinction between evolutionary and revolutionary change (which is also used in constitutional history) and the distinction between selective adaptation and normative constraints of adaptation. I apply this theoretical framework to retrace the constitutional evolution of the European Union. Following Tuori, I distinguish five evolutionary stages: The revolutionary foundation laid in the battlefields of World War II was followed by an evolution of constitutionalism that was a result of the hegemony of the managerial mindset. Nevertheless, the revolutionary foundation was not forgotten, and the growing juridification of Europe produced an increasing need for democratic legitimization. With each stage, the relation between the Kantian and the managerial mindsets is increasingly antagonistic. The opposition becomes untenable once the constitutional evolution of Europe reaches stage five of the social-welfare constitution. The present collapse seems unavoidable. If there still is a way out of "Europe entrapped" (Claus Offe), it remains an open question and one of political praxis alone.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Walker Neil

Constitutional Pluralism Revisited

in *European law journal*, Volume 22, Issue 3, 333-355

This essay revisits the theory of constitutional pluralism. This theory was first developed in the EU context as a way of understanding and defending the absence of a broadly agreed source of final authority in the relationship between national and supranational (EU) legal systems and their respective appellate courts in the context of the significant increase in supranational jurisdiction around the time of the Maastricht Treaty 25 years ago. The essay argues that the theory of constitutional pluralism remains relevant today, in particular offering better explanatory and justificatory accounts of the EU than any of the singularist (or monist), holist or federalist alternatives. Its continuing relevance, however, depends on a more explicit focus on the political underpinnings of the legal and judicial dimensions of constitutional pluralism than has typically been the case in the literature, and on more detailed consideration of the preconditions, forms and limits of constitutional initiative in the contemporary phase of unprecedented challenge to the legitimacy of the EU.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Christer Karlsson & Katarina Galic



Constitutional change in light of European Union membership: trends and trajectories in the new member states

in *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, Volume 32, Issue 4 , 446-465

Constitutional change can be achieved either by changing the explicit wording of the constitutional document, or by way of changing the meaning of the constitution while leaving the constitutional text unaltered. This study systematically compares the use of these different modes of constitutional change in the new EU member states. The results show that implicit constitutional change is the more frequently used method, but also reveal substantial differences between member states. By comparing constitutional change trajectories in the Baltic States, the study reveals that public opinion, constitutional rigidity and constitutional courts stand out as important determinants for EU-induced constitutional change.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Örkény Antal, Székelyi Mária

Constructing border ethnic identities along the frontier of Central and Eastern Europe

in *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power*, Power Volume 23, Issue 6, 2016 , 667-685

The analysis is based on an empirical sociological study (interplay of European, National and Regional Identities: nations between states along the new eastern borders of the European Union Project) aimed at exploring the various aspects of people's diaspora affiliations and their ethnic and national identity on the Eastern borderland of Europe. We surveyed ethnic minority groups in eight countries along the frontier of Central Eastern Europe. With the ethnic minorities having a similar ethnic status along the border, we demonstrated how ethnic minorities 'deal' with their minority status in their 'host' country. The analysis reconstructs the image of the ethnic minority at the societal level. We model personal and collective ethnic identities as a stock of knowledge based on cognitive and affective components, and test them along the different ethnic dyads. The paper shows how successive generations are able to transfer the pattern of ethnic identity within the family, and also how language use practices and personal networks play a role in preserving personal ethnic identity.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Amichai Magen

Cracks in the Foundations: Understanding the Great Rule of Law Debate in the EU

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 54, Issue 5

The article offers a succinct conceptual and analytical framework for approaching the 'great rule of law debate' currently unfolding in the EU (European Union) and the contending positions of the various EU institutions embroiled in it. It addresses the challenge of conceptualization imbued in the notion of the rule of law, and critically examines the definition of the concept provided by the EC (European Commission). It then demonstrates that over the course of modern European integration, the rule of law emerged as a central dimension in four distinct core areas of EC/EU identity and activity. Should the contemporary crisis of foundational values persist or deepen, each of the four is expected to be adversely affected. Finally, the article explores the emerging 'rule of law turn' in the EU.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Luís Capucha; João Sebastião; Susana da Cruz Martins and Ana Rita Capucha

Crisis and Education in Southern Europe: The Effects of Austerity and Ideology
in *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, Volume 15, Issue 5

Since the mid-1970s, the countries of Southern Europe have been approaching European education patterns. This result can be observed in the positive dynamics and convergence with the rest of Europe. However, despite these visible results, the convergence was more evident up until the outbreak of the crisis, where the overall economic and political conditions also brought changes in policymaking in education to the Southern European countries, both in terms of policy priorities and educational outcomes. Therefore, while economic hardship and austere programs are a common trait in recent years, the changes cannot be directly or simply attributed to economic or financial constraints; these changes are mainly due to different political options endorsed by the governments of Portugal, Spain, Italy, and Greece. The main empirical sources are the Eurostat and the OECD. Other empirical material relates to national reports produced in the framework of an international project: ECSE International Report, Educational Challenges in Southern Europe. Equity and efficiency in a time of crisis.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Jan-Hendrik Kamlage & Patrizia Nanz

Crisis and Participation in the European Union: Energy Policy as a Test Bed for a New Politics of Citizen Participation
in *Global Society*, Volume 31, Issue 1, 65-82

For a long time the European Union (EU) has been considered a transnational project securing peace and security. In the light of the recent developments of the deep international financial crisis, we argue that the EU suffers from a substantial legitimacy crisis threatening its existence. This crisis combines symptoms of a structural democratic deficit on the one hand and a general lack of solving common problems effectively on the other. The two strengthen and reinforce each other and lead to eroding support and acceptance for the European project and pose questions about opportunities and limits to transnational democracy. Based on a literature review, we discuss different streams of the discourse on institutional reforms of the European Union and develop an argument in favour of a more citizen-oriented Union. We follow arguments for institutional reforms but suggest more specifically to strengthen and redesign specific elements of participatory democracy, which are anchored in the constitutional framework of the Union. Thus, we discuss the benefits and potential application of citizen dialogues and deliberation in the European context. Finally, we briefly exemplify our institutional proposal in applying it to the policy field of the common European energy policy.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Felix Roth, Lars Jonung, Felicitas Nowak-Lehmann D.

Crisis and Public Support for the Euro, 1990–2014
in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 54, Issue 4



This article analyses the evolution of public support for the single European currency, the euro, from 1990 to 2014 for a 12-country sample of the euro area (EA-12), focusing on the most recent period of the financial and sovereign debt crisis, starting in 2008. We find that citizens' support for the euro on average was marginally reduced during the first six years of the crisis, and that support has remained at high levels. While the pronounced increase in unemployment in the EA-12 throughout the crisis has led to a marked decline in trust in the European Central Bank (ECB), it is only weakly related to support for the euro.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Scalera Jamie E., Dixon Melissa D.

Crisis of confidence: the 2008 global financial crisis and public trust in the European Central Bank
in *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, vol. 17, n. 3, 388-400

The global financial crisis of 2008 shocked the world, and its effects continue to be widespread. Now, many citizens in the European Union have lost confidence in the ability of their central bank to manage financial crises. What factors influence the extent to which the European public will trust the European Central Bank (ECB) and by consequence delegate authority in monetary policy to it? We argue that if citizens are more optimistic about economic recovery, they will be more likely to trust the ECB and thus delegate authority to it. We test our arguments using Eurobarometer data and find that economic optimism has a strong impact on both trust in and delegation to the ECB.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Rafael Muñoz de Bustillo Llorente

Crisis, post-crisis y Estado de Bienestar: ¿hacia dónde transita el Modelo Social Europeo?
in *Cuadernos europeos de Deusto*, no. 54, 121-154

La crisis económica, su gestión y la post-crisis han tenido un efecto innegable sobre el desarrollo de los Estados de Bienestar en Europa. Las reformas estructurales desarrolladas han afectado gravemente la fortaleza del Estado de Bienestar ya sea por dirigirse directamente contra él, ya sea por los daños colaterales de la política de ajuste fiscal desarrollada. Este artículo tiene como objetivo valorar hasta qué punto la crisis económica y su gestión, impulsada y avalada por el ECO FIN (Consejo de Asuntos Económicos y Financieros de la Unión Europea), ha afectado a unos Estados de Bienestar europeos que hasta la crisis se habían mostrado, en las grandes líneas de sus actuaciones, razonablemente resilientes a los ataques de los que habían sido objeto durante décadas.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Marcou Gérard

Critica dell'ordine pubblico economico europeo
in *Rassegna di diritto pubblico europeo*, numero 1, 127-150



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Papisca Antonio

Cuius Europa, Eius (nova) Civitas. Per una legge europea uniforme sulla cittadinanza
in *Cittadinanza europea (La)*, Fascicolo 1/2016 , 5-12

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

le Roux Mylène

Culture et droit public européen de l'économie
in *Rassegna di diritto pubblico europeo*, numero 1 , 103-126

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Glick Reuven, Rose Andrew K.

Currency unions and trade: A post-EMU reassessment
in *European Economic Review*, Volume 87, August 2016 , Pages 78-91

In our *European Economic Review* (2002) paper, we used pre-1998 data on countries participating in and leaving currency unions to estimate the effect of currency unions on trade using (then-) conventional gravity models. In this paper, we use a variety of empirical gravity models to estimate the currency union effect on trade and exports, using recent data which includes the European Economic and Monetary Union (EMU). We have three findings. First, our assumption of symmetry between the effects of entering and leaving a currency union seems reasonable in the data. Second, our preferred methodology indicates that EMU has boosted exports by around 50%. While other estimation techniques yield different results, a panel approach with both time-varying country and dyadic fixed effects on a large span of data (across both countries and time) seems to deliver insensitive and reliable results. Third, different currency unions have different trade effects.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Christoph Zwick

Current Account Adjustment in the Eurozone: Lessons From a Flexible Price Model
in *World Economy*, Volume 39, Issue 7 , 1025-1045

This paper discusses the desired size of the internal devaluation in the Eurozone for a scenario of current account



adjustment induced by shifts in relative demand. Based on Obstfeld and Rogoff, I develop a four-region model of the world economy consisting of the Eurozone-core, Eurozone-periphery, United States and Asia. In contrast to most of the existing literature, this model structure enables studying the impact of global current account adjustment on the rebalancing process in the Eurozone. In addition, the model allows for movements of factors of production between tradable and non-tradable sectors. The results point to the important impact of sectoral reallocation and increases in Asian demand on the size of the internal devaluation as well as on the implied length of the adjustment period.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Roberta De Santis, Tatiana Cesaroni

**Current Account ‘Core–Periphery Dualism’ in the EMU
in World Economy**, Volume 39, Issue 10 , 1514-1538

Current account (CA) dispersion within European Union (EU) Member States has been increasing progressively since the 1990s. Interestingly, the persistent deficits in many peripheral countries have not been accompanied by a significant growth process able to stimulate a long run rebalancing as neoclassical theory predicts. To shed light on the issue, this paper investigates the determinants of Eurozone CA imbalances, focusing on the role played by financial integration. The analysis considers two samples of 22 OECD and 15 EU countries, three time horizons corresponding to various steps in European integration, different control variables and several panel econometric methods. The results suggest that within the EU group of countries financial integration contributed to explain the CA deterioration in the peripheral countries especially in the post-EMU period creating an asymmetric behaviour within the EMU. From a financial stability perspective, this ‘divergence’ could hinder the effectiveness of monetary policy. By reducing the apparent benefits of participating in the monetary union, it also raises the risk of a break-up.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Axt Heinz-Jürgen

**Das Mantra von „mehr Europa“ als Antwort auf die Krisen. Oder: das Trilemma der Integration
in Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft** , Volume 26, Issue 4, December 2016 , 455–467

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Julie Smith

**David Cameron’s EU renegotiation and referendum pledge: A case of déjà vu?
in British Politics**, Volume 11, Issue 3, September 2016 , 324–346

The UK’s relationship with the European Union (EU) has long been fraught, creating tensions with European partners and dividing the main political parties. To try to overcome internal divisions in the Labour Party, Harold Wilson sought to renegotiate the UK’s terms of membership and then held a referendum on whether the country should stay in. The result – a two to one majority in favour of remaining – was thought to have ended the question marks over British membership



definitively. Four decades later, it was the Conservatives who were divided over Europe and Prime Minister David Cameron, in what appeared to be almost a carbon copy of Wilson's actions, promising reform, renegotiation and a referendum. Yet the stakes in 2016 were rather higher than in 1975 and the challenges far greater – the more multi-faceted and institutionalised nature of the EU rendered the debate, and the potential costs and benefits, more complex. This article assesses the similarities between the two prime ministers' decisions to renegotiate the UK's terms of membership and the frameworks established for the ensuing referendums and notes significant differences that render over-interpreting the parallels a risky business.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Visier

De la carte routière à l'itinéraire obligé La transformation de la politique européenne d'élargissement dans les années 2000

in *Politique européenne* , 2016/2 (N° 52) , 146-175

En nous centrant sur les relations interinstitutionnelles, il s'agit ici de comprendre les transformations qui ont affecté la politique européenne d'élargissement au cours des années 2000. Au travers de l'analyse des documents officiels, nous retracerons comment, dans un contexte de forte politisation de l'élargissement, les prises de positions et les interactions ont présidé, de façon contingente, à un réagencement du dispositif de l'élargissement à partir d'une transformation du paramétrage des instruments. Nous insisterons ensuite sur les effets induits de ce réagencement qui ont conduit au renouvellement en profondeur de la méthodologie de l'élargissement, et se faisant, à la transformation de la finalité d'une des composantes de la politique d'élargissement (la stratégie de préadhésion), ainsi qu'à la remise en cause du référentiel de la conditionnalité.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Chaltiel Florence

De quoi le "Brexit" est-il le nom?

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 600, juillet-août , 385-386

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Iliopoulou-Penot Anastasia

Deconstructing the former edifice of Union citizenship? The Alimanovic judgment

in *Common Market Law Review*, vol. 53, issue 4 , 1007-1035

No abstract available



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

ASYA ZHELYAZKOVA, CANSARP KAYA and REINI SCHRAMA

Decoupling practical and legal compliance: Analysis of member states' implementation of EU policy in *European Journal of Political Research*, Volume 55, Issue 4 , 827–846

Despite the vast literature on policy implementation, systematic cross-national research focusing on implementers' performance regarding different policy issues is still in its infancy. The European Union policies are conducive to examining this relationship in a comparative setting, as the EU member states need to implement various EU directives both legally and in practice. In this study, a first attempt is made to analyse the relationship between legal conformity and practical implementation and the conditions for practical deviations in 27 member states across issues from four policy areas (Internal Market, Environment, Justice and Home Affairs and Social Policy). In line with existing approaches to EU compliance, it is expected that the policy preferences of domestic political elites ('enforcement') affect their incentives to 'decouple' practical from legal compliance. Instead, administrative and institutional capacities ('management') and societal constraints ('legitimacy') are likely to limit the ability of policy makers to exert control over the implementation process. The findings suggest that practical deviations arise from policy makers' inability to steer the implementation process, regardless of their predispositions towards internationally agreed policies. The results have strong implications for the effective application of international rules in domestic settings, as they illustrate that political support for the implementation of 'external' policy does not ensure effective implementation in practice.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Kuvshinov Dmitry, Müller Gernot J., Wolf Martin

Deleveraging, deflation and depreciation in the euro area in *European Economic Review*, Volume 88, September 2016 , Pages 42-66

During the post-crisis period, economic performance has been highly heterogenous across the euro area. While some economies rebounded quickly after the 2009 output collapse, others are undergoing a protracted further decline as part of an extensive deleveraging process. At the same time, inflation has been subdued throughout the whole of the euro area and intra-euro-area exchange rates have hardly moved. We interpret these facts through the lens of a two-country model of a currency union. We find that deleveraging in one country generates deflationary spillovers which cannot be contained by monetary policy, as it becomes constrained by the zero lower bound. As a result, the real exchange rate response becomes muted, and the output collapse—concentrated in the deleveraging economies.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Oreste Pollicino

Della sopravvivenza delle tradizioni costituzionali comuni alla Carta di Nizza: ovvero del mancato avverarsi di una (cronaca di una) morte annunciata in *Diritto dell'Unione europea*, no. 2 , 253-284

No abstract available



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Anna Costa

Democrazia complessa

in *Federalista (II)/Federalist (The)*, Anno LVIII, n.1

Le riflessioni di questa nota prendono spunto dal dibattito che è in atto in Europa a seguito degli esiti degli ultimi referendum e in vista di altri che sono in programma, direttamente o indirettamente collegati al destino dei nostri paesi e del nostro continente. I temi di questo dibattito sono stati ben riassunti in un articolo di Jean Quatremer su *Libération* in cui l'autore arriva ad affermare che "...l'irruzione del referendum di iniziativa popolare nel campo diplomatico complica notevolmente la situazione, rendendo fragile un processo già complesso".

Complicazioni che sono ben evidenti quando si considera il caso del referendum su Brexit che influenzerà sicuramente nel male o nel bene il processo d'integrazione europea. Infatti, se i britannici sceglieranno di uscire dall'Unione europea, ci saranno effetti destabilizzanti sia per il Regno Unito, sia per l'Unione, dove i populisti ed i nazionalisti dei vari paesi potranno rilanciare le loro rivendicazioni antieuropee. Se invece i britannici decideranno di rimanere nell'Unione e nel quadro del mercato unico, si tratterà di dar seguito ai contenuti dell'accordo raggiunto tra Unione europea e Regno Unito nel febbraio scorso, in base al quale l'approfondimento istituzionale dell'eurozona nella più ampia Unione non solo è prevista, ma non dovrebbe più essere ostacolata dal governo di Londra. Il fatto è che la situazione complessa in cui vivono gli europei e l'umanità non deriva solo dalle difficoltà che incontra il processo di integrazione europea nell'avanzare, ma anche e soprattutto dalla globalizzazione dei processi produttivi, economici, finanziari, che influenzano ogni settore della nostra vita e di quella degli Stati, minando in molti casi il funzionamento e la legittimità dei meccanismi su cui si basa la democrazia.

A questo proposito Federico Rampini nel suo libro *L'età del caos* ha messo bene in rilievo il problema della crisi della democrazia – la "democrazia stanca" – nel mondo occidentale, ormai incapace di dare soddisfacenti risposte alle richieste dei propri cittadini, indicando come i principi liberaldemocratici, così come li ha definiti Francis Fukuyama nel suo testo *Political order and political decay*, non sono più rispettati oggi in gran parte degli Stati a regime democratico.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Sturm Roland

Der Brexit dominiert die Agenda der EU-Politik

in *Zeitschrift für Politik*, Jahrgang 63, Heft 4, 2016 , 398-405

Abstract

Brexit did not result in, as the supporters of European integration (and especially the representatives of EU-institutions had hoped), greater solidarity among the members of the rest of the EU. The European spirit did not experience a revival. But the instability of the European political architecture increased. Germany felt obliged to become the post-Brexit manager of EU affairs. This seems to confirm the assumption that Germany is the unenthusiastic hegemon in the EU. Germany's leading role may be unavoidable, as a strategy it must fail, because no other member state feels comfortable with all German ideas. What we observe is a defensive nationalism that dominates cooperation inside the



EU, what is missing is a positive vision for the EU. Still open is the future EU-UK relationship.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Windwehr Jana

Der Europäische Wirtschaftsraum – Revival eines Auslaufmodells?

in *Zeitschrift für Politik*, Jahrgang 63, Heft 4, 2016, 446–458

Abstract

With the ›Brexit‹ referendum, the considerable differences among member states concerning economic performance, political preferences as well as value orientation which have become visible in both the sovereign debt and the refugee crisis and a long list of countries interested in either accession to or close association with the European Union, the academic and occasionally political debate on flexible integration has become an immediate necessity. The European Economic Area - already regarded as outdated after the accession of most of its members to the European Union as well as Iceland's membership application - can serve as a case in point as to the possibilities and limits of such far-reaching partial integration of third countries together with the example of Switzerland's bilateral sectoral treaties. It becomes clear that such models imply a trade-off between market access and participation rights and that the accuracy of fit in economic and political terms needs to be thoroughly evaluated in every single case.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Carmel Emma, Papadopoulos Theodoros

Detached, Hostile, Adaptable and Liberalising: The Chameleon Qualities of the UK's Relationship with EU Social Policy

in *Political Quarterly*, Volume 87, Issue 2, april-june, pp. 228-237

In this article, we review the EU's significance for social policies in the UK. The EU has a limited legal role or institutional capacity to directly regulate the social policies of its member states. This role is even more limited in the case of non-eurozone countries. There are a handful of EU policy measures which have had effects on social policy in the UK. However, these effects have not changed the institutional arrangements for making, organising and delivering social policy, which remain firmly in the hands of UK governments. In consequence, a 'Leave' or 'Remain' result has relatively limited implications for social policy, except in the case of specific social groups: notably for UK and other EU nationals who have lived and worked in at least one other EU country. Other EU legislation and regulation is compatible with the current and historical policy preferences of UK governments and political parties.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Javier Arregui



Determinants of Bargaining Satisfaction Across Policy Domains in the European Union Council of Ministers
in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 54, Issue 5

This research is about the extent to which the policy outcomes in the European Union (EU) decision-making process represent the policy preferences defended by Member States. Few studies have systematically analysed bargaining satisfaction within the Council. This research uses as a measure of bargaining satisfaction the salient weighted distance between a Member State's policy preference and the decision outcome. This is the first analysis to frame EU Member States' satisfaction using the content of the issues and distinguishing among policy domains. The analysis also includes a substantive number of cases from the post-2004 enlargement. The empirical analysis shows, in contrast to previous work, that the level of variation of fulfilment in the decision-making within the Council is considerable across policy domains. The main determinants of bargaining satisfaction are related to both structural and agency factors.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Fabrizi Enrico, Guastella Gianni, Marta Stefano, Timpano Francesco

Determinants of Intra-Distribution Dynamics in European Regions: An Empirical Assessment of the Role of Structural Intervention

in *Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie (Journal of Economic & Social Geography)*, Volume 107, Issue 5, December, 522-539

This paper examines the dynamic of income distribution in European regions and attempts to relate movements within this distribution to regional structural characteristics and to the impact of cohesion policy (CP). There is evidence that CP supports advanced economic development in lagging and peripheral regions, hence contributing to the 'convergence objective'. The effectiveness of CP, however, depends on the manner in which funds are managed by single regions: the likelihood of progressing in the income distribution is associated, in fact, to the balance between investments in infrastructure and the productive environment, favouring the former. Evidence presented in this paper also relates regional economic performance to the educational level and innovation in regions, providing useful insights for the current debate about reshaping EU cohesion policy toward a more place-based approach.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Dichiarazione roma 2017, riprendiamoci l'europa

in *Critica liberale*, volume XXIII, n.229 autunno, luglio-settembre

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Mögele Rudolf

Die Durchführung der EU-Förderpolitiken durch die Mitgliedstaaten im Spannungsfeld europäischen Verwaltungs- und Haushaltsrechts – ein Werkstattbericht aus der Praxis der europäischen



Mehrebenenverwaltung

in *Europarecht*, Heft 5, 2016

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Eppler Annegret

Die »Rechtsstaatskrise« der EU: Verderben zu viele Köche den Brei?

in *Zeitschrift für Politik*, Jahrgang 63, Heft 4, 2016 , 406–425

Abstract

The paper classifies the so called »rule of law crisis« of the EU as a disintegrative moment caused by interferences of powers in the vertical and horizontal axis of the supranational EU multi-level system. It analyzes the instruments of legal EU-integration (primacy of EU law and jurisdiction) as well as resistances against further integration on the national level (jurisdiction of the national courts, reduction of rule of law systems in Hungary, Romania, Poland) as well as the inability of EU organs to react. These disintegrative trends in the legal dimension of european integration are interdependent with disintegrative trends in other dimensions, especially with the success of EU-skeptic parties.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Kincaid G. Russell

Different lessons For Europe from American financial history—a counterpoint to Mr. Gaspar

in *Journal of European Integration*, vol. 38, n. 7 , 823-836

Sovereign debt restructuring played a key role in placing the US federal government on a sound financial footing under its new Constitution in 1789. State governments in the US, like national governments in the euro area, do not have bankruptcy protection. US state governments have not defaulted since the Great Depression, owing to a credible no-bailout policy by the federal government coupled with fiscal rules and an effective signalling of default risk by private markets. At the municipal level in the US, bankruptcy protections apply and recent default experience is very low. With permanent sovereign bailout mechanisms in place in the euro area, sovereign bankruptcy provisions might lessen officially induced moral hazard, allowing market discipline to function more effectively with respect to euro area countries than previously.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Çağlar Ayşe

Displacement of European citizen Roma in Berlin: acts of citizenship and sites of contentious politics

in *Citizenship Studies*, vol. 20, issue 5 , 647-663



ABSTRACT: This article reflects on the tensions and anomalies of European citizenship from the perspective of European Union (EU)-citizen Roma, people who have an ambiguous positioning within the EU space because they are both European citizens, but also located as 'in but not of the EU space.' On the basis of events, discourses and negotiations surrounding the displacement of EU-citizen Roma in Berlin in 2009, this article explores how the borders of European citizenship are policed. The paper examines how the flattening of the inner EU political space is achieved through a set of semantic tactics, as well as extra-legal means, and how the desire of EU-citizen Roma to become asylum seekers becomes an act of citizenship constituting them as claimants of rights beyond their legal status and thus a threat to the social and political space of the EU. The article draws attention to the mutual constitution of sites and acts of citizenship.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Orsini Amandine

Do Non-State Perspectives Matter for Treaty Ratification and Implementation? The case of the European Consultation on the Nagoya protocol

in European Environment/Environmental Policy and Governance, Volume 26, Issue 5, September-October , 377-393

This article investigates what happens when governmental actors foster the participation of non-state actors (NSAs) in treaty ratification and implementation decisions. NSAs, being non-governmental organizations, business groups, citizens, or research institutions, among others, represent interests that will be ultimately impacted by policy choices. While governments have long consulted them on an ad hoc basis, a 'deliberative turn' happened in the 2000s to encourage their involvement, for greater legitimacy and transparency through, among others, the use of public consultations. This proactive turn raises questions about public consultations: are such instruments effective? Do they encourage new thinking? Do they matter for final decisions? This article answers these questions by investigating, using lexicometry as main research tool, the public consultation organized by the European Commission in 2011 before the ratification of the Nagoya Protocol on access and benefit sharing by the European Union in 2014. The results are mixed. Although the studied public consultation favoured the expression of small national NSAs, the process remains poorly inclusive. NSAs did not propose any fresh ideas on the access and benefit sharing issue and their final influence on European decision-makers is blurred by the diversity of interests expressed.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Czaika Mathias, Hobolth Mogens

Do restrictive asylum and visa policies increase irregular migration into Europe?

in European Union Politics , vol. 17, n. 3, September , 345-365

This article investigates the extent to which restrictive asylum and visa policies trigger an unintended behavioural response of potential and rejected asylum seekers. Based on our analysis of bilateral asylum and visa policies on migrant flows to 29 European states in the 2000s, we find evidence of a significant deflection into irregularity at work. Our estimates suggest that a 10% increase in asylum rejections raises the number of irregular migrants by on average 2% to 4%, and similarly, a 10% increase in short-stay visa rejections leads to a 4% to 7% increase in irregular border entries. We identify significant nuances in the impact of restrictive asylum and visa policies on the number of apprehensions 'at the border' versus 'on territory'.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Viviane Gravey, Andrew Jordan

Does the European Union have a reverse gear? Policy dismantling in a hyperconsensual polity
in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 23, Issue 8

The financial crisis has triggered demands to halt and even reverse the expansion of European Union (EU) policies. But have these and previous demands actually resulted in policy dismantling? The existing literature has charted the rise of dismantling discourses such as subsidiarity and better regulation, but has not examined the net effect on the *acquis*. For the first time, this contribution addresses this gap in the literature through an empirical study of policy change between 1992 and 2014. It is guided by a coding framework which captures the direction of policy change. It reveals that, despite its disposition towards consensualism, the EU has become a new locus of policy dismantling. However, not all policies targeted have been cut; many have stayed the same and some have even expanded. It concludes by identifying new directions for research on a topic that has continually fallen into the analytical blind spot of EU scholars.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Hix Simon

Does the UK Have Influence in the EU Legislative Process?
in *Political Quarterly* , Volume 87, Issue 2, april-june , pp. 200-208

The UK has influenced some major EU policies, such as the creation of the single market and enlargement. But how influential are the UK government and British MEPs in the day-to-day EU legislative process? To answer this question, this article analyses recent data from the Council of the European Union and the European Parliament. The evidence is mixed. In the Council, in recent years the UK government has been outvoted more often than any other EU government, yet UK officials remain well connected 'behind the scenes'. In the European Parliament, British MEPs are now more likely to be on the losing side than are the MEPs of any other member state, yet British MEPs still win key committee chairs and rapporteurships. The evidence suggests that if the UK votes to remain in the EU, Britain's political elites will need to re-engage with Brussels politics if the UK is to avoid becoming further marginalised from mainstream EU politics.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Christian Bueger

Doing Europe: agency and the European Union in the field of counter-piracy practice
in *European Security*, Volume 25, Issue 4 , 407-422

The practice turn provides new avenues for core questions of international relations and European Studies. This article draws on a practice theoretical account to shed new light on the constitution of agency in global politics. An understanding of agency as achievement that requires significant practical work and the participation in international fields of practice is developed. Drawing on the case of the field of counter-piracy practice and the European Union's



(EU's) work to counter piracy off the coast of Somalia, it is shown how the EU achieved the position as a core actor in the field. A detailed discussion of the EU's work in interrupting and knowing piracy, in building capacity, and in governing piracy is provided.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Amrei Müller

Domestic authorities' obligations to co-develop the rights of the European Convention on Human Rights in International Journal of Human Rights (The), volume 20, issue 8 , 1058-1076

Starting from the recognition that European human rights law develops bottom-up through the practice of democratic national authorities, this contribution analyses domestic authorities' substantive and procedural obligations to 'secure' the rights of the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR), and in particular the extent to which the dynamic elements of these obligations have been consolidated through European Court of Human Rights' (ECtHR) jurisprudence. To this end, it initially disaggregates the obligations addressing parliaments and domestic courts respectively to respect, protect and fulfil convention rights in light of present-day conditions. It subsequently examines how domestic courts and parliaments should effectively interact to secure ECHR rights in an up-to-date manner. Then, it analyses how the ECtHR 'communicates' these obligations to domestic authorities by relying on the principle of subsidiarity/margin of appreciation. Overall, the contribution enhances our understanding of how domestic authorities should secure the rights of the convention in circumstances of change ('co-develop' the law of the convention), and how the ECtHR can promote domestic authorities' engagement with the convention towards this end.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Fernández Juan J., Eigmüller Monika, Börner Stefanie

Domestic transnationalism and the formation of pro-European sentiments in European Union Politics , vol. 17, n. 3, September , 457-48

Increasingly, research on attitudes towards the European project focuses on transnational practices. This article furthers the transnational approach by offering the first systematic analysis of how domestic transnationalism – i.e. transnational practices conducted in the home country – influences the formation of pro-European sentiments. We argue that domestic transnational activities foster recognition of common, transnational interests and identities that support the European integration project. Using a 2013 Eurobarometer, we show the distinct need to pay attention to domestic transnationalism. Individuals engaging in more domestic transnational activities display more pro-European sentiments in four of our five dependent variables. Moreover, the effect of domestic transnationalism is particularly intense among less-educated citizens.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Constantinesco Vlad

Du référendum et de la démocratie représentative à travers le Brexit

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 602, octobre-novembre ,



530-532

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Guisan Catherine

EMU Political Leadership vs. Greek Civil Society: How Shall We Live Together?

in Mediterranean Politics, Volume 21, Issue 3 , 387-406

EMU is a political programme at risk: its reform must reconnect with the original Community ethos as well as institutional and policy changes. Historically this ethos manifested itself in public practices of power as action in concert ('promise') and generosity ('gift'), which Arendt, Mauss and Ricoeur's political thought helps define. The 2012 Fiscal Compact moved away from such practices. Some Greek civil society organizations have demonstrated more genuine commitment to promise and generosity during the Greek fiscal crisis. This is not unique to Greece. EU parliaments and executives must consult with civil society meaningfully to properly integrate EMU within EU law. Full text available online at <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/13629395.2016.1140282>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Koester Ulrich, Loy Jens-Peter

EU Agricultural Policy Reform: Evaluating the EU's New Methodology for Direct Payments

in Intereconomics, Volume 51, Issue 5, September 2016 , 278-285

The Common Agricultural Policy has changed significantly over time. Major changes are now introduced every seven years, with the last fundamental change agreed upon in 2013 for the period 2014-2020. Policymakers also agreed to a mid-term review in order to evaluate the performance of numerous new regulations. The Commission has elaborated a methodology for the evaluation and has already published some documents with initial results for past periods. This article reviews whether the methodology and database used by the Commission are in line with the highest standards for policy evaluation.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Lannoo Karel

EU Financial Market Access After Brexit

in Intereconomics, Volume 51, Issue 5, September 2016 , Pages 255-260

Brexit means Brexit, or out means out — and that includes the UK's exit from the single financial market. With financial services accounting for about eight per cent of the country's GDP, it is understandable why the UK attaches immense importance to retaining access to the EU's single market. But putting a mutually acceptable regime in place will take years of negotiations, and the final agreement will clearly allow much less access than UK-licensed firms enjoy today.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Pierdominici Leonardo

EU Law and the Jurisprudence of Constitutional Crisis

in **Cuadernos Manuel Giménez Abad**, n. 12, diciembre , 31-33

Full text available online at

http://www.fundacionmgimenezabad.es/images/Documentos/Cuadernos/cuadernos12_diciembre_2016.pdf

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Vargas-Silva Carlos

**EU Migration to and from the UK After Brexit   **

in **Intereconomics**, Volume 51, Issue 5, September 2016 , Pages 251-255

In the 2016 referendum over the UK's membership of the EU, the question of how Brexit would impact migration to the UK was a major point of contention. Those leading the campaign to leave the EU promised lower levels of immigration and the introduction of an "Australian type points based system" to regulate future inflows of EU nationals to the country, while at the same time maintaining access to the EU single market. At the same time, the status of EU nationals already living in the UK was not a key topic in the debate. The leaders of the campaign to leave the EU suggested that EU nationals already residing in the UK would be granted some form of residence permit and would retain most of their current rights. Likewise, there was little concern about the legal status of UK nationals in other EU countries and the argument that the "EU would be obliged to grant permanent settlement rights to Britons living in Ireland and mainland Europe".

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Seeberg Peter

EU Policies in the Mashreq: Between Integration and Security Partnership

in **Middle East Policy**, Volume 23, Issue 4, Winter , 103-113

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Dluhosch Barbara, Horgos Daniel, Zimmermann Klaus W.

EU enlargement and satisfaction with democracy: a peculiar case of immiserizing growth

in **Constitutional political economy**, Volume 27, Issue 3, September 2016 , 273-298

Studies on EU enlargement mostly focus on its welfare-economic and much less so on its public-choice dimension. Yet,



the latter may be as important as the former when it comes to sustain integration. This paper aims at filling the gap by exploring theoretically and empirically how enlargement of multi-level systems like the EU affects satisfaction with democracy. In order to assess the effects of a widening in membership, we present a novel approach that draws on the probability of being outvoted. We find that, given the institutional arrangement, enlargement tends to depress satisfaction with democracy. Our theoretical results are backed by panel-data evidence for six European economies displaying a significant decline in satisfaction with democracy with growth in EU-membership.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Marijn van der Sluis

EU law for a new generation?

in **International Journal of Constitutional Law**, volume 14, issue 2, 480-485

This brief reply to Loïc Azoulay's article, "Integration Through Law and Us" suggests the inclusion of an added dimension to the proposal for a "relational turn" in EU law, namely the dimension of the inter-generational legitimacy of EU constitutional law. It has been often observed that EU treaties are much more detailed than the constitutions of the member states, for example in the field of the Economic and Monetary Union. How can the constitutionalization of the legal framework of the euro be justified in relation to a new generation of Europeans?

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Roland Dannreuther

EU-Russia Energy Relations in Context

in **Geopolitics**, Volume 21, Issue 4, 913-921

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Amelia Hadfield

EU-Russia Strategic Energy Culture: Progressive Convergence or Regressive Dilemma?

in **Geopolitics**, Volume 21, Issue 4, 779-798

This article argues that strategic culture, long consigned to the margins of broader, more substantial IR theories, offers a novel mode by which to explore recent developments in EU-Russia energy relations. Approaching seminal strategic policies from the perspective of institutionalised norms and cultural value-sets, strategic culture explores the power of the past and its ability to produce and influence national attitudes in governments and societies. This enables analyses of strategic energy relations between actors like the EU and Russia to move beyond obvious polarities to nuanced insights about the national value sets by which energy security is itself rendered strategic. Beginning with the individual strategic cultures of both the EU and Russia within the area of contemporary energy security policies, the article then appraises the range of bilateral EU-Russia energy security policies, suggesting that in many ways, these shared policies constitute a sector-specific strategic energy culture that includes both the EU and Russia. Areas of ongoing



intransigence and policy convergence in EU-Russia energy security approaches constitute the case studies, illustrating that both sides are essentially motivated toward the same goals of energy security, market prosperity and actor-based prestige, but on the basis of vastly different visions, using widely diverse modes of implementation, and with dissimilar standards of evaluation. The analysis then appraises whether this co-constituted area is progressive or regressive in terms of the cooperation or conflict generated between the two sides, concluding that a basis of acknowledged commonalities – made available through strategic culture perspectives – both sides retain the impetus to cooperate to the point of complete agreement on some areas, whilst simultaneously remaining in conflict to the point of aggression in others.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Seyed Hossein Mousavian

EU–Iran Relations After Brexit

in *Survival*, Volume 58, Issue 5 , 83-94

The impending exit of the United Kingdom from the European Union paves the way for strategic EU–Iran engagement that is separate from UK–Iran talks.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Heschl Franz

Eine EU »für alle«? Der europäische Integrationsprozess in der Rhetorik der Europäischen Kommission

in *Zeitschrift für Politik*, Jahrgang 63, Heft 4, 2016 , 426–445

Abstract

This article starts with reconstructing some essential and complex metaphors and rhetorical figures about the character and the overall nature of the European integration process, which are constantly produced by the European Commission. The key components of these metaphors are introduced, and, subsequently, an explanation for the determining factors of this Commission rhetoric is attempted. The article closes with somewhat sketchy considerations about the possible consequences of this rhetoric for the integration process.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Florentino Vega Cánovas Gustavo ,Campos Francisco

El Acuerdo Transatlántico para el Comercio y la Inversión (TTIP): orígenes, motivaciones y potenciales impactos en las relaciones entre Estados Unidos y La Unión Europea Gustavo Florentino Vega Cánovas, Francisco Campos

in *Foro Internacional*, Vol. LVI, 4

No abstract available



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Agustín Cué

El camino de la (des)integración europea

in *El Cotidiano : revista de la realidad mexicana actual* , n.200 , 111-118

Iniciado hace más de seis décadas, el proceso de integración europeo ha sido puesto en tela de juicio por la decisión de los ciudadanos británicos, quienes fueron convocados a un referendo el 25 de junio de 2016. De manera sorpresiva, la mayoría de los electores británicos se inclinó por abandonar la Unión Europea (UE). Después de un largo periodo de ampliación y de profundización de la integración europea, la UE entra en una grave crisis. Por lo pronto, la nueva primera ministra británica, Theresa May, ha confirmado que es inminente la salida británica de la UE. Asimismo, muchas naciones europeas están decididas a cobrarle caro a los británicos su decisión, con el propósito de desalentar a otros socios a que sigan ese camino. Es posible que se haya iniciado la desintegración paulatina de la UE, a pesar de las ventajas que tiene la integración socioeconómica del viejo continente.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Ana Carmona Contreras

El espacio europeo de los derechos fundamentales: de la Carta a las constituciones nacionales

in *Revista Espanola de Derecho Constitucional*, no. 107 , 13-40

El presente trabajo muestra las líneas maestras que configuran el espacio europeo de derechos fundamentales a partir de la entrada en vigor de la Carta de Derechos Fundamentales de la Unión Europea (CDFUE). Un espacio de naturaleza compleja y todavía en proceso de construcción, en el que el rol de las constituciones nacionales y de los ordenamientos internos experimenta una profunda transformación, dada la naturaleza de derecho primario que presenta la Carta. La existencia de niveles de protección de los derechos fundamentales no coincidentes a cargo de la Carta y las constituciones nacionales o la necesidad de definir precisamente el ámbito de aplicación de tales derechos por parte de los Estados miembros generan importantes conflictos entre ordenamientos, cuya resolución requiere una perspectiva adecuada a la lógica de la integración europea y que dé respuesta a las exigencias de recíproca acomodación entre aquellos.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Iñigo Bullain

El proceso de oligarquización europeo. De la utopía federal a una distopía social y democrática

in *Cuadernos europeos de Deusto*, no. 54 , 59-98

Tras seis décadas de desarrollo la integración europea se ha concretado en una suerte de distopía social y democrática. En un proceso de oligarquización neoliberal que se ha acelerado con la globalización y que ha derivado en la desconstitucionalización y el debilitamiento democrático tanto de las instituciones europeas como de sus Estados Miembros. El coste de eludir la federalización ha sido una crisis de legitimidad sin precedentes. Este texto trata de



advertir de que si en lugar de una unión federal, social y democrática la UE prosigue con su deriva neoliberal la integración europea correrá serio peligro, y que recuperar la confianza de la población requiere de un cambio de paradigma que implique que más Europa debe ser también sinónimo de más cohesión social y de más democracia.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Höpner Martin, Ehret Lena,

Endlich Subsidiarität? Die parlamentarische Subsidiaritätskontrolle am Beispiel von „Monti II
in *Politische Vierteljahresschrift*, Heft 3, 2016 , 403-429

ABSTRACT: Three hopes are associated with the new parliamentary early warnings system: It is hoped that the principle of subsidiarity will gain effectiveness, that the European political system will gain legitimacy, and that the pre-constitutional preconditions of a European democracy will further develop. In order to derive insights about the validity of these hopes, this article conducts an in-depth analysis of the conflict over the Commission's "Monti II" proposal. "Monti II" was the first regulation proposal against which more than one third of member states' parliaments raised reasoned opinions (the so-called "yellow card" procedure). The analysis shows that the hopes rest upon far-reaching premises with respect to the origins of the breaches of subsidiarity and with respect to the nature of the respective conflict lines. The hopes, therefore, go much too far.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Henderson Ailsa, Jeffery Charlie, Liñeira Robert, Scully Roger, Wincott Daniel, Wyn Jones Richard

England, Englishness and Brexit

in *Political Quarterly* , Volume 87, Issue 2, april-june , pp. 187-199

In the 1975 referendum England provided the strongest support for European integration, with a much smaller margin for membership in Scotland and Northern Ireland. By 2015 the rank order of 'national' attitudes to European integration had reversed. Now, England is the UK's most eurosceptic nation and may vote 'Leave', while Scotland seems set to generate a clear margin for 'Remain'. The UK as a whole is a Brexit marginal. To understand the campaign, we need to make sense of the dynamics of public attitudes in each nation. We take an 'archaeological' approach to a limited evidence-base, to trace the development of attitudes to Europe in England since 1975. We find evidence of a link between English nationalism and euroscepticism. Whatever the result in 2016, contrasting outcomes in England and Scotland will exacerbate tensions in the UK's territorial constitution and could lead to the break-up of Britain.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

DE ANGELIS EMMA, KARAMOUZI EIRINI

Enlargement and the Historical Origins of the European Community's Democratic Identity, 1961–1978
in *Contemporary European History* , Vol. 25, n. 3, August, special issue "European integration" , 439-458

This article examines how and when democracy entered the discursive politics of the European Community to become one of the fundamental tenets of European political identity – and in the process influenced how decision-makers



approached the question of enlargement. Building on multiple archival sources, the article traces how all three Community institutions (Commission, Council and European Parliament) legitimised the expansion and continuation of the process of European integration through the discursive construction of democracy. It focuses on the debates elicited by the attempts of southern European countries to accede to the EEC in the 1960s and 1970s.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Griset Pascal, Laborie Léonard

Entre mondialisation et intégration européenne : origines et signature de la Convention sur le brevet européen (Munich 1973)

in *Bulletin de l'Institut Pierre Renouvin*, n. 44, Automne , pp. 55-74

L'article retrace la genèse de l'Organisation européenne des brevets, organisation méconnue et pourtant centrale dans l'histoire économique contemporaine du continent depuis sa création en 1973. Il met en avant le travail de longue haleine des experts en droit de la propriété industrielle, qui dans des cadres multiples et imbriqués, harmonisent au lendemain de la Seconde Guerre mondiale le droit matériel, et négocient les conditions d'une coordination plus poussée du processus souverain de délivrance des brevets. Cette dynamique sectorielle prend forme entre deux dynamiques plus large, celle de la mondialisation d'un côté et celle de l'intégration européenne communautaire de l'autre. Elle débouche en 1973 sur la signature de la Convention sur le brevet européen au terme d'une conférence diplomatique organisée à Munich.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Natorski Michal

Epistemic (un)certainly in times of crisis: The role of coherence as a social convention in the European Neighbourhood Policy after the Arab Spring

in *European Journal of International Relations* , vol. 22, n. 3, september , 646-670

ABSTRACT: Academic wisdom assumes that crises precipitate institutional and policy changes in domestic and international politics. However, the relation between crises and policy outcomes is under-theorised. This article conceptualises epistemic coherence as a factor that links crises and their consequences through policy continuity. Crises expose contradictions and inconsistencies, which create uncertainty. Therefore, actors seek to recover the epistemic certainty provided by coherence, which tacitly informs, structures and simplifies actors' interpretation of reality, even during crisis. For this reason, the role of coherence in policy ideas and institutional rules remains essential to understanding policy continuity. This article illustrates the role of coherence in the policy continuity of the European Neighbourhood Policy in the context of the Arab Spring and the changes in the institutional architecture of European Union foreign policy during 2010–2011.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Prange-Gstöhl Heiko

Eroding societal trust: a game-changer for EU policies and institutions?



in **Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science Research**, Volume 29, Issue 4, 2016 , 375-392

Trust is a fundamental condition for a fair and cooperative society. But what if trust collapses? This article is interested in the disrupting effects a further erosion or even collapse of trust could have for European Union (EU) policies and institutions. It is argued that a breakdown of trust could create serious risks, but also opportunities, and is therefore an important factor that the EU must consider when designing its future policies and strategies. To this end – by using a forward-looking and trend impact analysis approach – the article provides insights and options on how strategic political responses for the EU could look like to turn the trend around and again enhance trust in the European project. Empirically, it addresses issue and policy areas such as trust in political systems, justice, science, economic regulation, cyberspace, surveillance as well as ethnic and religious

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Hope David

Estimating the effect of the EMU on current account balances: A synthetic control approach

in **European Journal of Political Economy**, Volume 44, September 2016 , Pages 20-40

The European sovereign debt crisis wrought major political and economic damage on the European Monetary Union (EMU). This led to a reassessment of the pre-crisis period of economic growth and stability in the EMU, shifting attention to the macroeconomic imbalances that emerged between member states, especially those in current account balances. This paper uses macroeconomic data on OECD economies and a new statistical approach for causal inference in observational studies—the synthetic control method—to estimate the effect of the EMU on the current account balances of individual member states. This ‘counterfactuals’ approach provides strong evidence that the introduction of the EMU was responsible for the divergence in current account balances among member states in the run-up to the euro crisis. The results suggest that the EMU effect operated through multiple channels and that fundamental changes to the institutional framework of the EMU may be required to safeguard the currency union against a reemergence of dangerous external imbalances in the future.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Patrick Holden

Eternal potential? Temporality, complexity and the incoherent power of the European Union

in **Cooperation and Conflict**, Volume 51, Issue 4 , 407–427

Temporality is a relatively under-explored factor in international relations. The concept of timescape refers to the temporal timeframe of institutional processes and/or the timeframes of causation at different levels. Said concept has powerful explanatory potential in the case of complex, fragmented entities such as the European Union (EU). Critical realism offers a historicist meta-theoretical framework for delineating and analysing timescapes of different forms. Theories of critical political economy and historical sociology can be used to critique the EU’s own liberal teleological timescapes. The Union’s leadership postulates a central future role for it, based on its long-term structural relationships, and its Mediterranean policy is a prime example of this structural foreign policy. However, its component structures are profoundly dissonant and unlikely to coalesce into a meaningful role. The EU’s engagement in the Mediterranean illustrates how its long-term approach is over-ridden by the ‘real-time’ agency of other actors, and by deeper



socio-economic cycles which it cannot control. A focus on temporality thus helps to interpret and explain the fragmented power of the EU; as well as our complex international system more generally.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Androsch Hannes

Europa - Wie weiter?

in *Europäische Rundschau*, 44. Jahrgang, Heft 3

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Weber Manfred

Europa und seine Institutionen nach dem Brexit. Che sarà...?

in *Politische Studien*, 67. Jahrgang, Heft 469, September-Oktober , 6-46

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

EUGENIO BREGOLAT

Europa y el Brexit: interpretaciones desde Pekín

in *Política Exterior*, nº 173

China quiere un orden multipolar con Europa como uno de sus polos. El resultado de la convocatoria del referéndum del Brexit confirma la convicción de Pekín de que la democracia liberal no es para ellos.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Guy Verhofstadt

Europe : Back to the Future

in *Politique Etrangère*, vol. 81, nº 3, automne 2016

Brexit is the symptom of the crisis of the European project. The various peoples of Europe do not identify with Brussels bureaucrats and are retreating behind national boundaries. All the while, intergovernmental cooperation is not functioning well, highlighted most notably by the handling of the refugee crisis. European institutions, such as they exist today, are out of breath and only a federal leap will bring Europe out of this impasse.

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 6. The European unification process

Sidjanski Dusan

Europe Put to the Test by Influx of Migrants

in *Federalist Debate (The)*, Year XXIX, Number 2, July 2016

Europe is exposed to an accumulation of challenges and threats. Of course, today we are understandably obsessed with the migrant tragedy. Angela Merkel's open-door immigration policy showed a humane side of this female leader who believed she could act single-handedly by imposing her plan without consulting with her European partners, in particular France and Italy. Alone and overtaken by events, she has humbly asked for Erdogan's forgiveness. By acting without a European mandate, she has managed to place Turkey in a position of strength: the refugees flooding into the Greek islands are to be sent back to Turkey in exchange for financial aid, lifting of visa restrictions and the promise of restarting EU membership talks, which many Members believe will put Europe in danger of being overrun by Turks.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Matthijs Matthias

Europe after Brexit. A less perfect Union

in *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 96, n. 1

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Hoadley Stephen

Europe after the British Exit: Demise or Reinvention? Stephen Hoadley Analyses the Implication of Brexit for Europe and Concludes That the European Union Will Survive Intact, but Will Have to Adjust, If Not Reinvent Itself

in *New Zealand International Review*, September 2016

Not only Brexit but also the rise of anti-EU sentiment throughout Europe have given new life to pessimistic conclusions in books with titles such as *Flashpoints: The Emerging Crisis in Europe* by George Friedman; *Decline and Fall: Europe's Slow Motion Suicide* by Bruce Thornton; and *After the Fall: The End of the European Dream* by Walter Laqueur. The magazine *Time* has added to the gloom with features such as 'The Incredible Shrinking Europe' (8 March 2010); 'Why Europe Can't Get OIF the Ground' (12 July 2010); 'The Decline and Fall of Europe (and Maybe the West)' (22 August 2011); and 'Europe or Bust' (22 August 2015).

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Karolina Pomorska, Sophie Vanhoonacker

Europe as a Global Actor: Searching for a New Strategic Approach



in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 54, Issue Supplement S1

The one image of 2015 that depicts a dramatic interaction between the EU and the rest of the world is the world-famous picture of the Syrian toddler Alan Kurdi, who together with at least 12 other Syrians, drowned in an attempt to reach the Greek island of Kos. Apart from symbolizing the human tragedy of the refugee crisis unfolding at the EU's external borders, the picture is also illustrative of broader developments and challenges for European foreign policy. It shows that crises in the neighbourhood and in seemingly faraway regions like Iraq and Afghanistan cannot simply be ignored as they can have an immediate impact on the EU's domestic situation. A second telling illustration of how internal and external security have become increasingly intertwined are the November terrorist attacks in Paris. After having been trained in Syria by representatives of the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIS), radicalized EU nationals returned home to commit suicide attacks in the French national capital.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Poulou Anastasia

Europe cannot ignore the social impact of economic "recovery"

in **Europe's World**, vol. 33, Autumn

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bughin Jacques, Hazan Eric, Ramaswamy Sree

Europe has digital potential – but it must act to close the gap with the US

in **Europe's World**, vol. 33, Autumn

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Marco Buti

Europe in the new global economic governance: can we still make a difference?

in **Economia Politica**, Volume 33, Issue 2, 119-127

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Della Sala Vincent

Europe's odyssey?: political myth and the European Union

in **Nations and Nationalism**, Volume 22, Issue 3, July 2016, 524–541



Abstract

The article argues that the European Union, despite being a different kind of polity, has political myths that are similar to those that have characterised nation-states. It examines two types of political myth – foundation and exceptionalism – and demonstrates that they have been used in an attempt to make the European Union understandable and acceptable as a form of governing. The article also argues that political myths about the EU have had limited success not only because they are based on the same content as national myths but also because they do not always conform to recognisable narrative forms. The EU, with its ambiguous aim of creating ‘an ever closer union’, does not provide the basis for sacred narratives that become normative and cognitive maps that make the new polity ‘normal’ and provide the EU with ontological security.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Padoa-Schioppa Antonio

Europe, the Two Challenges: How to Get Out of Them?

in Federalist Debate (The), Year XXIX, Number 2, July 2016

The two challenges Europe has to cope with are its economic decline, with the concomitant grave unemployment rate, especially among the young, and the management of migration fluxes, from which, both directly and indirectly, emerges the issue of security. Both challenges, till now inadequately tackled by national governments, share a common element: they interest Europe as a whole, albeit each European State was hurt in different ways. Thus, the challenges cannot be dealt with and resolved efficiently without common initiatives and measures, based on common decisions.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Turkuler Isiksel

European Exceptionalism and the EU's Accession to the ECHR

in European Journal of International Law, volume 27, issue 3, 565-589

In its December 2014 opinion, the Court of Justice of the European Union (CJEU) rejected the draft accession agreement that would have enabled the European Union (EU) to accede to the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms on the grounds of its incompatibility with the EU's constitutional structure. The opinion was widely and immediately criticized as evidence of the CJEU's unwillingness to be bridled by another international court and its anxiety over losing its primacy within Europe's juridical space. This article argues that the Luxembourg court's reasoning exemplifies a problematic attitude of ‘European exceptionalism’ that has deep roots within the philosophy of the European integration project. According to this narrative, the enlightened character of supranational institutions ought to exempt them from the constraints designed to check more imperfect forms of political organization such as nation states. The article argues that this conviction is not only ill-founded but also provides another reason why the EU, just like the sovereign states it has been set up to constrain, needs external human rights scrutiny.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Kuzio Taras

European Identity, Euromaidan, and Ukrainian Nationalism

in Nationalism and Ethnic Politics, Volume 22, Issue 4, 2016 , 497-508

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Cielik Andrzej, Rokicki Bartomiej

European Integration and Spatial Wage Structure in Poland

in Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie (Journal of Economic & Social Geography) , Volume 107, Issue 4, September , 435-453

In this paper we examine the relationship between average wages and market potential across Polish 16 NUTS 2 administrative units during the 1995–2009 period to study the effects of increased international market access using the new economic geography approach. In particular, we estimate the relationship between average regional wages and the market-potential function derived from the modified Helpman-Hanson theoretical model. We demonstrate that both before and after Poland's entry into the European Union the regional economic potential is positively related to the regional level of wages. The magnitude of the estimated parameters on the market potential after Poland's entry into the EU is lower compared to the estimates obtained for the period before the entry but the difference does not seem significant.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Asteris Huliaras, Sotiris Petropoulos

European Money in Greece: In Search of the Real Impact of EU Structural Funds

in Journal of Common Market Studies, Volume 54, Issue 6

The impact of EU (European Union) Structural Funds (from the European Regional Development Fund, the European Social Fund, the Cohesion Fund, etc.) channelled to Greece and other countries over the last 35 years has been thoroughly evaluated by EU-commissioned impact reports and relevant academic studies. However, several political consequences of development transfers have been largely neglected. Concepts, methods and conclusions reached by studies of North–South development aid can help greatly to understand the medium- and long-term political impact of EU funds. This article is based on interviews with EU and Greek politicians, officials, beneficiaries and various stakeholders. The conclusion is a less positive – but familiar in other parts of the world – story.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process



Estella Antonio

European Union Bailouts and Credibility: The Constitutional Dimension
in *European public Law*, Volume 22 - Issue 3 , 507–540

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Weinberg Joe

European Union Member States in Cross-National Analyses: The Dangers of Neglecting Supranational Policymaking
in *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 60, issue 1, march , 98-106

ABSTRACT: Many empirical models make assumptions about the primacy of domestic politics that fail to accommodate new trends in supranational policy making. Scholars now acknowledge that national political decisions often depend on other countries, international institutions, or global economic conditions. More interestingly, many sovereign countries have either lost or purposely delegated away policy autonomy to supranational institutions. For example, fixed exchange rates, regional trade agreements, and transnational regulations create the distinct possibility that domestic politics no longer provide a sufficient explanation for many policy outcomes. In some respects, two types of countries now exist: those that retain decision-making authority over a given policy space and those that do not. Combining both types of countries into a larger cross-national sample may generate flawed substantive results and fails to adequately test hypotheses. I use the example of European Union (EU) governance over trade policy to demonstrate the empirical dangers of disregarding differences in policy autonomy among countries.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Tim Oliver

European and international views of Brexit
in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 23, Issue 9

A British withdrawal from the European Union (EU) would change Britain, the EU, the politics and security of Europe and the place of all three in the international system. To explore these possible changes, this article draws on a series of commissioned analyses that look at the views of Brexit in other EU member states and select third countries outside the EU. Specifically, it examines and maps out the prevailing ideas of what the aforementioned changes could entail. It argues that ideas connected to European unity and integration will define how a Brexit is managed.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Flesher Fominaya Cristina

European anti-austerity and pro-democracy protests in the wake of the global financial crisis
in *Social Movement Studies*, Volume 16, Issue 1 , pp. 1-20



European anti-austerity and pro-democracy movements form part of a global wave of protests following the global financial crisis. Despite continuity of actors and a double critique of global capitalism and democratic deficits from the previous Global Justice Movement, the centrality of the nation as target and focus of mobilization is a significant difference in this wave. The economic impact of the crisis and austerity policies is insufficient to explain variation in mobilization across countries hardest hit. In order to transform economic/material grievances into collective resistance, grievances need to be channelled against specific targets, and interpretive frameworks of meaning tied to a collective identity need to be mobilized. In Europe, anti-austerity protests were initiated by two sets of actors, Institutional Left and autonomous actors. Autonomous actors linked anti-austerity claims to interpretive system of meanings framed around the crisis of legitimacy of representative democracy; targeted primarily national political and economic oligarchies; and mobilized newcomers through an inclusive collective identity constructed around the 'ordinary citizen' as political subject. Democratic regeneration emerges as a significant demand, but is uneven in its resonance. It finds its clearest and most emblematic expression in the 'movements of the squares'. To the extent that the 'twin' crises (financial/democratic) are framed synergistically, they can be seen as counter-hegemonic, as they seek to rupture the consensus of the 'post-political'. The presence or absence of a strong pro-democracy narrative that connects actors across sectorial and organizational differences could help explain variation between cases. Transnational diffusion processes have been crucial but have not (yet) led to a transnational movement. Given the significant role of the Troika in the bail-outs, debt renegotiations and austerity policies of those countries hardest hit, the low visibility of 'Europe' in the mobilizations is surprising.

<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/14742837.2016.1256193>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Torino Raffaele

European consumer contract law: outlines, principles and perspectives

in *Cittadinanza europea (La)*, Fascicolo 1/2016 , 77-106

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Knutsen Bjørn Olav

European defence research in crisis? The way towards strategic autonomy

in *Global Affairs*, Volume 2, Issue 3 , 287-295

Defence research, in the form of both research and development (R&D) and research and technology (R&T), are important factors in achieving long-term European strategic autonomy. The present paper analyses this debate from a comparative perspective. The first part discusses the inputs provided by the group of personalities report from February 2016 on defence related R&T research, and the corresponding report by the European Parliament (EP) from March 2016 on the future of EU defence research. In the second part, I compare the conclusions drawn in these two reports with defence research developments in China and Russia respectively. By comparing defence research activities in these two non-western states with the European efforts to establish a European defence technological and industrial base (EDTIB) we will be in a better position to answer questions such as: is European defence research in a state of



emergency? And, which means should the EU develop so as to mitigate the downward trend in European defence research? An important input to this comparative analysis is the US Defense Innovation Initiative (DII). As this paper stresses, priority given to European defence research is necessary both to cover one's own defence needs, but also to preserve and further develop the transatlantic security community as well.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Faludi Andreas

European integration and the Territorial-Administrative Complex

in *Geografiska Annaler, Series B: Human Geography*, Volume 98, Issue 1, March , 71-80

Detractors of European integration and many of its protagonists invoke state territoriality where the social and the spatial come together in a "Territorial-Administrative Complex". Like the military-industrial complex claiming once to procure security, protagonists claim to guarantee democratic legitimacy. At the same time, the interests of the territorial constituencies prevail over others. The underlying notion of space is absolute and of territory that of a container. Costs and benefits are calculated in terms pertaining to it. The underlying "meta-geography" is one of boxes-in-boxes, but rather than viewing space as a container, based on academic literature in the matter, planners now pursue soft planning for soft spaces. In the face of the apparently incontestable claim of the Territorial-Administrative Complex to a monopoly on the production of democratic legitimacy, the article points out, albeit rare examples of constitutional theorists challenge this monopoly. Voting in territorial constituencies, they claim, has never been properly argued for, making it an arbitrary institution.

Full text available online at <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/geob.12090/full>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bulmer Simon, Joseph Jonathan

European integration in crisis? Of supranational integration, hegemonic projects and domestic politics

in *European Journal of International Relations* , vol. 22, n. 4, december , 725-748

ABSTRACT: The European Union is facing multiple challenges. Departing from mainstream theory, this article adopts a fresh approach to understanding integration. It does so by taking two theoretical steps. The first introduces the structure–agency debate in order to make explicit the relationship between macro-structures, the institutional arrangements at European Union level and agency. The second proposes that the state of integration should be understood as the outcome of contestation between competing hegemonic projects that derive from underlying social processes and that find their primary expression in domestic politics. These two steps facilitate an analysis of the key areas of contestation in the contemporary European Union, illustrated by an exploration of the current crisis in the European Union, and open up the development of an alternative, critical, theory of integration.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Idoya Ferrero Ferrero, Robert Ackrill

Europeanization and the Soft Law Process of EU Corporate Governance: How has the 2003 Action Plan



Impacted on National Corporate Governance Codes?

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 54, Issue 4

Europeanization addresses the impacts of EU (European Union) membership on national politics and policies. Over time, new policy processes have been developed, such as the use of soft law and the open method of co-ordination. What, though, are the consequences of these new processes for Europeanization? This article contributes to this under-researched area by examining the extent to which EU soft law influences policy adoption at the national level. Our empirical application is corporate governance, an area of growing EU policy interest, with significant soft law elements. We analyse the extent to which the European Commission's 2003 plan to enhance corporate governance achieved its aim of 'co-ordinating corporate governance efforts of Member States'. Our quantitative analysis of 95 national codes issued over 1992–2010 suggests that the Action Plan did influence national policy-making, but that the degree of national policy alignment depends on when the corporate governance code was issued, where, and by whom.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Porte Caroline de la, Van Dalen Arjen

Europeanization of national public spheres? Cross-national media debates about the European Union's socio-economic strategy

in *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, vol. 17, n. 3 , 279-293

This paper studies the Europeanization of media coverage of the European Union's (EU) socio-economic strategy, which is a crucial building block for developing a European Public Sphere. As the EU level increasingly influences public policy in member states, there should correspondingly be a more intense and visible media debate with attention for EU-level and cross-national policies and developments. On the basis of a content analysis (2000–2010) in Denmark, France, Poland and the UK, we find that media attention for the EU's growth and jobs strategy is limited, that it does not increase over time and that it is mainly driven by the EU agenda. There are cross-national similarities in thematic focus and EU-level actors are omnipresent in reporting on the strategy. Finally, we find that coverage of the strategy has a transnational dimension in all four cases, with reference to peer countries in terms of benchmarking and reporting on criticism and advice to member states. This criticism is more often diffuse than aimed at specific member states. Therefore, we conclude that media coverage of the EU's socio-economic strategy is Europeanized, but that it remains a debate by and for EU-interested actors.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Stephen F. Szabo

Europe's Leadership Deficit

in *International Spectator (The)*, Volume 51, Issue 4 , 17-28

The European Project is currently experiencing the most serious crisis in its sixty year existence. Past crises have produced transformational leaders who used them to build more Europe. Today transformational leadership at the European level has been replaced with transactional and laissez faire leaders and is being challenged by charismatic populist 'strong men' who oppose more Europe. The structure of the EU, the rise of new media, the large flows of immigrants and refugees combined with economic stagnation and the decline of traditional ideologies have undermined



the ability of leaders to shape effective policies. Emerging leaders will be grounded in the nation state and in a more Gaullist Europe.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Mudde Cas

Europe's Populist Surge. A Long Time in the Making

in *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 95, n. 6

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Skog Karolina

Europe's future's bright – if the future's green

in *Europe's World*, vol. 33, Autumn

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Ioannidis Michael

Europe's new transformations: How the EU economic constitution changed during the Eurozone crisis

in *Common Market Law Review*, vol. 53, issue 5 , 1237-1282

ABSTRACT: This article argues that the Eurozone crisis has brought about two transformations in the basic rules of the EU economic constitution: the acceptance of public financial assistance to Eurozone Member States and the replacement of market discipline of domestic economies by bureaucratic discipline. Treating the measures adopted during the crisis and especially the response of the ECJ in Pringle and Gauweiler as constitutional transformations makes it possible to develop a narrative of the crisis that avoids two popular and opposing approaches that lead to a dead end: the wholesale acceptance of the legality of the measures adopted during the crisis on one hand, or their dismissal as simply illegal deviations from the EU constitutional framework on the other. In order to develop this constitutional narrative, the article borrows the theme framed by Weiler in his seminal article "The Transformation of Europe" and develops a constitutional interpretation of the moral hazard concept.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Kumar Rajaram Prem

Europe's 'Hungarian solution'

in *Radical Philosophy*, issue 197, May/June



<http://www.radicalphilosophy.com/commentary/europes-hungarian-solution>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Reul Herbert

Europäische Energie- und Klimapolitik zwischen Anspruch und Wirklichkeit

in *Zeitschrift für Außen- und Sicherheitspolitik*, vol. 9, n. 3, 297-305

ABSTRACT: Die Energieversorgung moderner Gesellschaften weist sicherheitspolitische Aspekte auf. Die Sicherstellung von Öl- und Gaseinnahmen zur staatlichen Haushaltskonsolidierung, das Risiko durch Abhängigkeit von Energieressourcen anderer Staaten sowie Fragen der Nachhaltigkeit und durch den Klimawandel entstehende Konflikte sorgen für Herausforderungen für politische EntscheidungsträgerInnen. Der Artikel beleuchtet die europäische Energiepolitik unter den eben genannten Gesichtspunkten und zeigt die Chancen für die europäische Energieversorgung und einen gemeinsamen Energiebinnenmarkt auf.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Brigevich Anna

Eurosceptic Regionalists: Flemish and Walloon Identities Compared

in *Europe en formation (L')*, 2016/1 (n° 379), 95-121

This paper examines the impact of regional identity in Flanders and Wallonia on ethnocentrism, preference for greater decentralization and support for integration. It does so on two levels. First, it evaluates the assumption that individual regional identification is associated with more Europhile attitudes. The analysis reveals that a strong regional identity dampens support for integration in both Flanders and Wallonia. Second, the paper compares the impact of ethnic identity construction in Flanders with civic identity construction in Wallonia. In Flanders, a more ethnocentric vision of community membership is coupled with greater calls for regional sovereignty. For a significant portion of the Flemish population, particularly the supporters of the radical right Vlaams Belang, integration compromises the sovereignty of the Flemish "nation." In Wallonia, ethnocentric attitudes are comparatively weaker. However, Wallonia's poor economic performance has made Walloons more protectionist and ethnocentric, although less Eurosceptic than the Flemings.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Thomas Horsley

Eurozone Crisis Management, Citizenship Rights and the Global Reach of EU Data Protection Law: EU Legal Developments in 2015

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 54, Issue Supplement S1

2015 was another productive year for the EU judiciary. Collectively, the Court of Justice and General Court delivered a total of 954 judgments on a diverse range of substantive topics. The year began with an urgent preliminary ruling on the allocation of jurisdiction in intra-EU matrimonial disputes. It ended in late December, with a nod to upcoming seasonal festivities, with a judgment scrutinizing the Scottish Government's plans to introduce minimum unit pricing for alcoholic



drinks.

At the end of 2015, and in a separate development, the Member States also reached agreement on significant institutional reforms to the size and shape of the Court. The Member States' approach to reform essentially sees 'more Court' as the response to the problems of workload and the need to ensure the delivery of judgements within reasonable time – as mandated by Article 47 of the Charter of Fundamental Rights (EUCFR). 5 The agreed reforms entered into force on Christmas Day and provide, first and foremost, for a progressive increase in the number of judges at the General Court.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Dermot Hodson

Eurozone Governance: From the Greek Drama of 2015 to the Five Presidents' Report
in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 54, Issue Supplement S1

Greece's membership of the eurozone has long been problematic but these problems came to a head in 2015 with an astonishing standoff between a newly-elected Greek government led by Alexis Tsipras and a coalition of hawkish German Finance Minister Wolfgang Schäuble. This standoff escalated in July after Tsipras called a referendum on the terms of stalled negotiations with the European Union (EU) and International Monetary Fund (IMF) and Schäuble tabled the idea of Greek exit from the eurozone. Grexit appeared to be a matter of hours away before the heads of state or government brokered a short-run solution of sorts. This deal, which paved the way for €85 billion in additional loans, had brutal conditions attached. It ended the Greek drama of 2015 but neither resolved the contradictions surrounding Greece's membership of the eurozone nor secured the fate of economic and monetary union (EMU) more generally. Over the course of the year, the eurozone also grappled with other challenges, including slow economic growth, deflationary pressures driven by low oil prices, the implementation of recent reforms to eurozone governance and the prospects for economic, financial and political union set out in the Five Presidents' Report. The overarching theme of 2015 was that eurozone governance faced profound problems of legitimacy that policy-makers appeared more adept at aggravating than alleviating.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Elena Baracani, Merve Calimli

Evaluating Effectiveness in EU Democracy Promotion: The Case of Turkey
in *Rivista Italiana di Politiche Pubbliche*, numero 3, 427-455

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Oulasvirta Lasse O., Bailey Stephen J.

Evolution of EU public sector financial accounting standardisation: critical events that opened the window for attempted policy change
in *Journal of European Integration*, vol. 38, n. 6, 653-669



This paper analyses agenda-setting for EU policy change in respect to public sector accounting harmonisation, adopting the garbage can model for its theoretical framework. It utilises qualitative research methods to determine what caused the window of opportunity to open, why it led to a proposal for compulsory public sector accounting standardisation for member states and why the International Public Sector Accounting Standards were not adopted by the EU. It concludes that harmonised accrual accounting is likely to be only a minor instrument of EU fiscal governance and its Excessive Deficit Procedure aiming to prevent governments running structurally unbalanced public finances.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Heims Eva M.

Explaining Coordination Between National Regulators in Eu Agencies: The Role Of Formal and Informal in Public Administration, Volume 94, Issue 4 , 881–896

Coordination between national regulators in EU agencies is based on a variety of mechanisms – such as mutual exchange and hierarchy – which the existing literature has extensively documented. However, it has paid less attention to explaining such variation. This article suggests that cultural theory can systematically integrate the observation of varied coordination mechanisms into one framework. More crucially, cultural theory also provides a coherent theoretical explanation for variation of coordination mechanisms by pointing to the importance of formal and informal social organization: the grid and group boundedness of national regulators, namely the constraints exercised on them by EU bodies and by the shared norms of their professional communities, can account for the emergence of different types of coordination across policy sectors. The article demonstrates this by presenting original empirical research on three cases, namely coordination between national regulators in the EU agencies responsible for food and maritime safety, as well as banking regulation.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Winzen Thomas, Schimmelfennig Frank

Explaining differentiation in European Union treaties

in European Union Politics , vol. 17, n. 4, December , 616-637

Since the early 1990s, European integration has become increasingly differentiated. Analysing the conditions under which member states make use of the opportunity to opt out of, or exclude other countries from, European integration, we argue that different explanations apply to treaty and accession negotiations, respectively. Threatening to block deeper integration, member states with strong national identities secure differentiations in treaty reform. In enlargement, in turn, old member states fear economic disadvantages and low administrative capacity and therefore impose differentiation on poor newcomers. Opt-outs from treaty revisions are limited to the area of core state powers, whereas they also occur in the market in the context of enlargement.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Charron Nicholas



Explaining the allocation of regional Structural Funds: The conditional effect of governance and self-rule in European Union Politics , vol. 17, n. 4, December , 638-659

What regional factors can explain the heterogeneity in Structural Funds distribution to European Union regions? Past studies have shown that aside from the level of economic development and rates of unemployment, other political, and economic factors systematically explain why certain European Union regions receive greater funding than others, in particular where there is room for bargaining. In this article, a novel theory is posited which argues that the determination of Structural Funds is based on an interaction between a region's formal institutions (the level of a regional autonomy) and informal institutions (its level of quality of government). In cases of low regional autonomy, member states and European Union level actors prefer to allocate greater levels of Funds to regions with lower quality of government in order to increase cohesion. Yet in cases of high regional autonomy, risks associated with absorption failure in lower capacity regions lead states to strategically allocate greater levels of transfers to regions with higher quality of government. The theory is tested on data for 171 European Union regions for the 2007–2013 budget period. The results show robust empirical support for the theoretical claims.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Wilman G.

F. The end of the absence? The growing body of EU legislation on private enforcement and the main remedies it provides for

in Common Market Law Review, vol. 53, issue 4 , 887-935

ABSTRACT:

Private enforcement is essential in the EU legal order. It has however long been left mainly to the Member States to lay down the rules on remedies and procedures that apply in such proceedings before their national courts. Nevertheless, with a view to facilitating this form of enforcement and addressing concerns in light of the reliance on national law, the EU has established a growing body of secondary EU law on the matter. This paper analyses that body of law. It concentrates on the four main private enforcement remedies (actions for damages, injunctive relief, contractual remedies, interim relief) provided for in selected acts of EU legislation relating to four fields of law (public procurement, intellectual property, consumer protection and competition law). It seeks to shed light also on the content and functioning of this kind of EU legislation more generally and on how it fits into the broader body of EU law.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Jouvenat Pierre

Federalizing Political Parties in Europe. Towards a Single Party for Each Political Family

in Federalist Debate (The), Year XXIX, Number 2, July 2016

Political parties have a central role to play in animating the public space and in stimulating citizen participation and engagement. European integration, therefore, requires transnational political parties which can mobilize citizens on Europe-wide political issues and contribute to the creation of a European civil society. With the prospect of a federal Union, the progressive establishment of a transnational party system - within which parties operate and compete with each other on a continental scale and are themselves organised according to federal principles - is the indispensable



counterpart to institutional reforms.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Schelkle Waltraud

Financial Centre and Monetary Outsider: How Precarious is the UK's Position in the EU?
in *Political Quarterly* , Volume 87, Issue 2, april-june , pp. 157-165

The UK's negotiating position in the area of 'economic governance' started from the assumption that there is a deep dividing line between insiders and outsiders of the 'euro zone'. To protect the outsiders, the UK government did not ask for a veto, but for a safeguard mechanism that can postpone a decision in the euro area. This is exactly what David Cameron achieved in the negotiations with Council President Tusk. This article explains why the UK demands were so modest. Key is the peculiar situation of the UK being the major financial centre for a currency union to which it does not belong. Hence, the UK taxpayer needs protection from the City, and EU membership has helped to provide this. There is not much else a UK government could ask for.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Daniel William T.

First-order contests for second-order parties? Differentiated candidate nomination strategies in European Parliament elections

in *Journal of European Integration*, vol. 38, n. 7 , 807-822

This article examines an alternative logic for candidate renomination to the European Parliament (EP), based upon the size and ideological nature of a Member of the European Parliament's (MEP's) home party, as well as timing of EP elections. I derive expectations from the second-order election hypothesis to show that parties from outside of the national mainstream should expect to benefit disproportionately from EP elections and therefore renominate experienced incumbents at higher rates. Using original data on the career behaviour of MEPs during the 2009 and 2014 elections, I find that such parties are more likely to treat EP contests as 'first order' in their importance, particularly when European elections are held during the midterm period of the national election cycle. My findings have new implications for the differentiated volatility of the EP, specifically, as well as for internal party dynamics in multi-level systems, more generally.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Basso Henrique S., Costain James

Fiscal Delegation in a Monetary Union with Decentralized Public Spending

in *CESifo Economic Studies*, Volume 62 Issue 2 June 2016 , 256-288

In a monetary union, the interaction between several governments and a single central bank is plagued by several sources of deficit bias, including common pool problems. Each government has strong preferences over local spending and taxation but suffers only part of the costs of union-wide inflation and higher interest rates, creating a tendency



towards excessive debt. Motivated by the evident failure of fiscal rules to restrain debt in the European context, this article analyzes an alternative fiscal regime in which the control of sovereign debt issuance is delegated to an independent authority, while public spending decisions remain decentralized. Using a symmetric perfect-foresight model, we compare the long-run policy biases affecting a typical country across different institutional arrangements. Establishing an independent fiscal authority tends to reduce debt via three distinct channels: first, the debt aversion induced by its mandate; second, its greater patience, compared to an elected institution; and third, the internalization of common pool problems, if the authority is established at the union-wide level. Furthermore, we show that fiscal delegation is more effective in restraining debt, and more informationally efficient, than the establishment of a federal government which would centralize fiscal decisions.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bouthevillain Carine, Dufrénot Gilles

Fiscal policies enhancing growth in Europe: does one size fit all?

in *Oxford Economic Papers*, Volume 68 Issue 4 October 2016 , 1146-1165

This paper provides evidence of various reactions of growth rates to changes in the composition of taxes and public spending in Europe. We use a quantile estimator to allow different slopes of fiscal variables, across countries and years. We find that sovereign spending should be encouraged in the medium term if growth is low, but the medium-term effect on the economic activity is not positive in situations of moderate or rapid growth. Human capital expenditure jeopardizes growth, if a country belongs to the group of under-performers, while the initial costs are progressively transformed into growth-friendly factors for the group of over-achievers. Welfare expenditure is unproductive in the medium term, but only above a given growth threshold. Higher direct taxes are more harmful for low-growth countries, since their effects are more persistent than for countries with high growth. Our findings are contrary the idea that one size fits all.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bertolissi Mario

Fiscalità e spesa pubblica nell'UE. Una relazione costitutiva in termini di forma di Stato

in *Rassegna di diritto pubblico europeo*, numero 1 , 29-50

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Daniel Seikel

Flexible Austerity and Supranational Autonomy. The Reformed Excessive Deficit Procedure and the Asymmetry between Liberalization and Social Regulation in the EU

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 54, Issue 6

This paper analyzes how the apparently merely technical introduction of reversed qualified majority voting for the excessive deficit procedure included in the Six Pack and the Fiscal Compact shifts not only the institutional



balance between the European Commission and the Member States but also the relationship between liberalization and social regulation in the EU. In bringing together institutional analysis and a political economy perspective, the paper shows how the strengthening of the Commission's discretionary decision-making authority in a context of inter-governmental power imbalances between debtor and creditor states extends the asymmetry between market-making and market-correction to the area of political decision-making. In consequence, economic and social policies are subordinated to the primacy of austerity.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Waechter Natalia

Formation of European identity: ethnic minority groups in Central and Eastern Europe in generational perspective

in Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power, Power Volume 23, Issue 6, 2016, 686-704

Research into European identity has mostly focused on majority populations in Western European countries, neglecting new member states in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) as well as ethnic minority groups. This paper contributes to filling this gap by exploring and investigating processes of European identity formation of five ethnic minority groups in four CEE countries. A generational perspective was applied by conducting qualitative in-depth interviews with three generations of ethnic minority group members. The results support the instrumental approach of identity construction. In all minority groups researched, the young generation, due to more positive personal experiences and perceived benefits from the European Union, have developed more positive images and perceptions of Europe and a greater sense of European identity than older generations. Furthermore, ethnic group-specific processes of identity formation were found.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Weber Ferdinand

Formen Europas. Rechtsdeutung, Sinnfrage und Narrativ im Rechtsdiskurs um die Gestalt der Europäischen Union

in Staat, vol. 55, issue 2, 151-179

ABSTRACT: Der Europäischen Union fehlt ein eindeutiger rechtlicher Begriff. Staats- wie verfassungstheoretische Übertragungen und Neuschöpfungen bilden nur einen Teil ihrer Züge ab und können die sich dynamisch ändernde rechtliche und politische Gestalt der Union nicht einfangen. Das ist bemerkenswert, bedürfen rechtliche Akteure doch wie wissenschaftliche Beobachter für rechtliche Operationalisierung und theoretische Einordnung handhabbarer Unterscheidungen – einer klaren Form. Ist die Europäische Union rechtlich »in Form zu bringen«? Der Beitrag möchte eine Reise durch die Begriffsdeutungen der Union unternehmen und mit der Analyse des juristischen Formdiskurses zeigen, dass Begriffskämpfe im Recht mehr bedeuten als formelle Festlegungen. Dabei erweitert ein (rechts)historischer Blick die Perspektive des zumeist gegenwärtige sozialwissenschaftliche Diagnosen aufnehmenden Rechtsdiskurses. Als metaphorisch vereinnahmende Selbstbeschreibungen gesellschaftlicher Organisation haben Begriffsbildungen politischer Gemeinschaften eine über den reinen Formenstreit weit hinausreichende Wirkung. Dennoch möchte der Beitrag nahelegen, dass die Uneindeutigkeit der Union kein Nachteil ist. Diese bleibende Erkenntnis kann vermeintlich fortschrittsgerichtete Entwicklungszwänge mildern.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Anthony Ian

Fragmentation may bring security paralysis

in *Europe's World*, vol. 33, Autumn

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Ludivine Damay, Heidi Mercenier

Free movement and EU citizenship: a virtuous circle?

in *Journal of European Public Policy*, Volume 23, Issue 8

The year 2013 was officially declared the European Year of Citizens (EYC) in the European Union (EU). Through this event, the European Commission (EC) reiterates a 'virtuous circle' – between citizenship, free movement and a sense of belonging – able to bring citizens closer to the EU. This contribution shows how this 'virtuous circle' tends to translate into a 'tunnel vision' that reduces citizenship to free movement. Through the analysis of EC discourses, of the literature on 'movers' and 'stayers', and of focus groups with young people from Brussels, we suggest to expand the understanding of free movement and its effects. Overall, this contribution proposes to re-evaluate the scope of the 'virtuous circle' by considering that the 'stayers' are also EU citizens, that free movement is not indisputably an attractive right, and that the movers do not unquestionably feel attached to the EU as a result of their mobility.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Tanja A. Börzel

From EU Governance of Crisis to Crisis of EU Governance: Regulatory Failure, Redistributive Conflict and Eurosceptic Publics

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 54, Issue Supplement S1

Financial crisis, euro crisis, Greek crisis, Crimean crisis, Ukraine crisis, Syria crisis, migration crisis – even the greatest optimist cannot deny that Europe has been suffering through a whole series of crises ever since the Lehman Brothers bank collapsed in 2008. EU scholars and pundits agree that Europe has failed to govern the multiple crises because the European Union has been too weak to prevent the breakdown of banks, contain sovereign debt, generate economic growth, create new jobs, promote stability and democracy in its Southern and Eastern neighbourhood, stop transnational terrorism, and fight climate change.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Marcello Carammia, Sebastiaan Princen, Arco Timmermans



From Summitry to EU Government: An Agenda Formation Perspective on the European Council

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 54, Issue 4

While some observers have claimed that the European Council has become the key institution in European Union politics, others have argued that the Council's role has remained relatively stable over time. In this article, we argue that an analysis of agenda formation dynamics in the European Council may help us understand better how the European Council works and how its role has evolved over time. Building on theories of agenda-setting, we identify two ideal-typical modes of agenda formation: selective targeting and routine monitoring. Based on a comprehensive dataset of coded European Council Conclusions in the period 1975–2011, we show that the substantive content of the European Council agenda shows little change over time. However, in terms of agenda formation dynamics, we find a marked shift toward routine monitoring of issues. This supports the claim that the European Council is developing into the EU's de facto government.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Fabbrini Sergio

From consensus to domination: the intergovernmental union in a crisis situation

in *Journal of European Integration*, vol. 38, n. 5, special issue: Integration without supranationalisation: the central role of the European Council in post-Lisbon EU politics , 587-599

After clarifying the concept of intergovernmental union, the article analyses the performance of the latter during the euro crisis. The economic policy side of the Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) epitomises the intergovernmental union because based on the principle of voluntary coordination between member state governments as a condition for advancing the process of integration. Tested during the euro crisis, because of the distrust emerged between member states, EMU has ended up in creating a highly centralised policy regime, where the creditor member states have come to play a domineering role with regard to debtor member states. Hierarchical relations between national governments have finally substituted consensus with domination. The absence of a European legislative check on the decisions taken by the intergovernmental Euro Summit and Eurogroup has made domination an unjustifiable feature in the eyes of the public opinion of the debtor member states.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Fuori dall'Europa

in *Il Ponte*, numero 7, 2016

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Kantola Johanna, Rolandsen-Agustin Lise

Gendering transnational party politics. The case of European Union



in **Party Politics**, Volume 22, Issue 5, Special issue: Gender and Party Politics, September , 641-651

In this article, we analyze transnational party politics in the European Union from a gender perspective. This is a subject that has been neglected both by mainstream European studies on party politics and by gender scholars who work on political parties. Drawing on the insights of these two research traditions, we build toward an analytical framework to study gender and transnational party politics. Our empirical analysis focuses on two policy issues, the economic crisis and the sexual and reproductive health and rights, analyzing European Parliament reports, debates and voting on the issues from 2009 to 2014. By focusing on gender equality constructions and the way in which consensus and contestation are built around them within and between party groups, we argue that shared constructions about gender equality are issue specific and change over time. Consensus breaks down along the left right axis and, at the same time, internal divisions within party groups affect policy output. Full text available online at <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/1354068816654321>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Tarchi Marco

Gli errori e l'ipocrisia dell'Unione europea

in **Diorama**, numero 327

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Dicosola Maria

Gli stati dell'Europa centro-orientale tra identità nazionale e costituzionalismo europeo

in **Cittadinanza europea (La)**, Fascicolo 1/2016 , 239-266

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Fiengo Gaspare

Gli strumenti d'azione dell'Unione economica e monetaria: nuove sfide per il principio di democrazia rappresentativa dell'Unione europea

in **Rassegna parlamentare**, n. 2 , 319-342

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Angelo Schillaci



Gobierno de la economía y desarrollo democrático de la Unión Europea. Apuntes sobre el principio de solidaridad

in *Revista de Derecho Constitucional Europeo* , no. 25

El trabajo analiza la relación entre gobierno de la economía y desarrollo democrático de la Unión europea, a partir del principio de solidaridad y de sus dinámicas de aplicación en los distintos niveles de gobierno de la Unión.

En particular, se adopta el principio de solidaridad como herramienta de análisis de cuatro ámbitos de la relación entre gobierno de la economía y desarrollo democrático, es decir: el papel de los Parlamentos, de los Tribunales constitucionales y del TJUE en el control de las decisiones políticas adoptadas en tiempos de crisis, y el posible uso del principio de solidaridad como parámetro de control del ejercicio de la discrecionalidad política en la administración de recursos escasos (medidas de austeridad); el papel del pluralismo territorial; la relación entre derechos y mercado en el proceso de integración europea; la condicionalidad como carácter esencial de las medidas de rescate adoptadas por los Estados de la Eurozona.

El análisis intenta demostrar que existe una relación muy profunda entre la solidaridad entre Estados, y la efectividad del principio de solidaridad al interior de los Estados, y que solamente medidas europeas inspiradas en ello pueden conservar el modelo social de los Estados y de la Unión, contribuyendo así al desarrollo de una democracia "social" o bien "integral".

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

FRANK SCHIMMELFENNIG

Good governance and differentiated integration: Graded membership in the European Union

in *European Journal of Political Research*, Volume 55, Issue 4 , 789–810

The study of European integration has traditionally focused on organisational growth: the deepening and widening of the European Union (EU). By contrast, this article analyses organisational differentiation, a process in which states refuse, or are being refused, full integration but find value in establishing in-between grades of membership. It describes how the EU's system of graded membership has developed, and it explains the positioning of states in this system. The core countries of the EU set a standard of 'good governance'. The closer European countries are to this standard, the closer their membership grade is to the core. Some countries fall short of this standard and are refused further integration by the core: their membership grade increases with better governance. Other countries refuse further integration because they outperform the standards of the core countries: their membership grade decreases as governance improves. These conjectures are corroborated in a panel analysis of European countries.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Desmond Dinan

Governance and Institutions: A More Political Commission

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 54, Issue Supplement S1

In November 2014, based on the new Spitzenkandidaten procedure, Jean-Claude Juncker became President of the



European Commission (Dinan, 2015; Peñalver Garcia and Priestley, 2015). Speaking to Members of the European Parliament (MEPs) before the vote to approve the new college, in October 2014, Juncker said that he hoped to lead a different kind of Commission – what he called ‘a more political Commission’ – at a time of grave crisis in the European Union (Juncker, 2014). The advent of the Juncker Commission coincided with a debate among EU scholars about the Commission’s overall importance.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Tom Casier

Great Game or Great Confusion: The Geopolitical Understanding of EU-Russia Energy Relations in Geopolitics, Volume 21, Issue 4 , 763-778

This article explains why a considerable part of the International Relations literature frames highly complex energy relations between the EU and Russia in terms of simple, exclusive geopolitical intentions. Drawing on Construal Level Theory, it addresses the gap between immediate interaction between various private and public actors with their own agendas and individual intentionalities and assumed collective geopolitical intentionalities. Because of the degree of abstraction, collective motivations are attributed to actors like Russia and the EU. This attribution risks to be subject to bias. It is argued that higher psychological distance increases the likelihood of more radical and ideologised framing. These abstract schemes do not follow from the endogenous energy dynamics but are function of a broader logic of competition which has characterised EU-Russia relations.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Alcázar Alfredo Crespo

Hacia el referéndum del 23 de junio: retórica y realidad en Reino Unido in Cuadernos Manuel Giménez Abad, n. 11, junio , 166-170

On 23 June UK will decide, via referendum, if it remains as a Member State of the EU or if the country will leave the EU. Proponents of the Brexit have intensified their arguments against the EU in recent weeks, some of which, particularly those related to security and defense issues have been challenged by rivals. However, division and confrontation remains unchanged in the ranks of the party and the Conservative government. Consequently, it is confirmed that Cameron’s pragmatism is not an effective tool to contain Euroscepticism, which in some cases has mutated into a clear Europhobia that combines childishness and short-termism.

Full text available online at

http://www.fundacionmgimenezabad.es/images/Documentos/Cuadernos/cuadernos11_junio_2016.pdf

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Phinnemore David

Holding the door half (?) open: the EU and Turkey 10 years on in Journal of Contemporary European Studies , vol. 24, issue 4 , 442-462



ABSTRACT: A decade of accession negotiations with the EU has not brought Turkey significantly closer to EU membership. In part, the reasons lie with Turkey. This article, however, explores the position of the EU and the 'supply-side' of enlargement. It reflects on developments in how the EU has engaged with Turkey on the question of membership, situating Turkey's candidacy and the EU's position within the broader comparative context of how the process and politics of EU enlargement have evolved over the last 10 years. It focuses on a set of supply-side variables that are key to determine the progress that applicants can make towards membership: member state preferences, the activism of supranational institutional actors, the EU's integration capacity, public opinion in the EU towards enlargement and the narratives deployed in justification of enlargement. The article also considers the state of Turkey's accession negotiations and how they have been and potentially will be affected, assuming they are meaningfully revived, by the evolving nature and substance of EU accession negotiations more generally and EU's approach to conditionality.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Tchistiakova Natalia, Waechter Natalia

How national identification matters: the development of European identification among established ethnic minority groups

in Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power, Power Volume 23, Issue 6, 2016 , 725-744

Based upon the data from qualitative studies of eight national minorities between the Baltic and the Danube, this article investigates the formation of European identification among members of the minority groups representing 'split nations' along the new eastern borders of the enlarged EU. The analysis reveals mechanisms of the formation of supranational identification by focusing on the relationships between subnational, national and European identifications to ascertain the degree of interconnectedness of these identification levels. These relationships are examined in the context of the potential impact of perceived ethnic conflict and utilitarian expectations of socio-economic and cultural gains from the process of European integration.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Simon Otjes

How the eurozone crisis reshaped the national economic policy space: The Netherlands 2006–2012

in Acta Politica, Volume 51, Issue 3 , 273–297

This article shows that the eurozone crisis has reshaped the national economic policy space. The extent to which parties favour European integration, affects their positions on economic policies. These results stand in contrast to earlier studies that found limited effects of European integration on national party systems or found effects in other domains than the economic realm. The article focuses on economic decision-making in the Netherlands between 2006 and 2012. The economic left/right dimension no longer suffices to understand the economic policy positions of political parties: party positions on important welfare state reforms do not follow the left/right line of conflict, but rather a reform line of conflict that divides parties from the left and the right into pro-European reformers oriented at sustainability of the welfare state and Eurosceptic defenders of the existing welfare state. The measurement of party positions is based on the self-positioning of parties on hundreds of economic policies that they submit to the Netherlands Bureau of Economic Analysis.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Page Douglas

How voters hold the European People's Party accountable in European Parliament elections
in *Journal of European Integration*, vol. 38, n. 6 , 671-685

The established consensus is that voters do not hold European Union leaders accountable for their management of the economy in European Parliament elections, which contributes to the EU's democratic deficit. However, the existing research misses a comparison between those who feel that the national government is responsible for their economic situation and those who feel the EU is responsible. The analysis is based on surveys of the 28 EU members. I find that when one assigns more responsibility to the EU than the national government for national economic conditions, satisfaction with the economy increases the likelihood of voting for the European People's Party, the dominant party group in the EU. This study presents the first evidence of individuals' accountability-holding behaviour towards the EPP.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Serafini Gabriele

I caratteri economici del socialismo in tre documenti europei
in *Europea*, Anno 1, n. 2, novembre , 119-138

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Ferrara Maurizio

I flussi migratori intra-UE dopo la Brexit. Come riscrivere le regole sull'"ospitalità'
in *Paradoxa*, ANNO X - Numero 3 - 2016

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Alfreðsdóttir Lilja

Iceland needs pragmatism to avoid northern exposure
in *Europe's World*, vol. 33, Autumn

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 6. The European unification process

Faraguna Pietro

Il "sospettoso" cammino europeo del Bundesverfassungsgericht da Solange a Gauweiler
in *Cittadinanza europea (La)*, Fascicolo 1/2016 , 211-237

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Martinelli Claudio

Il Regno Unito tra specificità britannica e dialogo con l'Europa
in *Cittadinanza europea (La)*, Fascicolo 1/2016 , 185-210

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Stefano Montaldo

Il controllo sull'applicazione del principio di sussidiarietà
in *Federalismi*, Anno XIV - Nr 13

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Andrea Frosini

Il coordinamento tra Parlamenti nazionali e Autorità indipendenti: il caso delle Autorità garanti per la protezione dei dati personali

in *Nomos*, 1/2016

Il presente contributo rappresenta un compendio del percorso di studio effettuato dall'unità di ricerca costituita presso l'Università di Siena, nell'ambito del progetto PRIN 2010-2011 coordinato dal Professore Fulco Lanchester dell'Università di Roma "La Sapienza" e intitolato "Parlamenti nazionali e Unione europea nella governance multilivello". In tale contesto, l'indagine effettuata si è proposta di analizzare, a livello comparato, lo specifico aspetto del rapporto tra Parlamenti e Autorità indipendenti, che costituisce un tema ricorrente nelle riflessioni dottrinali sull'individuazione di un necessario bilanciamento tra indipendenza e responsabilità (la c.d. accountability) delle menzionate Authorities. Com'è noto, infatti, tali organismi, in quanto indipendenti secondo la regola dettata a livello comunitario, sono sottratti ai poteri di indirizzo e controllo degli Esecutivi, lasciando così aperta la problematica del rapporto con i Parlamenti quali sedi della rappresentanza.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Salvati Eugenio

Il deficit democratico e il ruolo del Parlamento europeo. Quali problemi ancora aperti?

in *Politico (II)*, n. 241, 2016, 52-82

ABSTRACT: The democratic deficit issue is one of the most debated in the European Union (EU) studies, in particular after the approval of the Maastricht Treaty and the beginning of a long period of institutional reforms within the EU. This topic has gained even more attention after the breaking-out of the deep economic and financial crisis started in 2008. The way in which European institutions had managed the crisis, in particular in some countries like Greece and – partially – Italy, have risen questions not only about the democratic functioning of the EU but even on the capacity of the supranational institutions to restrict the effective functioning of democracy within the EU member states. In this article, the thesis of the democratic deficit will be discussed and some of its most relevant features will be underlined. The article will concentrate its analysis on the institutional aspects of the democratic deficit and in particular, it will be focused on the role of the European Parliament (EP). The empowerment of the EP represents a kind of overtaking of the perceived democratic deficit? If the answer is negative, which are the reasons behind this failure? Furthermore, the article will reflect over the absence of a real European political space and how this absence has been managed during the last 2014 European elections.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Cesare Pinelli

Il doppio cappello dei governi fra Stati e Unione europea

in *Rivista trimestrale di diritto pubblico*, no. 3, 639-649

L'autore si propone di illustrare gli aspetti istituzionali dell'attuale crisi dell'Unione europea attraverso l'analisi del ruolo cruciale giocato dai governi nazionali nell'assetto europeo nonostante la risalente immagine popolare di «Bruxelles» come sede di un'inaccessibile tecnocrazia. Questa posizione dei governi, che ha a lungo vanificato l'esercizio dei congegni di responsabilità nell'ambito dell'Unione, non è più praticabile dopo che la crisi dell'eurozona ha dimostrato il ruolo cruciale del Consiglio europeo nell'adozione delle decisioni di politica finanziaria. Lo dimostra il fatto che il malcontento degli elettorati nazionali verso l'Unione si rovescia direttamente contro i partiti tradizionali attraverso la massiccia ascesa dei partiti populistici.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Giulia Caravale

Il rafforzamento della cooperazione interparlamentare nelle proposte di alcuni parlamenti nazionali

in *Nomos*, 1/2016

Nella teoria dei giochi il gioco a somma zero è quella situazione in cui la perdita o il guadagno di un partecipante vengono perfettamente bilanciati dal guadagno o dalla perdita dell'altro. A lungo il rapporto tra i parlamenti nazionali e



l'Europa è stato paragonato ad un gioco a somma zero, nel quale l'aumento del potere dell'uno comportava un danno per l'altro. Questo perché la limitazione della sovranità derivata dalla partecipazione alla Comunità aveva determinato la contrazione del potere legislativo dei parlamenti nazionali: questi ultimi, peraltro, non riuscivano a tenere il passo con i governi ai quali, invece, era riconosciuto un importante ruolo nel decision making europeo. Inoltre, il controllo tradizionalmente esercitato dai singoli parlamenti nazionali sulle attività dei rispettivi governi è stato spesso considerato, per quanto riguardava la materia europea, come un eccessivo freno alla politica comunitaria dell'esecutivo.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Villani-Lubelli Ubaldo

Il ritorno della questione tedesca: l'inevitabile egemonia della Germania in Europa
in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, Volume 83, n. 2, aprile-giugno , 205-218

The article analyzes the role of Germany in Europe, retracing the steps of the rediscovered main role of the German Federal Republic after the fall of the Berlin Wall. After November 9th, 1989 and the subsequent reunification, the fear of reunified Germany was widespread among Europe's political leaders of the time. Despite the resentment, the Berlin government made a European and pro-Western choice. Over the past quarter of a century, however, the European economic and geopolitical balance has changed. After a phase of normalization, Germany has once again become a power center. The aim of this paper is to demonstrate how the hegemony of Germany in Europe is not the result of a will to power (*Wille zur Macht*) of the German Federal Republic, but of four geopolitical and economic factors: a) the Eastern enlargement of the European Union, b) efficiency of the German economic and social model, c) the economic and political decline of France and, finally, d) the retreat of United Kingdom from the EU. The German hegemony in Europe today is emerging as a positive power aimed at maintaining a) the European balance and b) the competitiveness of the European Union in the global market. The new German question is no longer whether Germany is European or whether Europe should be German (Thomas Mann), but whether Germany reunified after the fall of the Berlin Wall will be able to exercise its power and what form will Europe take because of this new power center.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Lupo Nicola

Il terzo «cartellino giallo» e i multiformi usi dell'early warning system
in *Quaderni Costituzionali*, numero 3 , 571-572

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Robert van Geffen

Impact of Career Paths on MEPs' Activities
in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 54, Issue 4

The increasing powers of the European Parliament in recent decades have made it a more attractive institution for



ambitious politicians keen to build their political career in the EU's multi-level system. A key contribution to the debate about the career paths of MEPs is made by Scarrow (1997). Her work, which identified three different career paths taken by MEPs, has been widely cited and used as a basis for other studies on this topic. Building on Scarrow's work, this paper describes two additional categories of MEPs – former national politicians and 'one-off' MEPs – and links MEPs' careers with their activities in Parliament. It finds that over and above the factors that have previously been identified as influential on an MEP's behaviour, his or her career path and ambitions are relevant in explaining certain legislative behaviour across Member States and party groups.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Luisa Torchia

In crisi per sempre? L'Europa fra ideali e realtà

in *Rivista trimestrale di diritto pubblico*, no. 3 , 617-620

Le tante crisi — la crisi economica, la crisi a fronte delle migrazioni, la crisi dinanzi agli attentati terroristici — si combinano in una unica grande crisi che tende a compromettere il progetto di integrazione europea. Nonostante la costruzione europea si sia caratterizzata sin dall'origine come un ideale, essa non ha mai avuto — o teso ad avere — un modello. Questo paradosso, a cui se ne aggiungono molti altri, è alla base della distanza fra ideale europeo e realtà dell'esperienza europea.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Chamon Merijin

Institutional balance and Community method in the implementation of EU legislation following the Lisbon Treaty

in *Common Market Law Review*, vol. 53, issue 6 , 1501-1543

ABSTRACT: On paper, the Lisbon Treaty radically changed the way in which EU law is implemented by defining a new institutional balance in Articles 290 and 291 TFEU, bringing decision-making in this area more in line with the traditional Community method. However, the real reform brought by the Lisbon Treaty depends on how the political institutions and the Courts interpret and apply the new Treaty rules. An analysis of seven years of post-Lisbon institutional practice and case law shows that in reality the institutions have largely undone Lisbon's reform, meaning that the post-Lisbon institutional balance in this area largely resembles the pre-Lisbon one and that decision-making in this area fails to align with the Community method ideal type.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

MANUELE CITI and MOGENS K. JUSTESEN

Institutional constraints, legislative activism and policy change: The case of the European Union

in *European Journal of Political Research*, Volume 55, Issue 3 , 609–625



This article presents a study of how institutional constraints affect legislative activism and how legislative activism in turn affects policy change through an analysis of the European Union's legislative process. The argument revolves around the key role of the European Commission in advancing policy change, and emphasises that the Commission can successfully push for increased policy change by increasing its legislative activity when the institutional opportunity space widens. Using a novel panel dataset covering eight policy sectors from the period 1984–2012, the article shows that the number of legislative proposals significantly affects the extent of regulatory reform in the EU. The rise in the number of legislative proposals, in turn, is affected by the extent of gridlock between the EU's legislative bodies. These findings show that the Commission steps up its legislative activity when the institutional opportunity space allows for greater policy change.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Monastiriotis Vassilis

Institutional proximity and the size and geography of foreign direct investment spillovers: Do European firms generate more favourable productivity spillovers in the European Union neighbourhood?

in Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy, Volume 34, Issue 4, June , 676-697

The European Union (EU) association framework provides European businesses with an entry advantage into the associated countries by facilitating production links and encouraging institutional convergence. It is believed that this has multiple beneficial effects for the associated countries, including ones related to productivity spillovers accruing to domestic firms. However, no empirical evidence exists to show that the presence of European firms produces larger productivity spillovers in recipient economies compared to firms from other world regions. We examine this question using firm-level data covering 28 transition countries over the period 2002–2009. We estimate the intra-industry productivity effects of foreign ownership and examine how these differ across regional blocks (Central and Eastern Europe, South East Europe and European Neighbourhood Policy), by origin of investor (EU15 versus non-EU15), across geographical scales (national versus regional) and for different types of locations (capital-city regions versus the rest). Our results suggest that investments of EU origin play a distinctive role, helping raise domestic productivity in the associated countries unlike investments from outside the EU. However, this process operates in a spatially selective manner, potentially enhancing regional disparities and spatial imbalances. This assigns a particular responsibility for EU policy to devise interventions that will help redress these problems within its existing association framework.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Fabbrini Sergio, Puetter Uwe

Integration without supranationalisation: studying the lead roles of the European Council and the Council in post-Lisbon EU politics

in Journal of European Integration, vol. 38, n. 5, special issue: Integration without supranationalisation: the central role of the European Council in post-Lisbon EU politics , 481-495

This special issue follows up on a stream of recent contributions on what has been identified as a particular phase of post-Maastricht European integration: the 'new intergovernmentalism' and 'the intergovernmental union'. This literature considers the European Union's (EU) core intergovernmental forums for policy coordination, the European Council, the Eurogroup and the Foreign Affairs Council as central to EU decision-making. These bodies perform functions related to



policy initiation and implementation which were traditionally associated with the European Commission. Intergovernmentalisation is primarily detectable in new areas of EU activity such as economic governance and foreign affairs which operate mainly outside the community method and in policy sectors which depict a mix of legislative and non-legislative decision-making mechanisms, such as justice and home affairs and energy. More integration is achieved without significant further supranationalisation. These developments affect how the Union's main decision bodies operate and how.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Costamagna Francesco, Montaldo Stefano

Integrazione dei cittadini di Paesi terzi e diritto dell'Unione europea: obiettivo da perseguire o requisito per l'accesso ai diritti?

in *Paradoxa*, ANNO X - Numero 3 - 2016

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Maximilian Gödl, Jörn Kleinert

Interest rate spreads in the eurozone: Fundamentals or sentiments?

in *Review of World Economics (Weltwirtschaftliches Archiv)*, Volume 152, Issue 3 , 449-475

We analyze the determinants of interest rates on long-term government bonds within the eurozone to assess whether the recent divergence in interest rates is attributable to changes in common economic fundamentals. First, we argue that the panel regression approach commonly employed in existing literature has conceptual as well as empirical problems. Therefore we take an event study approach using high-frequency (daily) data to investigate the impact of three categories of news events on eurozone bond yields. Our results indicate that yields react to news on key economic indicators such as growth and budget deficit forecasts. By contrast, we do not find evidence that investors react to announcements of fiscal bailouts or austerity measures.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Crespo Alcázar Alfredo

Interrogantes, polémicas y dialécticas en la relación de Reino Unido con la Unión Europea tras el 23-J

in *Cuadernos Manuel Giménez Abad*, n. 12, diciembre , 192-200

The Brexit victory in the referendum on June 23, has not solved the influence that the "European issue" exercises in the UK, particularly on the Conservative Party. On the contrary, new questions have emerged threatening conflict and division into two priority scenarios – on the one hand, with regard to the tory government, on the other hand, with respect to the unit of the United Kingdom.

Full text available online at

http://www.fundacionmgimenezabad.es/images/Documentos/Cuadernos/cuadernos12_diciembre_2016.pdf



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Jeandesboz Julien

Interroger la « vie sociale des méthodes » dans les approches critiques de la sécurité : expertise et enquête sur les questions de sécurité européenne

in **Cultures & Conflits**, n. 102, Questions de méthodes Savoir-faire des études critiques de sécurité, été , 33-57

Research on the security politics of the European Union is becoming increasingly abundant. To further the aims of this special issue on methodology among critical approaches to security, this article draws on the appropriation by this scholarship of the “social life of methods” debate to open two related lines of investigation. First, the article examines the inscription of researchers into European security politics not only as a limit to research, but as a method of access and analysis. The article looks particularly at the identification of researchers as “experts” by EU practitioners, and at expertise as method. The second line of investigation and reflection concerns the limits inherent to the way in which critical scholarship on security has appropriated the “social life of methods” discussion. The article argues that this is an opportunity to engage with methods in relation to concrete research endeavors, rather than to stage a theoretical discussion on methods.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Nathalie Tocci

Interview with Nathalie Tocci on the Global Strategy for the European Union’s Foreign and Security Policy in *International Spectator (The)*, Volume 51, Issue 3 , 1-8

The Global Strategy for the European Union’s Foreign And Security Policy, “Shared Vision, Common Action: A Stronger Europe”, presented at the European Council on 24 June 2016 by Federica Mogherini, High Representative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy and Vice President of the Commission, was drafted by Nathalie Tocci, Deputy Director of the Istituto Affari Internazionali (IAI) and co-editor of *The International Spectator*.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Waechter Natalia

Introduction to the construction and the interplay of European, national and ethnic identities in Central and Eastern Europe

in **Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power**, Power Volume 23, Issue 6, 2016 , 630-647

This special issue challenges the concept of fluidity and flexibility of identities by demonstrating that ‘new’ European identity is not easily adopted and that the co-existence of ethnic and national identities is an ongoing process of negotiation. The theoretical approach assuming multiple identities can be confirmed for ethnic minorities in Central and Eastern Europe who were often thought to be focused on ethnic identities. This issue provides empirical quantitative and qualitative evidence for showing that ethnic minorities typically relate to their ethnic identity and to the national identity of their residence country simultaneously. The individual papers reveal that the development and maintenance of ethnic,



national and European identities are often linked to the socio-economic situation and possible benefits. Also, social and cultural practices such as language and media consumption are crucial for the construction of identities. Furthermore, articles in the special issue highlight that national and European politics, above all minority rights and integration policies, may contribute to ethnic and European identification.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Dimitry Kochenov, Amichai Magen, Laurent Pech

Introduction: The Great Rule of Law Debate in the EU

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 54, Issue 5

Faced with what has been labeled 'rule of law backsliding' in some EU countries, EU institutions have sought to address the rise of 'illiberal regimes' via existing mechanisms as well as new instruments. This introductory contribution offers an overview of the problem and a brief summary of the papers to follow and which were first presented at a workshop co-organized by the Bingham Centre for the Rule of Law and Middlesex University London.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Karin Svedberg Helgesson, Ulrika Mörth

Involuntary Public Policy-making by For-Profit Professionals: European Lawyers on Anti-Money Laundering and Terrorism Financing

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 54, Issue 5

EU directives on AML (anti-money laundering)/CTF (counter-terrorism financing) entail involuntary public policy-making by for-profit professionals on politically sensitive issues. This raises fundamental questions on the role of private actors in public policy-making apart from their roles as lobbyists and contractors. From a democratic perspective, the involuntary public policy-making by European lawyers is particularly problematic as it involves guardians of the rule of law who, we argue, are simultaneously forced to act as agents of the state. In the case of AML/CTF, lawyers are within the political system rather than outside it. We show that expectations concerning how lawyers are to work closely with the state in the United Kingdom and Sweden differ, and that the policy-making styles lawyers apply in practice were either 'pragmatic' (UK) or 'evasive' (Sweden). Our findings provide a first step in understanding the new role of for-profit professionals as involuntary public policy-makers, and its possible effects.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Tim Haughton

Is Crisis the New Normal? The European Union in 2015

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 54, Issue Supplement S1

The article is the editorial of the issues and focuses on the persistence of the European crisis.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Touko Piiparinen

Is it time to transcend political realism in the EU-Russia security cooperation? Exploring the critical realist model of emancipatory windows

in *Journal of International Relations and Development*, Volume 19, Issue 3 , 365-391

This article explores the possibilities of a novel methodological approach in the EU-Russia studies, namely the model of emancipatory windows based on critical realist philosophy. It is argued that the critical realist model can challenge the political realist hypothesis on the absolute gridlock of cooperation between the EU and Russia. The model reveals that collaboration between the two strategic partners is possible within narrow but deep sectors, that is, emancipatory windows, which are defined by three variables: materiality, normativity, and time. In terms of the Third Common Space on external security, an emancipatory window has opened for value-based joint action and operations aimed at the protection of civilians in armed conflicts. More specifically, it would be possible to incorporate and implement the UN-authorized principle of Responsibility to Protect in the roadmap of the Third Common Space and in the successor to the Partnership and Cooperation Agreement. The adoption of RtoP could lead to new forms of cooperation between the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) and Russia in crisis management, particularly in Africa. Thus, emancipation from the current deadlock in the EU-Russia relations does not necessitate completely new normative or concrete structures, that is, 'reinventing the wheel'. Instead, emancipation can be achieved by modifying and transforming the already existing CSDP-Russia structures.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Neill Nugent, Mark Rhinard

Is the European Commission Really in Decline?

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 54, Issue 5

In the academic debate on the relative powers and influence of the EU institutions, it has become common to suggest – especially in the case of advocates of the 'new intergovernmentalism' – that the European Commission is in decline. In this article we show that while in some limited respects this is indeed the case, the Commission's overall position in the EU system is not one of having become a weaker institutional actor. The extent of the losses of its powers and influence tends to be exaggerated, while in some aspects its powers and influence have actually been strengthened. We show this by focusing on three of the Commission's core functions – agenda-setter, legislative actor and executive – all of which are widely portrayed as being in decline. We incorporate into our analysis both the formal and informal resources available to the Commission in exercising the functions.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Williams Christopher J

Issuing reasoned opinions: The effect of public attitudes towards the European Union on the usage of the 'Early Warning System'

in *European Union Politics* , vol. 17, n. 3, September , 504-52



This study examines those factors that influence the issuance of reasoned opinions within the European Union's 'Early Warning System'. It is posited that greater aggregate public Euroskepticism results in the issuance of more reasoned opinions. This expectation is tested using data derived from the European Parliament, the Commission's platform for European Union Interparliamentary Exchange, and longitudinal data from the Eurobarometer survey series. It is found that greater aggregate public Euroskepticism is associated with the issuance of more reasoned opinions. This study has important implications for our understandings of policy processes, political responsiveness, and democratic governance in the European Union and its member states.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Jörg Monar

Justice and Home Affairs

in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 54, Issue Supplement S1

In its 16 years of existence the Union's 'area of freedom, security and justice' (AFSJ) has surely not seen a more challenging one than 2015. The year started with the unprec-edented Charlie Hebdo terrorist attack in Paris on freedom of expression and ended with many questions about the effectiveness of EU counter-terrorism co-operation in the aftermath of the vicious assaults which in November left 130 people dead who had been enjoying an unusually mild autumn evening in Paris, attacks which also justifiﬁed the steadily increasing concerns about 'foreign ﬁghters' trained by the self-proclaimed 'Islamic State' returning to Europe. Running almost in parallel with the enhanced terrorist challenges, the very foundations of the AFSJ – the openness of the EU's inter-nal borders within the Schengen context – came under threat because of a massive surge of refugees and migrants, mainly from Syria, which created serious domestic problems in the primary target country Germany, and led to the temporary reintroduction of controls at some Schengen borders and caused serious divisions in the EU Council. The combined pressures of the refugee crisis and terrorist challenges accounted for an unprecedented number of nine meetings of the Justice and Home Affairs (JHA) Council, a rather exceptional Joint Council meeting of the Home Affairs Ministers and the Foreign Ministers in April and an informal meeting of the JHA Ministers in July. Progress was made with adoption of several legal instruments, including in the civil law ﬁeld, but at the end of the year there was still considerable uncertainty about the effectiveness and implementation of measures taken in response to both the refugee and terrorism challenges.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

BROAD MATTHEW

Keeping your Friends Close: British Foreign Policy and the Nordic Economic Community, 1968–1972

in **Contemporary European History**, Vol. 25, n. 3, August, special issue "European integration", 459-480

The Nordic Economic Community (Nordek) was a short-lived and ultimately unsuccessful attempt to strengthen cooperation between the four Nordic states. While the importance of the project to Britain has often been overlooked, this article suggests that Whitehall took considerable interest from the start. It demonstrates how, although officially neutral, London sought first to mitigate the effects of Nordek, then to undermine its establishment and, finally, in the wake of Nordek's collapse, to guard against its re-emergence. The aim throughout was to protect three central tenets of British foreign policy: EFTA unity in light of the second veto, Britain's own application for EEC membership and a cohesive Western Europe militarily integrated in NATO. However, the article highlights the absence of a coherent



strategy towards tentative Nordic integration and the mixed success this brought, the interdependency of Anglo-Nordic relations in the pursuit and success of British foreign policy goals and the relative decline of the Britain's influence in the Nordic region.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Zaporozhets Vera, García-Valiñas María, Kurz Sascha

Key drivers of EU budget allocation: Does power matter?

in *European Journal of Political Economy*, Volume 43, June 2016, Pages 57-70

We examine the determinants of the EU budget allocation among Member States. In line with the analysis by Kauppi and Widgrén (2004) we test two alternative explanations: political power vs. “needs view”. To do so, we extend the original data set (1976–2001) up to 2012 and introduce alternative econometric specifications. We also put forward the nucleolus as a measure of political power in the distributive context. Our results demonstrate that both power and “needs” are important factors in explaining EU budget allocation. Political power matters, but not as much as previous studies have shown. We also conclude that the nucleolus is a good alternative to the Shapley–Shubik index which was used previously. Power is more balanced with needs under the specifications based on the nucleolus.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Degner Hanno, Leuffen Dirk

Keynes, Friedman, or Monnet? Explaining parliamentary voting behaviour on fiscal aid for euro area member states

in *West European Politics*, vol. 39, n. 6, 1139-1159

ABSTRACT: This article investigates the determinants of parliamentary support for international fiscal aid. Departing from the literature on presidential systems, it analyses an exemplary case of a parliamentary system, Germany. Two theoretical accounts are distinguished. The first perceives MPs as policy-seekers and focuses on the positioning of government and opposition parties and individual MPs on an economic left‒right and a pro- versus anti-EU dimension. The second regards MPs as vote-seekers and presumes an electoral district connection. The statistical analysis of a new data-set containing information on 17 Bundestag roll-call votes from 2009 to 2015 finds support for the first account: voting in favour of fiscal aid measures is mainly driven by government membership and EU support. By contrast, neither economic ideologies, nor district or mandate characteristics influence support for fiscal aid. The article contributes to a growing literature on the domestic politics of international political economy.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Heins Volker M.

Krisenbewältigung durch Kooperation? Die Grenzen des EU-Modells

in *Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft*, Volume 26, Issue 4, December 2016, 445–453

No abstract available



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Cangelosi Rocco

L'Europa deve ritrovare lo spirito spinelliano

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLVIII, numero speciale, n. 178, autunno , 486-491

Full text available online at http://www.affari-esteri.it/Affari_Esteri_178.pdf

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Guilleminot Adrien

L'Europe est-elle une union monetaire?

in *Politique internationale*, n°151 - PRINTEMPS - 2016

Entretien avec Yves-Thibault DE SILGUY

Vice-président administrateur référent du Conseil d'administration de VINCI, Yves-Thibault de Silguy:

Having become part of Europeans' daily life in just a few short years, pillar of economic stability on the Old Continent, the single currency appears to have received its stamp of legitimacy from the financial crisis. And it symbolizes the greatest success story of European construction. But is that enough to keep it from being dismantled? To find out, we met with one of the euro's principal architects, Yves-Thibault de Silguy, European Commissioner in charge of its implementation.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Rizzo Aldo

L'Unione europea da Ventotene a Bratislava

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLVIII, numero speciale, n. 178, autunno , 492-497

Full text available online at http://www.affari-esteri.it/Affari_Esteri_178.pdf

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Marco D'Alberti

L'Unione europea e i diritti

in *Rivista trimestrale di diritto pubblico*, no. 3 , 761-777

L'articolo sottolinea l'importanza che la questione dei diritti fondamentali ha avuto per la formazione della stessa idea di Europa. Analizza il graduale potenziamento della tutela dei diritti nell'ordinamento della Comunità e dell'Unione europea, esaminando il ruolo svolto dalla Corte di giustizia, dalle modifiche dei Trattati, dalla CEDU e dalla Corte di



Strasburgo, dalle tradizioni costituzionali comuni agli Stati membri. Individua un limite di tale processo di potenziamento nella tutela meno consistente attribuita ai diritti sociali. Indica alcuni possibili rimedi e conclude con un cenno agli effetti negativi del «Brexit» in materia di diritti, in ragione del contributo determinante che il Regno Unito storicamente ha dato alla protezione delle libertà e dei diritti fondamentali.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Guillard Christine

L'accord relatif au Brexit

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 602, octobre-novembre , 537-540

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Fontaine Nicole

L'après Brexit et l'avenir de l'UE

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 602, octobre-novembre , 518-519

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Jean-Victor Louis

L'arrangement avec le Royaume-Uni de février 2016: analyse d'un pari perdu

in *Les Cahiers de droit européen*, volume 52, issue 2 , 449-468

Comme on le sait, les chefs d'État ou de gouvernement, membres du Conseil européen, se sont mis d'accord dans le cadre de leur réunion des 18 et 19 février 2016 sur un nouvel arrangement pour le Royaume-Uni dans l'Union européenne. Cet arrangement devait permettre au Premier ministre britannique de soutenir la thèse du maintien du Royaume-Uni au sein de l'Union européenne. Le pari de M. Cameron, a, on le sait, échoué. Le 23 juin, les citoyens britanniques ont voté en faveur du BREXIT. L'arrangement est dès lors caduc, comme il le prévoyait lui-même si le Royaume-Uni votait en faveur du départ de l'Union. Une analyse – rédigée pour l'essentiel avant la date du référendum – du texte adopté en février 2016 ne nous a pas paru sans intérêt, d'une part, parce que l'arrangement se prononçait sur des questions qui restent au premier plan des préoccupations des autorités britanniques, comme le contrôle de l'immigration et d'autre part, dans la mesure où y étaient abordés des thèmes fondamentaux, relatifs, par exemple, à la nature du processus d'intégration.

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 6. The European unification process

Vicentini Giulia

L'europeizzazione dell'élite politica italiana ai tempi della crisi

in *Polis*, numero 3, 2016, dicembre , 283-310

During the last years, mainly because of the dramatic economic crisis that affected the Eurozone, the process of European integration has been seriously questioned from a significant part of the public opinion and different political forces, which are becoming more and more relevant within their own countries. Also for what concern our country, several studies demonstrated a growing popular distrust toward EU institutions, but also at the elite level the «euro-enthusiasts » are continuously decreasing. As a consequence, the paper intends to analyse the attitudes towards the EU of current Italian MPs by means of the data collected in the months preceding the European elections of May 25th 2014 (and the month immediately after) on behalf of the ENEC (European National Elites and the Crisis) comparative project: an elite survey based on a representative sample of 80 deputies sorted by gender, years in parliament, and parliamentary party group. The findings confirm that most Italian MPs are largely dissatisfied with the current functioning of the EU system, but still they feel very attached to Europe and, rather than asking a step back on integration, they wish the allocation of a growing number of policy competences to EU institutions.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Alexandre-Collier Agnès

L'euroscetticismo au sein des partis politiques britanniques : une obsession national(ist)e

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 602, octobre-novembre , 527-529

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Caruso Loris

L'euroscetticismo e la critica politica ed economica all'Unione europea. Un confronto tra Front national, Movimento 5 stelle e L'altra Europa con Tsipras

in *Polis*, numero 3, 2016, dicembre , 311-344

In the academic literature and the media the positions of political parties on European politics are represented as a field polarized in pro-European and eurosceptics. Euroscepticism is thus considered a dimension of the political competition that absorbs the left-right cleavage. Is it appropriate to include in a single political front parties which are alternative to each other on the ideological and programmatic angle? The article addresses this issue by comparing the manifestos for the European elections of 2014 of three political forces differently positioned along the left-right axis: the Front National, the Five Star Movement and The Other Europe with Tsipras. Evidence of this analysis goes in a different direction from that currently prevailing in literature: euro-criticism and opposition to the integration principle cannot be overlapped, and the differences between left and right are not reabsorbed by an europeanism or anti-europeanism cleavage. The criticism towards EU stated by the radical right, the radical left and a political movement that defines itself as extraneous to the traditional political categories, such as the FSM, takes on the traits of a request for a return of the political,



opposed to the apparent becoming technics and administration of the national and supranational politics.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Gerkrath Jörg

L'exercice du droit de retrait au regard des droits constitutionnels britannique et européen

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 602, octobre-novembre , 541-544

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Terryn Fabienne

L'harmonisation des droits fondamentaux du suspect

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 599, juin , 324-330

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Terryn Fabienne

L'harmonisation des droits fondamentaux du suspect

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 525, février , 324-330

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Caravale Giulia

L'illusione della sovranità. Il Regno Unito tra elezioni locali e Brexit

in *Federalismi*, Anno XIV - Nr 10

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Wlazlak Anne

L'influence de l'Union européenne sur la Constitution française: essai de modélisation juridique

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 601, septembre , 478-498



No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Laval Pierre-François

L'instrumentalisation de l'État tiers : vers un dévoiement de la coopération européenne en matière d'asile

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 599, juin , 339-350

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Pierré-Caps Stéphane

L'Écosse face au "Brexit"

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 602, octobre-novembre ,

548-550

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Tarchi Marco

La Brexit e il populismo

in *Diorama*, n. 332

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Castaldi Roberto

La Brexit: il suo significato e le sue implicazioni

in *Paradoxa*, ANNO X - Numero 3 - 2016

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Giuseppe Bronzini

La Carta dei diritti dell'Unione europea come strumento di rafforzamento e protezione dello Stato di diritto

in *Politica del diritto*, no. 1-2 , 15-32



No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Curti Gialdino Carlo

La Commissione europea dinanzi alla crisi costituzionale polacca

in *Federalismi*, Anno XIV - Nr 12

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Cruz Villalón Pedro

La Constitución del estado miembro

in *Cuadernos Manuel Giménez Abad*, n. 12, diciembre , 26-30

Full text available on line at

http://www.fundacionmgimenezabad.es/images/Documentos/Cuadernos/cuadernos12_diciembre_2016.pdf

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Hofnung Thomas

La France et l'Europeface au terrorisme

in *Politique internationale*, n°152 - ÉTÉ -

Entretien avec Bernard CAZENEUVE

Ministre français délégué aux Affaires européennes depuis juin 2012:

As France continues to live under the threat of terror, the French Interior Minister lays his cards on the table. The danger level is still extremely high. What is needed is not reassurance or scare-mongering but protection. Maximum vigilance is a necessity, while firmly respecting the nation's fundamental values. Reintroducing border controls, strengthening information-sharing across Europe, and cross-checking international records are all tools that must be applied to the task, which is not made easier by the unprecedented wave of immigration that Europe is currently facing. Here, too, the government's line is strong and resolute: give shelter to the migrants, speed up the asylum process, protect national borders and break up the traffickers' supply lines. One thing is certain: these challenges cannot be met effectively without strengthening Europe.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Laurentin Emmanuel

La Grèce oubliée



in *Esprit*, Septembre

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

van Aalderen Maarten

La Turchia e l'Occidente

in *Aspenia*, n. 73 - giugno , pp. 226-233

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Steffen Bay Rasmussen

La Unión Europea como actor en seguridad y defensa después de Lisboa: innovación institucional y retos estratégicos

in *Cuadernos europeos de Deusto*, special number 1 , 13-18

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Fernández Pasarín Anna Mar

La Unión Europea tras el referéndum británico

in *Cuadernos de pensamiento político*, Número 52, Octubre/Diciembre

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Fertikh Karim

La construction d'un « droit social européen » Socio-histoire d'une catégorie transnationale (années 1950-années 1970)

in *Politix - Revue des sciences sociales du politique* , n° 115 , pp. 201-224

Cet article socio-historique analyse l'entreprise de construction d'un « droit social européen » durant les deux premières décennies de la Communauté économique européenne. Insistant sur le rôle de réseaux transnationaux au fondement de cette entreprise, il étudie les formes particulières de mobilisation des juristes au service de cette construction et les spécificités de ce droit international, découlant des particularités du milieu où il est fabriqué. En se penchant sur les modes de fonctionnement de l'administration européenne, l'analyse met encore en évidence le rôle de ses agents dans



la constitution de ce droit matérialisé dès les années 1960 par des cours, des manuels et des traités universitaires à contenu prophétique.

This article is a socio-historical analysis of the “European social law” as it was constituted as a political category in the two first decades of the European Economic Community. It analyses the crucial role of transnational networks in the development of this international law. Focusing on the day-to-day routines of the personnel in the General Direction for Social Affairs, this paper sheds light on the role of experts, putting special emphasis on the role of law scholars in constructing a “European social law”, inventing it as a new field of research and teaching at their universities and in their publications.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Maria Fartunova

La coopération loyale vue sous le prisme de la reconnaissance mutuelle : quelques réflexions sur les fondements de la construction européenne

in *Les Cahiers de droit européen*, volume 52, issue 1 , 193-219

Dès le départ, la coopération loyale a été consacrée en tant que principe fondamental de la construction européenne. Visant les rapports entre l'Union et ses États membres, elle a fondé une théorie de l'intégration européenne originale et a précisé les contours de la notion d'appartenance à l'Union. Envisagée récemment sous le prisme de la confiance mutuelle, la coopération loyale a contribué à renouveler l'analyse des rapports horizontaux entre les États membres. L'association de la coopération loyale à la reconnaissance mutuelle a permis ainsi de revenir, dans une démarche plus contemporaine, sur ses éléments d'identification et de s'interroger sur la portée de sa fonction intégrative.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Vitiello Mattia

La crisi dei rifugiati e il sistema europeo comune di asilo: che cosa non ha funzionato?

in *Meridiana*, n° 86

During the last two years, Europe has experienced a dramatic increase in arrivals along the central Mediterranean and the Balkans routes. At the same time, Europe has experienced an equally dramatic rise of asylum applications. This increase of asylum seekers on the European continent is certainly not new. Another significant highpoint in asylum seekers, equal to about 672,000, had already been reached in 1992 when the European Union was made up of 15 countries and another in 2001 (424,000 asylum applications in the EU this time to 27 countries). But what is amazing of today's increase is its size and its strength in a given period of time corresponding approximately to the spring-summer period, like it was a seasonal phenomenon. Such a high number of arrivals and asylum seekers, concentrated in just a few months, represents a problem in the management and in the reception of these flows. Starting from these data, the research question is not about why the European Union has failed to manage these flows.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process



Mario Albertini

La crisi del Mediterraneo e le responsabilità dell'Europa
in *Federalista (Il)/Federalist (The)*, Anno LVIII, n.1

Sembra che, di colpo, gli europei abbiano dimenticato, persino nel paese di Machiavelli, che la politica consiste nei rapporti di forza; e che la politica internazionale consiste in rapporti di forza senza freni giuridici, cioè basati anche su mezzi militari. Perseguendo l'idea del negoziato con chi usa nel modo più brutale la forza, questi europei della decadenza e della dimissione dimenticano che anche i negoziati si fondano sui rapporti di forza. L'esito di un negoziato non è l'ipotetica soluzione giusta per tutti. È la soluzione con la quale vengono riconosciuti i diritti del più forte, e ad ognuno viene dato quanto gli spetta in ragione della sua forza. In sostanza, un negoziato è una guerra simulata.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Rita Perez

La crisi del debito pubblico

in *Rivista trimestrale di diritto pubblico*, no. 3 , 669-693

Il testo affronta il tema dei provvedimenti atti a gestire le crisi debitorie degli Stati. Il complesso dei provvedimenti adottati per affrontare la crisi del debito ha investito, in parte, la regolazione esistente rendendola più stringente, in parte, ha previsto nuove regole e nuove funzioni, come quella di salvataggio degli Stati, affidata a un Meccanismo di stabilità finanziaria e ha costituito nuovi soggetti, dilatando il quadro organizzativo.

L'insieme di questi provvedimenti non ha prodotto, tuttavia, i risultati sperati e, oggi, la governance finanziaria, disegnata dalle norme, appare orientata a fondare il processo di integrazione su un'attenuazione del rigore finanziario e sul ricorso a una supervisione finanziaria più flessibile.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Mellace Leonardo

La crisi dell'integrazione europea tra vincoli finanziari e crisi dell'Euro

in *Federalismi*, Anno XIV - Nr 24

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Yves Mény

La crisi politica

in *Rivista trimestrale di diritto pubblico*, no. 3 , 621-638

Da anni, a livello nazionale ed europeo, la «crisi» sembra pervasiva e permanente. Senz'altro c'è una inflazione semantica ma, soprattutto, c'è un sisma che scuote i fondamenti della politica: il modello «westphaliano» nel quale Stato



e territorio sono la «culla naturale» della democrazia è messo in crisi dalla globalizzazione dei mercati, degli scambi e dei fenomeni transnazionali. La politica non è più il luogo dove si prendono le decisioni che contano per i cittadini. La disaffezione dei cittadini si manifesta sia con la protesta (voice) sia con la «fuga» (exit) attraverso fenomeni come l'astensionismo, la volatilità elettorale, la preferenza per i movimenti populistici. La congiunzione di questi fenomeni produce una trasformazione radicale della democrazia: la crisi è la manifestazione di questo cambiamento ancora incompiuto.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Repetto Giorgio

**La dignità umana e la sua dimensione sociale nel diritto costituzionale europeo
in Cittadinanza europea (La), Fascicolo 1/2016 , 11-58**

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Ferguson Niall, Dauzat Pierre-Emmanuel

La dégénérescence de l'Europe

in Debat (Le), n° 190, Mai-juin , pp. 53-61

Il y a un paradoxe au cœur de la nouvelle Völkerwanderung, l'afflux massif en Europe de populations de toute l'Afrique du Nord, du Moyen-Orient et de l'Asie du Sud. De l'extérieur, l'Europe paraît belle et séduisante. De l'intérieur, cependant, elle est laide, comme l'un de ces vieux manoirs prussiens ou polonais imposants que les communistes avaient transformés en (...)

Plan de l'article

La stagnation économique

Le grand déplacement

Une dégénérescence institutionnelle

Relever les défis '

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

José Luis de Castro Ruano

**La evolución de la Unión Europea como actor en materia de seguridad y defensa. En busca de un
relanzamiento siempre pendiente**

in Cuadernos europeos de Deusto, special number 1 , 19-48

No abstract available



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

de la Rosa Stéphane

La gouvernance économique de l'Union et le sens de l'intégration

in *Revue Trimestrielle de droit européen*, n. 3

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Simone Raffaele, Larché Gérald

La grande migration intercontinentale

in *Debat (Le)*, n° 192, Novembre-décembre , pp. 13-26

Dans l'histoire de l'Europe, on se souviendra de 2015 comme de l'année de la « grande migration intercontinentale », quand des millions de personnes provenant de différents pays d'Afrique et d'Asie, poussées par la misère, les guerres et les dévastations, se sont mises en marche vers notre continent dans l'espoir d'y trouver le salut et le bien-être. Selon de nombreuses (...)

Plan de l'article

Hospes ou hostis¹

Comment l'Europe est devenue « douce »

Les trois vagues et la « route d'Alexandre le Grand » à l'envers

La douceur de l'Europe n'est pas bonne conseillère

Les deux rhétoriques

Dans l'immédiat et dans vingt ans

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Natividad Fernández Sola

La innovación institucional en la Unión Europea y su impacto en la naturaleza de la Unión como actor de seguridad

in *Cuadernos europeos de Deusto*, special number 1 , 75-100

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Chatelet Pauline

La mise à l'épreuve de l'Union européenne par le terrorisme - Approche française

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 599, juin , 357-362



No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Domenec Ruiz Devesa

La necessità di un bilancio federale dell'eurozona

in Federalista (II)/Federalist (The), Anno LVIII, n.1

La crisi finanziaria iniziata nel 2007-2008 e trasformata in crisi dell'euro nel 2010 ha dimostrato che un'unione monetaria non può funzionare correttamente in assenza di una politica fiscale comune. Si tratta di cosa nota almeno a partire dagli anni Settanta (rapporto McDougall) e certamente al momento dell'approvazione del Trattato di Maastricht. Quando uno shock economico colpisce in modo disomogeneo i paesi appartenenti alla stessa unione monetaria, non ci sono per definizione né una politica monetaria, né una manovra sui tassi di cambio che possano essere messe in atto specificamente in tali paesi. Così, l'unico rimedio per stimolare la crescita economica è quello di ricorrere a una politica fiscale espansiva, aumentando la spesa pubblica e/o riducendo le tasse. Ma nell'Unione monetaria le politiche fiscali espansive nazionali sono limitate, almeno in teoria, dal Patto di stabilità e crescita al 3% di deficit e, soprattutto, dai mercati finanziari, che possono penalizzare quegli Stati membri che ricorrono eccessivamente ai prestiti per finanziare il loro deficit. Questo è esattamente quanto si è verificato nell'UEM finché la Banca centrale europea non ha lanciato il programma di acquisto di titoli, che attualmente si avvicina a 1,6 miliardi di euro. Ma va tenuto presente che la BCE ha adottato questi interventi al fine di evitare la deflazione e di stimolare l'economia dell'eurozona nel suo insieme, dal momento che la monetizzazione dei deficit di bilancio non rientra nel suo mandato (e non vi rientrerà mai).

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

JAN TECHAU

La nueva Estrategia Global de la UE. ¿Útil o sinsentido?

in Política Exterior, nº 173

Los dirigentes europeos deberían leer con atención la Estrategia Global de Política Exterior y de Seguridad; un texto que explica la gravedad de la situación geopolítica de Europa y plantea opciones concretas.

A veces, la elección del momento es un desastre. En circunstancias normales, el 28 de junio debería haber sido un día señalado para cualquier persona implicada en los intentos de la Unión Europea por forjar una política exterior más unificada y significativa. Fue el día en que el Consejo Europeo, en Bruselas, adoptó la flamante Estrategia Global sobre Política Exterior y de Seguridad. Pero después de que, el 23 de junio, el referéndum sobre el Brexit sellase la salida de Reino Unido de la UE, las circunstancias no eran normales, así que los jefes de Estado y de gobierno tuvieron poco tiempo para el documento de 60 páginas presentado por la alta representante, Federica Mogherini. Le dieron el visto bueno y pasaron a otra cosa.

Este tratamiento superficial de la nueva estrategia es comprensible, pero también revelador. A los gerifaltes políticos de los Estados miembros no podría importarles menos un documento que no se sentirán obligados a acatar. Pero también es muy injusto que no le hicieran ningún caso al texto. Porque lo que la jefa de política exterior de la UE y su equipo han estado elaborando durante casi dos años es un documento europeo extraordinariamente reflexivo y rico.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Tovar Ruiz Juan

La política exterior y de seguridad de la UE: un desafío cada vez más existencial

in *Cuadernos de pensamiento político*, n. 50, Abril/Junio

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Lapérrou-Schneider Béatrice

La reconnaissance mutuelle des décisions judiciaires pénales, quelle perspective?

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 599, juin , 331-338

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Leonard Mark

La solitudine europea

in *Aspenia*, n. 73 - giugno

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Mayeur Carpentier Coralie

La stratégie de sécurité de l'Union européenne - Contribution à la journée d'études du 24 septembre 2015

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 599, juin , 351-356

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Giulia Caravale

La "faglia" della Brexit

in *Nomos*, 2/2016

La vittoria del Leave con la maggioranza del 51,89% al referendum sulla Brexit del 23 giugno rappresenta un evento



storico di cui è difficile definire al momento attuale le conseguenze a lungo termine sia sul processo che il Regno Unito dovrà intraprendere per uscire effettivamente dall'Europa, sia in merito al nuovo rapporto che si verrà a delineare tra il Paese e l'Unione. Si conoscono, invece, gli effetti immediati del voto, ad iniziare dalle dimissioni del premier Cameron e dalla sua sostituzione alla guida del partito e del governo conservatore con Theresa May, fino a quel momento ministro degli interni. Il risultato referendario, come noto, ha avuto ripercussioni anche nel partito laburista, dove Jeremy Corbyn è stato sfiduciato dalla maggioranza dei suoi deputati e si è aperta la sfida per la leadership, il cui risultato sarà noto il 24 settembre.

I dati che emergono dall'analisi del voto di giugno mostrano un'affluenza del 72,21%, superiore rispetto alle elezioni politiche del 2015 (66,4%), e profonde divisioni nel Paese di tipo sia territoriale, sia generazionale, sia culturale. Il referendum non ha mostrato solo una frattura tra coloro che sono favorevoli o contrari all'Europa, ma anche tra ricchi e poveri, Londra e il resto dell'Inghilterra, Scozia e Irlanda del Nord da un canto e Inghilterra e Galles dall'altro, nonni e nipoti, élites e classi popolari. Tali divisioni, peraltro, sembrano ritrovarsi anche all'interno dei partiti politici.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Antonino Spadaro

La «cultura costituzionale» sottesa alla Carta dei diritti fondamentali dell'UE. Fra modelli di riferimento e innovazioni giuridiche

in *Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo*, no. 2 , 297-340

In author's view, the EU Charter of fundamental rights is rooted on six specific background sources: the constitutional traditions (1) and the international obligations common to EU Member States (2), the European Social Charter (3), the Community Charter of Fundamental Social Rights of Workers (4), the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (5), and ECtHR/ECJ case-law (6). The Charter does not only reaffirm the existing rights, but it aims to synthesize values of different roots, in a narrower as well as in a broader sense (a compromise for EU peoples, but also between EU culture and other cultures). The Charter eventually promotes the ongoing European "constituent process" and offers a "basic/minimum" constitutional protection to those who live in the 28 EU Member States. According to the author, the distinction between "principles" and "rights" remains ambiguous. The Charter rather displays across-the-board effects, reducing the impact of the principle of conferred powers. Although the role played by the "better protection" rule, the frame of the many possibilities that national judges may deal with in practice is still chaotic.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bertola Giuseppe

Labor policies and capital mobility in theory and in EMU

in *European Economic Review*, Volume 87, August 2016 , Pages 62-77

Europe's Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) was characterized by large international imbalances and uneven national labor market reforms. In this paper's model, labor policies that aim to increase the welfare of capital-poor individuals within each country are influenced by financial integration across differently capital-abundant countries. The model predicts that capital outflows should be associated with labor market deregulation, as was the case in EMU, and helps interpret inequality developments and policy tensions in that experience.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bertoncini Yves

Le Brexit entre europhobie britannique et euroscepticisms continentaux

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 602, octobre-novembre ,

524-526

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Marty Frédéric

Le Brexit et les politiques de concurrence britannique et européenne

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 602, octobre-novembre ,

557-559

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Torcol Sylvie, Maubernard Christophe

Le Brexit ou l'Europe politique à la croisée des chemins

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 602, octobre-novembre ,

516-517

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Rousseau Dominique

Le Brexit ou le moment constituant européen

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 602, octobre-novembre ,

564-566

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Marti Gaëlle



Le Brexit à l'aune de la citoyenneté européenne

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 602, octobre-novembre , 533-536

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Zaganella Marco

Le conseguenze del Mec sull'economia dell'Italia meridionale

in *Europea*, Anno 1, n. 2, novembre , 157-183

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Ali Bencheneb

Le droit européen des investissements et le devenir du traitement juste et équitable

in *Revue internationale de droit économique* , t. XXX, 2016/1

Cet article, qui reprend une communication présentée lors d'un colloque sur la cohabitation des systèmes juridiques organisé en novembre 2015 par l'Université d'Alger, revient sur l'intégration des investissements dans la politique commerciale commune de l'Union européenne et ses conséquences à un moment où il devient clair que le droit des investissements est appelé à connaître une évolution singulière. Malgré une critique de l'arbitrage des investissements, il apparaît que l'encadrement juridique de la notion de traitement juste et équitable emprunte à la pratique arbitrale.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Sciortino Giuseppe

Le inevitabili tensioni del regime europeo dell'asilo

in *Paradoxa*, ANNO X - Numero 3 - 2016

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Ibrido Renato

Le nuove procedure di accountability democratica nel quadro del secondo pilastro della Banking Union

in *Quaderni Costituzionali*, numero 2 , 377-379,

No abstract available



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Le Bot Fabien

Le principe de l'équilibre institutionnel en droit de l'Union européenne

in *Revue européenne de droit public*, Vol. 26, no 4,

The principle of institutional balance has been used by the Court of Justice since the very beginning of the European construction. The determination of its scope and its functions in the jurisprudence allows us to see in it a principle applicable to all Union institutions and bodies having a decision-making power. Being a structural principle, institutional balance guarantees the fundamental elements of the institutional system of the European Union, in particular the organisational independence and the functional collaboration of the institutions. This principle, used so far in a limited number of cases, could be used in a more systematic way by the Court of Justice. As a defining element of the horizontal organisation of powers, it is a key to understanding the institutional system of the Union and its evolutions. It could apply to new issues originating from the Lisbon Treaty, such as the delimitation between legislative acts, delegated acts and implementing acts.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Baldocci Pasquale

Le projet européen : paradoxes de relance

in *Revue des deux mondes*, Juin

Depuis le Conseil de Maastricht en décembre 1992, la promotion de la Communauté en Union européenne et le lancement de l'euro, le projet européen aborde un long et lent déclin, que le drame politique et humanitaire des migrants achève de placer en assez mauvaise posture. Ce dessein ressemble à une princesse plongée dans un sommeil profond que nul n'ose interrompre, craignant de provoquer un accès de colère et un assaut de reproches. Tout au contraire, la mondialisation prospère rapidement dans la stupeur, l'effarouchement ou l'indifférence.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Hillion Christophe

Le retrait de l'Union européenne. Analyse juridique

in *Revue Trimestrielle de droit européen*, n. 4 , 719-734

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Tinière Romain



Le rôle de la Charte dans la jurisprudence de la Cour de justice de l'Union européenne depuis l'avis 2/13 : vers un modus vivendi avec le droit de la Convention?

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 600, juillet-août , 400-405

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Napolitano Giorgio

Lectio doctoralis "Europa in crisi: le responsabilità della politica"

in *Politico (II)*, n. 241, 2016 , 123-134

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Firat Cengiz

Legitimacy and Multi-Level Governance in European Union Competition Law: A Deliberative Discursive Approach

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 54, Issue 4

Union competition law protects 'consumer welfare', but what role do consumers play in competition policy-making? This is the question that this article seeks to answer. In the search for an answer, the article investigates the moral (output) and procedural (input) legitimacy of the recent competition law reforms. Following a discursive approach, the article looks into the roles played by institutions deliberating for citizens (consumer organizations, European Parliament and the Union Courts) in the reform process. This inquiry results in the questioning of the reforms' legitimacy, and it also leads to broader conclusions regarding the legitimacy of multi-level governance: expert discourses overshadow potential deliberative qualities of networks, which exacerbates networks' legitimacy problems. Also, the input/output legitimacy dichotomy appears problematic, as expert policy-making in the absence of citizen participation does not guarantee policies resonating with public interest.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Idoux Pascale

Les garanties des états participant ou non à l'Union bancaire et au "pacte budgétaire"

in *Revue européenne de droit public*, vol. 28, no 1

The topic of guarantees from States participating or not in the Banking Union is vast and ambiguous, since one's guarantees can be perceived as risks for others, as evidenced by the enhancement of the economic governance at the European level. It is, however, possible to give a full picture by making a distinction between preventive guarantees



(rules of competence, rules of procedure and substantive rules) and remedial guarantees against potential infringements on the interests of Member States (the right of access to the courts, accountability and disengagement). Although safeguarding the States' consent remains, of course, an essential guarantee, it is not always realistic, and therefore other ways, namely a furthering of the accountability procedures, should be further exploited.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Saarilahti Ilkka

Les innovations des procédures budgétaires de l'Union européenne : Treizième partie : le budget de l'Union pour 2016 un budget sous d'importantes contraintes II. Le projet de budget pour 2016

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 602, octobre-novembre , 576-584

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Saarilahti Ilkka

Les innovations des procédures budgétaires de l'Union européenne - Treizième partie : le budget de l'Union pour 2016 - Un budget sous d'importantes contraintes. I. L'environnement budgétaire en 2015

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 601, septembre , 499-511

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Saarilahti Ilkka

Les innovations des procédures budgétaires de l'Union européenne - Treizième partie : le budget de l'Union pour 2016 - Un budget sous d'importantes contraintes. III. L'accord sur le budget pour 2016

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 603, décembre , 637-647

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Chaltiel Florence

Les perspectives du Brexit

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 602, octobre-novembre , 513-514



No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Skjærseth Jon Birger

Linking EU climate and energy policies: policy-making, implementation and reform

in International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics, Volume 16, Issue 4, August , 509-523

This contribution examines the EU's innovative climate and energy package: how this package of binding policies has been initiated, decided, implemented and reformed. The key argument is that linking climate and energy concerns can help to explain how the EU managed to adopt an ambitious package of policies aimed at achieving 2020 goals. The combination of differently valued issues, side payments to overcome distributional obstacles and the creation of synergies contributed to a successfully negotiated outcome. The consequences for implementation and further policy development towards 2030 are explained by challenges in reproducing these joint EU-level gains at national level and by new circumstances. This may weaken the EU's chances of realizing a low-carbon economy and 'leadership by example' in international climate policy.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Katharina Zimmermann

Local Responses to the European Social Fund: A Cross-City Comparison of Usage and Change

in Journal of Common Market Studies, Volume 54, Issue 6

Governance in the European Union has become increasingly complex and multi-faceted in the last decades. The article argues that the ESF (European Social Fund) is a crucial example in this regard since it combines financial incentives, procedural requirements and programmatic conditions. In order to analyse local responses to this complex governance tool, the article deploys analytical tools from the Europeanization literature and builds on in-depth case knowledge from 18 cities in six European countries. A QCA (Qualitative Comparative Analysis) combined with case discussions reveals three different types of responses to the ESF. In 'transformer-cases', both usage of the ESF and change brought by it can be observed. In 'cream-skimmer-cases', only usage but no change was measured, and in 'refusenik-cases', neither usage nor change was detected. While usage of the ESF can be explained by individual motivation of local actors or the incentivizing dimension of the funds, change is apparently more complex.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Lucarelli Stefano, Gobbi Lucio

Local clearing unions as stabilizers of local economic systems: a stock flow consistent perspective

in Cambridge Journal of Economics, Volume 40 Issue 5 September 2016 , 1397-1420

Various examples of complementary currencies have recently emerged in Europe in response to the impact of the 2007 financial crisis. They have been variously labelled as social, local and alternative money but their economic meaning has still to be discussed. On the one hand, they have been hailed as innovative tools for socio-territorial policies with a focus



on localist, anti-globalist and anti-capitalist values. On the other, the emphasis on the value of currencies as instruments of alternative territorial development runs the risk of overshadowing issues concerning the specific features of such projects. The first part of this paper puts forward an interpretation of the current situation as a crisis of the liquidity principle and suggests that the principle of clearing instead represents the primary point of reference for any institutional arrangement aimed at restoring a balanced relationship between lenders and borrowers.

A critical review of known European complementary monetary circuits is followed by examination of the Sardex clearing system. The paper then goes on to argue by means of a stock-flow consistent model that complementary monetary circuits can serve to stabilise local economic systems. In particular, a local clearing union for local exchanges has the effect of stabilising the profits of firms while attenuating the impact of the credit crunch at same time.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Kira Killermann

Loose Ties or Strong Bonds? The Effect of a Commissioner's Nationality and Partisanship on Voting in the Council

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 54, Issue 6

This article studies the consequences of the increased appointment of political Commissioners for the legislative process. Based on the principal-agent relation between the Council and the Commission, it is hypothesized that governments sharing national and partisan ties with the Commissioner responsible for a legislative proposal are less likely to cast a negative vote. Analysing 687 contested legislative proposals voted upon between 1999 and 2014, it is found that a Member State is indeed less likely to vote against a proposal by the Commissioner from that Member State. Likewise, if the responsible Commissioner is a member of the same European Party Group as at least one of the governing parties, contestation is less likely. European Commissioners seem to use the discretion the EU's legislative system grants them to promote the preferences of their home country and also – to a lesser extent – their party family.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Maria Julià Barceló

Los acuerdos de ejecución de las misiones de paz de la Unión Europea

in *Revista Electrónica de Estudios Internacionales*, Número 32 , 1-33

La completa y adecuada ejecución de las misiones de paz de la Unión Europea (UE) en el territorio de los Estados receptores, fuera de las fronteras de la Unión, requiere también de la posterior celebración de diferentes Acuerdos internacionales de ejecución con terceros Estados (participantes o receptores de la misión) u otras Organizaciones internacionales. El análisis de estos Acuerdos muestra el inicio de una práctica de la UE respecto a la celebración y ejecución de estos Acuerdos, que se ha consolidado con los nuevos artículos del TUE y del TFUE, dotando de mayor seguridad jurídica y transparencia al proceso de celebración y aplicación posterior de los Acuerdos, si bien la intervención del Parlamento Europeo en este proceso sigue siendo testimonial. La entrada en vigor del Tratado de Lisboa y el reconocimiento de la personalidad jurídica internacional de la Unión y de su capacidad para celebrar Acuerdos internacionales sobre materias de la Política Común de Seguridad y Defensa (PCSD), no ha limitado las competencias de los Estados miembros, puesto que estamos ante Acuerdos calificados mayoritariamente por la



doctrina como mixtos, aunque dadas sus características específicas y la indefinición del tipo de competencia que representan, podrían ser considerados ahora como Acuerdos en los que los Estados miembros ejercen una competencia concurrente complementaria. Asimismo, la práctica de la UE (antes y después de Lisboa) muestra que la Unión y sus Estados miembros invocan las cláusulas de aplicación provisional previstas en algunos de estos Acuerdos en los casos en los que las exigencias internas de ratificación podrían paralizar la plena ejecución de estos tratados.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Ceka Besir, Sojka Aleksandra

Loving it but not feeling it yet? The state of European identity after the eastern enlargement in European Union Politics, vol. 17, n. 3, September, 482-503

The inclusion of 11 new member states from the former Eastern bloc constitutes a significant challenge to the European Union in various respects. Many worry that whatever tenuous 'European identity' existed prior to the eastern enlargement, it has now become so diluted that no meaningful European political community can form. We provide an empirical account of the state of European identity after the eastern enlargement through a comparative analysis of affective and cognitive European identity in the old and the new Central and Eastern European member states. Our empirical analyses indicate that while the overall levels of cognitive European identification in the East are indeed lower than in the West, citizens from new member states are just as attached to Europe as citizens from old member states. Most importantly, not only is there no discernable difference in cognitive identification among young Europeans in East and West, but the youngest in the East seem to be even more strongly attached to Europe than their peers in the West.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Anna-Lena Högenauer

Luxembourg's EU Council Presidency: Adapting Routines to New Circumstances
in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 54, Issue Supplement S1

Luxembourg took over the rotating presidency of the Council of the European Union on 1 July 2015 in a climate of internal and external crisis. The budgetary situation in Greece had worsened to the point where Greece's ability to remain in the eurozone (and the EU) was at stake. At the same time, a bank-run forced Greece's banks to temporarily close. Moreover, the refugee crisis reached a climax in 2015 and tensions between EU Member States about the handling of the situation and the distribution of refugees made a common approach difficult even in the face of humanitarian disaster. Furthermore, the Ukraine crisis simmered on. In addition, a terrorist attack in Paris brought internal security issues to the fore. Finally, following British Prime Minister David Cameron's promise of a referendum on whether Britain should remain in the European Union, the EU had to start a phase of renegotiation of certain policies and processes to allow Cameron to avoid Brexit.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Streeck Wolfgang, Dauzat Pierre-Emmanuel

L'Allemagne et l'Europe



in **Debat (Le)**, n° 192, Novembre-décembre , pp. 67-81

L'Europe se disloque, détruite par les Allemands, ses partisans les plus ardents. Dans le courant de l'été 2015, après avoir humilié les Grecs en leur faisant avaler ses nouveaux diktats de réforme, Angela Merkel s'est lancée dans un nouveau jeu visant à détourner l'attention du désastre économique et politique que l'union monétaire était devenue. Les brusques changements de (...)

Plan de l'article

Virage à 180°

Leçon de choses

Le problème monétaire européen

Le Brexit, les réfugiés et l'Allemagne

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Giuliani Jean-Dominique

L'Europe a-t-elle une stratégie maritime ?

in **Revue Défense Nationale**, n° 789, Avril

L'Europe est une puissance maritime qui s'ignore alors même que sa dépendance à la mer est vitale pour son économie. L'Union européenne a cependant fait de grands progrès notamment pour la pêche et l'environnement mais il reste à développer une véritable stratégie navale crédible en s'appuyant sur les marines militaires.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Georges Mink

L'Europe centrale à l'épreuve de l'autoritarisme

in **Politique Etrangère**, vol. 81, n° 2, automne 2016

En 2010, le virage autoritaire de la Hongrie a pu être perçu comme une parenthèse qui allait se refermer rapidement. En réalité, le modèle de « démocratie illibérale » instauré par Viktor Orban a fait des émules. Le Polonais Jaroslav Kaczynski s'en inspire ouvertement. Il estime qu'en deux mandats, il pourra faire table rase de la IIIe République et ancrer son nouveau modèle. Face à ce tournant autoritaire, les sociétés civiles tentent de se mobiliser.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Ayoub Phillip M., Paternotte David

L'International Lesbian and Gay Association (ILGA) et l'expansion du militantisme LGBT dans une Europe unifiée

in **Critique Internationale**, n° 70 , pp. 55-70



L'Europe constitue une région propice au militantisme transnational, constat qui s'applique également au mouvement LGBT. Ainsi, une certaine idée de l'Europe, associée à la tolérance et aux valeurs démocratiques, a été utilisée par les militants pour défendre leurs droits, en particulier face à des États jugés hostiles. Pour ces militants, les droits LGBT ne constituaient pas seulement des droits humains, ils s'inscrivaient aussi, par la dimension normative associée au projet européen, au cœur de celui-ci. Cette conception du projet européen a influencé les stratégies et les actions militantes dans la région. En retour, le travail militant a renforcé le projet de construction européenne depuis la base. Cette étude porte plus particulièrement sur l'International Lesbian and Gay Association (ILGA) et sa branche européenne, ILGA-Europe, et sur l'expansion du militantisme LGBT dans les pays d'Europe centrale et orientale (PECO).

Europe constitutes a propitious region for transnational activism and the LGBT movement, in particular. A certain idea of Europe, associated with tolerance and democratic values, has thus been used by activists to defend their rights, particularly against what are considered hostile states. According to these activists, LGBT rights are not only human rights but, given its normative dimension, also part and parcel of the European project. This conception of the European project has influenced activist strategies and action in the region. The work of activists, in its turn, has provided grassroots support for the European construction project. The present article focuses in particular on the International Lesbian and Gay Association (ILGA) and its European branch, ILGA-Europe, and the spread of LGBT activism to Central and Eastern European countries (CEEC).

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Fischer-Herzog Claude

L'Union de l'énergie : quelle sécurité énergétique en Europe?

in *Revue internationale et stratégique*, 2016/4 (N° 104) , 101-111

Menacée dans son unité par la perspective de sortie du Royaume-Uni, l'Europe traverse une crise profonde et durable, à la fois politique, économique et industrielle. Une reconstruction, voire une « refondation » de l'Union est nécessaire. Quelle place l'énergie pourrait-elle prendre dans ce contexte ? Lancée en 2014, l'Union de l'énergie sera-t-elle la nouvelle Communauté européenne du charbon et de...

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Richard Yann

L'Union européenne : un acteur faible dans un voisinage compliqué

in *Revue Défense Nationale*, n° 791, Juin

L'Union européenne reste un acteur secondaire au Moyen-Orient par absence de volonté politique mais aussi de « hard power ». Le manque de vision commune et la préférence donnée régionalement au bilatéralisme ont marginalisé l'UE malgré de grandes déclarations trop souvent incantatoires.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process



Alemanno Alberto

L'Union européenne et le nudging

in *Revue Tocqueville - The Tocqueville Review*, Volume 37, Number 1 , pp. 21-37

Les Etats-Unis ont jusqu'à présent largement dominé le débat concernant l'introduction d'interventions « douces » telles que les nudges, dans l'élaboration des politiques publiques. L'Europe, quant à elle, a jusqu'à présent brillé par son absence. Pourtant, l'Union européenne (UE) et certains de ses membres explorent actuellement la possibilité de façonner leur action politique en s'appuyant sur les enseignements des sciences comportementales. Si les chercheurs s'intéressent surtout aux implications philosophiques, éthiques et abstraites/théoriques de la réglementation façonnée par les sciences comportementales, comme par exemple celles qui concernent l'autonomie, la dignité et le développement moral, ce chapitre cartographie et systématise le discours européen naissant sur les nudges.

À l'exception de quelques initiatives isolées démontrant une prise en compte du comportement (par exemple, en matière de droits des consommateurs, dans la directive révisée sur les produits du tabac, ou encore sporadiquement en droit de la concurrence), il n'y a pas encore dans l'UE – ni dans ses États membres – de volonté générale évidente d'intégrer les enseignements des sciences comportementales dans l'élaboration des politiques. Étant donné la capacité de cette approche innovante à engendrer des politiques efficaces, peu coûteuses et respectueuses des choix, une telle attitude est surprenante, surtout quand on la compare à la méfiance grandissante des citoyens envers l'action politique menée par l'UE. À une époque où des pays de l'UE cherchent à reprendre certains pouvoirs et où la Commission européenne nouvellement élue promet de redéfinir les relations entre l'Union et ses citoyens dans le cadre de son programme « Better Regulation » (« Pour une meilleure réglementation »), le recours aux nudges semble prometteur. Pourtant, derrière ces promesses se cachent des obstacles qu'il est nécessaire de franchir. La première partie de cet article définit le cadre de notre réflexion en discutant l'attrait toujours plus grand que les nudges présentent pour les décideurs politiques au niveau européen et à travers l'Europe. La deuxième partie présente la notion de politique élaborée à partir des sciences comportementales et la compare à celle du nudging. La troisième partie décrit les premiers essais timides d'intégration des connaissances issues des sciences comportementales dans l'élaboration des politiques de l'UE et identifie quelques expériences nationales. La quatrième partie présente les efforts que l'UE et certains des États membres ont accomplis aux niveaux institutionnel et méthodologique pour adopter une démarche visant à élaborer des politiques prenant en compte les découvertes des sciences comportementales. Enfin, la cinquième et dernière partie discute les difficultés majeures d'une telle démarche dans l'élaboration des politiques de l'UE et propose quelques remarques en guise de conclusion.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Lefebvre Maxime

L'Union européenne, entre nation et mondialisation : le chaînon manquant?

in *Revue internationale et stratégique*, 2016/2 (N° 102) , 111-120

« Entre les États et le monde, il n'y a rien », disait le travailliste Gordon Brown avant de devenir Premier ministre britannique (2007-2010). C'est dire que la pertinence de l'échelon européen fait question, et plus encore à un moment où la construction européenne traverse des crises à répétition (zone euro, espace Schengen, voisinage oriental et méditerranéen) et suscite le doute, le scepticisme,...



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Cotta Maurizio

L'Unione europea. Si può riportare in mare una nave incagliata? (The European Union in the crisis. Can a ship stranded on the rocks be rescued before sinking?)

in *Passato e Presente*, fasc. 99 , 5-12

The multiple crises that the EU has been facing over the last years are somewhat paradoxically the consequence of the success itself of the supranational polity. At the same time, they have shown all the weaknesses of the European institutional system. The article suggests that only a revitalisation of the representation and accountability mechanism of the Union can provide a solution to the current situation and prevent the legitimacy crisis from escalating.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Duarte David

L'attente d'Europe

in *Europea*, Anno 1, n. 2, novembre , 139-156

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Krastev Ivan, Dauzat Pierre-Emmanuel

L'autre Europe face aux migrants

in *Debat (Le)*, n° 192, Novembre-décembre , pp. 27-33

Voici une décennie, le philosophe et ancien dissident hongrois Gáspár Miklós Tamás observa que les Lumières, dans lesquelles l'idée d'union européenne plonge ses racines intellectuelles, exigent une citoyenneté universelle. Or celle-ci suppose la réalisation de l'un de ces deux scénarios: ou les pays pauvres et dysfonctionnels deviennent des lieux où il fait bon être citoyen, (...)

Plan de l'article

- La dictature des comparaisons mondiales
- La « politique de la porte ouverte » menacée
- La coalition des récalcitrants
- Raisons historiques
- Transition postcommuniste
- Démographie
- Le ressentiment envers le cosmopolitisme
- Le retour de la division Est-Ouest

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 6. The European unification process

Lequesne Christian , Weber Valentin

L'influence du service européen pour l'action extérieure sur les ministères des affaires étrangères : une comparaison France-Autriche

in *Revue française d'administration publique*, 2016/2 (N° 158) , 505-515

This article examines the effects of the EEAS on the EU member states' foreign policy coordination. The analysis focuses on France and Austria in particular. As the two countries are marked by differences in population, military and foreign policy ambitions, the impact of the EEAS on their respective national foreign policy is differing. The analysis illustrates that the effect of the EEAS is substantial on the central administration and on the permanent representations in Brussels, but less so on the national embassies located in third countries.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Pondrano Altavilla, Gianmarco

L'isola che non c'è

in *Critica liberale*, volume XXIII, n.229 autunno, luglio-settembre

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Dévoluy Michel

L'ordolibéralisme et la construction européenne

in *Revue internationale et stratégique*, 2016/3 (N° 103) , 26-36

Né outre-Rhin, l'ordolibéralisme est devenu la pierre angulaire de la construction européenne. L'adhésion à cette doctrine tient, certes, au poids de l'Allemagne et à l'emprise du néolibéralisme. Mais surtout, l'ordolibéralisme offre des règles parfaitement adaptées à la gestion d'une union économique et monétaire rétive à toute intégration politique. Soucieux de préserver leurs souverainetés, les États membres ont ainsi mis en place un fédéralisme tutélaire peu démocratique, axé sur des principes de rigueur et de surveillance multilatérale. En réalité, l'ordolibéralisme originel ne s'arrête pas à l'économie. Il propose aussi une vision du monde dont le contenu social et humaniste interpelle et ouvre des débats sur l'Europe face à son avenir.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

de la Rosa Stéphane



L'élaboration des positions nationales dans le cadre du semestre européen

in *Revue française d'administration publique*, 2016/2 (N° 158) , 531 - 543

The European Semester is usually considered as a strengthened coordination mechanism of national economic policies. Given its characteristics and its relationship with the compliance of the budgetary requirements, it can be seen as a shift in the practice of coordination. This change can be portrayed both in the nature of the coordination which is at stake between the EU and the Member States, but also regarding the practice of coordination in the making of national economic and social policies that fall under the scope of the European Semester. This papers explores these substantial changes in the nature of coordination and shows the consequences of economic coordination on the formulation of the (French) national positions characterised by a growing centralization both at the level of the French Ministry of Finance (Directorate of Treasury) and at the level of the SGAE (French General Secretary for European affairs).

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Niklas Bremberg

Making sense of the EU's response to the Arab uprisings: foreign policy practice at times of crisis

in *European Security*, Volume 25, Issue 4 , 423-441

The Arab uprisings of 2011 put into question previously held understandings about the stability of authoritarian regimes in North Africa as well as the European Union's (EU's) relations with countries in its southern neighbourhood. Despite early calls on behalf of the EU to change its policies, the Union's responses in the early stages seemed mostly characterised by continuity. This article claims that certain dispositions and background knowledge developed over several decades vis-à-vis EU's Mediterranean policies served as a baseline from which EU officials and diplomats acted. Drawing on insights from practice approaches, the article argues that the practical understandings on what the EU can (and cannot) do vis-à-vis partner countries in North Africa create a kind of power politics of practical dispositions. The article focuses on the European Neighbourhood Policy - the EU's flagship initiative - and builds on a unique set of data that combine policy documents and interviews with about 30 EU officials and national diplomats from before and after the Arab uprisings. In this way, it illustrates how practice relates to change in that even though the EU's responses drew on an established repertoire of practice, enacting it in a new context opened up new possibilities for action.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

R. Daniel Kelemen, Tommaso Pavone

Mapping European law

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 23, Issue 8

This article constitutes the first systematic effort to promote a spatial and a subnational turn in the study of EU legal integration by demonstrating how geospatial methods and the selection of a subnational unit of analysis can improve our understanding of the use of the preliminary reference procedure. We conduct a theory-testing case study leveraging an original dataset of all references submitted by Italian courts from 1964 through 2013 and utilize geographic information



systems (GIS) technology to analyze subnational patterns in reference activity. We use these data to evaluate whether several existing hypotheses explain recent subnational variation in reference rates. We uncover several illuminating findings. First, although population levels and domestic litigiousness best explain variation in reference rates, there is evidence that the domestic litigation effect is subnationally heterogeneous. Second, although use of the reference procedure has diffused since the 1960s, subnational reference rates are spatially clustered by issue area.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

McKenzie Lachlan

**Market Power and Misunderstandings: The Case of EU-Australian Trade Diplomacy
in Australian Journal of Politics & History**, Volume 62, Issue 2, June, 219-235

The article critically examines EU-Australia relations through the negotiation of the 1994 and 2008 Agreements between Australia and the European Community on Trade in Wine. EU-Australia relations are often characterised as defined by Australia's focus on the UK and the EU's agricultural policies. This article moves beyond these assumptions and analyses the negotiation of the wine trade agreements through three factors: the pattern of political institutions, power asymmetry and subjective utility of non-agreement alternatives. It argues that perceptions, miscalculations, and misunderstanding have had an impact on how these factors shaped negotiation outcomes. These negotiations are an under-studied case in the development of EU-Australian relations, and are useful in understanding how the perceptions of negotiators shape outcomes in the EU's negotiations with Australia.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Kundnani Hans

**Merkel, la crisi dei profughi 220 e il futuro dell'Unione
in Aspenia**, n. 72 - marzo, pp. 220-227

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Lightfoot Simon, Szent-Iványi Balázs, Wolczuk Katarzyna

**Mesmerized by Enlargement: The EU's Eastern Neighborhood Policy and New Member State Transition
Experience
in East European Politics and Societies**, vol. 30, n. 3, August, 664-684

The accession of the East-Central European (ECE) countries carried a promise of enhancing and enriching the EU's Eastern policy. The new member states had the strongest interests among EU member states to ensure that countries in the East are prosperous, stable, and democratic. Yet, the EU's Eastern policy has been largely criticised for its ineffectiveness. So why have they not been able to address the shortcomings in the EU's Eastern policies? The article argues that the ECE countries supported the way the EU's Eastern policies were conceived and implemented because they saw it as a potent vehicle to promote their own transition experience not only in the region but also within the EU.



We argue that the ECE states have experienced three types of challenges when promoting their transition experience. First, uploading to the EU level remained largely at a rhetorical level. Second, there are conceptual and practical difficulties in defining what constitutes transition experience and harnessing it, as well as coordinating its transfer between the ECE states. Finally, while using transition experience as the basis for their development assistance strategies, the ECE countries actually insufficiently conceptualised the “development” aspect in these policies. Being so driven by their own experience, they have not drawn the lessons from enlargement to use in a non-accession context, especially by incorporating the broader lessons with regard to development.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Levi Lucio

Migration Jeopardizes the EU's Cohesion

in Federalist Debate (The), Year XXIX, Number 2, July 2016

Migration is the most serious emergency the EU has to face not only because it threatens to overwhelm the fragile reception structures for asylum-seekers, but also because it endangers the internal cohesion of the Union. Schengen, like many other European achievements, was a half measure. It has dismantled the borders between the nation-states and pulled down barriers to the free movement of persons, but has not created a common external border nor a common European border guard. In other words, it has pursued only a negative integration. A positive integration would require more than Frontex, the current border agency: more competences, staff and equipment and a joint intelligence service. But to focus on border controls, though necessary, is not sufficient. To believe that this is the only provision to address the refugee crisis would mean to give in to security obsessions and to the conception of Europe as a fortress, a vision that ignores the constraints of the globalization era.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Peers Steve

Migration, Internal Security and the UK's EU Membership

in Political Quarterly , Volume 87, Issue 2, april-june , pp. 247-253

A key part of the debate about the UK's membership of the EU is concern about levels of migration and the impact upon security. This paper assesses how much impact EU membership has on each of these issues, and examines the likely impact of leaving the EU in each of these areas.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bordino Giampiero

Military Expenditures in the World: an Interpretation Key to the Global Chaos

in Federalist Debate (The), Year XXIX, Number 2, July 2016



Comments

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Anderson Paul, Keil Soeren

Minority Nationalism and the European Union The Cases of Scotland and Catalonia in Europe en formation (L'), 2016/1 (n° 379) , 40-57

This article compares the secessionist movements in Scotland and Catalonia and evaluates the minority nationalist discourse by focusing on the role of the European Union (EU) in the quest for independence of Scottish and Catalan nationalists.

Both separatist movements champion territorial independence from their host states, but favour continued membership of the EU. Given the paradoxical nature of this stance, leaving one union to continue in another, we examine the role the EU plays in the discourse used by the secessionist movements. In order to do so, we carried out a coding exercise, comparing the White Papers produced by the Scottish and Catalan pro-secessionist governments. What we find is that the EU plays a pivotal role in secessionist debates, construed as a Union which affords numerous benefits to smaller countries, as well as providing a framework which not only helps dissipate the negative perceptions of 'going it alone', but may even facilitate independence.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Economides George, Philippopoulos Apostolis, Varthalitis Petros

Monetary Union, Even Higher Integration, or Back to National Currencies? in CESifo Economic Studies, Volume 62 Issue 2 June 2016 , 232-255

This article quantifies the welfare differences among a monetary union, flexible exchange rates (economic disintegration) and a monetary plus fiscal transfer union (higher economic integration). The vehicle of analysis is a medium-scale New Keynesian DSGE model consisting of two heterogeneous countries. The model is solved using data from Germany and Italy. Our solutions imply that a switch to flexible exchange rates and independent monetary policies would have negligible welfare implications. A similar result applies when we add interregional fiscal transfers as insurance. By contrast, the addition of fiscal transfers as redistribution has non-trivial implications and these depend crucially on whether such one-sided transfers trigger moral hazard behavior.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Guilleminot Adrien

Monnaie et souverainete: le cas de l'Euro in Politique internationale, n°151 - PRINTEMPS - 2016



Entretien avec Jean-Claude TRICHET

Président de la Banque centrale européenne depuis le 1er novembre 2003:

In France, where he was Director of the Treasury and then Governor of Banque de France, and in Europe, where he headed the European Central Bank, Jean-Claude Trichet has been at the forefront of monetary upheavals in recent decades : the creation of the euro, the implementation of monetary policies in an increasingly troubled context (he was designated "personality of the year" by the Financial Times in recognition of his management of the subprime crisis), the advantages and constraints that go with this major international currency... An overview of the issues raised by the single currency today.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Senior Nello Susan Mary

Moving beyond the Brexit vote

in *Europea*, Anno 1, n. 2, novembre , 187-212

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Gazzola Michele

Multilingual communication for whom? Language policy and fairness in the European Union

in *European Union Politics* , vol. 17, n. 4, December , 546-569

This article compares the effectiveness and the fairness of four alternative policies aimed at managing multilingual communication in the European Union. The current multilingual regime, based on the formal equality among the official languages of the European Union Member States disenfranchises only a small percentage of residents. On the contrary, an English-only language policy would exclude 45% to 79% of adult residents in the 25 countries for which data are available, depending on the indicator used. A language regime based on English, French and German would disenfranchise 26% to 49% of residents, whereas a regime based on six languages would bring the shares of the excluded population down to 9–18%. In addition, results show that economically and socially disadvantaged individuals are less likely to speak languages other than their own native tongue, and therefore they are much more likely to be adversely affected if the European Union stops using their language. The current full multilingual policy of the European Union based on translation and interpreting not only is (and will be for the foreseeable future) the most effective language policy among the alternatives examined; it is also the only one that is truly inclusive at a relatively reasonable cost. The British withdrawal from the European Union is likely to increase rather than decrease the importance of a multilingual language policy.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Anagnostaras Georgios

Mutual confidence is not blind trust! Fundamental rights protection and the execution of the European arrest



warrant: Aranyosi and Caldaru

in *Common Market Law Review*, vol. 53, issue 6 , 1675-1704

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Hilmar Till

Narrating Unity at the European Union's New History Museum: A Cultural-Process Approach to the Study of Collective Memory

in *European Journal of Sociology*, Volume 57, Issue 2, August 2016 , 297-329

Power in sociological studies of memory is commonly understood as a function of political interests that are successfully framed as an inclusive and convincing story about selected elements of the past. By showing how negotiations of memory are driven by dynamics of symbolic exchange and by distinguishing techniques of narration emerging from this process, I develop a theoretical model that helps to better understand the locus of symbolic power in mnemonic agency. I consider the case of the plans surrounding a European history museum to show how persistent notions of cultural unity can be drafted in democratic societies.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Gëzim Visoka, John Doyle

Neo-Functional Peace: The European Union Way of Resolving Conflicts

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 54, Issue 4

The European Union has expanded its role in preventing conflicts and building peace, but its institutional practices remain insufficiently conceptualized. This article argues that, drawing from a strong self-perception toward a neo-functionalist interpretation of its own history, the EU uses 'neo-functional peace' as an approach for resolving protracted disputes, through deconstructing highly political issues into technical meanings in order to achieve mutually acceptable agreements. This article explores the EU's efforts to normalize relations between Kosovo and Serbia, and examines the reliance on aspects of neo-functionalism for building peace after protracted disputes. We argue that neo-functional peace has played a crucial role in normalizing political relations and reconciling some of the outstanding disputes between Kosovo and Serbia. Building on this case study, we suggest a theoretical concept of neo-functional peace as a useful means to conceptualize the EU's peace support practices.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Majocchi Alberto

New Own Resources for a Eurozone Budget

in *Federalist Debate (The)*, Year XXIX, Number 2, July 2016

The goal of this workshop is to focus on the weak compliance of Member States with the rules and the lack of effective



mechanism for their enforcement. It follows that the main interest will be absorbed by a discussion of how the economic governance could work more effectively. This idea implies that the current system, largely based on automatic rules fixed at the European level and applied uniformly in all the countries showing high deficit or a big amount of debt, is considered as adequate and effective and only needy of some reforms. I will try to support the opposite idea that the eurozone cannot limit itself to redressing financial stability through austerity measures, disregarding discretionary political choices that take into account different social and economic conditions, and that it must promote an increase in the size of the budget funded with real own resources to finance the production of European public goods - in primis, control of external borders, migrants integration and security – and to guarantee the issuing of eurobonds, supplementing the provisions of the Juncker Plan in building material and immaterial infrastructures, in supporting small and medium size enterprises and in promoting research and higher education. Hence, the system should be changed radically if the Economic and Monetary Union should work efficiently and I will put main emphasis on the need to advance rapidly on the path towards a true Fiscal Union, leading, at the end of the process, to a Political Union with a federal structure.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Yf Reykers

No supply without demand: explaining the absence of the EU Battlegroups in Libya, Mali and the Central African Republic

in *European Security*, Volume 25, Issue 3 , 346-365

Although the sad track record of the EU Battlegroups has attracted considerable scholarly attention, analyses have largely focused on obstacles related to the provision of the Battlegroup troops and to the consensus within the EU Council, hence taking a supply-side perspective. This article calls for complementing this perspective with an analysis of the demand for their deployment. That implies analysing whether and why the EU Battlegroups were (not) considered as an option by those actors taking the initiative to intervene in a particular crisis. Applying a rational-institutionalist approach, this article explains the absence of the Battlegroups from three recent crises: Libya (2011), Mali (2013) and the Central African Republic (2013–2014). Using data from document analysis and elite interviews, it shows that once a rapid military reaction became urgent, the EU Battlegroups were not even considered as an option by those initiating an international reaction.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Benedetta Voltolini

Non-state actors and framing processes in EU foreign policy: the case of EU–Israel relations

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 23, Issue 10

This article investigates the role of non-state actors (NSAs) in European Union (EU) foreign policy, focusing on how they contribute to the emergence and codification of new frames that underpin EU external policies. It argues that changes in EU foreign policy are the result of interactions among a frame entrepreneur, often played by an NSA, and policy-makers in situations of cognitive uncertainty and when a policy window opens. The empirical evidence is based on the case of EU–Israel relations: a non-governmental organization (NGO) called MATTIN Group acted as frame entrepreneur and contributed to the emergence and codification of a new frame of understanding of EU–Israel relations, redefining them on the basis of a legal paradigm. This clarifies the territorial scope of bilateral agreements and ensures that the bilateral



relations are constructed and implemented in accordance with EU legal framework and its commitments under international law.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Ha Hai Hoang

Normative Power Europe through trade: Vietnamese perceptions

in *International Relations*, vol. 30, n. 2, June, 176-205

ABSTRACT: This article considers the perception of Normative Power Europe (NPE) through the eyes of Vietnam, measuring the degree to which an actor can successfully pursue a normative foreign policy. This article attempts to demonstrate that discussion on the European Union's (EU) normative identity should include an investigation into the external perceptions of the EU. To become an NPE, the EU's external partners should recognise it as a holder of norms and values, appreciate its role as a norm-diffuser and perceive the attractiveness of its norms. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with Vietnamese government officials with professional experience in the field of trade relations with the EU to assess non-EU state elites' perceptions of the EU's identity. Vietnam's policy-makers tend to acknowledge the norms that constitute the EU's normative foundation, with particularly high consensus on those concerning economic liberalism. The EU's economic and social norms are to some extent attractive for Vietnam and thus able to be adopted and adapted to the Vietnamese context.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Jørgen Bølstad, James P. Cross

Not all Treaties are Created Equal: The Effects of Treaty Changes on Legislative Efficiency in the EU

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 54, Issue 4

One of the key motives behind recent reforms of the EU's legislative process has been to increase efficiency. This study examines whether the Amsterdam, Nice and Lisbon treaties have successfully increased the speed with which the EU creates new laws. An interrupted time series approach is utilized to detect the total effects of treaty change on the decision-making process. This study thus complements existing research on the effects of decision-making rules, by employing a design more robust to the challenge of endogeneity. The findings suggest that the Amsterdam treaty was very successful at increasing legislative efficiency. In contrast, the Nice treaty does not appear to have had a notable impact, and, more interestingly, neither does the Lisbon treaty.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Rizzo Alfredo

Note sul diritto dell'Unione Europea in materia di controlli alle frontiere, asilo, riconoscimento di status e protezione sussidiaria

in *Comunità Internazionale (La)*, vol. LXX, n. 4, quarto trimestre

No abstract available



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Chaltiel Florence

Nouvelles précisions sur les pouvoirs du juge national, juge européen

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 601, septembre , 449-450

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Curti Gialdino Carlo

Oltre la Brexit: brevi note sulle implicazioni giuridiche e politiche per il futuro prossimo dell'Unione europea

in *Federalismi*, Anno XIV - Nr 13

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Altemeyer-Bartscher Martin, Holtemöller Oliver, Lindner Axel

On the Distribution of Refugees in the EU

in *Intereconomics*, Volume 51, Issue 4, July 2016 , 220-228

The current situation regarding the migration of refugees can only be handled efficiently through closer international cooperation in the field of asylum policy. From an economic point of view, it would be reasonable to distribute incoming refugees among all EU countries according to a distribution key that reflects differences in the costs of integration in the individual countries. An efficient distribution would even out the marginal costs of integrating refugees. In order to reach a political agreement, the key for distributing refugees should be complemented by compensation payments that distribute the costs of integration among countries. The key for distributing refugees presented by the EU Commission takes account of appropriate factors in principle, but it is unclear in terms of detail. The compensation payments for countries that should take relatively high numbers of refugees for cost efficiency reasons should be financed by reallocating resources within the EU budget.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Schewe Christoph J.

On the Value of Commentaries on EU Law in the Central and East European Legal Space: A Review Article of Three German Standard Commentaries

in *Review of Central & East European Law*, vol. 41, n. 2 , 195–209

The impact of the law of the European Union (EU) differs considerably among the various Central and Eastern



European (CEE) states. Some CEE states are EU member states; others are accession candidates, while still others have signed association agreements with the EU. Clearly, EU law applies to each group in different ways. Furthermore, other CEE countries are member states of the Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU). Although not directly impacted by EU law, EAEU states may face questions of economic integration similar to those which have faced a challenge to the EU and, thus, likely will have a practical interest in legal comparisons. Accordingly – albeit to varying degrees – scholars and practitioners in the entire CEE region inevitably find themselves confronted by issues requiring a strong understanding of EU law and, for that reason, will require reliable resources for research purposes. As such, the aim of this review article is to introduce RCEEL readers to the concept of commentaries on EU law, generally, as well as to three major German commentaries on EU law, specifically.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Joren Verschaeve & Jan Orbie

Once a member, always a member? Assessing the importance of time in the relationship between the European Union and the Development Assistance Committee

in *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* , Vol.29, Issue 2 , 512-527

This article examines the European Union's (EU's) full membership of the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). More specifically, we address (1) why the EU became a full member of the DAC in 1961, long before the EU was granted legal competences for development policy, and (2) why this membership status has remained unaltered over the past half-century, despite persistent dissatisfaction among both EU and non-EU members of the DAC. By applying historical institutionalism, we find that the initial decision on the EU's membership status in the DAC created a path dependence that was impossible to reverse afterwards, despite changing internal and external circumstances.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Spahn Jens

Openness and pluralism are good – but so is effective management

in *Europe's World*, vol. 33, Autumn

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Friedrich Heinemann, Theodor Grigoriadis

Origins of reform resistance and the Southern European regime

in *Empirica: Journal of Applied Economics and Economic Policy* , Volume 43, Issue 4 , 661-691

With a particular interest for Southern Europe, this contribution develops a classification of obstacles to economic policy reforms. This classification covers approaches ranging from classical economics and political-economic explanations to more innovative explanations linked to behavioral economics. The subsequent part analyzes qualitatively and



quantitatively to which extent the “Southern European regime” may imply a particular relevance of some of the potential reform obstacles classified before. We derive “reform ability profiles” which quantify several of the reform obstacles (or reform drivers) to compare EU countries in their likely reform predisposition. These profiles confirm particular Southern European weaknesses which tend to reduce the political-economic feasibility of long-term reforms: a low effectiveness in poverty protection, high intertemporal discounting and uncertainty avoidance, a poor information level of the population and deeply shattered trust in national institutions. In a microeconomic analysis based on Eurobarometer survey data, the analysis leaves the highly aggregated level and looks into the individual heterogeneity in reform acceptance. It is shown that several of the reform obstacles identified in theory are also empirically correlated with the individual inclination to accept reforms.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Thorsten Hüller

Out of time? The democratic limits of EU democracy

in *Journal of European Public Policy*, Volume 23, Issue 10

The article investigates normative conceptions of EU democracy, which take the state of European Union (EU) integration for granted. It is shown that neither their advanced normative principles nor the core institutions can survive scrutiny of internal consistency and coherence: they cannot satisfy democratic aspirations over time. Beyond a reformulation of core normative principles, conceptions of EU democracy should explore more creative institutional options for the EU, such as sunset legislation for EU law and a collective facultative waiver for national parliaments in the realm of EU secondary law.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Flavier Hugo

Parlement européen et relation extérieures : une révolution démocratique en marche ?

in *Revue Trimestrielle de droit européen*, n. 2

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Herbel Annika

Parliamentary scrutiny of the EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy

in *West European Politics*, vol. 40, n. 1, 161-182

ABSTRACT: This paper analyses under what conditions parties engage in parliamentary scrutiny of the European Union's Common Foreign and Security Policy. With insights from comparative literature on parliamentary oversight, two main incentives are identified. On the one hand, opposition parties initiate scrutiny to reduce their information asymmetry vis-à-vis the government; on the other hand, coalition parties use parliamentary scrutiny to control their partners. Empirically, the article uses information on scrutiny activities in six EU member states (Germany, France, Italy, Poland,



Slovakia, United Kingdom) covering 13 years and 21 governments. The findings suggest that opposition parties scrutinise the government if they have access to strong oversight instruments. In contrast, the strength of oversight instruments is not important for coalition partners. They resort to means of scrutiny if the leading minister is weak. Coalitions with a greater number of parties engage in scrutiny less often. Moreover, scrutiny is especially observed in questions with more direct distributional consequences ('intermestic' issues).

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Ulrich Peter

Participatory governance in the Europe of the (cross-border) Regions. The example of the European Grouping of Territorial Cooperation (EGTC)

in Europe en formation (L'), 2016/1 (n° 379) , 156-179

The research article contributes to the scientific discussion about the political concept 'Europe of the Regions' in a twofold way: First, it reanimates the theoretical approach of the "participatory governance" concept that emerged in the beginning of the 2000's in the debate on the EU White Paper on Governance. Second, it emphasizes cross-border regions as arenas for participatory governance and micro-laboratories of European integration. The paper elaborates the conditions that promote participatory governance in cross-border institutions within EU regional Policy, especially the European territorial cooperation (ETC). In a next step, the EU cross-border legal instrument European Grouping of Territorial Cooperation (EGTC) will be introduced and scrutinized regarding regionalization potentials. Finally, a case study of German-French cooperation the EGTC Eurodistrict Saarmoselle will be briefly empirically reviewed: As the empirical analysis shall serve as a test-bed, it should be understood as a first approximation of the research interest.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Mastrorillo Riccardo

Partire dal basso, e veramente

in Critica liberale, volume XXIII, n.229 autunno, luglio-settembre

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Des Laffey, Vincent Della Sala, Kathryn Laffey

Patriot games: the regulation of online gambling in the European Union

in Journal of European Public Policy , Volume 23, Issue 10

The recent economic crisis has brought into focus how even open and highly interdependent economies in the European Union try to govern their economies according to territorially defined interests. The aim of this article is to examine an area, online gambling, with the technological and legal conditions that challenge approaches that favour economic patriotism. The article compares two cases, the United Kingdom and Italy, that represent two different models



of economic governance to argue that they are similar in which interests they seek to protect and at which level.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Giulia Rossolillo

Patti chiari, amicizia lunga: l'accordo sullo status del Regno Unito nell'Unione europea
in *Federalista (Il)/Federalist (The)*, Anno LVIII, n.1

'atteggiamento di rifiuto da parte del Regno Unito nei confronti di qualsiasi forma di unione politica tra gli Stati europei rappresenta una costante del processo di unificazione del Vecchio continente. Fin dal suo ingresso nella Comunità economica europea, nel 1973, la Gran Bretagna ha infatti concepito l'integrazione europea come un processo volto alla creazione di un mercato unico e alla liberalizzazione degli scambi tra Stati membri, opponendosi tenacemente a ogni avanzamento istituzionale che minacciasse la sovranità del Regno Unito e del suo Parlamento. Tale visione, manifestatasi con particolare virulenza negli anni del governo di Margareth Thatcher, durante i quali il Regno Unito, invocando il principio del "giusto ritorno", ha ottenuto forme di compensazione del suo contributo al bilancio comunitario, non ha subito variazioni sostanziali in conseguenza dell'alternarsi al governo di laburisti e conservatori, e si è dunque consolidato come tratto caratterizzante della partecipazione britannica al processo di integrazione.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Nivet Bastien

Penser la déseuropéanisation
in *Revue internationale et stratégique*, 2016/2 (N° 102) , 50-59

Perspectives d'un retrait britannique (Brexit), pressions sur la zone euro et sur l'espace Schengen, crise des réfugiés et migrants : autant de réalités qui renvoient l'image d'une Union européenne (UE) au bord de l'implosion. Alors que le risque d'une désagrégation de l'UE est désormais pris au sérieux, ce scénario demeure étonnamment impensé. Plusieurs dynamiques de « déseuropéanisation » sont à l'œuvre, dont la concomitance rend la lisibilité et la gestion difficile. Bien que différentes dans leur nature et leurs implications, ces évolutions ne sont que les conséquences d'une déseuropéanisation plus profonde : la perte des motivations, principes et valeurs qui avaient sous-tendu le projet européen depuis ses débuts.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Julie Hassing Nielsen

Personality and Euroscepticism: The Impact of Personality on Attitudes Towards the EU
in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 54, Issue 5

Attitudes towards EU integration are widely studied, yet we know only little about the role of personality for EU attitudes. Utilizing a framing experiment encompassing positive and negative frames of EU integration, this article reports on how



personality influences attitudes towards EU integration, and how personal predispositions moderate framing effects, impacting EU attitude formation. The study relies on Danish and Swedish data (N=1808). I test both the direct impact of personality on EU attitudes and personality's moderating impact on framing effects. I find that extraversion and openness positively correlate with positive EU attitudes, while people scoring high on neuroticism tend to support the EU less. Furthermore, I find that personality moderates different EU frames. Individuals with certain personality traits are more influenced by framing effects than others, while positive and negative frames also are perceived differently according to personal predispositions. I find only little country differences between Denmark and Sweden.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Curtis K Amber

Personality's effect on European identification

in *European Union Politics* , vol. 17, n. 3, September , 429-456

A superordinate identity improves intergroup relations and bolsters support for the political system. Yet, why do only some identify superordinately? I argue that personality is an important determinant. I test this using an original survey in the United Kingdom, where European Union integration has increased the salience and feasibility of the "European" identity option in addition to a national one. Several Big Five traits matter: openness and extraversion increase identification with Europe while agreeableness decreases it. Mediation analysis subsequently shows that personality's effects also travel through the mechanisms of risk aversion, knowledge, and ideology. Results imply that certain predispositions prompt some to be more receptive than others to seeing themselves in superordinate terms and that European identification may be at least partly more primordial than previously thought.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Steven Lloyd Wilson, Nils Ringe & Jack van Thomme

Policy leadership and re-election in the European Parliament

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 23, Issue 8

What determines the re-election of incumbent members of the European Parliament (MEPs)? Using Heckman probit models with sample selection to predict re-election in 2014, this contribution considers the impact of policy leadership, formal leadership, professional dedication, and seniority, and investigates the conditional effect of ballot structures. It finds that formal leadership only has a positive effect for party leaders elected from open lists, while dedication and seniority do not impact incumbents' electoral performance. Instead, policy leadership is most clearly associated with incumbents' electoral fortunes, including an innovative new measure of MEPs' ability to influence the votes of others. The results also suggest that party leaders, when creating electoral lists that are not subject to change by voters, seek to ensure that policy leaders are reelected, but that voters, when given the opportunity to change the rankings of candidates on electoral lists, favor MEPs with greater electoral visibility instead.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process



Lahusen Christian, Kousis Maria , Kiess Johannes, Paschou Maria

Political Claims and Discourse Formations: A Comparative Account on Germany and Greece in the Eurozone Crisis

in *Politics & Policy*, Volume 44, Issue 3, June , pp. 525-552

The economic crisis following the financial meltdown in 2007 had disparate impacts for citizens of the southern and northern Eurozone member states. In this study, we analyze public debates in Germany and Greece, two countries that have attracted global attention during the crisis, through a political claims analysis based on newspaper articles published between 2005 and 2014. The article makes use of multiple correspondence analysis to detect the patterns governing the discursive construction of the European financial and economic crisis. Our findings corroborate the expected differences between the Greek and German debates in regard to core issues and assessments. However, the de-alignment of political cleavages in both countries is notable and stresses seemingly an underlying mainstreaming process that limits the diversity of crisis-related claims.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Goldoni Marco

Politicising EU Lawmaking? The Spitzenkandidaten Experiment as a Cautionary Tale

in *European law journal*, Volume 22, Issue 3 , 279–295

The Spitzenkandidaten experiment has elicited much interest in academic and political circles as a move towards further politicisation of important aspects of EU lawmaking. This article puts forward a sobering account of the normative and instrumental reasons that explain why these expectations were grounded on shaky premises and the experiment could not have delivered its promises. In particular, the article stresses (1) the failure in creating a channel for political opposition through the indirect election of the President of the Commission; (2) the adoption of a formal understanding of the institutions involved in the process, that is, a conception detached from their social basis and (3) the choice of the wrong institution for the purpose of politicisation. The article concludes with a modest proposal for the consolidation of the channels for political action already available at the level of the Member States.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Wellings Ben, Vines Emma

Populism and Sovereignty: The EU Act and the In-Out Referendum, 2010–2015

in *Parliamentary Affairs* , Volume 69, Issue 2 April , pp. 309-326

This article argues that the 'referendum lock' enshrined in the European Union Act (2011) and the pledge to hold a referendum on Britain's membership of the European Union have eroded the principle of parliamentary sovereignty that they sought to defend. Analysis of the Act and debates about an In-Out referendum during the Coalition government's period of office from 2010 to 2015 reveals an unintended consequence: recent debates and policies concerning the European Union have enshrined a populist nationalism opposed to European integration as part of contemporary British political culture.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Costa Leonardo, Ornelas Martins Nuno, Guedes de Oliveira Francisca

Portugal's bailout and the crisis of the European Union from a capability perspective

in **Cambridge Journal of Economics**, Volume 40 Issue 6 November 2016 , 1479-1496

The global financial crisis revealed the weaknesses of the EU integration process, in general, and of the Eurozone, in particular. The EU institutions responded to the crisis in an inadequate way, in the belief that government debt stabilisation had to be pursued before the economy recovers. This strategy was based on economic forecasting errors, exposing member-states to the speculative behaviour of financial markets, leading to the bailout of countries such as Portugal, and undermining the confidence in the single currency, in the European economy and in the European project itself. We analyse here the crisis of the European Union (EU) in light of the bailout of Portugal, and propose an alternative strategy for Portugal and the EU, drawing upon Amartya Sen's capability approach.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Jureit Ulrike, Tietze Nikola

Postsouveräne Territorialität. Die Europäische Union als supranationaler Raum

in **Staat**, vol. 55, issue 3 , 353-371

ABSTRACT: Anhand des Begriffs Postsouveräne Territorialität reflektiert der Beitrag die Verklammerung von territorialem Selbstverständnis, staatlichen Ordnungsvorstellungen und raumbezogenen Konfliktkonstellationen in der Europäischen Union (EU). Im Mittelpunkt steht die Beobachtung, dass die Interdependenz von garantierter Freizügigkeit im Inneren und einer mittlerweile immer rigideren Abschottung nach Außen mit einem demokratischen Staatsverständnis in Konflikt gerät, das diesen territorialen Grundwiderspruch eigentlich überwinden wollte, ihn aber letztlich auf supranationaler Ebene maßstabsgerecht reproduziert. Während die EU einerseits nationalstaatliche Grenzregime, ihre Prinzipien und Praktiken auf die postsouveräne Ebene transferiert, widerspricht es andererseits ihrem demokratischen Grundkonsens, die Unterscheidung des Eigenen vom Fremden anhand der für klassische Nationalstaaten konstitutiven Homogenitätsprinzipien räumlich zu materialisieren. Dieses Dilemma wird in drei Schritten beleuchtet: Zunächst geht es um räumliche Ordnungssemantiken in historischer Perspektive. Zweitens wird die Ausdifferenzierung der EU als postsouveräne Ordnung skizziert, drittens richtet sich der Blick auf postsouveräne Konflikt dynamiken am Beispiel europäischer Sozialpolitiken. Abschließend werden vor dem Hintergrund der aktuellen Flüchtlingsbewegungen und damit verbundenen Herausforderungen für Europa einige aktuelle Konflikt dynamiken angesichts indifferenter Grenzregime analysiert.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

De Bruycker Iskander

Power and position Which EU party groups do lobbyists prioritize and why?

in **Party Politics**, Volume 22, Issue 4, July , 552-562

Due to the politicization of much policymaking in the European Union (EU) and the growing competences of the European Parliament (EP), party groups in the EP have become key targets for organized interests. This article



investigates which party groups in the EP are prioritized by EU lobbyists and why. The focus is on two presumed key components of this prioritization process, namely power and position. It is expected that lobbyists take into account both the extent to which parties align with their views and their legislative power. The empirical analysis draws on interviews with 143 interest group officials and their lobbying expenditures on 78 legislative proposals initiated by the European Commission between 2008 and 2010. The analysis suggests that the media prominence of party groups in relation to specific issues as well as the extent to which interest organizations and party groups adopt opposing policy positions considerably shape how party groups in the EP are targeted by lobbyists.

Full text available online at <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/1354068816642803>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Corrado Caruso

Prassi e funzioni del sistema di early warning

in *Nomos*, 1/2016

Disciplinato dal Trattato di Maastricht ma già prefigurato dal rapporto Delors in funzione di garanzia rispetto all'espansione surrettizia delle competenze della Comunità, nel Trattato di Lisbona il principio di sussidiarietà governa la distribuzione delle competenze non esclusive (concorrenti e di sostegno): a norma dell'art. 5.3 TUE, infatti, nei settori che non sono di sua competenza esclusiva, l'Unione interviene soltanto qualora gli obiettivi di un'azione non possano essere conseguiti in misura sufficiente dagli Stati membri, ma possano essere raggiunti in misura più adeguata a livello sovranazionale. La disposizione delinea i due criteri, logicamente irrelati, che ammettono l'intervento dell'Unione negli ambiti materiali condivisi con gli Stati membri: da un lato, l'insufficienza teleologica dell'azione statale; dall'altro, il valore aggiunto della regolazione europea.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Klaus H. Goetz, Ronny Patz

Pressured budgets and the European Commission: towards a more centralized EU budget administration?

in *Journal of European Public Policy*, Volume 23, Issue 7

Similar to many international public administrations (IPAs), the European Commission has been delegated a range of tasks related to budgeting. The Commission administration enjoys a high degree of autonomy in routine annual budget procedures leading to the adoption of the draft annual EU budgets; it also has a visible influence on inter-institutional budget negotiations. The present contribution analyses how the Commission administration has responded to growing pressures on the EU budget following the recent financial crisis, focusing on changes to its administrative organization and budgeting procedures. Both scholarship on the Commission and previous research on the administrative dimension of budgeting under stress suggest increased centralization as a key response. We find some evidence to support this expectation for the annual budget processes after 2010. Centralization was most pronounced during discussions on the 2014–2020 Multiannual Financial Framework (MFF), when regular routines came under increased pressure in entangled budget negotiations.

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 6. The European unification process

Astrid Zei

Presupposti e limiti di un ricorso individuale avverso atti ultravires dell'Unione Europea: profili processuali del "diritto alla democrazia" nella recente giurisprudenza del Tribunale costituzionale federale tedesco
in *Nomos*, 2/2016

Il 21 giugno 2016 il Tribunale costituzionale federale si è pronunciato in via definitiva sulla legittimità della decisione del Consiglio europeo delle banche centrali del 6 settembre 2012 sull'OMT (Technical Features of Outright Monetary Transactions), oggetto di un confitto di attribuzioni sollevato dal gruppo parlamentare della Sinistra (Die Linke), e affidato al Prof. Wolf Rüdiger Bub, dell'Università di Potsdam, e di cinque ricorsi individuali (Verfassungsbeschwerde) sottoscritti da migliaia di cittadini, presentati dal Prof. Karl Albert Schachtschneider dell'Università di Erlangen-Nürnberg, uno degli autori del ricorso alla base della sentenza Lisbona, nonché prominente anti-europeista.

a decisione della Banca Centrale, alla cui attuazione concorre anche la Bundesbank, autorizza l'acquisto illimitato di titoli di Stato per sostenere la stabilità monetaria nell'Unione europea "whatever it takes", subordinandolo alla partecipazione dei Paesi beneficiari ad un programma di politiche economiche e finanziarie concordato nell'ambito del European Financial Stability Facility (EFSF), del Meccanismo europeo di stabilità (MES), ovvero ad un programma precauzionale (Enhanced Conditions Credit Line).

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Babayev Rufat

Private autonomy at Union level: On Article 16 CFREU and free movement rights
in *Common Market Law Review*, vol. 53, issue 4 , 979-1005

ABSTRACT: The article explores the potential role and significance of the freedom to conduct a business under Article 16 of the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union (CFREU) in developing a principled approach towards the protection of private (economic) autonomy at Union level. This is an issue of particular concern given the uncertainty pertaining to the actual extent of the horizontal direct effect attributed to free movement rights and the lack of consistency in the approach giving effect to the notion of individual economic freedom in this regard. The article, therefore, aims to draw the contours of private (economic) autonomy at Union level by contrasting Article 16 of the Charter with free movement rights and considering their interplay from both conceptual and functional perspectives.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Alfredo Rizzo

Profili giuridico-istituzionali della politica di sicurezza e difesa comune dell'Unione europea Periodico: Il diritto dell'Unione Europea
in *Diritto dell'Unione europea*, no. 2 , 285-328

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bergman U. Michael, Hutchison Michael M., Hougaard Jensen Svend E.

Promoting sustainable public finances in the European Union: The role of fiscal rules and government efficiency

in *European Journal of Political Economy*, Volume 44, September 2016, Pages 1-19

New indices of fiscal rule strength are constructed and, using a dynamic panel econometric model for 27 EU countries over the period 1990–2012, we assess whether national fiscal rules alone help to promote sustainable public finances in the EU or whether they must be supported by good governance in order to be effective. We find that fiscal rules are effective in reducing structural primary deficits at all levels of government efficiency. However, the effect is smaller as government efficiency increases, indicating that fiscal rules and government efficiency are institutional substitutes in terms of promoting fiscal sustainability. We also find that balanced budget rules are the most effective form of fiscal rules. Multiple fiscal rules are found to enhance fiscal solvency. Other institutional features that enhance the effectiveness of fiscal rules are transparency of policies and commitment to implementation of fiscal programs. Supranational rules, however, do not affect the effectiveness of national fiscal rules in reducing the deficit bias. Our results are robust to alternative estimation methods and endogeneity assumptions.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Jeon Junghwan, Choi Gyoung-Gyu

Promotion of the right of establishment in EU: focusing on the Imperative Requirement Doctrine

in *Asia Europe Journal*, vol. 14, n. 3, September, 297–318

Consolidation of the “Common European Market” is a key feature of the European Union, which is made possible by the freedom in movement of goods, capital, services, and people. The freedom of movement for businesses manifests itself as the right of establishment. The aim of this paper is to examine various issues surrounding the right of establishment and to analyze the position of the European Court of Justice (ECJ) in each case. The analysis of cases illustrates a consistent opinion of the ECJ: The right of establishment is highly protected, but it must be exercised in the context of national legislation. Government regulation in market access, on the other hand, must meet the imperative requirement doctrine: it must be non-discriminatory, there must be general public interest at stake, the regulation must be an effective means of promoting public interest, and the regulation must be necessary and proportional to the general interest at stake. In sum, the ECJ upholds the right of establishment but nonetheless respects the states’ specific regulatory authority as long as they conform to the imperative requirement doctrine.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Fiengo Gaspare

Quale spazio per il principio democratico nella governance economica europea?

in *Studi sull'integrazione europea*, Anno XI, n. 2-3, maggio-dicembre, 391-406

The theme of the representative democracy in the European Union gets an important value when it is linked to the concept of European governance: the crisis of the former arose because of the development of economic governance in



the European Union. This study aims to analyze the phenomenon of the economic governance and the tools used to regulate it. Many times the European Union has resorted to acts belonging to soft law. For this reason it is worth understanding the context of the European legislative acts, in order to find out the importance and the connection of soft law into the European integration process.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Lerven Frank van

Quantitative Easing in the Eurozone: a One-Year Assessment

in *Intereconomics*, Volume 51, Issue 4, July 2016 , 237-242

By pumping trillions of euros into the eurozone's financial system, the ECB's quantitative easing programme intends to indirectly alter the private sector's borrowing and spending behaviour. After more than a year since its initial inception, a review of the programme's impact reveals that policy makers should think twice before further expanding the programme—and could benefit from considering more direct ways of increasing spending in the real economy.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Simon Alban

Quelle stratégie navale européenne?

in *Revue Défense Nationale*, n° 790, Mai

L'Europe doit avoir une stratégie navale crédible lui permettant de projeter de vraies capacités maritimes, alors que les moyens nationaux ne suffisent plus à répondre aux besoins. Il y a nécessité d'une véritable ambition politique, à condition de vouloir vraiment agir.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Frédéric Marty, Mehdi Mezaguer

Quelles garanties pour la procédure d'engagements en droit de la concurrence de l'Union européenne ?

Résumé Consulter 5 €

in *Revue internationale de droit économique* , t. XXX, 2016/1

Les procédures négociées constituent avec l'approche par les effets l'un des deux piliers de la modernisation de la politique européenne de la concurrence. Cette modernisation cherche à accroître la sécurité juridique de l'ensemble des parties prenantes, en limitant à la fois le risque de faux-positifs et le risque d'annulation de décisions dans le cadre du contrôle juridictionnel, et à permettre de réaliser des gains d'efficacité, notamment en termes procéduraux. Le recours à ces procédures, très significatif dans le secteur de l'énergie et dans celui des industries logicielles, a cependant suscité de nombreuses critiques. Celles-ci tiennent notamment au risque de voir s'imposer des remèdes disproportionnés ou imparfaitement reliés au problème de concurrence ou encore de priver les parties prenantes de certains de leurs droits fondamentaux, au travers notamment de la limitation de la portée du contrôle juridictionnel. Cet article analyse ces



risques et propose quelques voies de maîtrise de ces derniers.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Vernier Gérard

Quelques considérations sur les répercussions internationales du Brexit

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 602, octobre-novembre , 560-563

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Brunello Rosa

Qui si fa l'Europa flessibile o si muore

in *Limes*, 06/16

IL VOTO BRITANNICO DEL 23 GIUGNO 2016 costituisce uno spartiacque nella recente storia europea. Certo, la vittoria del Leave richiederà tempo prima di produrre i suoi effetti e nel frattempo l'Unione Europea continuerà a funzionare (o non funzionare) come se niente fosse accaduto. Ma il voto rappresenta una cesura netta nella percezione che i cittadini britannici – e più in generale i cittadini comunitari – hanno dell'Unione e, pertanto, dei loro destini. La percezione che «non c'è vita fuori dall'Unione» (detto altrimenti, «o si Unione, o non si») è stata seppellita dal voto inglese, così come la convinzione diffusa che il numero di aderenti all'Unione fosse destinato a crescere indefinitamente.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Giorgos Katsambekis

Radical Left Populism in Contemporary Greece: Syriza's Trajectory from Minoritarian Opposition to Power

in *Constellations*, Volume 23, Issue 3

The article focuses on the trajectory of the Greek party of Syriza and of the roots of the process that led from its formation to the moment in which it became the largest party in the Hellenic Parliament.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bocquillon Pierre, Evrard Aurélien

Rattraper ou devancer l'Europe ? Politiques françaises des énergies renouvelables et dynamiques d'europeanisation

in *Politique européenne* , 2016/2 (N° 52) , 32-56



La France a échoué de façon répétée à atteindre ses objectifs européens en matière de consommation d'électricité d'origine renouvelable. Quant au rapide développement des agrocarburants, il tient d'abord au poids et à l'influence du secteur agricole domestique. Cela ne signifie pas pour autant que la construction européenne a été sans influence sur les politiques françaises de soutien aux énergies renouvelables, mais pas nécessairement sur un mode hiérarchique. Afin de rendre compte des interactions entre politiques françaises et européennes, cet article s'inscrit dans une approche de sociologie politique attentive à la diversité des pratiques et « usages de l'Europe », en explorant les dynamiques verticales et horizontales de l'europanisation.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bracic Ana

Reaching the Individual: EU Accession, NGOs, and Human Rights
in *American Political Science Review*, vol. 110, issue 3, august , 530-546

ABSTRACT: Can human rights institutions influence individual behavior? This article tests the ground level effectiveness of two strategies that aim to eliminate discrimination: a powerful, top-down combination of incentives and norm promotion and a bottom-up NGO-based effort. The study uses a hard case, that of discrimination against the Roma (commonly known by the disfavored term "Gypsies"), spans three towns, Murska Sobota and Novo mesto in Slovenia and Šakovec in Croatia, and includes altogether 606 subjects. Levels of discrimination are estimated via trust games played with money, which are particularly appropriate because the Roma are widely stereotyped as cheaters and thieves. The findings suggest that the EU accession process, widely regarded as a strong incentive-based and norm promoting rights change mechanism, may not substantially reduce discrimination on the ground. Instead, they suggest that ground level organizing aimed at improving relations between Roma and non-Roma helps reduce discrimination.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Agne Limante

Recent Developments in the Acte Clair Case Law of the EU Court of Justice: Towards a more Flexible Approach
in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 54, Issue 6

This article examines the acte clair doctrine in light of the recent rulings of the Court of Justice of the European Union in Ferreira da Silva and X and van Dijk. It analyses the earlier case law on acte clair, disclosing inconsistencies in the application of its requirements. Then, it offers a critical review of Ferreira da Silva and X and van Dijk. It claims that the criteria, although often quoted in judgments and doctrine, have been applied neither consistently nor truly rigidly by the Court. Instead, a more flexible approach to acte clair requirements is taking shape, while the Court is simultaneously reminding national courts that its discretion on preliminary reference issues is not unlimited. Finally, the article criticizes Ferreira da Silva and X and van Dijk for missing the opportunity to further clarify the normative content and the legal status of the criteria.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Romito Angela Maria



Recenti sviluppi sul ruolo delle Corti nazionali di ultimo grado nella corretta applicazione del diritto dell'Unione europea

in *Studi sull'integrazione europea*, Anno XI, n. 2-3, maggio-dicembre , 355-376

This essay focuses on the implementation of EU law by lawyers and domestic courts and on the new role of the highest Courts in the spread of EU law. Throughout the analysis of three recent decisions of the French Cour de cassation, the Spanish Constitutional Court and the Italian Corte di Cassazione, there seems to be a new trend emerging, an hermeneutical approach that refers to EU law and to the ECJ's case-law for solving the decision at stake. The decisions, which deal with different matters, are equally relevant in the way they represented and implemented EU law, imposing considerably high standards of professional expertise on practitioners. Both lawyers and judges cannot plainly ignore any reference to the Court of justice's case law when it has solved a series of identical cases, nor keep on with their own 'traditional' approach based only on the national law and jurisprudence. The analysis suggests that national high courts are becoming key players in EU law, besides the preliminary reference to the Court of Justice.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Dolls Mathias, Fuest Clemens, Heinemann Friedrich, Peichl Andreas

Reconciling Insurance with Market Discipline: a Blueprint for a European Fiscal Union

in *CESifo Economic Studies*, Volume 62 Issue 2 June 2016 , 210-231

This contribution develops a blueprint for a European fiscal union. We argue that a viable European fiscal union can be constructed without joint liability for public debt or a centralized government with a large common budget. Such a fiscal union should combine elements of market discipline with stabilization in case of asymmetric shocks. Our proposal addresses the shortcomings of most other reform designs, which fail to offer a solution for insolvent or non-cooperative euro countries. We suggest a design which combines limited fiscal insurance with an orderly procedure to restructure the debt of insolvent member states. We show that fiscal insurance and a sovereign insolvency procedure are no contradiction but, on the contrary, are mutually reinforcing. Effective fiscal insurance helps to limit the stability risks involved in the implementation of an insolvency regime for sovereigns. And vice versa, a well-defined insolvency procedure reduces the risk that a fiscal capacity motivated as an insurance against transitory asymmetric shocks degenerates into a permanent transfer system. Moreover, we show that both elements promote the functioning of the European banking union and the new European fiscal governance.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Qvortrup Matt

Referendums on Membership and European Integration 1972–2015

in *Political Quarterly* , Volume 87, Issue 1, january-march

There are many myths about referendums. The most common one is that voters are inherently sceptical and tend to vote no when given the opportunity. This article analyses some of the commonly held 'truths' about referendums on EU matters. Based on a statistical analysis of all forty-three EU-related referendums since 1972, it shows that governments tend to lose referendums if they have been in office for a long time, that emotive words on the ballot paper are correlated with a high yes vote and that a high turnout is correlated with a vote against European integration, but campaign



spending is inconsequential. Based solely on statistical evidence from the previous forty-three referendums, the opponents of EU membership will win the Brexit referendum.

<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/1467-923X.12224/full>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Goecke Henry, Hüther Michael

Regional Convergence in Europe

in *Intereconomics*, Volume 51, Issue 3, May 2016 , 165-171

Convergence among regions is explicitly defined as a political aim of the European Union. Overall, NUTS3 regions have indeed shown a path of convergence since the year 2000, but there are huge differences among the regions. Many Eastern European countries as well as several regions in Spain and Portugal are characterised by a convergence process. However, the opposite holds for many regions in Greece, Italy and the UK. The size of a region's manufacturing is important for the process of convergence, and the direction of subsidies from the EU to the right fields of activity also has a positive influence on the probability of a region to converge.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Anna Brigevich

Regional Identity and Support for Europe: Distinguishing Between Cultural and Political Social Identity in France

in *Regional and Federal Studies*, Volume 26, Issue 4 , 475-507

Much has been written about the "crisis of the nation state" in Europe. The shifting of state competencies to the European and regional levels is expected to generate new loyalties to these levels, possibly at the expense of national solidarity. While numerous studies show that individuals with an exclusive national identity are less likely to support integration than those with an inclusive identity, much less is known about the interaction between regional identity and European identity. Using public opinion data collected in 16 French regions, I show that exclusive regionalists are less likely to feel attached to Europe and support the EU. However, I also find that the impact of regional identity on European identity varies by the type of identity invoked—cultural versus political. While cultural regional identity lowers support for European institutions, political regional identity has the opposite effect.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Opińska Elżbieta

Regionalism in a unitary state. Regional identity in the Polish western border regions

in *Europe en formation (L')*, 2016/1 (n° 379) , 122-139

Regionalism is a multidimensional phenomenon that draws from history, culture, economics and policies. Following decades of ideological and institutional uniformity, Poland at the beginning of the 1990s was free to start the processes



of regionalisation. The European Union's cross-border cooperation policy is regarded as a key instrument to promote regional integration and identity. Poland is a major beneficiary of the EU cohesion policy and the evaluation of the effectiveness of its implementation demonstrates positive outcomes. The aim of this paper is to analyse the process of regionalisation and the development of regional or local identities in the Polish western border areas. These territories were formed after WWII as a result of the shifting of the German-Polish border to the west. After the phase of Polonisation and national homogenisation, in 1990 the process of re-construction of the regional identity within the framework of European integration process was implemented.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Vicini Giulia

Regolamento di Dublino e principio di non-refoulement, the never-ending story: il caso Tarankhel c. Svizzera in Comunità Internazionale (La), vol. LXX, n. 2, secondo trimestre

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Boschma Ron, Capone Gianluca

Relatedness and diversification in the European Union (EU-27) and European Neighbourhood Policy countries in Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy, Volume 34, Issue 4, June , 617-637

This paper analyzes the process of industrial diversification in the countries that were part of the European Union (EU-27) and those that were the target of the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) in the period 1995–2010 by means of world trade data derived from the BACI database (elaborated UN Comtrade data). Our results show that in both the EU-27 and the ENP countries, the evolution of the productive structure—as proxied by the export mix—is strongly path-dependent: countries tend to keep a comparative advantage in products that are strongly related to their current productive structure, and they also diversify in nearby products. However, this effect is much stronger for ENP countries, signalling their lower resources and capabilities to diversify in products that are not very related to their productive structure. We also show that the future export structures of countries are affected by their imports: both the EU-27 and ENP countries keep a comparative advantage in products that are strongly related to their imports, but only EU countries show a strong capability to diversify in new products from related import sectors. Our results also hold when controlling for geographical and institutional proximity.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Dominique Moisi

Repenser l'Europe

in **Politique Etrangère**, vol. 81, n° 3, automne 2016

La France n'est pas l'Italie, un pays ou un gouvernement peut "tomber" sur un enjeu de politique étrangère. Il est même



peu probable que la politique étrangère joue un rôle significatif dans la campagne présidentielle. Il s'agit là d'une évidence qui traduit une continuité paradoxale.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Stephen Cushion, Richard Thomas

Reporting different second order elections: A comparative analysis of the 2009 and 2013 local and EU elections on public and commercial UK television news bulletins

in British Politics, Volume 11, Issue 2, June 2016 , 164–183

Drawing on a systematic content analysis, this article examines how far television news bulletins with different levels of public service obligations reported the EU and local elections in 2009 and the local elections in 2013. The aim is to compare coverage on the main evening terrestrial bulletins in the United Kingdom (the BBC, ITV, Channel 4 and Channel 5) during different types of second order campaigns and according to their regulatory responsibilities. Although UK citizens appear to value local above EU elections, the latter campaign was more extensively reported than the former on all broadcasters, with politicians sourced differently. Most striking was the market deficit of second order election news, notably Channel 5 – the broadcaster with the lightest public service obligations – containing no policy related stories. It was left to the BBC – the broadcaster with the strongest public service commitments – to deliver the most comprehensive and policy-orientated coverage.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Zuzana Murdoch, Jarle Trondal and Benny Geys

Representative bureaucracy and seconded national government officials in the European Commission

in Regulation & Governance, Volume 10, Issue 4, , 335–349

The bureaucratic arms of modern international organizations increasingly consist of staff with ambiguous organizational affiliations. This article analyses the implications of this trend from the perspective of representative bureaucracy – using seconded national experts (SNEs) in the European Commission (Commission) as the empirical laboratory. Using a variety of datasets, we unveil Commission SNEs' profiles (to assess their passive representativeness) and link these profiles to their role perceptions (to evaluate their potential for active representation). This illustrates that Commission SNEs' background characteristics do not match those of their constituent population (i.e. the EU27 population) – suggesting a lack of passive representativeness. However, we also find that SNEs from countries favoring stronger national rather than European regulatory and policymaking powers are more likely to see themselves as a representative of their home country government. This suggests a potential for active representation in terms of SNEs' home country's policy preferences.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Judis John B.

Rethinking Populism



in *Dissent*, Fall 2016

When I was in Spain last winter to do research for a book on European and American populism, the first person I interviewed was Fernando Román, a young councilman from Manzanares, a town outside of Madrid. Fer, as he is called, is a member of Podemos, the new left-wing party that came in a close third to the Socialists (PSOE) and center-right Popular Party (PP) in last June's elections. Fer was carrying a book, *Construir Pueblo* (English translation: *Podemos: In the Name of the People*) that he advised me to read if I wanted to understand Podemos. When I visited Podemos's bookstore in Madrid, stacks of *Construir Pueblo* were piled high on the center table.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Chaltiel Florence

Retour sur la protection des droits fondamentaux dans l'Union européenne

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 599, juin , 321-322

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Pinkham Sophie

Returning to Maidan

in *Dissent*, Fall 2016

In May 2014, I returned to Ukraine for the first time since the Maidan revolution of the previous winter, when a wave of protests culminated in the flight of Viktor Yanukovich, the country's president, to Russia. The protests were triggered by Yanukovich's last-minute decision, under pressure from Russian president Vladimir Putin, not to sign an Association Agreement with the EU; they became a mass movement after police assaulted a group of peaceful demonstrators. The Maidan protests—named for their location, Kiev's Maidan Nezalezhnosti, Independence Square—were about much more than an EU agreement. Thousands of Ukrainians, ranging from idealistic students to patriotic old ladies, from the liberal intelligentsia to hardcore nationalists, held the square in hope of a new Ukraine, independent of Russian influence, pervasive corruption, and a government ruled by oligarchic clans.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Iara Anna, Wolff Guntram B.

Revenue for EMU: A Contribution to the Debate on Fiscal Union

in *CESifo Economic Studies*, Volume 62 Issue 2 June 2016 , 301-331

In the wake of the euro area crisis, the debate on instruments to deepen economic integration among its members has intensified, among others putting forward a fiscal stabilization capacity for Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) members. Contributions made so far to further this idea have mostly concentrated on the expenditure side and possible stabilization properties. This analysis reviews the most important proposals and discusses design choices and



institutional conditions to develop the revenue side of such a fiscal instrument.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Pellegrini Mirella

Riflessioni sulla Brexit e prime valutazioni dei suoi esiti

in *Federalismi*, Anno XIV - Nr 17

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Stowasser Sascha

Rise of the machines isn't the end for manual labour

in *Europe's World*, vol. 33, Autumn

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

István Benczes, Balázs Szent-Iványi

Rising Hopes in the European Economy Amidst Global Uncertainties

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 54, Issue Supplement S1

The aim of this contribution is to analyze Europe's economic performance, focusing on the developments in 2015, but also placing them in a broader context. Just like our contribution to the previous year's Annual Review (Benczes and Szent-Iványi, 2015), this piece on the European economy focuses not only on the performance of the EU as a whole, but also on its Member States. It demonstrates which countries managed to outperform the others and which needed to heat up their engines. EU-wide generalizations along with data on average performance can be misleading for such a heterogeneous region; yet, there is clearly evidence of some convergence among EU countries in terms of economic performance.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Kusznir Julia

Russia hopes to benefit from Britain's departure

in *Europe's World*, vol. 33, Autumn

No abstract available



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Giuliani Jean-Dominique

Réassurer la défense de l'Europe, débloquer la défense européenne

in *Revue Défense Nationale*, n° 794, Novembre

Pour débloquer la défense européenne, aujourd'hui incapable d'être réellement mise en œuvre, il faudrait un projet innovant qui pourrait s'appuyer sur un traité entre les trois vraies puissances militaires en Europe. La France, l'Allemagne et le Royaume-Uni permettraient ainsi un vrai rebond politique donnant corps à une défense de l'Europe plus crédible.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Lähdesmäki Tuuli

Scholarly discussion as engineering the meanings of a European cultural heritage

in *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, Volume 19, Issue 6, December 2016 , 529-546

The full text is free:

<http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/1367549416631996>

Abstract

The vague concept of a European cultural heritage is frequently referred to – but rarely explicitly defined – in scholarly discussion. The use of the concept in academia constructs a European cultural heritage as a category in research and explicitly and implicitly produces its focuses and outlines. Thus, the use of the concept can be considered as scholarly engineering of a European cultural heritage. To be able to have a scholarly discussion about a European cultural heritage, the meanings and uses of the concept need to be clarified. This article examines the meanings and uses of the concept in recent scholarly articles published in various disciplines. In the study, the concept analysis by Walker and Avant is applied and expanded with a discourse theoretical aspect: different recurring characteristics brought to the fore in the use of the concept are perceived as varying discourses on a European cultural heritage.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Giuseppe Campesi

Se l'Europa rinasce dalle polizie

in *Mulino (il)*, n.6 , 1008-1017

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 6. The European unification process

Closa Carlos

Secession from a Member State and EU Membership: the View from the Union
in *European Constitutional Law Review*, Volume 12 - Issue 2 , 240-264

Arguments in favour of a more explicit and clearer EU stance on secession from a member state – two different cases for secession and their implications – the inadmissibility of unilateral secession within the EU – consensual secession does not create a legal entitlement for automatic membership – the need to follow the route of Article 49 TEU – no need for a specific secession provision in EU treaties

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Prosser Christopher

Second order electoral rules and national party systems: The Duvergerian effects of European Parliament elections
in *European Union Politics* , vol. 17, n. 3, September , 366-386

The effects of electoral rules on party systems have been well known since Duverger first proposed his famous law. Often considered ‘second order’ in terms of issues and voting behaviour, many European Parliament elections are held under different electoral rules to national elections. This article examines the consequences of these differences and hypothesizes that where a more permissive electoral system is used for European Parliament elections, the size of the party system at European Parliament elections will grow towards what we would expect from the European Parliament electoral rules in isolation, and that this will lead to a subsequent growth in the size of the national party system. Using multi-level mixed-effect growth curve modelling support is found for both these hypotheses.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Tamirace Fakhoury

Securitising Migration: The European Union in the Context of the Post-2011 Arab Upheavals
in *International Spectator (The)*, Volume 51, Issue 4 , 67-79

The migration-security nexus, already at the heart of EU policymaking before the 2011 Arab uprisings, became acute after the forced displacements from Syria and the deterrence measures introduced. The internalisation by broader publics of “security knowledge” regarding migration contributed to the securitisation move. However, the construction of migration into a security-laden notion goes beyond both the adoption of deterrence measures and the straightforward association of migration with state as well as societal (in)security. Through the lens of its cooperative tools with its southern neighbours, the EU has built complex interdependencies between migration, post-2011 regional stabilisation and security. In order to read the EU’s securitised migration politics properly, the migration-security nexus must be embedded in its social, geopolitical and temporal fields. Perceptions of geopolitical threats, concurrent strains and divergences over European integration and immigration constitute an enabling terrain for the politics of securitisation.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Eising Rainer

Selektive Abwanderung im EU-Verbandssystem. Das Strategierepertoire unzufriedener Mitglieder

in *Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft*, Volume 26, Issue 2 Supplement, October 2016, 177–195

Selective exit in the EU interest group system: the strategic repertoire of discontent members

Abstract

Drawing on Hirschman's distinction of loyalty, exit, and voice as responses to organizational decline, the article analyses the responses of members to performance failures of EU associations regarding their core functions: the provision of information to their members and the aggregation of their members' interests. Rainer Eising develops the concept of selective exit from EU associations to account for dissatisfied members joining informal coalitions. He also traces how they participate in media debates and provide information to public institutions. The study is based on 100 interviews with representatives of interest organizations in Germany, the Netherlands, Sweden, the United Kingdom, and Slovenia, linked to the research project INTEREURO.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

van Middelaar Luuk

Sept thèses sur le Brexit

in *Revue Trimestrielle de droit européen*, n. 4, 705-710

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

DAVID COEN and MATIA VANNONI

Sliding doors in Brussels: A career path analysis of EU affairs managers

in *European Journal of Political Research*, Volume 55, Issue 4, 811–826

This article investigates the revolving doors phenomenon in the European Union (EU). It proposes a management approach that treats this phenomenon as a form of corporate political activity through which companies try to gain access to decision makers. By using sequence analysis to examine the career paths of almost 300 EU affairs managers based in public and private companies across 26 countries, three different ideal-typical managers are identified: those EU affairs managers coming from EU institutions and public affairs; those who make a career through the private sector; and those who establish themselves in national political institutions. This identification confirms that EU institutions need different types of information and companies need EU affairs managers with different professional backgrounds able to provide it. Rather than observing a revolving door of EU officials into EU government affairs, what the authors term 'sliding doors' – namely the separation of careers, especially between the public and private sectors – is discerned.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Julien Jeandesboz

Smartening border security in the European Union: An associational inquiry
in *Security Dialogue*, 47 (4) , 292–309

This contribution asks how the reliance on mass dataveillance of travellers is sustained as a central policy option in the governance of EU border security. It examines this question by analysing a recent initiative of the European Commission proposing the establishment of EU 'smart borders'. The analysis draws from a set of thinking tools developed by the sociology of association in the field of science and technology studies. The contribution argues that in order to grasp policy outcomes such as smart borders, security studies would benefit from adopting a compositional outlook on agency, where action is seen as the effect of associated entities. Looking at the smartening of EU borders, the article finds that this process is held together by multiple translations and enrolments through which the technical side of dataveillance – platforms, automated gates, matching systems, and so forth – has become associated with the processes of policymaking on border security and sustains the furtherance of mass dataveillance

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Oksanen Heikki

Smoothing Asymmetric Shocks vs. Redistribution in the Euro Area: a Simple Proposal for Dealing with Mistrust
 

in *CESifo Economic Studies*, Volume 62 Issue 2 June 2016 , 332-375

The euro area will not have a centralized budget, and smoothing of country-specific asymmetric shocks via private financial markets will develop only slowly. Mistrust among the governments has caused rigid, even pro-cyclical, fiscal policies. Smoothing mechanisms are absent due to the fear that the transfers would develop into permanent redistribution. For removing these deficiencies, we propose a transfer mechanism to be managed in periods of 7 years so that the cumulative balance of each country is cleared in equal instalments during the subsequent 7-year period. The transfers would smoothen asymmetric shocks and alleviate the rigidity of the fiscal rules.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Laurence Burgorgue-Larsen

Sobre un acercamiento dialógico al Derecho constitucional europeo
in *Revista de Derecho Constitucional Europeo* , no. 25

Estudio que mantiene que el Derecho constitucional europeo es el fruto esencialmente del diálogo entre jueces, tanto vertical como horizontal. A juicio de la autora es este diálogo el que ha permitido la expresión de acuerdos, pero también de desacuerdos, sin los que no cabe entender la construcción y el desarrollo de los principales principios del Derecho de la Unión. En el trabajo se pasa revista a las principales etapas e hitos de este diálogo y sobre todo se mantiene que su sustancia constitucional estriba en que se ha centrado en los aspectos fundamentales que todos los modelos constitucionales tienen: la división de poderes y la protección de los derechos fundamentales.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Leoni Thomas

Social Investment as a Perspective on Welfare State Transformation in Europe
in *Intereconomics*, Volume 51, Issue 4, July 2016 , 194-200

The intense debate on welfare state transformation concerns as much the interpretation of past developments as it does the direction in which European welfare states should evolve in the future. Within this debate, the idea of “social investment” (SI) as a framework to understand and design welfare state change has gained particular prominence. The SI perspective stresses that social expenditure, far from being purely a cost factor and thus a burden on economic competitiveness, can increase economic efficiency while at the same time fostering equality and social inclusion.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Mullis Daniel, Belina Bernd, Petzold Tino, Pohl Lucas, Schipper Sebastian

Social protest and its policing in the “heart of the European crisis regime”: The case of Blockupy in Frankfurt, Germany
in *Political Geography*, Volume 55, November , 50-59

Under the name of ‘Blockupy’ the city of Frankfurt am Main witnessed major social protests between 2012 and 2015 against the European crisis management and its devastating impacts on the livelihoods of people all over Europe. By assuming a Gramscian perspective, with a special focus on struggles over hegemony in the realm of coercion itself, this paper, analyzes the early Blockupy movement from 2012 to 2013, and argues that these protests were able to successfully challenge the neoliberal hegemonic story of EU austerity politics in Germany for two main reasons. First, Blockupy at that time was able to avoid criminalization by practicing a professionalized politics of hegemony that actively sought to intervene in public debates and by establishing a code of conduct shared by all participating groups. Second, Blockupy's geography and its place-based, multi-scalar and networked character were crucial, in that they drew on spatial strategies derived from the traditions and experiences of different social movements. Blockupy was multi-scalar and networked in that it brought together national, local and European movements by networking across scales, and it was placebased in two respects: it used and reignited the urban social movement infrastructure that was in place in Frankfurt after decades of social struggles within and against global city formation; and it strategically used Frankfurt's material and symbolic status as a global city.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Henceval Mathieu

Sofia Corradi, una "madre" fundadora de Europa - Retrato de uno los mayores éxitos de la integración europea
in *Cuadernos Manuel Giménez Abad*, n. 12, diciembre , 224-227

Full text available online at

http://www.fundacionmgimenezabad.es/images/Documentos/Cuadernos/cuadernos12_diciembre_2016.pdf



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Hilpold Peter

Solidarität im EU-Recht: Die "Inseln der Solidarität" unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Flüchtlingsproblematik und der Europäischen Wirtschafts- und Währungsunion

in *Europarecht*, Heft 4, 2016

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Díez-Picazo Luis María

Solidarité Entre Nations?

in *Revue européenne de droit public*, vol. 26, no 1,

This paper examines the question of whether solidarity is a legal principle in the relations among nations. It starts by distinguishing between the different meanings of the word "solidarity" in private law, sociology and moral discourse. It then draws the attention to a crucial problem: the definition of the appropriate sphere of solidarity. In other words, to whom should we practise solidarity? At this point, two examples are used to test to what extent solidarity works as a legal principle in international relations: one is the new idea of "responsibility to protect", that operates in public international law; and the other is the EU response to the sovereign debt crisis, that has to do specifically with the process of European integration. Whereas solidarity is not yet a true legal principle in public international law, it can be said to have such nature in EU law. In this field, however, the real problem is not so much solidarity, as democracy.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Engler Philipp, Große Steffen Christoph

Sovereign risk, interbank freezes, and aggregate fluctuations

in *European Economic Review*, Volume 87, August 2016 , Pages 34-61

This paper shows how spillovers from sovereign risk to banks' access to wholesale funding establish a bank-sovereign nexus. In a dynamic stochastic general equilibrium set-up, heterogeneous banks give rise to an interbank market where government bonds are used as collateral. Government borrowing under limited commitment is costly ex ante as bank funding conditions tighten when the quality of collateral drops. These spillovers, by impeding interbank intermediation, lower the penalty from defaulting due to an interbank freeze during a recession and propagate aggregate shocks to the macroeconomy. The model is calibrated using Greek data and is capable of reproducing stylized facts from the European sovereign debt crisis. In an application, we show that the ECB's non-standard financing operations mitigate the adverse feedback mechanism.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Francesco Pigozzo

Sovereignty and Democracy: Overcoming Supranational Mutual Double-Binds from the Eurozone in Perspectives on federalism, volume 8, issue 1 , 21-35

EU and EMU are facing a hastened phase of structural rather than episodic crisis, following the progressive shift of the world order from a bipolar toward a multi-polar system. From the sovereign debt trap to migratory pressures and security threats, all European crisis are intimately interdependent and long awaited rather than unexpected, since their origins trace back to a lack of reactivity of the European unification process to the progressive weakening of US hegemony in the world from 1971 onward. In this paper I point out that two double-binds mutually prevent a full (and widespread) understanding of Europe's situation and avoid for this reason a fully structural approach to the institutional reforming process in the EU: a 'sovereignty double-bind' and a 'democracy double-bind'. An effective roadmap toward political unification should primarily aim at tackling these misrepresentations instead of embracing them in the form of a gradualist approach to legitimacy issues.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Paul Stephenson

Starting from scratch? Analysing early institutionalization processes: the case of audit governance in Journal of European Public Policy , Volume 23, Issue 10

This article examines the institutionalization of Community governance in the area of audit in the period prior to the establishment of the European Court of Auditors. Drawing on the literature on institutionalism and early supranational governance, it puts forward an original framework for analysing institutional dynamics that distinguishes between the institutional and the organizational/individual level, and between political and social space both inside and outside the institution. It provides a way of identifying the functions of institutions-in-the-making and distinguishing the locations of actor interactions. It then applies this framework and expectations to a longitudinal analysis of the Audit Board of the European Communities, based on the close reading of the minutes of more than 200 meetings over two decades. It argues that the rule system and normative order of the Board, as well as Community audit arrangements more broadly, resulted from various patterns of intra- and inter-institutional interaction that brought resistance, conflict and contestation.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

MOURLON-DRUOL EMMANUEL

Steering Europe: Explaining the Rise of the European Council, 1975–1986

in Contemporary European History , Vol. 25, n. 3, August, special issue "European integration" , 409-437

This article seeks to explain the emergence of the European Council at the heart of Europe's governance between 1975 and 1986. It highlights four factors that quickly made the newly-created institution both indispensable and stable, despite



concerns over the excessive reliance on the intergovernmental method in European cooperation processes. These factors were the rise of globalisation in its multi-faceted policy dimensions, a satisfactory new-found institutional balance, the public impact of societal actors' connections with regular and frequent heads of government meetings and the democratic legitimacy issue in European integration. The article further argues that this period witnessed the de facto emergence of the three-pillar Maastricht structure and shows how the study of the early days of the European Economic Community can shed light on the current development of the European Union and the European Council after the 2009 Lisbon Treaty.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Trupiano Gaetana

**Strategia europea per le relazioni culturali internazionali
in Cittadinanza europea (La)**, Fascicolo 1/2016 , 129-132

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

David Isabel

**Strategic democratisation? A guide to understanding AKP in power
in Journal of Contemporary European Studies** , vol. 24, issue 4 , 478-493

ABSTRACT: Turkey's recent drift towards authoritarianism has taken many by surprise. Once hailed as a democratic model for the Middle East, the Justice and Development Party (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi, AKP) has increasingly islamised Turkish society, jailed journalists, monopolised the judicial power and taken over the state apparatus. This article discusses the party's behaviour, contending that Turkey's prospects for democratisation are totally dependent on AKP's choices as the dominant actor in Turkish politics and society. Using a theoretical framework that combines rational choice institutionalism and the role of elites in democratisation processes, the article argues that AKP's particular characteristics and the institutional setting that influences them makes democratisation a seemingly impossible outcome. Given that EU accession and the necessary domestic reforms to meet conditionality, namely the Copenhagen criteria, equate a democratisation process, the main conclusion is that Turkey's prospects for accession under AKP remain grim for purely domestic causes.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Peter Oliver, Justine Stefanelli

**Strengthening the Rule of Law in the EU: The Council's Inaction
in Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 54, Issue 5

In May 2014 the Legal Service of the Council delivered an opinion on the European Commission's Rule of Law Framework, stating the Commission's new mechanism was unlawful. This article sets out a critical analysis of this



opinion, and questions whether the annual rule of law dialogue announced by the Council in December 2014 is a feasible response. Hungary is used as a case study to highlight the total failure of the Council to take any action whatsoever in the face of the grave and systemic abuses of human rights committed by the government of that country since 2010; and Poland where an autocratic regime has been in place since the autumn of 2015 is also mentioned. This is contrasted with the efforts of the majority of the Members of the European Parliament to tackle the acute challenge and with the Commission's action on specific breaches. A co-ordinated strategy is sorely needed.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Matthew Saul

Structuring evaluations of parliamentary processes by the European Court of Human Rights
in *International Journal of Human Rights (The)*, volume 20, issue 8 , 1077-1096

The quality of parliamentary process has been a relevant factor for the European Court of Human Rights in a number of recent judgments. This article asks: to what extent could the technical purpose for assessing parliamentary process – margin of appreciation and/or proportionality analysis – structure the assessment? The analysis combines study of the court's practice with theory on the margin of appreciation and the proportionality test. Four cases are selected to represent different ways in which parliamentary process has been dealt with by the court: *Animal Defenders International v. UK*; *Sukhovetsky v. Ukraine*; *Lindheim v. Norway*; and *Parrillo v. Italy*. The main argument is that the court has been hazy about the technical purpose that reference to parliamentary process is serving in its reasoning. This has affected the coherence of reasoning within cases and the development of a general doctrine on the assessment of parliamentary process. Judges interested in the legitimacy of the court and in favour of placing value in parliamentary process should work towards clearer explanation of the technical purpose it serves within the court's reasoning.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Schlachter Monika

Stärkung sozialer Rechte durch Grundrechtsschutz im europäischen Mehr-Ebenen-System?
in *Europarecht*, Heft 5, 2016

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Ladenburger Clemens

Supplementary Statement on the Current Discussion on Democratic Legitimacy and Accountability in the EU's Economic Governance

in *Revue européenne de droit public*, vol. 27, no 1,



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Jodeau Martine

Survival of the fittest

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 602, octobre-novembre , 551-553

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Vasilis Grollios

Syriza's Delusions and the Nihilism of Bourgeois Culture

in *Constellations*, Volume 23, Issue 3

The article poses questions considering what it means to be anti-capitalist nowadays and in its theoretical framework uses concepts as developed by the early Frankfurt School of Critical Theory to describe Syriza's path.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Erler Alexander, Hohberger Stefan

TARGET2: How Costly is Buying Time?

in *CESifo Economic Studies*, Volume 62 Issue 3 September 2016 , 491-505

The article assesses the real costs and profits of German claims on the Eurosystem through TARGET2. While Germany's nominal profits from holding TARGET2 claims depend on the development of the nominal interest rate, the real profits are determined by the real interest rate as well as the real exchange rate. The article finds that at the end of 2014, Germany faced current costs of approximately EUR 17 billion in real terms. Calculating the costs and profits of every member country in the euro area reveals that the TARGET2 system mirrors an implicit distribution mechanism, with a volume of approximately EUR 40 billion. The results underline the aspect that even without a euro area breakup or exit of one member country, holding TARGET2 claims can cause high economic costs in real terms.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Jan#269;i#263; Davor

TTIP and legislative–executive relations in EU trade policy

in *West European Politics*, vol. 40, n. 1 , 202-221

ABSTRACT: This paper analyses Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) negotiations in order to assess how the move towards tighter economic integration within the EU‒US strategic partnership impacts on



legislative‒executive relations in EU trade policy. The analysis examines the institutional, substantive and party political dimensions of national parliaments' scrutiny of the Common Commercial Policy. Based on insights into both domestic and EU channels of parliamentary monitoring of TTIP negotiations, the paper argues that, although the government remains the central object of democratic control, the involvement of national parliaments in transatlantic trade extends to encompass the EU's own transatlantic and trade policies. This is rooted in the legislatures' legal capacity to constrain the executive in the negotiation, conclusion and, where applicable, ratification phases of EU trade agreements. It is argued that national parliamentary influence takes the shape of politicisation of the legitimacy of the expected policy outcomes of these agreements.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Daunis Auers, Toms Rostoks

The 2015 Latvian Presidency of the Council of the European Union in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 54, Issue Supplement S1

The lasting legacy of Latvia's ﬁrst presidency of the Council of the European Union in theﬁrst half of 2015 is neither political, economic nor diplomatic. Rather it is an iconic build-ing – the Latvian National Library, a glassy, jagged structure perched by the Daugavariver that runs through the heart of the capital city Riga – that was ﬁrst sketched byLatvian-American architect Gunār's Birkerts in 1989 and broadly debated for two decadesbefore work ﬁnally began on construction in 2008 (Wright, 2014). However, at the end ofthat same year Latvia sank into a deep recession that saw the economy shed 24 per cent ofGDP in less than two years. Government spending was cut and construction work on thelibrary plodded on until the immediate requirements of the upcoming presidency saw thebuilding rapidly ﬁnished just months before the presidency kicked off.The library hostedalmost all of the different high (and low) level meetings of the presidency, including Jean-Claude Juncker's bizarre greeting of European leaders – with his now infamous, albeitprescient, 'here comes the dictator' greeting to Hungary's Victor Orbán – in May 2015.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Savkovic Vladimir

The Alleged Case of Golden Shares in Montenegro: A Candidate Country's Experience as an Incentive for Including Acta Jure Gestionis within the Range of Restrictions on Free Movement of Capital in *Review of Central & East European Law*, vol. 41, n. 2 , 117-156

The aim of this article is to demonstrate the potential of certain acta jure gestionis to restrict the free movement of capital by way of establishing so-called "golden shares" (i.e., special rights). To that end, a Montenegrin case study is used, since it displays that a privatization contract and the subsequent shareholder's agreement – typically jure gestionis acts – may be utilized to perpetuate a state's influence over a privatized company in a manner equally efficient as that of certain jure imperii acts, which were found by the CJEU to represent impermissible restrictions on the free movement of capital. Finally, in view of the Montenegrin case study and the examined case law, arguments are offered and the conclusion is made that the CJEU should essentially adopt the same approach with regard to each of the two types of legal instruments utilized by states to secure their influence over privatized companies.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Sara B. Hobolt

The Brexit vote: a divided nation, a divided continent

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 23, Issue 9

The outcome of the British referendum on European Union (EU) membership sent shockwaves through Europe. While Britain is an outlier when it comes to the strength of Euroscepticism, the anti-immigration and anti-establishment sentiments that produced the referendum outcome are gaining strength across Europe. Analysing campaign and survey data, this article shows that the divide between winners and losers of globalization was a key driver of the vote. Favouring British EU exit, or 'Brexit', was particularly common among less-educated, poorer and older voters, and those who expressed concerns about immigration and multi-culturalism. While there is no evidence of a short-term contagion effect with similar membership referendums in other countries, the Brexit vote nonetheless poses a serious challenge to the political establishment across Europe.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Pisciotta Barbara

The Center-Periphery Cleavage Revisited: East and Central Europe from Postcommunism to Euroscepticism

in *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, Volume 22, Issue 2, 2016 , 193-219

Abstract

The article examines the evolution of Eastern and Central European party systems from the previous communist/anticommunist conflict to the emergent division between pro-EU and Eurosceptic forces and puts forward a revised view of the traditional center-periphery cleavage in six countries: Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Bulgaria, and Romania. The first part addresses the question of "stateness" and the second the Rokkan spatial approach while the third develops a revised view of the center-periphery cleavage in relation to space at the national (minority ethnic groups vs. state), regional (EU vs. Eastern European member states), and global (USSR vs. satellite countries during the bipolar system) levels.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Ahrens Petra

The Committee on Women's Rights and Gender Equality in the European Parliament: Taking Advantage of Institutional Power Play

in *Parliamentary Affairs* , Volume 69, Issue 4 October , pp. 778-793

The European Parliament's Committee on Women's Rights and Gender Equality (FEMM Committee) is a core actor within the European Union's gender equality policy machinery. Its capacity to act, though, is shaped by the institutional setting within the European Parliament (EP). Using a qualitative approach, this article shows how this particular



committee exploits parliamentary rules and routines to maximise its influence. Existing scholarship has suggested that the voluntary nature of its membership implies a weak position within the EP. However, there is evidence to support a contrary interpretation that its voluntary membership assures institutional persistence, thematic inclusion, organisational attention and networked integration.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Florian Trauner , Ariadna Ripoll Servent

The Communitarization of the Area of Freedom, Security and Justice: Why Institutional Change does not Translate into Policy Change

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 54, Issue 6

This article proposes an explanation as to why institutional change – understood as more competences for the European Union’s supranational institutions – has rarely led to policy change in the Area of Freedom, Security and Justice (AFSJ). It draws attention to the constraints that newly empowered actors have faced in the wake of introducing the co-decision procedure. If the key principles of a given AFSJ sub-policy – its ‘policy core’ – were defined before institutional change occurred, the Council (as the dominant actor of the early intergovernmental co-operation) has found it easier to prevail in the altered structural environment and to co-opt or sideline actors with competing rationales. The article compares the importance of the new decision-making procedure with two alternative pathways potentially leading to policy change, namely, the power of litigation and the impact of unexpected external events.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

James Adams, Lawrence Ezrow and Christopher Wlezien

The Company You Keep: How Voters Infer Party Positions on European Integration from Governing Coalition Arrangements

in *American Journal of Political Science*, Volume 60, Issue 4 , 811–823

Recent studies document that voters infer parties’ left-right positions from governing coalition arrangements. We show that citizens extend this coalition-based heuristic to the European integration dimension and, furthermore, that citizens’ coalition-based inferences on this issue conflict with alternative measures of party positions derived from election manifestos and expert placements. We also show that citizens’ perceptions of party positions on Europe matter, in that they drive substantial partisan sorting in the electorate. Our findings have implications for parties’ election strategies and for mass-elite policy linkages.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

NILS-CHRISTIAN BORMANN and THOMAS WINZEN

The Contingent Diffusion of Parliamentary Oversight Institutions in the European Union

in *European Journal of Political Research*, Volume 55, Issue 3 , 589–608

What explains the variation in institutional adaptation of national parliaments to European integration? Whereas the



existing literature has mainly focused on domestic conditions, this article explains institutional adaptation to integration by focusing on inter-parliamentary diffusion. The argument draws on 'learning' mechanisms of diffusion on the demand side and on 'emulation' mechanisms on the supply side. Parliamentary demand for external inspiration is related to uncertainty about functional oversight institutions, and the selection of sources to perceptions of similarity and success. Demand arises in new European Union member parliaments and young democracies that then turn towards culturally alike countries and old democracies. Using spatial econometrics, support is demonstrated for the argument in the article while ruling out alternative diffusion mechanisms such as spatial proximity and learning from Scandinavian frontrunners once links along cultural similarity and democratic experience are controlled for. The results underline the limits of the 'isolated polity' approach in the comparative study of institutions in Europe's closely integrated political system, while also showing that, even in this favourable environment, diffusion pathways are contingent on the mechanisms generating demand among policy makers and shaping their selection of sources for external information.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Stefan Collignon, Sebastian Diessner

The ECB's Monetary Dialogue with the European Parliament: Efficiency and Accountability during the Euro Crisis?

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 54, Issue 6

The monetary dialogue between the European Parliament and the European Central Bank (ECB) is a key component for the democratic accountability of the independent central bank. We provide new evidence for the efficiency of the dialogue and present the results of a survey conducted amongst the members of the parliament's ECON (economic and monetary affairs) committee. We find that while the monetary dialogue may have had little or even a negative impact on financial markets, it plays a significant role in informing and involving members of parliament and their constituencies. Amidst an intensifying debate about the communication and transparency of the ECB, these findings shed new light on the current state of affairs of ECB accountability and its alleged need for enhancement.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Francesco Saraceno

The ECB: a reluctant leading character of the EMU play

in *Economia Politica*, Volume 33, Issue 2 , 129-151

This paper assesses the performance of the European Central Bank (ECB) during the crisis that started in 2008. The ECB statute is consistent with a view of the economy that was predominant in the 1990s, that postulates a very limited role for discretionary policies in managing the business cycle. The ECB had therefore to stretch its mandate in several occasions, during the crisis, to avoid severe outcomes. It was unable to avoid a slow but inexorable slide of the Eurozone towards deflation and a liquidity trap. To restore robust growth, fiscal policy should be used, and institutions should be redesigned away from the Berlin–Washington Consensus framework that shaped the Maastricht Treaty. Better rules for fiscal governance and a wider ECB mandate are proposed.

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 6. The European unification process

Heimann Gadi

The EEC Commission and the negotiations for a trade agreement with Israel, 1958–1964
in *Journal of European Integration*, vol. 38, n. 7, 775-789

This article examines the role played by the European Commission in negotiations between the European Economic Community and Israel concerning a trade agreement. It demonstrates that the Commission's attitude to such an agreement was far more positive than that of the six member states. The Commission's leadership pushed the Israelis into pursuing an association agreement, and when this was revealed to be impossible, it took a leading role in concluding a more limited trade agreement. The Commission's proposal formed the basis for the final agreement, which took shape in 1964. The article attempts to discern the motives behind the Commission's behaviour; its central claim is that the Commission's leadership viewed negotiations with Israel and the conclusion of an agreement as a means to achieve their ideological and institutional goals.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Schemmel Jakob

The ESA Guidelines: Soft Law and Subjectivity in the European Financial Market—Capturing the Administrative Influence
in *Indiana Journal for Global Legal Studies*, vol. 23, issue 2, 455-503

ABSTRACT: The disastrous performance of European financial-market regulation during the 2008 financial crisis convinced the European powers-that-be of the urgent need for further integration. Since then the European Union (EU) has established three European Supervisory Authorities (ESAs), which are commissioned to enhance capacity and harmonization of the European banking, insurance, and capital markets law. In carrying out this task, the ESAs employ so called ESA Guidelines, which have caught the attention of practitioners and scholars alike. As soft law, they bear a strong resemblance to instruments used on the global level to regulate the financial markets and therefore might fall prey to the same deficiencies. The ostensible resemblance, however, proves misleading. This Article argues that the deep legal embedding of the ESA Guidelines provides them with a different regulatory profile that leads to a strong enforcement effect (Part II.A), the danger of preponderant industry influence (Part II.B), and the specific characteristics of non-binding rules (Part III). Under the lens of regulatory subjectivity, these features may lead to inefficiency and reduced accountability (Part IV). To mitigate this negative impact, the Article proposes three modest reforms to the legal structure of the ESAs (Part V).

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Tim Goedemé, Diego Collado

The EU Convergence Machine at Work. To the Benefit of the EU's Poorest Citizens?
in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 54, Issue 5

Social cohesion in the EU (European Union) is usually assessed on the basis of GDP per capita and relative poverty rates. These indicators show that the 'European convergence machine' led to greater social cohesion between old and new Member States (EU-15 and NMS) until the onset of the crisis. In this article we offer an alternative perspective by



directly comparing EU citizens' disposable household incomes. Using four waves of EU-SILC data, we explore what happened between 2005 and 2011 in the EU-15 and NMS regarding changes in the lowest household incomes in relation to the EU-wide median. Results show that, overall, the convergence machine seemed to work well for the lowest incomes in the NMS, but not so much for those living in the EU-15. At the same time, differences in living standards remain quite large. This points to important continued challenges for EU policy initiatives in the social domain.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Alexander Strelkov

The EU and rule of law promotion in Western Balkans – a new role for candidate states' parliaments
in *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, Volume 32, Issue 4 , 505-524

The article explores the recent shift in the European Union's approach towards candidate states in the Western Balkans.¹¹ Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia (FYROM), Montenegro, Serbia and Kosovo are considered as parts of Western Balkans. The term "Balkan enlargement" refers to the (potential) accession of these countries to the EU. It argues that the European Commission has started to pay greater attention to parliaments in candidate states in order to promote and secure accession-related reforms. As a result, national parliaments in candidate states have greater opportunities to shape the content of these reforms, including those in the rule of law sector. Consequently, the article elaborates on the factors that could potentially affect Balkan parliaments' involvement in the accession process.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Prakash Aseem, Potoski Matthew

The EU effect: does trade with the EU reduce CO2 emissions in the developing world?
in *Environmental Politics*, Volume 26, Issue 1 , 27-48

The European Union (EU) is an important destination for developing country exports. Has the EU's commitment to the Kyoto Protocol induced developing countries to reduce their carbon dioxide (CO₂) emissions? Our analyses of 136 developing countries from 1981 through 2007 suggests that: developing countries' export dependence on the EU is associated with CO₂ emission reductions post-Kyoto in relation to the pre-Kyoto time period; this also holds for SO₂, which, while not covered under Kyoto, is linked with CO₂ emission levels; this does not hold for PM₁₀, a pollutant which is not covered under Kyoto and is not directly associated with CO₂ emissions related to industrial activities; developing countries' export dependence on non-EU developed countries and on the rest of the world is not associated with significant reductions in emissions between pre- and post-Kyoto for these pollutants . In sum, even in the absence of binding regulatory mandates, the EU appears to exert market leverage to project its regulatory preferences abroad.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Kastrinou Maria , Neocleous Mark

The EU hotspot Police war against the migrant
in *Radical Philosophy*, Issue 200, Nov/Dec



<http://www.radicalphilosophy.com/commentary/the-eu-hotspot>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Pernille Rieker & Kristian Lundby Gjerde

The EU, Russia and the potential for dialogue – different readings of the crisis in Ukraine in European Security, Volume 25, Issue 3 , 304-325

Recent developments in European security have shown the growing need for a better understanding of the security dynamics on the European continent. This article presents an analysis of differing Russian and European perceptions of European security in general, and concerning the crisis in Ukraine in particular. As much of the literature on these issues has been normatively driven, we aim to provide an impartial presentation and analysis of the dominant Russian and EU discourses. This we see as essential for investigating the potential for constructive dialogue between Russia and the EU. If simplistic assumptions about the motivations and intentions of other actors take hold in the public debate and policy analyses, the main actors may be drawn into a logic that is ultimately dangerous or counterproductive. With this article we offer a modest contribution towards discouraging such a development in Russia–EU relations. After presenting an analysis of the differing EU and Russian perceptions, we discuss the potential for dialogue between such different worldviews, and reflect on potential implications for European security. As the article shows, there are tendencies of a certain adjustment in the Union's approach that may make a partial rapprochement between the two sides more likely.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Borrajó Diego, de Castro José Luis

The EU's comprehensive approach as an alternative strategic framework for a security provider: the case of EU NAVFOR Somalia
in *Global Affairs*, Volume 2, Issue 2 , 177-186

The aim of this paper is to examine the dynamics of the Comprehensive Approach (CA) doctrine of the EU and to address the implications of the CA for the EU's ambitions, as a security provider, to become an effective transformative power; this is in comparison with the predominant realist strategic thinking of the great powers, which still dominates geopolitical thinking in world politics. This analysis aims to contribute to this debate by questioning the identity of the EU from a normative power formulation by applying the concept of hegemony from a Gramscian perspective. This paper considers from the case of EU NAVFOR Somalia that the EU's current transformative capacity and possibilities could be grasped differently from its operational dimension, focusing on its broader policy-tool potentialities and the broader potential of its delivery, which the CA contributes to consolidate in contrast to the narrower strategic framework of the great powers.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Alun Gibbs

The Economic Crisis and the Rule of Law in Europe: A Hidden Face for the Rule of Law?



in *Hague Journal on the Rule of Law*, volume 8, issue 2 , 323-336

As a critical lens to assess the rule of law the article confronts the often used term of criticism levelled at it: that it is inherently elusive or uncertain. Taking this as a starting point the article considers whether there is something productive in this apparent uncertainty which renders this challenge both misleading and also apt to neglect key aspects of the concept in favour of adopting a version of rule of law based on predictability. The article develops an account of what can be termed 'the constitutive' dimension of the rule of law which it is argued here has been neglected due to an emphasis on predictability and also 'regulatory' dimension which concentrates on the rule of law as the control or restraint of political power. The constitutive dimension of the rule of law explores the meaning of the foundational moment of the constitutional community and the language used to express this as a basis for solidarity and as a point of orientation during points of considerable change or crisis. In this regard the article establishes that there is an important theoretical relationship between the rule of law and ideas about the constituent power which require development and further reflection. The second part of the article, in Sects. 3 and 4, takes the theoretical investigation of the constitutive dimension to the rule of law and considers how this concept can provide a basis for critical reflection regarding the economic crisis of the EU. The focus on the economic crisis in the EU is two-fold: in the first instance the economic crisis is a moment of stress on the political and legal understanding of the EU and shows up the complexity of the commitment to the rule of law in this context. Secondly, given the aspect of the EU as a 'polity' under construction the economic crisis and its response underscores the problematic aspect of the constituent power in the EU. The article primarily focuses on the contributions made by Jurgen Habermas in respect of the crisis and its response in terms of the rule of law. Habermas argues for a reciprocal understanding of political solidarity and justice to be made part of the solution and response to the EU economic crisis and a rejection of the executive federalism dominated approach which is characterised by a technocratic approach to political question. Habermas' approach is noteworthy for the manner that it focuses on a response which articulates how the crisis can become a basis not only for an appreciation of the importance of political solidarity but equally to allow Europe to confront the constitutive meanings of the EU as a legal and political project.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Katrijn Siderius, Gijs Jan Brandsma

The Effect of Removing Voting Rules: Consultation Practices in the Commission's Delegated Act Expert Groups and Comitology Committees

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 54, Issue 6

The Lisbon Treaty changed the system of delegating executive powers to the European Commission: it introduced the delegated acts system as an alternative to comitology, which continues to exist in parallel. This new system allocates veto power to the European Parliament and the Council, in which Member State expert groups are consulted without having a formal vote. The Council fears that the absence of formal voting will tempt the Commission to ignore Member State input in the expert groups. This article investigates to what degree this fear is justified. To what degree do formal voting rights affect the consultation of Member State experts? On the basis of interviews with Member State experts who participate both in expert groups as well as in comitology committees, we demonstrate how consultation patterns differ between the two settings.

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 6. The European unification process

Hube Nicolas, Salgado Susana, Puustinen Liina

The Euro Crisis' Actors and their Roles Politicization and Personalization of the Press Coverage in *Politique européenne* , 2016/2 (N° 52) , 84-13

This study investigates the depiction and complexity of actors in the print news coverage of the Euro Crisis between 2010 and 2012. Based on an empirical study of 40 newspapers from ten European countries, we examined the role and visibility of different types of actors. We also looked at two important assumptions from the political communication and the European studies' literature: the trend towards the personalization of political news; and the relapse in Europeanization, which suggests that the Euro Crisis has contributed to further empower both the national governments over the European institutions and some countries over the others. Our main conclusions point to a personalized news coverage, mostly dominated by the views of national political leaders and economic actors. Finally, we discuss some of the reasons behind these features of the news coverage and their implications for the development of European integration and for the actual existence of a European public sphere.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Sarmiento Daniel

The European Banking Governance The Single Supervisory Mechanism and the Union's Constitutional Challenge

in *Revue européenne de droit public*, vol. 28, no 1

The Single Supervisory Mechanism (SSM) is a major development in the area of Economic and Monetary Policy. For the first time, a European institution will be entrusted with the prudential supervision of credit institutions in Europe, a major achievement that has been put into action as of 4 November 2014. The SSM confers very significant powers on the European Central Bank, including coercive and investigatory powers. At the same time, national supervisory authorities shall work closely with the European Central Bank, and in some cases they must act under its "instructions". Due to the relevant powers granted to the European Central Bank, a system of checks and balances has been introduced, in which the European Parliament and the Court of Justice of the European Union play a significant part.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Gortsos Christos V.

The European Banking Union: An Introduction to the Legal Framework

in *Revue européenne de droit public*, vol. 28, no 1

Since 2008, several legal acts have been adopted by EU financial regulators (i.e. mainly the European Parliament, the ECOFIN Council, the European Commission and to a certain extent also the European Central Bank), which reshaped the regulatory and supervisory framework pertaining to the EU banking system. The legislative process for adopting



such acts has also been improved with the creation of the European Banking Authority. The legal acts adopted in order to enhance the stability of the disrupted EU banking system are categorised in two groups, since they address problems relating to two different crises (even though the first partly triggered the second): (a) The first group contains a set of legal acts adopted as a regulatory response to the recent (2007-2009) international financial crisis. For the most part, regulatory measures in this set were taken over from the international financial reform agenda, mainly the work orchestrated by the Financial Stability Board and soft law rules adopted by the Basel Committee on Banking Supervision on micro- and macro-prudential banking regulation, and the resolution of failing credit institutions. (b) The second group contains legal acts adopted as a regulatory reaction to the current fiscal crisis in the euro area, which became manifest in 2010. The main by-product of this response, as regards financial law, was the establishment of the European Banking Union (EBU), and, in particular, of the Single Supervisory Mechanism (SSM), the Single Resolution Mechanism (SRM) and the Single Resolution Fund (SRF), while there are also recent proposals for the creation of a European Deposit Insurance Scheme (EDIS) and a European Deposit Insurance Fund (EDIF). The establishment of the SSM, the SRM and the SRF constitute bold institutional novelties. The creation of the SSM is an element for reform, i.e., improved financial supervision, which has been discussed for a long time. However, maintaining resolution tasks on a national scale, while supervision is centralised, would pose considerable risks. Thus, the SRM and the SRF should be viewed as complementary to the SSM and these three components of the EBU should be considered in unison, given that shared liability for bank resolutions requires centralised supervisory oversight.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Thaler Philipp

The European Commission and the European Council: Coordinated Agenda setting in European energy policy in *Journal of European Integration*, vol. 38, n. 5, special issue: Integration without supranationalisation: the central role of the European Council in post-Lisbon EU politics , 571-585

The post-Maastricht era is characterised by a growing importance of the European Council in the integration of various policy-fields. In this respect, EU energy policy is no exception. The fragmentation in three coexisting strands and external shocks has emphasised the need for intergovernmental coordination and oversight. This new intergovernmentalism, exemplified prominently by the recent move towards Energy Union, is surprising in two respects. On the one hand, energy is an area of diverse member state interests that repeatedly thwarted ambitious plans for deepening European integration. On the other hand, the European Council's new intergovernmentalism challenges the classical role of the European Commission in the field that was rooted in its single market competence. However, rather than implying a shift in the interinstitutional balance, developments of the past decade reveal increased cooperation between the two key institutions and flexible working mechanisms through which the Commission has retained substantial policy initiative capacities.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Glencross Andrew

The European Council and the legitimacy paradox of new intergovernmentalism: constitutional agency meets politicisation



in **Journal of European Integration**, vol. 38, n. 5, special issue: Integration without supranationalisation: the central role of the European Council in post-Lisbon EU politics , 497-509

This paper examines the actions of the European Council during the Eurozone crisis through the lens of political constitutionalism. This analysis examines the role of political inputs in shaping the EU constitutional developments, whether supranational or intergovernmental, to demonstrate the 'legitimacy paradox' of new intergovernmentalism. That is, the European Council claimed the electoral legitimacy to rescue the euro, but in doing so opened up new avenues for contesting EU legitimacy, notably in relation to national budgetary decision-making. For unlike with supranational constitutional agency, the European Council has the means to politicise its actions. However, the strategy taken during the sovereign debt crisis is shown to be one of depoliticisation to prevent the domestic contestation of EMU reform. At the same time, paradoxically, the politics of macroeconomic policy has become Europeanised with the active participation of EU supranational actors. Since EMU reform is dependent on supranational enforcement of EMU rules, the new intergovernmentalism faces political contestation that previous, supranational EU constitutional development did not.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Jenny Preunkert

The European Field of Government Debt in Times of Stability and in Times of Crisis

in **International Journal of Comparative Sociology** , Volume 15, Issue 4

The aim of the article is to understand how the introduction of the euro changed the environment for government debt managers and therefore altered government debt management strategies. The argument of the article is that the common currency has led to the institutionalization of a transnational field. In this new European field, the strategies of its members are a treatment of both the common shared rules and the mutual awareness of each other and their role in the field. In times of stability, the European field pushed the competition among government debt managers and therefore resulted in converging tendencies in government debt management approaches without overcoming all differences. Contrary to this, during the crisis and therefore in times of an unstable environment, government debt management approaches became more divergent and more hierarchic.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Nuria Font, Ixchel Pérez Durán

The European Parliament oversight of EU agencies through written questions

in **Journal of European Public Policy** , Volume 23, Issue 9

The reinforcement of the legislative and oversight powers of the European Parliament by virtue of successive treaty reforms over the last two decades has been in parallel with an expanding process of agency creation at the European Union (EU) level. While these two institutional developments entail major transformations of legislative–executive relations in the EU, the European Parliament oversight of EU agencies remains an underexplored topic of research. Based on an original dataset on parliamentary written questions overseeing EU agencies asked during the 2009–14 Legislature, the article analyses members of the European Parliament (MEPs) questioning activity overseeing EU agencies. The article argues that legislative oversight of agencies through written questions is driven by MEPs national



party opposition status as well as by agency salience and size.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Judith Sargentini, Aleksejs Dimitrovs

The European Parliament's Role: Towards New Copenhagen Criteria for Existing Member States?

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 54, Issue 5

The new own-initiative report the European Parliament is preparing has three aims: to provide a formal evaluation of the recent initiatives by the Commission and the Council; to present a viable alternative; and to do so in the form of a legislative report, so as to obtain a formal reaction from the Commission. The institutions have proposed several possible solutions to the crisis of the Rule of Law in the EU. It is time to put them into a coherent system. The report will focus on five issues: the body for a permanent country-by-country monitoring of democracy, the Rule of Law and fundamental rights in the EU; the role of the Agency for Fundamental Rights; whether and how infringement procedures should be revisited in this context; what a proper pre-Article 7 Treaty on European Union (TEU) procedure should look like; and what a valid legal basis for the proposed changes should be.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Stavridis Stelios

The European Parliament's contribution to the R2P debate: lessons from the Libyan and Syrian conflicts

in *Global Affairs*, Volume 2, Issue 2 , 187-201

The first application of the military force element of Responsibility to Protect (R2P), whose objective is to protect populations from four specified atrocities, occurred in 2011 in Libya. Since then, and in particular in the ongoing conflict in Syria, R2P has been mentioned occasionally but not applied to date. This has led to claims that its non-application is a result of the "shadow of Libya". Over recent years, the international role of parliamentary bodies has vastly expanded, and in particular that of the European Parliament (EP) who acted as a "prime mover" for R2P over Libya in 2011. This study explains why the EP does not call for R2P implementation in the Syrian conflict. It will argue that this differentiation in fact strengthens R2P because it refers to conditions and characteristics that need to be respected if this concept is to be implemented correctly, and, more importantly, if it is to become an accepted international norm in the future.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Laguna De Paz José Carlos

The European Single Supervisory Mechanism

in *Revue européenne de droit public*, vol. 27, no 3

The Single Supervisory Mechanism (SSM) is a significant step towards banking union. The European Central Bank (ECB) has been entrusted with prudential supervision of the most important credit institutions of the Eurozone. It does not come as a surprise that this process raises controversial issues. To begin with, it is necessary to question whether



the ECB's new tasks conform to the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU). It is also necessary to assess the ECB organizational principles, such as its "accountable independence". More controversial is whether regulation provides for guarantees to ensure separation between supervision and monetary policy. The ECB mainly assumes competences over the most significant credit institutions of the euro area. Therefore, close cooperation between European and national authorities will be essential to ensure the smooth functioning of a very complex supervision system. There is no doubt that the ECB has been given very effective prudential supervisory powers, including the power to sanction, which provides the ultimate guarantee for effective supervision. The provision of an internal administrative review of the ECB supervisory decisions may play a significant role in protecting stakeholders.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Roberto Belloni

The European Union Blowback? Euroscepticism and its Consequences in the Western Balkans

in *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding*, Volume 10, Issue 4 , 530-547

While there exists a large body of literature investigating the European Union's intervention in the western Balkans, and in particular the influence of so-called 'enlargement fatigue', rarely is the western Balkans' own fatigue towards the EU given serious consideration. This paper examines domestic views about Europe, arguing that aspiring new EU member states have been experiencing various forms of Euroscepticism due to a number of socio-economic, cultural and political factors. The growth of Euroscepticism has helped Russia to play a more assertive and influential role in the region. However, as this paper argues, Euroscepticism is not a rejection of the European perspective and the search for alternatives, but rather a critique of the actual methods, timing and impact of the integration process.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Gareth Davies

The European Union Legislature as an Agent of the European Court of Justice

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 54, Issue 4

The European Union is unique among jurisdictions in having constitutionalized its policy goals and methods, by embedding these in the Treaties. As a result, the legislature is far more constrained in its activities than is the case in other constitutional orders. Yet the Treaties are indeterminate, and it is the Court of Justice which interprets and delimits them, and instructs the legislature on how and to what extent it may pursue them. There is, in substance, a principal-agent relationship between the Court and the EU legislature, enforceable by the Court's capacity to annul legislation contrary to its preferences. An examination of internal market legislation shows that indeed it consists of codification of prior case law. The judicial constraints on the EU legislature are sufficiently tight that the legislature is more akin to a subordinate implementing regulator than to an autonomous political policy-maker.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process



Crescenzi Riccardo, Petrakos George

The European Union and its neighboring countries: The economic geography of trade, Foreign Direct Investment and development

in *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, Volume 34, Issue 4, June , 581-591

This Editorial looks at the process of political and economic integration between the European Union and the European Neighborhood Policy countries with a special focus on the processes linked to trade flows, Foreign Direct Investment and their spatial impacts. This Editorial highlights the key 'unanswered' questions in the existing literature and explores outstanding conceptual and empirical challenges, discussing how the various papers included in the Theme Issue can provide systematic coherent answers to a number of these research questions. The Editorial includes a synopsis of the key findings of the papers and highlights their connections and linkages. It concludes with open questions for further research and a potential agenda for future conceptual and empirical analyses in this area.

Full text available online at <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/0263774X16642640>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Gnes Matteo

The European Union at the Monetary Turning Point: Towards Genuine Integration or Dis-Integration?

in *Revue européenne de droit public*, vol. 28, no 1

European integration is facing one of the most difficult, but at the same time, challenging periods of its life. The European crisis is not yet overcome; and the new Asian crisis is approaching. Only a strongly integrated Europe may resist and even make profit from such challenges. Only if linked together will European countries be able to remain in the G8 group after 2050. The aim of the report is to point out and to stimulate the debate only on those issues that are more strictly related to the "monetary governance" of the European Union. In order to better understand the path to the European monetary integration, the report first quickly examines the process that led to the construction of a common currency in the European Union, i.e. the path to the European Monetary Union (EMU) and to the establishment of the European Central Bank (ECB). Then, it illustrates some of the most important issues concerning EMU and ECB, especially as concerns the costs and benefits of a monetary union; the problem of the "unaccountability" of the ECB; the overregulation aimed at achieving economic and fiscal coordination; the consequences on citizens' rights and safeguards. Finally, in order to discuss the problem of whether a political union is advisable or even necessary, the European experience is compared with the origins of central banking of two "integrating" countries (i.e. the institution of the federal central bank system in the United States and the institution of the central bank in Italy after its unification).

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Elena A Korosteleva

The European Union, Russia and the Eastern region: The analytics of government for sustainable cohabitation

in *Cooperation and Conflict*, Volume 51, Issue 3 , 365–383

This article applies the Foucauldian premise of governmentality and the analytics of government framework to



demonstrate how exclusive modalities of power – of the European Union (EU) and Russia – and their competing rationalities relate, intersect and become, counter-intuitively, inextricable in their exercise of governance over the eastern neighbourhood. This particular approach focuses on power as a process to gauge the prospects for compatibility and cohabitation between the EU and Russia. Using original primary evidence, this article contends that cohabitation between these two exclusive power modalities is possible and even inevitable, if they were to legitimise their influence over the contested eastern region. It also exposes a fundamental flaw in the existing power systems, as demonstrated so vividly in the case of Ukraine – that is, a neglect for the essential value of freedom in fostering subjection to one's authority, and the role of 'the other' in shaping the EU–Russian power relations in the contested region.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Elaine Mak and Sanne Taekema

The European Union's Rule of Law Agenda: Identifying Its Core and Contextualizing Its Application
in *Hague Journal on the Rule of Law*, volume 8, issue 1, 25-50

Monitoring the rule of law performance of EU member states presupposes that the EU has a clear idea of what is meant by the rule of law. Theoretically, however, the conceptualization of this notion has proven difficult, leading to a wide range of differing approaches. Moreover, the application of a common rule of law concept in a multilevel legal context creates its own difficulties. As the starting point for this contribution, we identify a core meaning of the rule of law based on the work of Philip Selznick and Martin Krygier. They see the reduction of the arbitrary use of power as the central value and point to the importance of a contextual approach to realizing that value: reducing arbitrariness may require very different concrete measures from one society to another. We examine what common idea of the rule of law is projected by the European Union in its rule of law agenda, looking specifically at two important instruments, the Justice Scoreboard and the Better Regulation programme. Using the contextual approach to rule of law, we then examine whether the core meaning of this concept is recognizable here, and whether efforts are already made to allow for the inclusion of contextual elements. Our analysis clarifies that the two instruments support the core notion of the rule of law by enhancing the quality of political debates in the EU. However, underlying economic assumptions and approaches as well as political forces form a constant threat to the realization of elements of participation and separation of powers.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Matthias Matthijs

The Euro's "Winner-Take-All". Political Economy Institutional Choices, Policy Drift, and Diverging Patterns of Inequality
in *Politics & Society*, 44 (3), 393–422

This article offers an institutional explanation for the conflicting trends in income inequality both across the Eurozone and within its member states. It argues that the euro's introduction created different economic policy incentives for peripheral and core members. First, the euro's design was a political choice skewed toward deflationary adjustment policies in hard times, leading to falling incomes and employment in the periphery. Second, the institutional incentives of the Eurozone are the opposite for export-driven coordinated market economies and demand-led mixed market economies during booms and downturns, respectively. During the euro crisis, the Eurozone's Northern countries gained at the expense of



the Southern ones, while at the same time seeing lower domestic inequality compared to increased inequality in the periphery. This diverging pattern of European inequality was exacerbated by EU economic policy drift, the lack of any real national democratic choice in the periphery, and the growing importance of organized financial interests in Brussels.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Olga Khrushcheva & Tomas Maltby

The Future of EU-Russia Energy Relations in the Context of Decarbonisation in *Geopolitics*, Volume 21, Issue 4 , 799-830

In 2013, there was a joint commitment to “long term strategic EU-Russia energy cooperation”.¹¹ EU/RF Roadmap, ‘Roadmap EU-Russia Energy Cooperation until 2050’, European Commission and Russian Government, March 2013, p. 4, available at https://ec.europa.eu/energy/sites/ener/files/documents/2013_03_eu_russia_roadmap_2050_signed.pdf.

View all notes

Whilst centred on oil and gas, it is noted that “the importance of renewables for EU-Russia energy relations should grow too”,²² Ibid., p. 21.

View all notes

and that for energy efficiency, “cooperation potential is immense and could... contribute to the objective of a Pan-European energy area”.³³ Ibid., p. 26.

View all notes

Given this shared objective, this article analyses EU and Russian energy decarbonisation policy objectives and considers the potential for a supplementary trade relationship based on renewable energy flows and decarbonisation-related technology, as well as the implications for existing energy trade. Despite declarative statements of mutual interest, shared objectives and cooperation in decarbonisation policy, there has been very limited cooperation by early 2016. The EU has set ambitious plans to decarbonise its economy and energy sector by 2050. However, in Russia energy policy is dominated by hydrocarbon exports, decarbonisation targets are modest, and there are major problems with their implementation. The drivers of EU and Russian energy policies are evaluated, and the argument advanced is that different understandings of energy security and types of energy governance provide major obstacles to decarbonisation cooperation and trade. However, it is argued that ideas about energy policy and security are contested and subject to change and there exists significant potential for mutual gain and cooperation in the longer term.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Montani Guido

The German Question and the European Question after the Greek Crisis in *Politico* (II), n. 241, 2016 , 5-28

ABSTRACT: L’aspro scontro tra debitori e creditori in occasione del Consiglio europeo del 12-13 giugno 2015 mostra che una radicale riforma dell’Unione Europea è necessaria. In questo articolo si sostiene che l’UEM è un progetto politico: è un bene pubblico europeo, che deve essere fornito da un governo democratico europeo. L’espulsione della Grecia avrebbe violato il patto che unisce i paesi dell’UE. Durante la crisi, la leadership tedesca è stata decisiva. Si è così ripresentato il vecchio dilemma: una Germania europea o un’Europa tedesca? Per capire le incomprensioni tra



europesi, si esaminano due spillovers inter-giurisdizionali evidenziati dalla crisi: il nesso tra sistema bancario e debito sovrano e il vuoto deflazionistico interno. Per eliminare i due spillovers è necessario che l' UE si doti di una politica macroeconomica per l'Euroarea, basata sull'equilibrio di lungo periodo della bilancia dei pagamenti europea, in alternativa al modello tedesco di crescita fondato sul surplus delle esportazioni. Per eliminare gli squilibri interni di crescita e di occupazione, è necessario che l'Unione si doti di un bilancio federale, per consentire alla Commissione di promuovere un piano di investimenti pubblici europei e accrescere la coesione economico- sociale tra i paesi membri. I principi alla base del nuovo modello economico europeo – un insieme coerente e sostenibile di economie nazionali interdipendenti – potrebbero servire anche come orientamento per la futura riforma dell'ordine economico internazionale.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Polyakova Alina

The Great European Unraveling?

in *World Policy Journal*, vol. 33, n. 4, winter , 68-72

ABSTRACT: After Britain voted to leave the EU, the European dream of a united continent is at risk but not dead. The Atlantic Council's Alina Polyakova argues that EU leaders must create opportunities for young people to reap the benefits of the economic bloc's accomplishments. Unless a new generation is made a political priority, it could be on the verge of being lost to the far-right populist parties sweeping across Europe.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Clarich Marcello

The Guarantees of the States Participating and not Participating in the Banking Union

in *Revue européenne de droit public*, vol. 28, no 1

Regulation No. 1024/2013 establishing the Single Supervisory Mechanism applies only to Member States of the euro area but is also open to voluntary membership on the part of non-euro Member States. The report deals with the regime of close cooperation with the European Central Bank (ECB) by non-euro Member States which decide to opt in. Since non-euro Member States are not represented in the Governing Council of the ECB, one difficulty of this regime is to put them on an equal footing with the euro Member States. This difficulty is not adequately addressed by the rules on the suspension and termination of the close cooperation. Therefore, an amendment of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union would be needed.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Crafts Nicholas

The Impact of EU Membership on UK Economic Performance



in **Political Quarterly** , Volume 87, Issue 2, april-june , pp. 262-268

The relatively deep level of economic integration achieved by the European Union (EU) has been highly successful in increasing trade for its members. Larger trade volumes have had positive effects on productivity levels. In the case of the United Kingdom the gain from joining the EU was probably around 10 per cent of GDP and this far exceeded any costs of membership, possibly by a ratio of seven to one. A major reason for this outcome was a significant increase in competition as protectionism was abandoned. The economic implications of Brexit are much less clear because there are many permutations of what it would entail. Future trade barriers rather than budgetary transfers are the main issue. Brexit could be quite costly if the UK left the single market and used its new policy space badly. Ironically, while Brexit clearly appeals to free traders, it could end up empowering protectionists.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Charlotte Burns and Paul Tobin

The Impact of the Economic Crisis on European Union Environmental Policy

in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 54, Issue 6

The ongoing European economic crisis provides a focus for academics wishing to understand the relationship between major exogenous shocks and changes to environmental protection. Yet, measuring change, particularly to policies, is notoriously fraught with difficulties. This research note explores the conceptual and methodological challenges associated with capturing change in response to the economic crisis in Europe, specifically focusing upon the environment. The environment is typically touted as a European Union success story, but there is good reason to suspect that this policy sector may have been – and continues to be – negatively affected by the economic downturn. We suggest a toolkit of measures that can capture changes to this sector, and which may also be employed by researchers of other policy sectors.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Asli Okyay & Jonathan Zaragoza-Cristiani

The Leverage of the Gatekeeper: Power and Interdependence in the Migration Nexus between the EU and Turkey

in **International Spectator (The)**, Volume 51, Issue 4 , 51-66

In March 2016, the European Union and Turkey reached an agreement seeking to end the refugee flows from Turkey to Greece. This agreement is the outcome of a bargaining process in which Turkey gained considerable leverage from its position as a 'gatekeeper' situated between Syria and an increasingly 'immigration-averse' and securitised EU. More importantly, this bargaining process might have broader implications for the EU and its relations with its periphery, since Turkey has progressively reversed the asymmetries of power by demonstrating the indispensability of its continued commitment to act as gatekeeper vis-à-vis an increasingly fragmented and anxious EU.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process



Paternotte David

The NGOization of LGBT activism: ILGA-Europe and the Treaty of Amsterdam
in *Social Movement Studies*, Volume 15, Issue 4

This article discusses the Europeanization of social movement organizations using the case of ILGA-Europe, the umbrella of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender organizations in Europe. It examines the impact of Article 13 of the Treaty of Amsterdam, which bans discrimination on the grounds of sexual orientation, and focuses on three entrenched dynamics ILGA-Europe has rapidly undergone: NGOization, institutionalization, and professionalization. It argues that although we should be aware of the role of the European political opportunity structure in shaping civil society organizations, we cannot overlook internal organizational dynamics and movement identities. Following the literature on the Europeanization of social movements, this piece confirms institutional opportunities and interactions with European institutions are a major cause of transformation: The adoption of Article 13 and the development of a European equal opportunity policy constitute a pivotal moment in ILGA-Europe's history, endowing it with easier access to EU institutions and core funding. This allowed the organization to NGOize, contributed to a transformation of its internal structures, and led to the appointment of highly skilled professionals. However, this article also insists on the importance of movement identity. These transformations are not solely the result of interactions with the European institutional environment, but had been prepared by long-term orientations within ILGA, that is a preference for reformist claims and institutional strategies. ILGA-Europe's NGOization is thus not only a response to institutional and political changes, but also results from specific ways of imagining activism. It is the interaction between movement identity and arising institutional opportunities that allowed the organization to transform.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Chiti Mario P.

The New European Economic Governance and the Banking Union. General Conclusions
in *Revue européenne de droit public*, vol. 28, no 1

This paper focuses on four main issues: a) the changes that have occurred in the European economic governance to contrast the great crisis initiated in 2008, b) the features of the European Banking Union (BU), c) the role and attitude of the European and national judges facing the new discipline and d) the democratic legitimation of the new European banking system. As regards the first topic, it is concluded that the recent institutional developments have not demolished the pillars of the previous European governance. Secondly, the author is of the opinion that the BU is a consistent and complete system, whose ratio is that of the Single Market and having as key objective the elimination of national competitive distortions, while, as concerns the third topic, the ECJ has given consistency to many, often uncoordinated measures, consolidating the system during the crisis and setting aside the national judges. Finally, the legitimation of the European banking system derives directly from the Treaties, which also provide a full judicial review on any part of the banking system. In conclusion, the author argues that the new system is providing an effective package of quick, effective, reliable measures and that the European banking law and the BU do not represent a journey into the night, but a positive development in the integration process.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bongardt Annette, Torres Francisco



The Political Economy of Brexit: Why Making It Easier to Leave the Club Could Improve the EU

in *Intereconomics*, Volume 51, Issue 4, July 2016 , 214-219

The UK exit from the EU represents a qualitative change in the nature of EU membership. On the one hand, it conveyed the lesson that for the Union to be sustainable, membership needs to entail constant caretaking as far as individual members' contributions to the common good are concerned, with both rights and obligations. Countries with preferences that are too divergent for the Union to function properly should then not be discouraged to invoke Article 50 and to opt instead for membership in the EEA or for a free trade agreement. The Union has to deliver to be sustainable, but it cannot do so if there is a constant hold up of decisions that are in the common interest. On the other hand, with the eurozone having established itself as the de facto core of European (political) integration, the UK's preference for a stand-alone (and incomplete) economic union became untenable, because the need to make the monetary union work calls for further integration and institution-building in the economic union sphere.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Lucia Quaglia, David Howarth, Moritz Liebe

The Political Economy of European Capital Markets Union

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 54, Issue Supplement S1

In September 2015 the European Commission put forward an Action Plan for Capital Markets Union (CMU) and two legislative proposals concerning securitization. Further legislative activity was to follow. The 'Five Presidents Report' of June 2015 had presented CMU as necessary to complement Banking Union and ultimately to complete Economic and Monetary Union (EMU). CMU was also considered by the Commission (2015a) as the 'new frontier of Europe's single market' with the aim of reducing fragmentation in financial markets, diversifying financing sources, strengthening cross-border capital flows and improving access to finance for businesses, particularly Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs). More immediately, the CMU initiative was to encourage bank and other corporate securitization in the European Union, the level of which had plummeted since 2007 with the outbreak of the international financial crisis. CMU was also intended to boost the global competitiveness of European financial centres which over the previous decade had lost ground in global rankings

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Hanspeter Kriesi

The Politicization of European Integration

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 54, Issue Supplement S1

The European Union has had to deal with a series of crises in the past, but currently, it faces an exceptional accumulation of tensions triggered by the eurozone crisis, the refugee crisis, Islamic terrorism, the imperial aspirations of Putin and Brexit ambitions. Does the politicization of European integration increase under these conditions? And who are the possible drivers of a process of politicization of European integration? In this contribution I argue the politicization of European integration is not only time-dependent, but also embedded in national political context structures which vary systematically between three European regions: the Northwest, the South and the East of Europe. In order to understand the impact of contemporary crisis conditions on the politicization of European integration, I argue we have to



take into account how these crisis conditions are linked to the underlying region-specific national constitutional structures. Given these different national constitutional structures, and given the different types of crises experienced by the populations of the three regions, the type of politicization of European integration is likely to be very different from one region to the other.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Meng Werner

The Powers of the Union in the European Economic Governance: New Transfers of Sovereignty
in *Revue européenne de droit public*, vol. 28, no 1

In the middle of a deep and perhaps existential crisis of the European Union, there is a major concern among the Member States and particularly within the Union itself, that the survival of the monetary union is dependent on the further development of unitary structures, which means: more integration. The last major prospective plan in this respect is contained in the "Report of the five presidents of the Union", that was issued in June 2015 on "Europe's Economic and Monetary Union". It deals with further developments in the economic, financial, fiscal and political Union. The present report looks at the constitutional questions of this plan. Unfortunately, the legal prerequisites are not being dealt with therein in sufficient clarity. Since the plan contains some considerable steps for further integration, at least as concerns the second step, it is indispensable that the constitutional questions, and particularly the powers of the Union, are thoroughly evaluated. This is even more necessary, since the constitutional control of any further steps of integration in the Member States has been tightened given the jurisprudence of some constitutional courts. The present report tries to highlight some pivotal questions that have to be answered before such a plan can really be driven forward.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Fabbrini Federico

The Relation Between the European Council and the Council: Institutional Arguments in Favour of an EU Senate
in *European public Law*, Volume 22 - Issue 3 , 489–504

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Grygiel Jakub

The Return of Europe's Nation-States. The Upside to the EU's Crisis
in *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 95, n. 5

No abstract available



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Caroline Mcevoy

The Role of Political Efficacy on Public Opinion in the European Union

in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 54, Issue 5

Recent developments in EU (European Union) support literature confirm that citizen attitudes towards the EU are shaped by both input-oriented factors relating to the procedural fairness of the system (e.g. political representation and identity) and output-oriented factors based on the EU's capacity to yield economic benefits. This article builds on these models by suggesting a theoretical framework of support that is driven by both perceptions of the economy and political efficacy. Using data from the 2013 Eurobarometer 80.1, I find that political efficacy is a key predictor of public opinion towards the EU and that citizens who feel their voice is represented in the EU are more likely to maintain support for the EU even when their perceptions of the economy are poor. The findings in this article have particular significance to the puzzle of declining support for the EU following the onset of the 'great recession' in 2008.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Tulli Umberto

The Search for a European Identity in the Long 1970s: External Relations and Institutional Evolution in the European Community

in **Contemporary European History**, Vol. 25, n. 3, August, special issue "European integration", 537-550

The past decade has seen an explosion of scholarly work on the European Community (EC)'s attempts to develop an international role during the 'long 1970s'. This is hardly surprising: historians tend to follow the opening of the archives, and now is the best moment to examine primary sources from the period. There are, however, two further reasons for this growing interest in European integration during the 1970s. Firstly, writing in the aftermath of the crisis in relations between the United States and Europe provoked by the US's global war on terrorism and at the height of the European financial crisis, many scholars – historians and political scientists alike – have looked back at the crisis of the 1970s, searching for precedents, similarities and differences. Secondly, thanks to the number of studies now available, the decade is widely recognised as a pivotal period of global transformation – a period in which new global dynamics produced radical change for Europe and for the international system as a whole. In many ways, this decade represented a crisis of modernity that saw the emergence of new actors and processes. Cold War categories became too rigid to usefully define – or even explain – an increasingly pluralistic world, in which new international actors, ranging from transnational grassroots movements to international institutions and regular international summits, began to play major roles. The oppressive but unambiguous Cold War order started to crumble, and a new one, characterised by 'interdependence' and 'globalisation', began to emerge. The effects of this transformation were particularly dramatic for Europe: it was in the seventies that Europe 'entered a different world'.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bressanelli Edoardo, Chelotti Nicola



The Shadow of the European Council. Understanding Legislation on Economic Governance

in *Journal of European Integration*, vol. 38, n. 5, special issue: Integration without supranationalisation: the central role of the European Council in post-Lisbon EU politics , 511-525

This article analyses the role of the European Council in two key legislative packages on economic and budgetary coordination, the Six-pack and the Two-pack, which were negotiated under the ordinary legislative procedure. It assesses how and to what extent the key actor in the literature on the new intergovernmentalism – the European Council – is able to curb the powers of the supranational institutions – the Commission and the European Parliament – in a policy area where the community method has been applied since the Treaty of Lisbon. It tracks the development of the legislative negotiations – from the stages preceding the Commission’s proposal to their conclusions, relying on official documents, press reports and 30 original interviews with key decision-makers. The strong role of the European Council both as an agenda-setter and in the legislative negotiations stands out, and suggests that the implications of new intergovernmentalism may well extend beyond intergovernmental decision-making processes.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Gilson Julie

The Strategic Partnership Agreement between the EU and Japan: the pitfalls of path dependency?

in *Journal of European Integration*, vol. 38, n. 7 , 791-806

This article examines the current attempt by the European Union and Japan to negotiate a Strategic Partnership Agreement (SPA). Sitting alongside negotiations for an Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA), this SPA represents an attempt to reignite bilateral relations between these two global powerhouses. Still confined by the origins of their institutionalised partnership in 1991, this article argues that both sides find it hard to break away from earlier functional and normative assumptions about their relative significance and about each other, in order to forge a new meaningful, overarching partnership. It examines the development of Japan–EU relations building up to the preparations for this SPA, against the background of path-dependent processes of engagement. Path dependency in its various forms ‘views institutions as ‘carriers of history,’ which maintain existing behavioural norms and cultural patterns throughout time’. Despite some of the problems such claims elicit, as will be explored below, this article proposes that path dependency – and a particular focus on ‘imprinting’ – offers a useful starting point for explaining the apparent institutional inertia and incremental change that characterise much of this bilateral relationship today.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Whitman Richard G.

The UK and EU Foreign and Security Policy: An Optional Extra

in *Political Quarterly* , Volume 87, Issue 2, april-june , pp. 2554-261

Foreign and security policy were not areas in which Prime Minister Cameron was seeking to renegotiate the relationship between the UK and the European Union (EU), but security may be a key issue in the EU referendum. The untangling of Britain's foreign and security policy from the EU following a Brexit vote would be relatively uncomplicated. The EU's arrangements for collective foreign and security policy, the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP), are conducted on an intergovernmental basis which allows the UK to preserve



independence in its diplomacy while allowing for the coordination of policy where interests are held in common with other member states. The UK retains substantial diplomatic and military capabilities which would allow it to continue to pursue a separate national foreign, security and defence policy in the case of either a 'Leave' or 'Remain' outcome.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

de Witte Bruno

The United Kingdom: Towards exit from the EU or towards a different kind of membership
in *Quaderni Costituzionali*, numero 3 , 581-583

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Monza Sabina, Anduiza Eva

The Visibility of the EU in the National Public Spheres in Times of Crisis and Austerity
in *Politics & Policy*, Volume 44, Issue 3, june , pp. 499-524

We examine the visibility of the European Union (EU) in the national public spheres of nine European countries during the period 2008-14, inquiring whether the impact of the recent economic crisis and the austerity policies have advanced the presence of the EU, its member states, and European concerns, or not. Using political claims analysis, we map the visibility of collective actors in the main national newspapers of France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Poland, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom. Despite the overall limited presence of the EU and European subjects, we find meaningful differences among countries. First, Germany's leading position conveying visibility to European claims, followed by Greece, Italy, and France. In contrast, negligible levels of visibility of the EU in the United Kingdom and Switzerland along with general low levels in the remaining selected countries, even in those most severely hit by the recent economic crisis and under EU surveillance.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Monza Sabina, Anduiza Eva

The Visibility of the EU in the National Public Spheres in Times of Crisis and Austerity
in *Politics & Policy*, Volume 44, Issue 3, june , pp. 499-524

We examine the visibility of the European Union (EU) in the national public spheres of nine European countries during the period 2008-14, inquiring whether the impact of the recent economic crisis and the austerity policies have advanced the presence of the EU, its member states, and European concerns, or not. Using political claims analysis, we map the visibility of collective actors in the main national newspapers of France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Poland, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom. Despite the overall limited presence of the EU and European subjects, we find meaningful differences among countries. First, Germany's leading position conveying visibility to European claims, followed by Greece, Italy, and France. In contrast, negligible levels of visibility of the EU in the United Kingdom and Switzerland along with general low levels in the remaining selected countries, even in those most severely hit by the



recent economic crisis and under EU surveillance.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Adler-Nissen Rebecca

The Vocal Euro-outsider: The UK in a Two-speed Europe

in Political Quarterly , Volume 87, Issue 2, april-june , pp. 238-246

The EU is divided between member states that have adopted the euro and those that have not. This article looks at the issue of differentiated integration with particular reference to eurozone integration and the euro-outsiders. I explore the recent public debate in the UK on euro-outsiderness, comparing this with debates in Denmark. The article highlights some striking differences between the UK and Denmark when it comes to the actual management of euro-outsiderness in Brussels as well as some of the dilemmas facing euro-outsiders such as the UK, Denmark, Sweden and Poland as the EU struggles to exit its crises. Finally, I discuss the future of two-speed European integration and the UK's possible exit from the EU. The UK cannot escape the dilemma of favouring either influence or autonomy; whether the UK remains in or leaves the EU, it will need to allow the eurozone to proceed in order to prevent further eurozone crises.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Gahler Michael

The added value of EU defence research

in European View , vol. 15, n. 1, June , 47-56

This article examines why the EU should finance defence research. The answers are found in the role the EU increasingly plays in guaranteeing its own security and providing security in Europe's neighbourhood. Against this backdrop, and to compensate for the steady decline in defence research and technology investment, in 2013 the European Commission suggested undertaking preparatory action in this field. This initiative has received support from the European Council and the European Parliament on several occasions. The Parliament put itself in the driving seat for establishing a pilot project in the fiscal year 2015. All the ongoing efforts serve the purpose of establishing a fully fledged European Defence Research Programme starting in 2021. This programme could have the added value of catalysing future cooperative defence programmes, thus delivering urgently needed capabilities for European armed forces.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Puetter Uwe

The centrality of consensus and Deliberation in Contemporary EU Politics and the new intergovernmentalism

in Journal of European Integration, vol. 38, n. 5, special issue: Integration without supranationalisation: the central role of the European Council in post-Lisbon EU politics , 601-615

This article builds on the analysis of institutional change in the European Union as projected by two closely related approaches: deliberative and new intergovernmentalism. Consensus and deliberation play a pivotal role within these



perspectives. The two concepts are seen as key for understanding institutional change within the European Council and Council environment. Euro crisis decision-making, which by several authors is seen as evidence of either hard intergovernmental bargaining or as a transformation of consensus politics into domination, thus may undermine a core assumption of the new intergovernmentalism. Even though persisting asymmetries between creditor and debtor countries and dominance on part of one or a small number of powerful member states are understood as a threat to consensus politics, the euro crisis is not seen to have fundamentally changed the overall role of consensus and deliberation as a defining feature of the post-Maastricht era.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Beauvallet Willy, Michon Sébastien

The changing paths of access to the European Parliament for French MEPs (1979–2014)

in French Politics, Volume 14, Issue 3, September 2016 , 329–362

This paper analyzes transformations in the backgrounds of French Members of the European Parliament and in their paths of access to the EP. This subject makes sense not only in relation to the European political and parliamentary space but also to the French political field. Our contribution is based on a prosopographical survey of all MEPs elected in France since 1979 and on new methods of analysis of the political and social trajectories: sequence analysis and optimal matching analysis. These methods allowed us to place electoral careers and their dynamics at the center of our analysis. The resulting analysis objectivizes the social and political properties of the individuals behind them, as well as the transformations of paths of access to the European political profession between 1979 and 2014.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Sabine Selchow

The construction of “European security” in The European Union in a changing global environment: a systematic analysis

in European Security, Volume 25, Issue 3 , 281-303

In June 2015 High Representative Mogherini presented her strategic assessment The European Union in a changing global environment as the express point of reference for the new EU Global Strategy. Grounded in the premise that this assessment is not simply a description of the state of the world but plays into the construction of social reality, this article sets out to understand the openings and closings of possibilities that it holds. My analysis generates a number of concrete insights, ranging from insights into the distinct nature of the challenges the EU is facing, to the discovery that there is no “existential threat” and the importance of “regions” as a guiding category. Grounded in an understanding of the world as being reflexive modern, I interpret these findings as displaying an intriguing and paradoxical interpretive disposition. On the one side, there is a notable opening towards unconventional conceptions of the world; on the other side, there is a symbolic conservation of existing EU institutions and programmes and a reproduction of modern premises. I argue that it is the first aspect that makes the document significant: Mogherini’s strategic assessment opens an important discursive space to think (European) security anew.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Varju Marton, Papp Mónika

The crisis, national economic particularism and EU law: What can we learn from the Hungarian case?
in **Common Market Law Review**, vol. 53, issue 6 , 1647-1674

ABSTRACT: This article examines the ability of EU law to address radical and sudden changes introduced in the Member States pursuing particularistic economic policies in national markets in the wake of the global financial and economic crisis. It contends that national governments relying on the very real political and legal powers available to them in the domestic governance arena can interfere with market conditions and competitive positions without EU law being able to prevent potentially irreversible changes and restoring national markets. Even though the infringement of EU law will eventually be established in the direct and indirect avenues available, that may come too late for market participants and may not deal with the future operation of the affected markets. As the example of developments in Hungary shows, EU enforcement, especially when its national limb is weak, may be unable to satisfy expectations as to its effectiveness.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Wille Anchrit

The evolving EU accountability landscape: moving to an ever denser union
in **International Review of Administrative Sciences** , Volume 82, Issue 4

This article aims to bring the accountability of the EU executive out of the shadows by tracing the development of the current accountability landscape around the main EU's executive actors. It looks at the development and the diversification of accountability forums (and mechanisms) in the EU: what forums and arrangements have come into being for holding the EU executive powers accountable? Instead of focusing on single individual accountability branches, this article examines the development of accountability in the EU by treating it as a complex landscape. And rather than assuming equilibrium, a starting point is the evolving nature of this landscape. On the basis of this exploration, the article seeks to understand the way in which the EU's institutional accountability framework has evolved through a patchwork of arrangements, and how this contributes to the emergence of a complex, multilayered governance landscape in order to fit within today's presumptions about how power should be controlled and accountability achieved.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Imbrogno

The founding of the European Council: economic reform and the mechanism of continuous negotiation
in **Journal of European Integration**, vol. 38, n. 6 , 719-736

By comparing two eras of European heads-of-state-or-government (HoSG) summitry – the summits of 1961 and those between 1967 and 1974 – an under-studied factor in the European Council's institutionalisation is revealed. At the 1961



summits, political integration dominated HoSG discussions, whereas from 1967 onward, economic reform – in the form of the common market, common agriculture policy, economic and monetary union and regional development fund – was the dominant topic of discussions. The institutionalisation of summitry was a product not only of personalities and international events but also of the mechanism of continuous negotiation on economic reform.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Guderjan Marius, Miles Lee

The fusion approach – applications for understanding local government and European integration
in *Journal of European Integration*, vol. 38, n. 6 , 637-652

The article explores the theoretical capabilities of the fusion approach as a conceptual ‘kit’ to explain the ‘bigger picture’ of European integration from a local government perspective. Fusion addresses the rationales and methods facilitating the transfer of policy-making competences to the European level. It understands European integration as a merging of public resources and policy instruments from multiple levels of government, whereby accountability and responsibilities for policy outcomes become blurred. The article argues that the fusion approach is useful to explain the systemic linkages between macro-trajectories and the corresponding change at the local level; the fusion dynamics of the local and European levels in a common policy-cycle; and the attitudes of local actors towards the EU. Although the article concludes that local government is rather modestly ‘fused’ into the EU, fusion approaches allow examining the extent to which the local level has become integrated into the European governance system.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Censolo ROberto, Colombo Caterina

The impact of the crisis on fiscal convergence in the EU: the early signs
in *Journal of European Integration*, vol. 38, n. 6 , 703-717

This article investigates the early signs of the impact of the financial crisis on fiscal convergence within the EU. Over the 2004–2012 period, we offer a comprehensive picture of the convergence pattern by considering the key fiscal aggregates and the main economic and functional components of total government expenditure. Indeed, the effects of the crisis have been transmitted differently on the fiscal frame in the EU, signalling an overall tendency to diverge of the Periphery EU countries from the Core. In particular, it emerges a greater persistence in the Periphery countries of the backlash of the crisis on government budgets and disarranging effects on government spending, with crowding out of productive components of public expenditure.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Icoz Gulay

The interconnectedness of the past, the present and the future: where Turkey–EU relations have been, and where they are heading
in *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* , vol. 24, issue 4 , 494-508



ABSTRACT: Neither the development of Turkey–EU relations nor Turkey’s accession negotiations with the EU have been uninterruptedly smooth; in fact it has been a fluctuating relationship with recurring ups and downs. This means it represents a good case for an analysis of path dependency. This article aims to use this analytical concept to highlight what is behind this fluctuating relationship. A thorough study of the history of Turkey–EU relations, using the Factiva database and surveying the existing academic literature, reveals that there are two domestic issues that have both shaped the development of the relationship between 1959 and 2005 and slowed Turkey’s accession negotiations with the EU from 2005 to 2016. These issues are: (i) external and internal actors’ interference with the functions of government and (ii) handling of the Cypriot and Kurdish problems. The article will utilise Levi’s approach on path dependency to find out how and why these two issues have continued to be relevant in the accession negotiation period between 2005 and 2016; and, in the light of this, what predictions could be made in relation to the future of the relationship.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Fernando M. M. Ruiz, Florent Hainaut & Nathalie Schiffino

The lobbies’ network at the EU policy level: the case of security and defense

in *Defence and Peace Economics*, Volume 27, Issue 6 , 774-793

Lobbyists may not share the same interests, but they usually agree to form a link in a network which could eventually be used to spread information, to search for potential partners, to speak with one voice to decision makers. In other words, social links represent value for lobbyists because they may ultimately facilitate access. In this article, we explore the network of the Security and Defense lobbies in the EU and we describe its structure.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Naert Frank

The new European Union economic governance: what about accountability?

in *International Review of Administrative Sciences* , Volume 82, Issue 4

The euro crisis marked the start of the so-called ‘new European Union economic governance’. This new economic governance brings along different kinds of changes in the status of decision-making actors. Some of these changes involve power shifts, which can be categorised as either vertical or horizontal. Vertical power shifts transfer powers between different levels of government, usually from the national level to the European Union level. Horizontal power shifts transfer powers away from discretionary decision-making by governments to independent institutions. The new economic governance also implies a restriction in the discretionary decision-making power of governments by the imposition of policy rules. In this article, the accountability problems involved with these power shifts are analysed. It finds that, overall, the implementation process of the new economic governance has harmed accountability.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Kollmann Robert, Pataracchia Beatrice, Raciborski Rafal, Ratto Marco, Roeger Werner, Vogel Lukas

The post-crisis slump in the Euro Area and the US: Evidence from an estimated three-region DSGE model



in *European Economic Review*, Volume 88, September 2016 , Pages 21-41

The global financial crisis (2008–09) led to a sharp contraction in both Euro Area (EA) and US real activity, and was followed by a long-lasting slump. However, the post-crisis adjustment in the EA and the US shows striking differences—in particular, the EA slump has been markedly more protracted. We estimate a three-region (EA, US and Rest of World) New Keynesian DSGE model (using quarterly data for 1999–2014) to quantify the drivers of the divergent EA and US adjustment paths. Our results suggest that financial shocks were key drivers of the 2008–09 Great Recession, for both the EA and the US. The post-2009 slump in the EA mainly reflects a combination of adverse aggregate demand and supply shocks, in particular lower productivity growth, and persistent adverse shocks to capital investment, linked to the continuing poor health of the EA financial system. Adverse financial shocks were less persistent for the US. The financial shocks identified by the model are consistent with observed performance indicators of the EA and US banking systems.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Natalia Shapovalova

The power of informality: European Union's engagement with non-state actors in Common Security and Defence Policy

in *European Security*, Volume 25, Issue 3 , 326-345

This article examines the little explored issue of non-state actor (NSA) participation in the European Union's (EU) Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP). Despite the fact that NGOs and civil society are shielded from formal access to CSDP, EU staff in both Brussels and the missions engage with them informally. Drawing on interviews with policy-makers and NSA representatives, the article analyses the practices of the EU in its engagement with NSAs, focusing on civilian missions in Georgia and Palestine. It shows that such engagement is more intense during implementation at the level of CSDP missions rather than during policy-making in Brussels. It argues that a combination of rational choice-based (functional needs of policy-makers and intensity of NSA advocacy) and constructivist (organisational and individual cultures) explanations helps us better understand why CSDP structures open up to NSAs. The article contributes to the nascent academic and policy debate on EU–civil society cooperation in CSDP and, more broadly, to the studies of informal governance in the EU and NSA participation in international organisations.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Schnyder Melissa

The representation of migrant and refugee interests by European umbrella organisations: evidence of strain?
in *Journal of European Integration*, vol. 38, n. 7 , 743-756

This paper assesses how well supranational umbrella organisations represent the interests of their constituencies in European Union (EU) policy-making. I examine two prominent European umbrella organisations – The European Council on Refugees and Exiles and The European Network Against Racism – and their national member organisations. I hypothesise that, due to the notoriously diverse set of actors and issue priorities that comprise migrant inclusion, not all interests are represented equally well at the supranational level, leading to some degree of 'representational strain'. I first analyse the dimensions on which issue priorities are structured at both the umbrella and constituency levels, and



secondly, the degree of congruence between the interests of national members and European umbrella organisations. Using a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods, the results show that these EU umbrella organisations do well overall, but experience some difficulty representing the full range of issues prioritised by their diverse membership. Keywords:

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Christophe Sohn and Bernard Reitel

The role of national states in the construction of cross-border metropolitan regions in Europe: A scalar approach

in *European Urban and Regional Studies*, volume 23, issue 3 , 306-321

This article is concerned with the role of national governments in the rescaling of cross-border metropolitan governance structures in Europe. In the context of emergent cross-border metropolitan regions, the objective is to highlight the structuring effects of support policies to metropolitan areas at national level, in the context of their politics of scales, on the scalar configurations developed by local and regional actors. Using a comparative approach, the cases of Basel, Geneva and Luxembourg are singled out. The confrontation between German, Swiss and French state policies, and the modalities of the rescaling of levels of governance within the three cross-border metropolitan regions, allows us to underline the considerable influence of national guidelines on scalar reconfigurations. The structuring role of governments in this 'new cross-border regionalism' needs to be relativized, however, in functions of the specific characteristics of each context as well as factors relating to the actors involved.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Amadio Viceré Maria Giulia

The roles of the President of the European Council and the High Representative in leading EU foreign policy on Kosovo

in *Journal of European Integration*, vol. 38, n. 5, special issue: Integration without supranationalisation: the central role of the European Council in post-Lisbon EU politics , 557-570

The post-Lisbon foreign and security policy has witnessed the growth in relevance of intergovernmental forums for policy coordination and joint decision-making including the European Council and the Foreign Affairs Council. Rather than acting as obstacles to policy integration under certain circumstances, such forums act as its main catalysts of integration, without greater empowerment of supranational actors. This article offers an in-depth study of the ramifications of the post-Lisbon institutional dynamics and of their effects on the governance of the European Union's Common Foreign and Security Policy. The roles of the President of the European Council and that of the High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy are central to this policy field as it is illustrated in relation to EU's policy approach to Kosovo.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Charles Wyplosz



The six flaws of the Eurozone

in **Economic Policy**, Volume 31, Issue 87 , 559-606

When it was created, it was reasonable to think that the architecture of the monetary union was not perfect. It was also likely that the imperfections would lead to difficulties, possibly even crises. This article identifies six flaws, most of which had been identified even before the launch of the euro. It starts by pinpointing why the Eurozone, a bold and unprecedented experiment, is inherently fragile. It is not conducive to the convergence of national inflation rates, it is not an optimum currency area, and it is not a federal state. Taking these characteristics as given, the article argues that the Eurozone needs to address their implications. It observes that it has not been the case so far, hence the six flaws: fiscal discipline has not been achieved; the need for a Banking Union, which has finally been recognized and only partly implemented; the ECB is not a complete and fully independent central bank; some member countries need a sovereign debt relief; structural reforms are badly needed but intrusiveness cannot be the solution; the governance of the Eurozone is not designed for crisis management.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Markus Gastinger

The tables have turned on the European Commission: the changing nature of the pre-negotiation phase in EU bilateral trade agreements

in **Journal of European Public Policy** , Volume 23, Issue 9

We argue that one prime source of Commission autonomy in bilateral trade negotiations was the informational advantage that it acquired during the pre-negotiations, which is the phase preceding the adoption of negotiating directives by the Council. Initially, the Commission was entirely unmonitored owing to the lack of Treaty provisions applying to this stage in the negotiations. The Commission used this information asymmetry strategically vis-à-vis the Council to move outcomes closer to its ideal point. Later, member states have stepped up police-patrol monitoring manifesting itself empirically through two different channels. First, they have shifted the institutional arena for more political aspects to annual ministerial meetings. Second, preparatory works on a technical level are today followed by national experts. We examine this argument by adopting a principal-agent perspective and against the backdrop of EU-India relations.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Nicolson Michelle, Oliveira Andreotti Vanessa de, Mafi Boby Fortune

The unstated politics of stranger making in Europe: A brutal kindness

in **European Journal of Cultural Studies**, Volume 19, Issue 4, August 2016 , 335-351

The full text is free:

<http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/1367549415592896>

Abstract

Drawing on the works of Ahmed, Balibar and Appadurai, this article explores the complex dynamics of stranger making



in Europe, with particular focus on the status of immigrants who are marked by systemic racialization. The article offers brief analyses of a series of 'critical incidents' to illustrate contemporary enactments of stranger making politics in order to examine how theorizations of race and racialization may be shifting in European contexts. It argues that specific notions of nationalism and national identity are being re-configured in the current neoliberal climate of European Union austerity and civil unrest to reify a national 'us' against those who must be made 'stranger'.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Igor Guardiancich

The 'Leap' from Coordination to Harmonization in Social Policy: Labour Mobility and Occupational Pensions in Europe

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 54, Issue 6

The Supplementary Pension Rights Directive, legislated in 2014, represents a leap from minimum co-ordination of social security rights to minimal harmonization, thereby facilitating the portability of occupational pensions across the EU. The Lisbon Treaty, which relaxed the voting requirements in the Council, accelerated its adoption. In the 'shadow of the vote', opponents (mainly continental CMEs) abandoned the defence of the status quo for less exacting legislation. The majority of Member States instead understood that consensus was necessary to appease the domestic concerns of countries like Germany and to strengthen their negotiating position vis-à-vis the Parliament. Despite the inevitable watering-down, the final law modifies domestic pension arrangements across the EU, thereby benefiting mobile workers. The implications are twofold. First, political economists should take into account the growing European influence on domestic pension policy-making. Second, the extension of QMV to sensitive areas of social policy will probably enhance overall harmonization.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Paul James Cardwell

The 'hokey cokey' approach to EU membership: legal options for the UK and EU

in *Journal of European Public Policy*, Volume 23, Issue 9

This contribution analyses the potential legal outcomes in meeting the United Kingdom's (UK's) demands in advance of the referendum and what they might mean for EU integration should the UK vote to remain in the Union. It argues that there is unlikely to be a 'quick fix' to meet the full range of demands, since there is no obvious legal mechanism which can satisfy the demands in either substance or the proposed time-frame.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Thym Daniel

The "refugee crisis" as a challenge of legal design and institutional legitimacy

in *Common Market Law Review*, vol. 53, issue 6, 1545-1573

ABSTRACT: Events during 2015 and early 2016 revealed structural deficiencies at the heart of the EU's asylum policy,



which allow us to reconstruct the “refugee crisis” as a problem of integration through law. The analysis of systemic shortcomings highlights regulatory and political pitfalls which any attempt to overcome the crisis will have to confront. It will be shown that the EU institutions have to reform both legal rules and governance structures – a challenge the recent Commission proposals have started addressing. Yet the “refugee crisis” is about more than legal design and compliance: asylum policy shows that the EU must be careful not to get trapped in a vicious circle of output deficits and political contestation, which complicates the resolution of existing governance deficits.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Alessandro Morselli

Theoretical approaches on the possible existence of a stabilising economic policy in Europe
in **Journal of Economic Studies**, Volume 43 Issue 5 , 815-834

Purpose

The purpose of this paper is to investigate whether there is room for a stabilising fiscal policy, through an analysis of the supporters of the new classical economics and the supporters of the new Keynesian economics. There are no reliable results on the Keynesian and non-Keynesian effects of fiscal policies. As such, the policy-mix becomes a problem of theoretical approach, in the sense of a strategic game between monetary authorities and tax authorities (among them). This points to the problem of coordination between budgetary authorities as being the central debate within the Eurozone. The end-result is that without fiscal policy coordination, Eurozone member states are working on a series of non-cooperative games that are inefficient, because no player can improve its position by unilaterally changing its strategy.

Design/methodology/approach

The analysis starts from the experience of three countries in the 1980s, these are Denmark, Ireland and Sweden. In all three cases the adoption of restrictive budget policies has provoked a strong, rapid and enduring resizing of public debt, and growth did not weaken, moreover it accelerated. In all three cases the logic behind the policy-mix actions allowed the individualisation of the respective roles of fiscal and monetary policies. Fiscal policies were joining with fiscal instruments and reduction in public spending and furthermore monetary policy was accommodated in respect of the budget contraction.

Findings

First, the authors were not able to identify an analytical method that can ensure the success of a fiscal policy. Second, analysing fiscal policies within the Eurozone implies also that the authors reflect on the need for a coordination of these policies. In fact, the authors have shown how the possible coordination of economic policies in the Eurozone would result in major benefits for all member countries.

Originality/value

In the absence of fiscal policy coordination, member states are engaged in a series of non-cooperative games that prove inefficient, when no player is able to improve its position by unilaterally changing its fiscal policy. The coordination of



national fiscal policies generates a collective advantage, bringing each state to consistently change its strategies.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Michael Doherty

Through the Looking Glass: Brexit, Free Movement and the Future

in *King's Law Journal*, volume 27, issue 3, 375-386

This article looks at some of the implications of Brexit for free movement of persons within the European Union, for both UK citizens and those from other EU Member States. It begins by briefly outlining the principle of free movement of persons, one of the four 'fundamental freedoms' set out in the EU Treaties since the Union's foundation. The next section looks at the reasons why free movement of persons became such a fundamental issue in the UK referendum on EU membership, focusing on the issues of jobs, labour standards and welfare. The article goes on to consider possible alternatives for the UK's relationship with the EU, post-Brexit, in terms of free movement of person rights. In the concluding section, the article considers the future of free movement of person rights within the EU itself.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Daniela Annette Kroll, Dirk Leuffen

Ties that bind, can also strangle: the Brexit threat and the hardships of reforming the EU

in *Journal of European Public Policy*, Volume 23, Issue 9

This article links insights from research on European Union (EU) decision-making and on differentiated integration to the recent negotiations about the future United Kingdom (UK)–EU relationship. We argue that since a Brexit would overturn well-established statics of EU decision-making, EU member states reacted differently to the British demands. States that feared a weakening of their position after a Brexit were more willing to grant concessions to the UK. This largely applies to most northern member states. In contrast, most other member states appeared more reluctant to meet the British expectations. First, these states hoped to improve their standing inside the EU after a Brexit. Second, reflecting deeper structural tensions, the British demands would have entailed higher prices for these member states. Anticipating heterogeneity between the other member states, and thus the stability enhancing mechanisms of the joint decision trap, the UK downscaled its demands before the European Council of February 2016. In consequence, the negotiations on the terms of Britain's EU membership did not result in a grand overhaul of the EU, but rather in symbolic concessions aimed at pleasing British domestic politics without severely harming other member states' interests.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Zahradil Jan

Time for an end to EU protectionism

in *Europe's World*, vol. 33, Autumn

No abstract available



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Campanella Edoardo

**Time for the Erasmus generation to speak out
in Europe's World**, vol. 33, Autumn

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Giulio Cifarelli, Giovanna Paladino

**Time-varying mark-up and the ECB monetary policy transmission in a highly non linear framework
in International Review of Economics and Finance**, Volume 45 , 247-262

This paper investigates the interest rate pass-through in eight European countries and allows for a mark-up which can be affected by country specific funding conditions and/or stochastic structural breaks. In the Southern European countries of the sample the long-run pass-through is directly affected by changes in banks' cost of funding, due to shifts in the spread between domestic and German long-term government bond interest rates. In the same way, the ESTAR/LSTAR parameterization of the short-run dynamics brings about innovative results and identifies a crucial role for the government bond spreads in countries which were involved in the recent European debt crisis. This evidence suggests that the adoption by the ECB of unconventional monetary policies, such as the QE, by lowering the spreads, may reduce the fragmentation of the banking system in the Euro Area.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Alexander Görlach

**To Save the EU, Citizens Need to Wake Up and Refuse to Be Lied to
in New Perspectives Quarterly**, Volume 33, Issue 4

As the philosopher Baruch Spinoza once said, there are two ways to approach complex systems. The first regards things in the spirit of what is temporary or provisional (sub specie durationis), while the second transcends time (sub specie aeternitatis). For a political system, the provisional view describes the politics of the day, the project that must be kept on course, while the time-transcendent view formulates an idea, a utopia, the summum bonum — the highest good.

From the standpoint of the provisional, Europe exists as a political entity, as its public administration — a system that, like all systems, is judged by its self-preservation. Innovation is the enemy, and tenacity wins. An administration lives from its well-established procedures and responsibilities.

In contrast, thinking about Europe as a utopia expresses the ideas that foster innovation and keep pace with the changes that the future will bring. This means nothing more than the combined wellbeing of the greater community, which some would argue is the summum bonum.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Chruściel Marcin

Today's stance of ethno-regionalist parties on European integration in the prism of the migrant crisis in Europe en formation (L'), 2016/1 (n° 379) , 77-94

The present paper evaluates the impact of the migrant crisis and the contentious measures that the European Union (EU) adopted in response on the position of ethno-regionalist parties (ERPs) towards European integration. By examining the programmatic reaction of three representatives of such parties, namely the Scottish National Party, the Democratic Convergence of Catalonia, and the Northern League, it tests the validity of a theoretical claim that ERPs are generally in favour of European integration. Additionally, the paper verifies a corresponding assumption that parties belonging to the ethno-regionalist family will defend the EU measures taken to manage the crisis. The findings confirm this assumption, but indicate that it holds true only for those ERPs which were already supportive of European integration (before the crisis' escalation). The final comparison of the three individual responses has led to the conclusion that ERPs tend to consider the migrant crisis and EU actions instrumentally—aiming to challenge the position of national governments.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Hebous Shafik, Weichenrieder Alfons

Toward a Mutualization of European Unemployment Insurance? On Limiting the Downsides of a Fiscal Transfer System for the Eurozone

in **CESifo Economic Studies**, Volume 62 Issue 2 June 2016 , 376-395

There is a large, yet growing debate about the need to complement the European monetary union with a stronger fiscal union. This article reviews the potential trade-offs between effectiveness, moral hazard problems, and permanent redistribution. Addressing the counter-arguments against a tighter fiscal union is essential to overcome the political reluctance in some member states that are concerned about large amounts of redistribution. We discuss clawback mechanisms that have been suggested in the literature as a measure to limit redistribution, but conclude that clawbacks are undesirable, as they would essentially destroy the insurance value of a fiscal union. Instead, we propose that a clearly defined exit option as a guarantee against involuntary redistribution can make entry into a stronger fiscal union less risky and hence more attractive for member states.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Jerald Khoo

Towards a Two-Speed Europe: National Sovereignty and the Absence of Political Integration in the Eurozone in Columbia Journal of European Law, volume 22, issue 1 , 165-192

Responses to the Eurozone crisis thus far have not only been ineffective in securing long-term reform, but have also destabilized the foundations of the European integration project. This is especially prevalent with regard to the



patchwork of solutions that expand European Union (EU) competences, threatening the national sovereignty of Member States. In the absence of political integration in the region, this Note suggests that the euro should not survive in its present form. Instead, a "two-speed Europe" should be formalized one that allows for the temporary differentiation in sensitive policy areas amongst Member States while maintaining a shared commitment to existing European obligations.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Szarka Joseph

Towards an evolutionary or a transformational energy transition? Transition concepts and roadmaps in European Union policy discourse

in Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science Research, Volume 29, Issue 3, 2016 , 222-242

To develop a new typology of energy transitions, the article firstly clarifies the ambiguities in the transition debate and establishes fault lines that divide rival conceptualizations of energy transitions. The main fault lines relate to a product versus a process emphasis, a deterministic versus an open-ended perspective, and near-term versus long-term orientations. Two "ideal type" positionings towards energy transition(s) are developed. An evolutionary variety is based on incremental energy transitions over the long term which combine "old" and "new" energy sources and providers, whereas a transformational variety recommends a "grand transition" based on a near-term switch to 100% renewables. In its second section, the article uses this twofold typology to investigate transition thinking in the energy policy discourse of the European Commission. A key finding is that the Commission's policy documents indicate a leaning towards evolutionary transitions, with reliance on conventional energy sources set to continue for some time. Several explanations for this leaning are identified: a shortage of political will, finite available means, limits to knowledge, as well as institutional incapacity. An additional finding is that tensions in energy policy formulation emerging from the EU's multilevel system of governance are leading to a clash between pioneer member states aiming for an ambitious energy transition and the Commission's more modest orientations. In consequence, an analytical typology exploring conflict between rival conceptualizations of energy transitions will be relevant for the future.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Nicola Chelotti

Transgovernmental networks and rationalist outputs? The partial social construction of EU foreign policy in European Security, Volume 25, Issue 4 , 524-541

The European Union (EU) foreign policy has gone beyond intergovernmentalism. It is largely formulated by (Brussels-based) national officials, in a process characterised by a high number of cooperative practices, diffuse sentiments of group loyalty and possibly argumentative procedures. Yet, in many cases, the most likely output of this process reflects the lowest common denominator of states' positions or the preferences of the biggest states. The article intends to investigate this puzzle. In the first part, it corroborates its existence by using answers from an original database of 138 questionnaires and 37 interviews with EU negotiators. Next, it argues that cooperative practices remain often subordinated to nationally oriented ways of doing things. Consequentialist practices perform an anchoring function, in that they define the parameters around which (social) practices operate. The last section looks more closely at the sites of and meanings attached to EU foreign policy-making. By discussing national diplomats' conspicuous leeway in Brussels, it also argues that negotiating practices are performed through a mix of partial agency and persistence of



national dispositions. On the whole, changing practices is difficult, even in dense and largely autonomous settings such as EU foreign policy. The social construction of EU foreign policy occurs only to a partial extent.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Hagemann Sara, Franchino Fabio

Transparency vs efficiency? A study of negotiations in the Council of the European Union in European Union Politics, vol. 17, n. 3, September, 408-428

Recent studies suggest there is a direct trade-off between transparency and efficiency in legislative politics. We challenge this conclusion and present a bargaining model where one particular kind of transparency – the publication of legislative records – works to overcome problems of incomplete information. We also present empirical findings from legislative activities in the Council of the European Union from 1999 to 2014 and from 23 interviews with senior officials in Brussels. Our results show that increased transparency, in the form of publication of legislative records, does not lead to gridlock or prolonged negotiations. On the contrary, recordings of governments' positions help facilitate decision-making as it increases credibility of policy positions. This, in turn, lowers risk of negotiation failure and screens out marginal amendments.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Riddervold Marianne, Rosén Guri

Trick and treat: how the Commission and the European Parliament exert influence in EU foreign and security policies

in *Journal of European Integration*, vol. 38, n. 6, 687-702

Studies suggest that the Commission and the European Parliament (EP) influence the Common Foreign and Security policy (CFSP), despite it being formally an intergovernmental instrument. Few systematic attempts have been made to capture how the two institutions exert influence from an analytical perspective. This paper develops and explores a set of hypotheses (strategic coalition building, bargaining, community framing, circumvention and normative argumentation) in two cases: Naval mission Atalanta and the EU's Maritime Security Strategy (EUMSS). We find that the Commission drew on its bargaining leverage, circumvented the member states and framed the issues at stake in a manner that increased its own competence. It is also in a better position to influence CFSP decisions at an early stage. The EP's influence is bigger in the post-decision phase. One would, however, expect that the influence of the supranational institutions will increase as the CFSP moves towards a comprehensive approach.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Turhan Ebru

Turkey's EU accession process: do member states matter?

in *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, vol. 24, issue 4, 463-477

ABSTRACT: The Turkish accession process has proved to be a sui generis case of EU enlargement as it has so far



been dominated by a vicious cycle of ebbs and flows. This paper explores the impact of the EU's member states on the construction of Turkey's crooked EU path by focusing on both the pre-negotiation phase and the official negotiation phase. It traces interstate interaction among member states, and their interaction with relevant EU institutions and Turkish authorities, prior to and during the processes of decision-making regarding Turkey's EU membership during 1999–March 2016 within two EU institutions of particular importance to EU enlargement: the European Council and the Council. A close look is taken at the preferences and actions of the largest member states in the EU, the so-called 'Big Three' (Germany, France and the UK), and at those of Greece and Cyprus, two small states that have paid particular attention to the progression of the Turkish accession process in the light of distinct bilateral disputes. The paper concludes that member states matter in the formation of EU enlargement politics vis-à-vis Turkey, while the scope and particulars of member states' influence significantly evolved during 1999–March 2016.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

EDUARD SOLER I LECHA

Turquía y la Unión Europea: ¿quién necesita qué?

in Política Exterior, nº 172

La crisis de refugiados, la debilidad de los europeos y la actitud desafiante del presidente Recep Tayyip Erdogan han cambiado las reglas del juego en las siempre difíciles relaciones entre la UE y Turquía. Es una negociación más simétrica y volátil, donde prima el corto plazo.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Schwarz Oliver

Two steps forward one step back: what shapes the process of EU enlargement in South-Eastern Europe?

in Journal of European Integration, vol. 38, n. 7 , 757-773

Which factors shape the process of EU enlargement in South-Eastern Europe? This question continues to be a puzzling subject of scholarly debate. A set of hypotheses can be derived from current literature on EU enlargement. Broadly speaking, these hypotheses fall into two general categories: internal and external factors. Building on these factors, the analysis elaborates on the idea of different paths of EU enlargement, adopting a qualitative comparative perspective. More specifically, the study applies fuzzy-set QCA to eight candidate states from South-Eastern Europe. The results show that the factor of political transformation is a necessary condition for EU enlargement in South-Eastern Europe. However, political transformation is not individually sufficient for the outcome of enlargement, but only in conjunction with other factors. The results also demonstrate that what explains the lack of enlargement process is not automatically the negation of the conditions that explain progress in enlargement.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Vasilopoulou Sofia

UK Euroscepticism and the Brexit Referendum

in Political Quarterly , Volume 87, Issue 2, april-june , pp. 219-227



This article shows that key to understanding the referendum outcome are factors such as a profoundly eurosceptic public, high levels of citizen uncertainty, divided mainstream political parties on the EU and lack of unity within the 'Leave' campaign. The Brexit referendum is more than just about domestic issues and government approval. Utilitarian concerns related to economic evaluations of EU integration coupled with support of or opposition to EU freedom of movement are very likely to influence vote choice. Those campaigns that focus on rational utilitarian arguments about the costs and benefits related to EU membership as a whole but also to EU freedom of movement are expected to swing voters.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Crowley Philip J.

US exceptionalism or withdrawal from the world?

in *Europe's World*, vol. 33, Autumn

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Nivard Carole

Un destin divergent : les relations entre l'Union européenne et la Charte sociale européenne

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 600, juillet-aout , 416-425

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Paolo Piciacchia

Un fenomeno in crescente espansione: il dialogo politico dei parlamenti nazionali nell'UE

in *Nomos*, 1/2016

Nell'affrontare l'argomento del dialogo politico tra Parlamenti Nazionali e Unione Europea appare opportuno partire direttamente da un'affermazione che, lungi dall'essere assiomatica, può riuscire a rendere la misura dell'importanza che tale "procedura" – avviata un anno prima della firma del Trattato di Lisbona, per rafforzare le basi democratiche dell'Unione – assume oggi e dell'importanza che essa è destinata ad assumere negli anni a venire.

Il dialogo politico – le cui radici vanno, secondo alcuni, addirittura rintracciate nel 2001 – rappresenta, infatti, a parere di chi scrive, lo snodo, e al tempo stesso, la sintesi di tutti i meccanismi di partecipazione dei Parlamenti Nazionali alla fase ascendente e più in generale alle politiche dell'Unione europea, quasi la cartina di tornasole dell'efficacia stessa di questi meccanismi.

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 6. The European unification process

Gentiloni Paolo, Pinotti Roberta

Una difesa europea

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLVIII, numero speciale, n. 178, autunno , 469-470

Full text available online at http://www.affari-esteri.it/Affari_Esteri_178.pdf

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Soffici Caterina

Una questione culturale

in *Aspenia*, n. 73 - giugno

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Mosci Milena

Una secessione europea

in *Critica liberale*, volume XXIII, n.229 autunno, luglio-settembre

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Saint-Ouen François

Une Europe des Régions à l'heure de la routine?

in *Europe en formation (L')*, 2016/1 (n° 379) , 8-23

We analyzed the Declarations of the Conference of European Regional Legislative Assemblies (CALRE) over the 2009-2015 period and compared them with the original version of a "Europe of Regions" idea, born in the 1960s. These Declarations show a real capacity to be incorporated within the EU structures. They also reveal the importance of the principle of subsidiarity, as promoted by the Lisbon Treaty. Along the same line of thought, CALRE would like to see more regions with legislative powers in more EU countries, as one of the preconditions for true multilevel governance in Europe. But, just like the creation of a "Senate of the Regions" at the European level, it remains a distant goal. Therefore, today's priorities seem to focus on incremental improvements. A "Europe of Regions" has become almost institutionalized, and may be part of the potential for further dynamics, to be found nowadays in societal movements and networks rather than in established political regions.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process



Fontan Clément

Une banque centrale au-dessus des nations ? Faire peser les intérêts nationaux au sein de la Banque Centrale Européenne

in *Revue française d'administration publique*, 2016/2 (N° 158) , 491-504

Even though the European Central Bank (ECB) is one of the most independent central banks in the world, national leaders can still influence its activities through the nomination of its six members' board of directors. This article examines first how a two-level game structures the nomination process in which domestic leaders must take into account domestic influences and intergovernmental constraints. Then it presents the discrepancy between the issues generated by the ECB's answer to the crisis and the stakes of the nomination process.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Monjal Pierre-Yves

Une désunion sans cesse plus grande ...

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 602, octobre-novembre , 545-547

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Catherine Gegout

Unethical power Europe? Something fishy about EU trade and development policies

in *Third World Quarterly*, Volume 37, Issue 12 , 2192-2210

This article analyses the impact of European Union (EU) policies in the field of fisheries on development in Africa. It contests the premise that the EU promotes local economies, and argues that it often contributes to depleting fish stocks, distorting African economic policies and harming fishers' communities. In so doing, the EU is violating its basic duty to avoid harm to other states. However, it is now committed to sustainable development. This article offers suggestions on policies which would enable the EU to take on both its negative and positive duties.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Adam Łazowski

Unilateral withdrawal from the EU: realistic scenario or a folly?

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 23, Issue 9



This article looks at the legal parameters of a unilateral withdrawal and argues that it is in the interest of all concerned that a Brexit, if it materializes, is properly negotiated and governed by a withdrawal agreement addressing all pertinent legal issues.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Claudio Catalano

Unione di difesa Europea: Francia, Germania e Italia tra cooperazione e competizione
in *CeMiSS - Osservatorio Strategico e Quarterly*, n.5 , 49-54

Il referendum sulla Brexit rappresenta una cesura per l'integrazione europea, ma Francia, Germania e Italia hanno deciso che questo può rappresentare un'opportunità per rilanciare il processo a partire dal settore più legato alla sovranità statale: la sicurezza e difesa.

La crisi ucraina e gli attacchi terroristici in Belgio, Francia e Germania hanno contribuito a riportare in auge un tema che sembrava ormai destinato all'oblio.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Giuliano Amato, Augusto Barbera, Nicola Lupo

Unione europea e cooperazione parlamentare: un dibattito
in *Nomos*, 1/2016

È un profilo essenziale della nostra Unione quello di aver trasferito al livello sovranazionale il potere normativo su materie e questioni sulle quali gli stati membri non potrebbero, con efficacia, raggiungere i fini perseguiti. Qualcuno derivarne che, se così è, la perdita è più apparente che reale. In ogni caso, fa parte di un processo di integrazione, che, dopo pochi decenni, ha attribuito quel potere non più soltanto al consiglio dei ministri degli stati membri, ma in co-decisione ad essi e al Parlamento europeo, direttamente eletto dai cittadini. Ciò rispetta il tasso di democraticità che ormai riteniamo essenziale negli organi abilitati a legiferare e porta il processo di integrazione entro una cornice, che non è più soltanto di diritto internazionale, ma è anche conformata da geni di diritto costituzionale.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Verderame Giovan Battista

Unione europea-Russia. Una relazione ineludibile
in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLVIII, numero speciale, n. 178, autunno , 514-522

Full text available online at http://www.affari-esteri.it/Affari_Esteri_178.pdf

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 6. The European unification process

Van Elsas Erika J., Hakhverdian Armen, Van der Brug Wouter

United against a common foe? The nature and origins of Euroscepticism among left-wing and right-wing citizens

in *West European Politics*, vol. 39, n. 6 , 1181-1204

ABSTRACT: In Western European democracies opposition to the European Union is commonly found at the ideological extremes. Yet, the Euroscepticism of radical left-wing and radical right-wing parties has been shown to have distinct roots and manifestations. The article investigates whether these differences are mirrored at the citizen level. Using data from the European Election Study (2009/2014) and the European Social Survey (2008/2012) in 15 West European countries, it is found that left-wing and right-wing citizens not only differ in the object of their Euroscepticism, but also in their motivations for being sceptical of the EU. Left-wing Eurosceptics are dissatisfied with the current functioning of the EU, but do not oppose further European integration per se, while right-wing Eurosceptics categorically reject European integration. Euroscepticism among left-wing citizens is motivated by economic and cultural concerns, whereas for right-wing citizens Euroscepticism is solely anchored in cultural attitudes. These results refine the common 'horseshoe' understanding of ideology and Euroscepticism.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Johannes Masing

Unity and Diversity of European Fundamental Rights Protection

in *European Law Review*, Volume 41, issue 4 , 490-512

Fundamental rights protection has become complex and demanding between the poles of the European Convention of Human Rights, the Fundamental Rights Charter of the EU and the constitutional fundamental rights of the individual States. These codifications serve different purposes and may have different meanings. To ensure a productive interaction between these instruments we need to advance the jurisprudence of the courts involved - a jurisprudence that is far from being final - and develop lines of delimitation that do not create hierarchy and uniformity but rather strike a good balance between unity and federal diversity

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Stef Wittendorp

Unpacking 'International Terrorism': Discourse, the European Community and Counter-Terrorism, 1975–86

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 54, Issue 5

According to convention, the emergence of 'international terrorism' led the European Community (EC) member states to initiate co-operation from the mid-1970s onwards. A different story is told here by examining how 'international terrorism' appeared as threatening and co-operation in the context of the EC became regarded as a logical solution. The article frames this as political events ('international terrorism') overflowing the space of politics (the state), whereby the latter felt it necessary to set up a series of arrangements to try to encapsulate the excesses of the former. It shows how the interpretation of terrorism as an illegitimate political provocation constituted an obligation for states to respond. Stressing the international character highlighted individual states' inability to tackle terrorism, which made it possible for



co-operation to appear as obvious. Trevi and the Dublin Agreement are examined as manifestations seeking to work around, and thus reinventing, the limits of state sovereignty.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Arthur Benz, Andreas Corcaci, Jan Wolfgang Doser

Unravelling multilevel administration. Patterns and dynamics of administrative co-ordination in European governance

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 23, Issue 7

The concept of multilevel governance adds a crucial dimension to the debate about political decision-making by conceptualizing policy co-ordination across territorial levels of government. While research on European governance has generated a differentiated analytical concept to understand the varieties of co-ordination, it has not clarified the particular role of administration, although its relevance is apparent. Research on administration in the European context has considered multilevel relations between the administrations of the European Union and its member states, but failed to cover the distinct types of interaction. In view of this state of research, we emphasize the distinct features of multilevel administration and advance the concept towards an appropriate analytical framework. By unravelling the particular role and the distinct modes of administrative interaction and patterns of co-ordination in European governance, our analytical framework should pave the way for a focused research agenda linking approaches to multilevel governance and public administration in the European and international context.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Schelkle Waltraud

Up for Grabs? Key Issues in the Negotiations about Britain's Membership in the EU Authors

in *Political Quarterly* , Volume 87, Issue 2, april-june , pp. 136-138

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Gabriel N. Toggenburg, Jonas Grimheden

Upholding Shared Values in the EU: What Role for the EU Agency for Fundamental Rights?

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 54, Issue 5

Respect for the values laid down in Article 2 of the Treaty on European Union (TEU) was one of the primary reasons that led to the establishment of the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA). While neither the Treaties nor the Regulation establishing FRA envisage an explicit role for the FRA with respect to Article 7 TEU, its assistance may be sought in this context even though the contours of such an eventual assistance remains to be clarified. By contrast, the European Commission may approach the FRA should the Commission require its assistance with respect to the application of the framework it adopted in 2014. The Council and the Parliament could similarly require the FRA's assistance. It is however submitted that a more structured dialogue and the regular provision of data and analysis,



including via the FRA, would make the EU system of monitoring respect for EU values within the EU itself more operational and help prevent double standards.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Olivier Fillieule, Pascal Viot, Gilles Descloux

Vers un modèle européen de gestion policière des foules protestataires ?

in *Revue française de science politique*, Vol. 66 n° 2

Comment qualifier aujourd'hui les modes de gestion des manifestations de rue en Europe ? Est-on revenu au modèle coercitif des années 1960-1970 ? Doit-on plutôt parler d'une hybridation du modèle coercitif et du modèle plus tolérant des années 1980-1990, témoignant d'une plasticité des doctrines policières au regard des changements de contexte ? Après un bref rappel des styles successifs de police identifiés par la recherche, nous décrivons, en nous appuyant sur une recherche comparée sur les systèmes de maintien de l'ordre en Europe, comment aujourd'hui la préparation des services d'ordre, leur mise en œuvre sur le terrain aussi bien que l'évaluation post-action sont de plus en plus largement soumises à un nouveau modèle reposant sur une stratégie dite de désescalade.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Mondello Flavio

Verso una difesa europea?

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLVIII, numero speciale, n. 178, autunno, 498-513

Full text available online at http://www.affari-esteri.it/Affari_Esteri_178.pdf

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Vincenzo Camporini

Verso una difesa europea? Aspetti politici ed istituzionali: NATO, cooperazione strutturata e Regno Unito

in *Federalista (Il)/Federalist (The)*, Anno LVIII, n.1

la materia della difesa comune dei paesi dell'Europa occidentale venne posta sul tappeto poco dopo la fine del secondo conflitto mondiale e se da parte di alcuni, in particolare oltre Atlantico, ma non solo, la questione veniva vista quasi esclusivamente in funzione antisovietica, quindi in modo strumentale, un consistente settore degli statisti europei ne aveva una visione prevalentemente politica: ecco perché, fondata l'Alleanza atlantica, Monnet lanciò l'idea di una Comunità europea di difesa, con forze armate integrate, in cui sarebbero confluite buona parte delle risorse dei singoli paesi, con un bilancio unico. Superfluo ricordare a questo consesso le vicende che portarono ad archiviare il progetto, archiviazione dovuta a vari fattori, ma soprattutto all'ingresso nella NATO della Repubblica di Bonn, con il che l'inconfessabile finalità di imbrigliare una volta per tutte la Germania aveva trovato piena realizzazione.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Reizniece-Ozola Dana

Welcome to Austerity 2.0

in *Europe's World*, vol. 33, Autumn

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

De Grauwe Paul

**What Future for the EU After Brexit?   **

in *Intereconomics*, Volume 51, Issue 5, September 2016 , Pages 249-251

How should the European Union react to the decision of the UK to withdraw from the union? This is the question that has been at the centre of the political debate in Europe since Brexit became a reality. In this article, I will first discuss the nature of the reforms that are called for as a result of the Brexit vote. I will then turn to the issue of the negotiating strategy that the EU should adopt towards the UK.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Braun Daniela, Hutter Swen, Kerscher Alena

What type of Europe? The salience of polity and policy issues in European Parliament elections

in *European Union Politics* , vol. 17, n. 4, December , 570-592

How much and why do political parties emphasize Europe in election campaigns? The literature is increasingly focusing on two aspects of party issue competition: position and salience. However, recent studies on salience tend to ignore the fact that Europe is a compound political issue. This article contributes to the debate by highlighting the crucial difference between constitutive and policy-related European issues. Using data from the Euromanifestos Project for 14 EU member states for the period 1979–2009, we first show that Europe is much more salient in European Parliament elections than previously assumed. Second, EU issue salience depends on party position and party system polarization over European integration. However, different explanations come into play once we bring in the polity-vs.-policy distinction. This has important implications for our understanding of party competition on European integration.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Kalintiri Andriani

What's in a name? The marginal standard of review of "complex economic assessments" in EU competition enforcement

in *Common Market Law Review*, vol. 53, issue 5 , 1283-1316

ABSTRACT: Judicial control of the Commission's complex economic appraisals in EU competition enforcement has long



troubled both academics and practitioners. Despite the commonly shared feeling that the marginal standard of review, as applied by EU Courts, is not as deferential as one might fear, its operation remains shrouded in vagueness, due to difficulties in defining the notion of “complex economic evaluations” as the trigger for a less strict standard of control and due to the lack of a clear understanding as to the errors that may invalidate the Commission’s analysis. This article sheds light on the judicial scrutiny of complex economic assessments, and demonstrates that (a) complex economic evaluations may come in different varieties and should not be seen as a uniform group, (b) the manifest error of assessment test is not an intangible formula of judicial scrutiny, contingent on one’s subjective perception of “manifestness”, but targets four specific defects in the Commission’s analysis: failure to correctly assess the material facts of the case, failure to take into account a relevant factor, taking into account an irrelevant factor that distorted the analysis, and failure to satisfy the standard of proof, and (c) EU Courts have three “aces” up their sleeve that may enable them to diminish the Commission’s margin of appreciation: economics, evidence review and Article 19(1) TEU.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Mads Dagnis Jensen, Holly Snaith

When politics prevails: the political economy of a Brexit

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 23, Issue 9

This article analyses Britain’s quest to negotiate its future membership of the European Union (EU) through the lens of Liberal intergovernmentalism. The article demonstrates that despite the significant economic consequences of a potential Brexit, party political factors have hitherto proven more significant in defining the terrain of the debate than lobby group influence where a cross section of United Kingdom (UK) lobby groups are either actively or passively in favour of remaining within the EU ahead of the referendum.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

A. Bonfiglio, B. Camaioni, S. Coderoni, R. Esposti, F. Pagliacci, F. Sotte

Where does EU money eventually go? The distribution of CAP expenditure across the European space

in *Empirica: Journal of Applied Economics and Economic Policy*, Volume 43, Issue 4 , 693-727

This paper aims to assess the distribution of overall Gross Domestic Product and employment effects produced by Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) payments across the European Union space. It is empirically investigated how policy funds redistribute their effects among regions with different levels of rurality and economic development according to their degree and form of integration. This analysis is performed by constructing and applying a multiregional Input–Output model at a very high level of geographical disaggregation (NUTS 3 level). Alternative allocation of funds across regions (policy scenarios) are considered in order to assess redistributive impacts of possible CAP reforms. Results show that the impacts generated by the CAP across space do not only depend on the initial allocation of funds but also on intersectoral and interregional linkages. This evidence implies that even a radical reallocation of funds, though it may contribute to reducing regional imbalances, is less redistributive than expected.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process



Monsalve Fabio, Zafrilla Jorge Enrique, Cadarso María-Ángeles

Where have all the funds gone? Multiregional input-output analysis of the European Agricultural Fund for Rural Development

in **Ecological Economics**, Volume 129, September , 62-71

The new European Agricultural Fund for Rural Development (EAFRD) was purposely established to “contribute to the promotion of sustainable rural development throughout the EU community”. This paper addresses the sustainability of the EAFRD from a triple bottom line perspective in a multiregional input-output model. This framework allows us to study both the trade relations within the EU target regions and also the relations of the EU with some other regions in the world. Additionally, the model allows us to determine the losses (leakages) or gains (boosts and feedbacks) of a wide range of effects. On the other hand, this framework allows a simultaneous consideration of socioeconomic and environmental fund effects to identify their causes and flows and to clarify and reallocate benefits and responsibilities across levels and regions. The estimation of direct and indirect impact effects in an EU country clarifies the following: a) how the leakages to other regions generate a final economic impact that redistributes the prior fund distribution; b) how relevant the countries' participation in global production chains are; and c) how the potential existence of an ecological unequal exchange is assessed. The main data originate from the WIOD database and the European Network for Rural Development.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Oberthür Sebastian

Where to go from Paris? The European Union in climate geopolitics

in **Global Affairs**, Volume 2, Issue 2 , 119-130

The EU's strategic re-orientation to coalition and bridge building after the failed Copenhagen Climate Summit in 2009 paved the way for its success in securing the Paris Agreement on climate change in December 2015. This orientation will largely remain relevant in climate geopolitics characterized by multipolarity and a diversification of interests away from a North–South divide, both headed towards growing support for decarbonization. Various fora beyond the multilateral UN negotiations deserve systematic attention as climate governance has become “polycentric”, requiring careful prioritization as well as further enhanced coordination of climate diplomacy across the EU. The EU's position in climate geopolitics will not least depend on the development of its internal climate and energy policy framework for 2030 and beyond. Advancing decarbonization and fostering low-carbon innovation towards the new climate economy in the EU will help enhance the EU's power base and role in future climate geopolitics.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Nazaré da Costa Cabral

Which Budgetary Union for the E(M)U?

in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 54, Issue 6

This article considers whether the creation of a budgetary union in the European EMU (economic and monetary union) is a feasible and suitable way to resolve the current impasse created by the euro crisis. The article begins by identifying the major drawbacks concerning the transposition of prescriptions regarding fiscal federalism to the current E(M)U



scenario, with the outlook that this appears to be an extemporaneous solution. It then indicates the alternative conception of an incomplete budgetary union, which is mostly characterized by the setting up of specific insurance mechanisms. These alternative measures are shown to be more realistic and feasible, since they combine path dependency with an innovative appropriation of specific features of the classic federalism model, modifying them to an E(M)U scenario in a heterodox way.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Zamboni Lorenzo, Bosi Lorenzo

Which Crisis? European Crisis and National Contexts in Public Discourse

in Politics & Policy, Volume 44, Issue 3, June, pp. 400-426

Is there such a thing as “the crisis” in the European public discourse? We investigate the Great Recession as it appears in the public discourse of seven European countries (Germany, Greece, Italy, Poland, Spain, Sweden, and Switzerland). We do so through a political claim analysis conducted on the most important newspapers of each country between 2005 and 2014. We show that the economic crisis, as a shared experience able to produce consequences on political processes, does matter, but not as one monolithic factor that generates homogeneous outcomes. Different countries are characterized by specific features, which need to be taken into account to understand the relationship between economic crisis and political change. We identify four different “crises” (the global financial crisis, the public debt and austerity crisis, the industrial productive crisis, and the political legitimacy crisis) and propose interpretations on the relationship between their relative visibility, structural factors, and political change.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Zamboni Lorenzo, Bosi Lorenzo

Which Crisis? European Crisis and National Contexts in Public Discourse

in Politics & Policy, Volume 44, Issue 3, June, pp. 400-426

Is there such a thing as “the crisis” in the European public discourse? We investigate the Great Recession as it appears in the public discourse of seven European countries (Germany, Greece, Italy, Poland, Spain, Sweden, and Switzerland). We do so through a political claim analysis conducted on the most important newspapers of each country between 2005 and 2014. We show that the economic crisis, as a shared experience able to produce consequences on political processes, does matter, but not as one monolithic factor that generates homogeneous outcomes. Different countries are characterized by specific features, which need to be taken into account to understand the relationship between economic crisis and political change. We identify four different “crises” (the global financial crisis, the public debt and austerity crisis, the industrial productive crisis, and the political legitimacy crisis) and propose interpretations on the relationship between their relative visibility, structural factors, and political change.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Egeberg Morten, Tronda Jarle

Why Strong Coordination at One Level of Government is Incompatible with Strong Coordination Across Levels



(and How To Live With It): The Case of the European Union

in *Public Administration*, Volume 94, Issue 3 , 579–592

The European Union (EU) inherited 'indirect administration' from classical international organizations: policies adopted by the international organization are subsequently to be implemented nationally by member states themselves, and not by bodies owned by the international organization. This arrangement has often led to legislation being incorporated and applied rather differently across countries. In order to harmonize implementation practices within the EU, we have witnessed a development from 'indirect administration' to more 'direct administration' in the sense that national agencies work closely with the European Commission, EU agencies and sister agencies in other member states, partly bypassing national ministries. Thus, stronger coordination across levels may counteract strong coordination at the national level. This 'coordination dilemma' seems to have been largely ignored in the literatures on EU network governance and national 'joined-up government', respectively. The ambition of this article is twofold: first, the coordination dilemma is theoretically and empirically illustrated by the seeming incompatibility between a more direct implementation structure in the multilevel EU administrative system and trends towards strengthening coordination and control within nation states. Second, the article discusses organizational arrangements that may enable systems to live with the coordination dilemma in practice.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bourne  Ryan

Why did the British Brexit? and What are the Implications for Classical Liberals?

in *Economic Affairs*, Volume 36, Issue 3, October 2016 , 356–363

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Dehousse Renaud

Why has EU macroeconomic governance become more supranational?

in *Journal of European Integration*, vol. 38, n. 5, special issue: Integration without supranationalisation: the central role of the European Council in post-Lisbon EU politics , 617-631

While much of the literature on the Euro crisis has highlighted the intergovernmental features of the European Union response, it appears that in strategic areas, such as macroeconomic policy or banking regulation, supranational institutions have seen their discretionary powers significantly enhanced and that they have played an instrumental role in bringing about such a change. This is all the more remarkable considering the decline in support for integration among governments and the public. This article explains this paradox by the dramatic character of the crisis and the deep mistrust that existed between European states at the time. It also suggests that the process could be hard to reconcile with attempts at 'politicizing' EU public policy.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process



Benjamin Werner

Why is the Court of Justice of the European Union not more Contested? Three Mechanisms of Opposition Abatement

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 54, Issue 6

The Court of Justice of the European Union (CJEU) is famous for playing a central role in promoting the process of European integration. Although the Court has always been criticized for this pro-integrationist role, Member States have never cut back the CJEU's power. Recently, however, the environment for legal integration has changed: the CJEU is dealing more and more with politically sensitive issues; and that in a period when the integration project as such is becoming increasingly contested. Contrary to the expectations of many scholars, this had not led to more resistance against the CJEU's case law or its power. This article approaches this surprising fact by investigating the CJEU's jurisprudence on Golden Shares, which has substantially reduced national competencies in the contentious issue of corporate control. It shows that the persistent acceptance of the CJEU can be explained with the low and manageable short-term costs of legal integration.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Rüger Carolin

Wie handlungsfähig ist die EU als außenpolitischer Akteur in Zeiten der Polykrise?

in *Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft*, Volume 26, Issue 4, December 2016, 469–477

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Heikki Patomäki

Will the EU Disintegrate? What Does the Likely Possibility of Disintegration Tell About the Future of the World?

in *Globalizations*, Volume 14, Issue 1, 168-177

Is it true that either the EU will be democratised or it will disintegrate? I concur that the current policies, principles, and institutions of the EU both generate counterproductive politico-economic effects and suffer from problems of legitimation. These effects and problems, which are not confined to Europe, give rise to tendencies towards disintegration. My second point concerns the timing of the required learning and reforms. Modest policy proposals and tentative steps within the existing EU Treaty framework may be too little too late. The question is whether there is enough time for deeper transformations in Europe—and also globally.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Anke Hassel, Jette Steen Knudsen, Bettina Wagner

Winning the battle or losing the war: the impact of European integration on labour market institutions in Germany and Denmark

in *Journal of European Public Policy*, Volume 23, Issue 8



The European Union (EU) literature sees increasing market liberalization as a challenge for models of national capitalism. EU liberalization, it is argued, erodes national employment regimes and social protection. However, other scholars highlight the ability of national institutions to reinvent themselves. This contribution assesses these claims by exploring an extreme case of labour market pressure driven by EU liberalization. Focusing on the meat production sector, it shows that low-wage labour migration has affected employment conditions in the meat production sector in Germany and Denmark in different ways: dualization has made Germany a destination country for low-wage work; in contrast, union solidarity in Denmark has kept wages high and Danish meat producers have outsourced work to Germany. The underlying industrial relations systems have shaped actors' responses to the use of migrant labour.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Maricut Adina

With and without supranationalisation: the post-Lisbon roles of the European Council and the Council in justice and home affairs governance

in *Journal of European Integration*, vol. 38, n. 5, special issue: Integration without supranationalisation: the central role of the European Council in post-Lisbon EU politics , 541-555

'Integration without supranationalisation' is a recent phenomenon in European Union (EU) politics characterising new areas of policy activity which emerged on the EU agenda at Maastricht or beyond. Among fields like economic governance, foreign and security policy or social and employment coordination, the domain of justice and home affairs (JHA) appears to deviate from the pattern. While being a new area of EU activity which originally evolved on the basis of policy coordination arrangements, JHA has been gradually supranationalised in respect to decision-making procedures. However, given the political sensitivity of the issues it covers, JHA is far from functioning as a standard field of EU legislative decision-making, even after the Lisbon Treaty. By examining the active role of the European Council in setting the JHA agenda and the continuous centrality of the JHA Council in decision-making, this article demonstrates an important blend of supranationalisation and intergovernmentalisation in post-Lisbon JHA governance.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Matti Van Hecke, Peter Bursens, Jan Beyers

You'll Never Lobby Alone. Explaining the Participation of Sub-national Authorities in the European Commission's Open Consultations

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 54, Issue 6

The multi-level system of the EU (European Union) constrains the institutionalized representation of the regional tier of government. Consequently, SNAs (sub-national authorities) seek to represent their interests through various lobbying practices, including taking part in the European Commission's open consultations. In this article, we argue that varying levels with which SNAs take part in open consultations cannot be adequately explained by regional-level conditions such as resources or autonomy. Instead, we hypothesize that the specific policy context strongly affects regional involvement in open consultations. We test our hypotheses with evidence of the participation pattern of 296 SNAs in eight online consultations situated in five policy areas: CAP (Common Agricultural Policy), EAP (Environment Action Programme), Horizon 2020, COH (Cohesion Policy) and TEN-T (Trans-European Network for Transport). Our analysis demonstrates that the probability that SNAs take part in open consultations increases significantly when



private interests of the same region and/or other SNAs of the same country participate in the same consultation.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Greer Ross

Young people aren't apathetic. They've just been alienated

in Europe's World, vol. 33, Autumn

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

'Brexit Means Brexit'

in European public Law, Volume 22 - Issue 4 , 589–593

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Steven Martin

'Euro-Realism' in the 2014 European Parliament Elections: The European Conservatives and Reformists (ECR) and the Democratic Deficit

in Representation, Volume 52, Issue 1 , pp. 1-12

The European Conservatives and Reformists (ECR) emerged as the third largest 'Euro-party' after the 2014 European elections, and are now well-positioned to perform a central role alongside the European People's Party and the Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats in the eighth session of the European Parliament (EP). Despite this, relatively little is known about the views that ECR politicians represent, especially their core party ideology of 'Euro-realism'. In this article, it is argued that the development of ECR since 2009 is ultimately rooted in a central desire by its member party politicians to reform the European Union by addressing its 'democratic deficit' without destroying the wider integration project altogether. More widely, ECR is the most visible vehicle for 'soft' Euro-scepticism in the EP, promoting 'governance before policy'.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Crepaz Katharina

'Europe of the Regions': An Approach to Counter Separatist Tendencies?

in European formation (L'), 2016/1 (n° 379) , 24-39

Although they were not successful, the referenda in Scotland and Catalonia showed that large groups of the population



prefer an independent state. The reasons for this desire include ethnic and identity-related as well as economic considerations. Developments towards further state-centralization in many European countries further enhance regionalist wishes for independence or a stronger subsidiarity structure. This paper argues that in the post-national context of European integration, the establishment of new nation-states cannot be regarded as a desirable scenario; multi-level governance structures that allow actors at different levels to collaborate freely and across borders along with further regional autonomy represent a more fitting solution. A 'Europe of the Regions', could therefore represent an alternative solution for the push towards further regionalization. Such a process may also foster a more Europe-oriented regional identity, and help historical regional entities now split over different nation-states (e.g. Silesia, Istria) to work together more closely again.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Hillebrandt Maarten, Novak Stéphanie

'Integration without transparency'? Reliance on the space to think in the European Council and Council

in *Journal of European Integration*, vol. 38, n. 5, special issue: Integration without supranationalisation: the central role of the European Council in post-Lisbon EU politics , 527-540

To justify the limited publicity of their sessions, members of the European Council and Council regularly argue that they require a 'space to think'. This article analyses the relative success of the plea for this 'space to think' in both legislative (Council) and non-legislative (European Council and Council) modes of decision-making. We consider the concept of the 'space to think' as well as the manner in which it is integrated into the theories of new intergovernmentalism and intergovernmental union. We then analyse how the European Council and Council have developed the 'space to think' in their daily practices. We find that, while the limited progress of transparency lends partial support to the new intergovernmentalism and intergovernmental union, the drivers underpinning the 'space to think' are not limited to non-legislative decision-making but are also increasingly found in the legislative procedure.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Graham Butler, Mads Dagnis Jensen, Holly Snaith

'Slow change may pull us apart': debating a British exit from the European Union

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 23, Issue 9

With a referendum set to take place on 23 June 2016 in a large and important European Union (EU) member state on whether it should remain within the Union or leave altogether, this year will prove crucial for all Europeanists. Brexit is a real possibility that both the Union and other member states must be prepared to plan for and eventually absorb the potential impact of. Whilst the process of 'will they, won't they' will continue until the referendum, and even beyond, this level of uncertainty creates challenges for the existing actors with a stake in the process. This introductory contribution will set the scene for the ensuing debate, which flows from the various perspectives that each of the authors have with regard to the ultimate question of a Brexit. The three editors introduce the legal, political and economic themes that run through the articles, whilst simultaneously attempting to map out the trajectory for if, when and how a Brexit may actually occur, given the differing perspectives in the debate.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Guoga Antanas

**“Business as usual” will just bring more calls to leave
in Europe’s World**, vol. 33, Autumn

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Wind Marlene

**“Dexit” off the table as Danish Euroscepticism abates
in Europe’s World**, vol. 33, Autumn

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Loïc Azoulay

**“Integration through law” and us
in International Journal of Constitutional Law**, volume 14, issue 2 , 449-463

This article examines the general introduction to the vast and still impressive Integration through Law (ITL) series, which, if by the force of the title alone, has had a powerful impact on the development of EU studies. This introduction deals essentially with the following question: How does law operate in a non-legal context in order to produce a pluralist form of “federal union” in Europe? While the question remains valid, the context, however, has dramatically changed. The difficulty is to find a way to pursue integration in a context not only of a profound and multifaceted crisis, but in an atmosphere of widespread mistrust in the positive force of law. By engaging a discussion with the ITL project, this article aims to prompt a reflection on integration in light of current social and political conditions.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Karas Tania

**“Warehouse of Souls”. How the EU Abandoned Greece
in World Policy Journal**, vol. 33, n. 4, winter , 55-60

ABSTRACT: An EU-Turkey deal intended to stem the flow of migrants to Europe has turned Greece's islands into de facto open-air prisons. Meanwhile, right-wing sentiment is now growing in regions heralded just a year ago for their selfless care of refugees, reports journalist Tania Karas. Greece began the migrant crisis as the continent's life guard and first-aid provider, but Europe has now forced the country to be its warden, too.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Fernández Soriano Víctor

«Quel pays plus que la Grèce ?» La place de la Grèce dans la construction de l'Europe: une mise en perspective historique

in *Histoire@Politique. Politique, culture, société*, n° 29, mai - août

[Accueil](#)

[Sommaire](#)

[Le dossier](#)

[Vari@rticles](#)

[Sources](#)

[Pistes & débats](#)

[Portraits & témoignages](#)

[Comptes rendus](#)

[Champ libre](#)

[Maillage](#)

[Courriel des lecteurs](#)

[La revue](#)

[Les anciens numéros](#)

[appel à contribution Appel à contribution](#)

[Partager](#)

[Rechercher](#)

[Le dossier](#)

L'Europe du Sud (Espagne, Portugal, Grèce) : nouvelles approches historiographiques des dictatures et de la transition démocratique (1960-2000)

Coordination : Anne Dulphy, Matthieu Trouvé, Victor Pereira

Introduction

Autour de l'historiographie

Penser l'État. Une relecture de l'historiographie récente sur l' « Estado Novo » (2010-2015)

Comment la connaissance historique de l'Espagne permet-elle de dépasser les contraintes idéologiques : le legs historiographique de José María Jover Zamora et Manuel Tuñón de Lara

La diversité des approches mémorielles

Qui sont les Grecs ? Traces de guerre, vestiges d'Empire et mémoires en conflit

Les reconfigurations de la mémoire du colonialisme portugais : récit et esthétisation de l'histoire



L'Espagne entre deux transitions ? De la mémoire de la guerre civile à celle de l'après-guerre (1975-2007)

Nouvelles perspectives historiques

« Le peuple portugais est contre-révolutionnaire. » La perspective de la presse espagnole sur la révolution portugaise de 1974-1975

Les victimes oubliées de la transition espagnole

Femmes espagnoles émigrées dans la seconde moitié du XXe siècle. Discours et vie quotidienne

La politique extérieure espagnole de la fin du franquisme et son héritage sur la transition démocratique

« Quel pays plus que la Grèce ? » La place de la Grèce dans la construction de l'Europe : une mise en perspective historique

« Quel pays plus que la Grèce ? » La place de la Grèce dans la construction de l'Europe : une mise en perspective historique

Víctor Fernández Soriano

Résumé :

En juillet 1961, à l'occasion de la signature d'un accord d'association entre la Grèce et la CEE, le vice-président de la (...)

[lire la suite](#)

[In English](#)

En juillet 1961, à l'occasion de la signature d'un accord d'association entre la Grèce et la CEE, le vice-président de la Commission européenne Jean Rey se demandait dans son allocution : « Quel pays plus que la Grèce, quel peuple plus que le peuple hellénique était digne de devenir le premier associé de la Communauté ? ». Cet article dresse un panorama de la participation de la Grèce au processus de construction européenne. Il tente de vérifier l'hypothèse selon laquelle cette participation revêt une signification politique non seulement pour la Grèce elle-même, mais aussi en ce qui concerne certains aspects de la configuration politique de l'Europe. Pour ce faire, il s'appuie sur l'historiographie actuelle, compte tenu du fait que celle-ci s'intéresse depuis quelques années de plus en plus au cas grec. Cette synthèse inspirée des réflexions contenues dans les études les plus récentes contribue à évaluer en termes historiques quelle a été la place de la Grèce dans le processus d'intégration européenne depuis la signature de son accord d'association en 1961.

In a speech delivered on the occasion of the signing of an association agreement between Greece and the EEC in July 1961, the Vice President of the European Commission, Jean Rey, asked "What country more than Greece, which people more than the Greek people were worthy of becoming the Community's first associate?" This article offers an overview of Greece's participation in the European construction process. It seeks to assess the claim according to which this participation had political significance, not just for Greece itself, but also in what concerned some aspects of Europe's political configuration. To this end, it draws upon current historiography, which has in recent years increasingly taken an interest in the Greek case. An overview inspired by the discussions contained in the most recent studies allows one to historically evaluate the place occupied by Greece in the process of European integration since the signature of its association agreement in 1961.

<http://www.histoire-politique.fr/index.php?numero=29&rub=dossier&item=271>

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 6. The European unification process

Fernández Soriano Víctor

« Quel pays plus que la Grèce ? » La place de la Grèce dans la construction de l'Europe: une mise en perspective historique

in *Histoire@Politique. Politique, culture, société*, n° 29, mai - août

[Accueil](#)

[Sommaire](#)

[Le dossier](#)

[Vari@rticles](#)

[Sources](#)

[Pistes & débats](#)

[Portraits & témoignages](#)

[Comptes rendus](#)

[Champ libre](#)

[Maillage](#)

[Courriel des lecteurs](#)

[La revue](#)

[Les anciens numéros](#)

[appel à contribution Appel à contribution](#)

[Partager](#)

[Rechercher](#)

[Le dossier](#)

L'Europe du Sud (Espagne, Portugal, Grèce) : nouvelles approches historiographiques des dictatures et de la transition démocratique (1960-2000)

Coordination : Anne Dulphy, Matthieu Trouvé, Victor Pereira

Introduction

Autour de l'historiographie

Penser l'État. Une relecture de l'historiographie récente sur l' « Estado Novo » (2010-2015)

Comment la connaissance historique de l'Espagne permet-elle de dépasser les contraintes idéologiques : le legs historiographique de José María Jover Zamora et Manuel Tuñón de Lara

La diversité des approches mémorielles

Qui sont les Grecs ? Traces de guerre, vestiges d'Empire et mémoires en conflit

Les reconfigurations de la mémoire du colonialisme portugais : récit et esthétisation de l'histoire

L'Espagne entre deux transitions ? De la mémoire de la guerre civile à celle de l'après-guerre (1975-2007)



Nouvelles perspectives historiques

« Le peuple portugais est contre-révolutionnaire. » La perspective de la presse espagnole sur la révolution portugaise de 1974-1975

Les victimes oubliées de la transition espagnole

Femmes espagnoles émigrées dans la seconde moitié du XXe siècle. Discours et vie quotidienne

La politique extérieure espagnole de la fin du franquisme et son héritage sur la transition démocratique

« Quel pays plus que la Grèce ? » La place de la Grèce dans la construction de l'Europe : une mise en perspective historique

« Quel pays plus que la Grèce ? » La place de la Grèce dans la construction de l'Europe : une mise en perspective historique

Víctor Fernández Soriano

Résumé :

En juillet 1961, à l'occasion de la signature d'un accord d'association entre la Grèce et la CEE, le vice-président de la (...)

lire la suite

In English

En juillet 1961, à l'occasion de la signature d'un accord d'association entre la Grèce et la CEE, le vice-président de la Commission européenne Jean Rey se demandait dans son allocution : « Quel pays plus que la Grèce, quel peuple plus que le peuple hellénique était digne de devenir le premier associé de la Communauté ? ». Cet article dresse un panorama de la participation de la Grèce au processus de construction européenne. Il tente de vérifier l'hypothèse selon laquelle cette participation revêt une signification politique non seulement pour la Grèce elle-même, mais aussi en ce qui concerne certains aspects de la configuration politique de l'Europe. Pour ce faire, il s'appuie sur l'historiographie actuelle, compte tenu du fait que celle-ci s'intéresse depuis quelques années de plus en plus au cas grec. Cette synthèse inspirée des réflexions contenues dans les études les plus récentes contribue à évaluer en termes historiques quelle a été la place de la Grèce dans le processus d'intégration européenne depuis la signature de son accord d'association en 1961.

In a speech delivered on the occasion of the signing of an association agreement between Greece and the EEC in July 1961, the Vice President of the European Commission, Jean Rey, asked "What country more than Greece, which people more than the Greek people were worthy of becoming the Community's first associate?" This article offers an overview of Greece's participation in the European construction process. It seeks to assess the claim according to which this participation had political significance, not just for Greece itself, but also in what concerned some aspects of Europe's political configuration. To this end, it draws upon current historiography, which has in recent years increasingly taken an interest in the Greek case. An overview inspired by the discussions contained in the most recent studies allows one to historically evaluate the place occupied by Greece in the process of European integration since the signature of its association agreement in 1961.

<http://www.histoire-politique.fr/index.php?numero=29&rub=dossier&item=271>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process



Luis N. González Alonso

¿Daños jurídicos colaterales? La invocación del artículo 42.7 del Tratado de la Unión Europea y la lucha contra el terrorismo internacional

in *Revista Electrónica de Estudios Internacionales*, Número 32 , 1-23

Tras los atentados terroristas de París del 13 de noviembre de 2015, el gobierno francés decidió invocar por primera vez la cláusula de asistencia mutua prevista en el artículo 42.7 del Tratado de la Unión Europea; tan sólo una semana después, conseguía igualmente la aprobación por parte del Consejo de Seguridad de Naciones Unidas de la controvertida resolución 2249 (2015). Partiendo de la relación existente entre ambas iniciativas, y una vez superado ya el impacto inicial de lo que sin duda fue una reacción inesperada, con el presente estudio se pretende profundizar en la identificación, análisis y valoración de sus consecuencias o implicaciones jurídicas tanto para la propia UE, y más concretamente para el modesto entramado de compromisos sobre los que se sustenta su política de seguridad y defensa, como desde la óptica de la tensión a la que viene viéndose sometida la regulación de la legítima defensa como consecuencia de las nuevas formas bajo las que se manifiesta el fenómeno del terrorismo internacional.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Rodríguez Magda Rosa M^a

¿Europa es culpable?

in *Cuadernos de pensamiento político*, n. 50, Abril/Junio

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

NIKA PRISLAN

¿Existe una grieta digital entre EEUU y la UE?

in *Política Exterior*, nº 172

Mientras las tensiones de Bruselas con las compañías tecnológicas de EEUU se suceden, los europeos aún no han decidido qué industria digital impulsarán. El riesgo de quedarse fuera de juego es alto.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Philippe Vincent

À propos de « La « Révolution nationale » en Grèce et les institutions internationales » de Jean Siotis (1968-I) : la crise grecque et les institutions internationales

in *Revue belge de droit international*, no. 1 , 521-536

No abstract available



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Rusen Ergec

À propos de « Les organes du Conseil de l'Europe et le concept de « démocratie » dans le cadre de deux affaires grecques » de Pierre Mertens (1971-I) : le Conseil de l'Europe et la démocratie dans ...

in *Revue belge de droit international*, no. 1 , 204-217

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Marty Frédéric

Éléments d'analyse économique du Brexit

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 602, octobre-novembre , 554-556

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Stefan Cornelia

Österreich als Symptom einer europäischen Krise

in *Europea*, Anno 1, n. 2, novembre , 213-224

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Alex Mwamba Ng'oma

Challenges of Democratic Consolidation in Africa: Implications for India's Investment Drive

in *India Quarterly*, volume 72, issue 2 , 107-119

In Africa, the dawn of political independence, which many countries experienced in the late 1950s and the early 1960s, ushered in political freedom but not economic prosperity. It was for this reason that the onset of the third wave of democratisation, which culminated into the end of the Cold War in 1989, came to be hailed by the African masses as a second form of liberation. The Africans hoped that democracy, once consolidated, would be the basis for economic development on their continent. This article observes, nonetheless, that democracy in many African countries has not proceeded to the expected phase of democratic consolidation due to several challenges that the article outlines. The article explains further that despite the uninspiring picture of political instability on the continent, Africa is actually home to at least six of the fastest growing economies in the world. The article, thus, suggests that India should not hesitate, but seek to increase its investment portfolio in Africa, since the continent's unstable political environment is not at all inimical to foreign direct investment.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Meissner Katharina Luise

A case of failed interregionalism? Analyzing the EU-ASEAN free trade agreement negotiations in Asia *Europe Journal*, vol. 14, n. 3, September , 319-336

In 2007, the European Union (EU) and the Association of the Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) started interregional negotiations on a free trade agreement, which failed 2 years later. Relying on document analysis and elite interviews with officials from the EU and ASEAN's members, this article addresses why and the extent to which the interregional negotiations failed. By rooting the theoretical model in a power-based approach, the analysis demonstrates that the EU has attempted to secure its economic and regulatory power in Southeast Asia. In striving for such power, interregionalism was initially the intuitive way because the EU perceived ASEAN as a cohesive bloc. However, the EU's ambitious vision for comprehensive agreements clashed with the actual heterogeneity of ASEAN member states. The failure of the interregional approach is, thus, a result of the EU's delicate balance between political and economic interests in Southeast Asia, which it pursues with trade-specific issues.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Higashino Atsuko

A partnership postponed? Japan–EU cooperation in conflict resolution in East Asia

in Asia Europe Journal, vol. 14, n. 4, December, special issue "Regional Integration and Conflict Transformation" , 435-447

This paper explores reasons for the (un)willingness of the European Union (EU) to cooperate with its external partners such as Japan in promoting regional integration and conflict resolution outside of Europe. One of the key arguments made in the paper is that the EU has demonstrated a strong preference for independently promoting regional integration and conflict management. Moreover, it has evidenced little inclination to cooperate with partner countries in attempting to address regional problems. Furthermore, until now, the EU's concept of a 'strategic partnership' may not have functioned sufficiently well to enable it to play any constructive role in conjunction with its partners in East Asia. Such tendencies have been strengthened by the problems currently affecting the Japan–EU relationship such as the EU's preference of not 'taking sides' with respect to complex regional problems, Japan's ongoing 'expectation deficit' towards the EU and the EU's ever-worsening perception of Japan.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Torrent Mélanie

A 'New' Commonwealth for Britain? Negotiating Ghana's Pan-African and Asian Connections at the End of Empire (1951–8)

in International History Review (The), Volume 38, Issue 3 , pp. 573-613

This article examines to what extent Nkrumah's Pan-African ambitions and Asian connections altered the meaning of the 'new' Commonwealth for British policy-makers. It discusses India's influence on British political options in the Gold Coast



during the negotiations for independence and Commonwealth membership and assesses the impact of Ghana's Pan-Africanism on two major facets of Commonwealth politics: Britain's ability to balance its relations with the Commonwealth and France, the other main European actor in Africa; and Britain's capacity to maintain the idea of a common heritage, which Pan-African projects like the Ghana–Guinea Union threatened to disrupt.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Gregory Shaffer

Alternatives for Regulatory Governance under TTIP: Building from the Past

in *Columbia Journal of European Law*, vol. 22, issue 3 , 403-419

This Article evaluates the current TTIP negotiations regarding regulatory cooperation from the perspective of over two decades of transatlantic effort. It examines six basic approaches for transatlantic regulatory cooperation and addresses the lessons to be learned from past efforts and their failures. It examines what can be done that would be new and could lead to regulatory learning and improvement in an economically interdependent world characterized by risk and uncertainty, while reducing the costs of duplicate, overlapping regulatory standards impeding trade.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Wallace William

Are Values Diverging Across the Atlantic?

in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 21, issue 3 , 355-363

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Niedhart Gottfried

CSCE, the German Question, and the Eastern Bloc

in *Journal of Cold War Studies*, Volume 18, Issue 3 - Summer , pp. 3-13

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Peterson John

Choosing Europe or Choosing TTIP?: The European Union and the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership

in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 21, issue 3 , 383-401

ABSTRACT: This analysis presents a European view on the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP). It



argues that the European Union (EU) needs agreement on TTIP more than the United States (US) both for economic and political reasons. Yet, a European anti-TTIP movement has coalesced that argues that the EU must 'choose Europe or choose TTIP': the latter threatens to 'Americanize' Europe and lead to lower standards of consumer and environmental protection. The choice is a false one but the EU has been late to refute it and it continues to negotiate internally on TTIP even as it negotiates with the US. The TTIP negotiations have also exposed the Union's 'strategic partnerships' as ill-organized and ineffective. Nevertheless, TTIP offers the US and EU a chance to write rules on international economic exchange that could be exported to the global level at a time when a more multipolar international order is emerging.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Kurmanguzhin Rustem

Cooperation of the Republic of Kazakhstan with the European Union - confirmation of multi-vector Kazakh foreign policy

in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, Volume 83, n. 2, aprile-giugno , 219-224

The article focuses on the key initiatives of the Republic of Kazakhstan to develop cooperation with the European Union the relevance of which is not only the importance of enhancing cooperation with the EU, but also the need to address specific problems of economic and political development of the Republic of Kazakhstan.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Umbach Frank

Die EU-Zentralasienstrategie und ihre Energiepolitischen Dimensionen

in *Politische Studien*, 67. Jahrgang, Heft 469, September-Oktober , 73-87

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Revilla Diez Javier, Schileer Daniel, Zvirgzde Daria

Doing business in Ukraine – multinational companies in the trap of regional institutions?

in *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, Volume 34, Issue 4, June , 638-655

The transition process in Ukraine is far from being completed and large differences among the regions prevail. The adaptation of market-based and reliable institutional arrangements differs strongly among the capital region, the western (Lviv), and the eastern part (Kharkiv) of the country. Conducive regional institutions are necessary for two reasons. First, multinational corporations (MNCs) need transparent and reliable institutions to fully exploit benefits from their investment decision. Second, MNCs might only deliver positive impacts to the regional economy which are envisaged by the local governments under these circumstances. This paper aims to assess the quality of regional institutions from the perspective of MNCs and the interdependence between institutional quality and investment motives by using data from an explorative enterprise survey of 153 foreign firms in three Ukrainian regions. The analysis of the World Bank's Doing



Business indicators clearly shows strong regional variation in institutional quality in Ukraine. Due to higher institutional quality, investors are attracted to the capital region and are potentially performing more sophisticated activities and create a higher value for the regional economy. Whereas the capital region can be seen as the frontrunner in the transition process, the regional economic system of Kharkiv is still strongly based on persisting networks from the Soviet time which leads to worse evaluations of the institutional quality. In Lviv, the post-Soviet legacy is less pronounced and institutional quality is assessed more positive than in Kharkiv, but still falls behind the capital region. As a result of the very distinct assessment of the regional quality of institutions, region-specific policy measures are proposed.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Paik Wooyeal

Domestic politics, regional integration, and human rights: interactions among Myanmar, ASEAN, and EU

in *Asia Europe Journal*, vol. 14, n. 4, December, special issue "Regional Integration and Conflict Transformation" , 417-434

This paper tries to explain the evolving relations between the recent domestic political changes in Myanmar and the role of regional integration as they affect human rights in Myanmar. I posit that the two most important causes of the humanitarian crisis in Myanmar are the survival of the authoritarian regime and ethnic-religious conflicts. Those causes differ in nature and their political interactions with the ASEAN regional integration. This paper first examines the relationship between authoritarian regime survival and the humanitarian crisis/efforts during the 2008 natural disaster of cyclone Nargis and the resultant flooding. Second, I investigate the political dynamics of the human rights violations of ethnic and religious minorities, especially the Rohingya Muslim minority in the Rakhine State, during Myanmar's recent democratic transition. This study approaches the aforementioned questions from both the EU and ASEAN perspectives and also deals with these two regional organizations' interactions regarding Myanmar's human rights.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Su Hungdah

EU public diplomacy in Asia: a case study of the EU Center in Taiwan

in *Asia Europe Journal*, vol. 14, n. 3, September , 337-351

Since 2004, the EU has created 11 EU centers and two center-modeled programs in East Asia as an integral part of its public diplomacy in order to "promote the study, understanding, and support of the EU and its policies." All of these centers were jointly established by the EU and local universities, and more than 50 % of their funding is offered by the EU institutions. Among these centers and programs, the EU Center in Taiwan (EUTW) distinguishes itself from the others in two ways. On one hand, similar to the EU Center in Singapore, it acts as a national center rather than a university center. On the other hand, it was jointly inaugurated by a consortium of seven universities rather than one or two universities across the island. Therefore, this paper aims to evaluate the EU public diplomacy in Asia with the help of soft power theory and an in-depth case study of the EUTW. I will firstly review the development of the EU Studies and EU-related communities in Taiwan before the EUTW was formally inaugurated in May 2009. In the second part, I will present an in-depth analysis of the structure and functioning of the EUTW in terms of EU public diplomacy on the island. In the third part, the work of EUTW in the promotion of study, understanding, and even support of the EU and its policies will be evaluated with help of an institutionalist framework. In the end, I will give a balance sheet of the EUTW in terms of



EU public diplomacy before drawing into some conclusions.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

VESSELA TCHERNEVA

Entre la Unión Euroasiática y la Ruta de la Seda

in *Política Exterior*, nº 173

Eurasia es la región donde Moscú y Pekín proyectan algunas de sus estrategias globales más ambiciosas. ¿Cómo podría influir la UE en el desarrollo de la Unión Euroasiática rusa y la Ruta de la Seda china?

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Gareis Sven Bernhard, Liegl Markus B.

Europe in Asia: Policy Options of an Interested Bystander

in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 21, issue 3/1 , 99-115

ABSTRACT: As tensions between the United States and China are on the rise, Europe needs to prepare for the contingency of a US-China cold war–like stand-off in Asia. Currently, Europe’s political engagement with East Asia is quite underwhelming while European interest are as substantial as numerous. In this article, we focus on the question of how Europe could and should position itself in East Asia in order to increase its political weight, to cope with the negative repercussions of conflict between China and the United States, and to prevent Europe’s imminent marginalization in this globally important region. For Europe and the European Union in particular, all this demands urgently to come up with a more unified and cohesive strategic approach. If Europe wants to play a meaningful role in the Asian century, significant steps are required in order to bolster Europe’s existing economic and political weight with genuine ‘actorness’ abroad.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Mauil Hanns W.

European Policies Towards China and the United States: Can They Support a Strategic Triad?

in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 21, issue 3/1 , 29-45

ABSTRACT: Does a strategic triad exist? This article argues that the international order is undergoing a transformation that points towards a ‘new bipolarity’ between the United States and the People’s Republic of China. This new bipolarity is characterized by deep interdependence and mixed motives, rather than by the ideological antagonism and power struggle of the East-West conflict. It also is a much weaker axis of world order than the old bipolarity. This means it will likely fall short of providing the levels of global governance the world will need to cope with the challenges and opportunities produced by the relentless advance of globalization.

To form this new bipolarity into a strategic triad, it would require the existence or ascent of a third party (a state, a coalition of states, or the European Union (EU)) with the capacity and credibility to influence the policy behaviour of both Washington and Beijing. In the case of the EU, what is missing is the capacity of the EU to act as a third party with its



own, independent policy agenda that is taken seriously by both China and the United States.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Simón Luis, Klose Stephan

European perspectives towards the rise of Asia: contextualising the debate

in *Asia Europe Journal*, vol. 14, n. 3, September , 239-260

To what extent can we speak of a distinctively 'European' security approach towards the Asia-Pacific region? In order to address that timely question, this article examines how Britain, France, Germany and the European Union (EU) are framing their evolving security roles in the Asia-Pacific region, and how those individual perspectives intersect with each other. The article identifies a number of important common features in Europe's approaches towards security in the Asia-Pacific, namely the tendency of most European actors to emphasize the economic and diplomatic nature of their contribution to regional security, their promotion of regional multilateral security fora, their rejection of the notion that China's rise is inherently challenging for regional and global security, and their willingness to signal their differences towards Washington's emphasis on military power and alliance-based approach. However, and despite the existence of common traits, individual European actors show different degrees of closeness vis-à-vis the US and China and feature different perspectives regarding which security relationships they should prioritize in the region (if any), or the appropriate balance between diplomacy and security and defence cooperation. Such divergences prevent Europeans from developing a coherent security profile in the region and preclude us from speaking of a distinctively European security approach towards the Asia-Pacific.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Catalano Serida L., Graziano Paolo R.

Europeanization as a Democratization Tool? The Case of Morocco

in *Mediterranean Politics*, Volume 21, Issue 3 , 364-386

This paper applies the Europeanization 'toolkit' to EU democratization policies in Morocco within the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) framework. To this aim, the bottom-up and top-down dimensions of EU‒Morocco relations are analysed diachronically both before and after the Arab Spring. The analysis shows that the Moroccan ruling elite has used the anchor to the EU as a survival strategy and that the EU has merely responded to Moroccan political liberalization rather than having influenced it. Therefore, the paper debates the extent to which the very notion of Europeanization might be used with respect to democratization policies in Morocco, and it shows an overturning of the sender‒receiver relationship proving that Europeanization has been used instrumentally rather than having any autonomous supportive effect on democratization.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Oborne Peter

FCO Engagement with the Commonwealth—Rhetoric and Reality



in **Round Table (The): the Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs**, Volume 105, Issue 4 , pp. 417-420

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Richard W. Parker

Four Challenges for TTIP Regulatory Cooperation

in **Columbia Journal of European Law**, volume 22, issue 1 , 1-14

This article thus addresses the major challenges facing negotiators of the regulatory cooperation (horizontal) chapter of TTIP, and it offers recommendations on how negotiators might address each challenge.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Costa Monica

Gender-Focused Institutions in International Parliamentary Bodies: The Case of the Women's Caucus of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Portuguese-Speaking Countries

in **Parliamentary Affairs** , Volume 69, Issue 4 October , pp. 748-762

Gender-focused bodies within international institutions play a significant role in promoting gender equality and women's empowerment. The particular contribution of those in international parliamentary institutions, however, has been a relatively neglected area of research. This article investigates the launch of a caucus of women parliamentarians in a relatively unknown international parliamentary institution, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Portuguese-speaking countries. It investigates the institution's relevance and the challenges to women's organisation within it.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

de' Robertis Antongiulio

Genesi e sviluppo del fenomeno BRICS nel sistema internazionale

in **Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali**, Volume 83, n. 1, gennaio-marzo , 13-26

The acronym BRIC, created in 2001 to indicate an affinity in the dynamics of economic development of Brazil, Russia, India and China, in 2006 has taken, because of the initiative of Russia the significance of an association of States, which compactly continue to highlight the need to adapt the cooperation mechanisms of the international system to the new economic and political realities of the twenty-first century through the reform, but not the abandonment of the principles and the sites of dialogue and decision-making created after World War II. Expanded with the inclusion of South Africa, the format has become BRICS and by the recurring rejection of recent military actions and sanctions of the West, it evokes the risk of a repetition of the dynamics that led to the formation of the Entente in the early twentieth century.

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Biba Sebastian

Global Governance in the Era of Growing US-China Rivalry: What Options Exist for Europe?
in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 21, issue 3/1, 47-64

ABSTRACT: The United States-China relations are increasingly fraught with problems and contentious issues. One significant example is the current system of global governance, which the United States wants to bolster in order to maintain its predominant position; China, meanwhile, is seeking a greater say in this system and has also been building the pillars of a parallel structure. One consequence is that global governance will likely become more challenging, for third parties such as Europe as well. This article examines Europe's options for coping with these challenges. It presents three alternatives – namely, to continue siding with the United States, to change sides and align with China, and to launch a neutral issue-specific approach. After weighing the respective pros and cons of each option, the article makes the case for the issue-specific approach.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Henrikson Alan K.

Historical Forms of US-European Cooperation: Combination or 'Only' Coordination?
in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 21, issue 3, 329-354

ABSTRACT: A review of the historic modalities – potential and actual, proposed and real – of transatlantic cooperation reveals a basic difference between two forms: the one tending towards combination of resources and effort, implying a federal or some other kind of formal organization, even nominal 'union'; the other favouring, instead, coordination, allowing for independence of action but nonetheless encouraging practical partnership in many areas of policy and also geographic places. A 'structural' approach to strengthening transatlantic leadership, which the author himself supports, does not necessarily imply an elaborate architecture. What it does require, beyond formation of a Leadership Group (however named and constituted), is a wider awareness of the existence of an 'Atlantic community', a well-articulated and shared concept of it, and, moreover, a new recognition of the Atlantic pan-region as itself a 'pole', among poles, in today's multipolar world.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Gareis Sven Bernhard, Wolf Reinhard

Home Alone? The US Pivot to Asia and Its Implications for the EU's Common Security and Defence Policy
in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 21, issue 3/1, 133-150

ABSTRACT: With the signing of the Trans-Pacific Partnership agreement in 2015 and President Obama's visits to Asian states in 2014 the long-proclaimed US pivot to the Asia-Pacific has gained momentum. The US move is of strategic significance and poses new challenges to Europe while also opening new opportunities: Though the transatlantic ties will probably remain strong, the Europeans cannot rule out further significant reductions in the US engagement on the 'old continent' as a consequence of a possible deterioration of the situation in Asia. Europe will therefore have to make stronger efforts with respect to its own security. A European Union that takes the necessary measures to overcome its foreign policy divisions would become better situated to maintain peace and stability in its area of influence. To achieve



this, Europe needs to effect a paradigm shift that renders its Common Foreign and Security Policy more concise and coherent and thus enhances its actorness in International Relations. This might even include the establishment of common European armed forces. Without deeper defence integration European countries might well end up as an assembly of marginalized political dwarfs.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Scridel Emanuela

I BRICS e la nuova governance globale: il XXI secolo sarà il 'secolo indiano'?

in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, Volume 83, n. 1, gennaio-marzo , 113-122

The article focuses on the development of the BRICS – the so-called emerging countries, Brazil, Russia, China, India and South Africa – in the international arena; on the dominance of the economic dynamics over the political ones; on the economic power as the driving-force of the new global governance and the restructuring of the international organizations. After pointing out the peculiar linkages existing among the five countries, which should be considered 'emerged' better than 'emerging' countries, the article focuses on India, that, thanks to an interesting economic diplomacy put in place by the government and thanks to the distinctive points of the country, is becoming a power and not only an economic power. The paper also highlights the critical points that the European Union is facing in this changing world.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Ricceri Marco

I BRICS nell'interpretazione politica russa

in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, Volume 83, n. 1, gennaio-marzo , 69-86

The Author illustrates the Russian point of view on the BRICS' international initiative and reconstructs the set of the underlying reasons, the strategic goals as well as national interests that the Russian Federation intends to protect and deal with by the set up, promotion and widening of the action's areas of this important coordination. The thesis presented in the article is that the main reasons of the Russian Federation are rather political than economic. Such thesis is supported by the analysis of two authoritative Russian contributions: one by the Director of the National Committee for Research on BRICS, Georgy Toloraya, and another by the Russian Institute for Strategic Studies-RISS with the Report 1.2016; as well as thorough an in dept examination of the official documents of the seventh BRICS Summit held in Ufa, Russia, July 8th-9th, 2015, and of the numerous initiatives implemented in the following period. The highlighted political element, in the Russian interpretation of the BRICS experience, finally leads the Author to connect the internal development model of the Russian system to the possibilities of success or failure of the external projection of such a system, precisely by means of BRICS coordination.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Boni Sabrina



Il Brasile tra protagonismo internazionale e recessione economica

in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, Volume 83, n. 1, gennaio-marzo , 101-112

The Author was inspired by a lecture on the current foreign policy of Brazil held in Rome by ambassador Celso Amorim for CESPI, October 2015, to rebuild the great dynamism and design followed by Brazil in the Latin American continent as well as on the world stage especially over the years from the turn of the century to today. A dynamism that emerges as based on certain economic strength, strategic geographical position, wide availability of natural resources; but above all on a precise article of the Constitutional Law of 1988, passed after two decades of military dictatorship. This international projection of great importance finds at present serious obstacles in the heavy economic crisis, a real recession that hit Brazil in recent times. The analysis of this recession conducted by the Author allows to understand the nature of the structural deficiencies that still characterize the Brazilian economic and social system, in spite of the fast growth of the past decade, and their repercussions on the political order; deficiencies, the Author points out, that ultimately could weaken and even undermine the positive action that Brazil continues to play on the international stage, particularly in the BRICS coordination.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Gstöhl Sieglinde, Monar Jörg, Neuwahl Nanette

Introduction to the 20th Anniversary Issue of the European Foreign Affairs Review Transatlantic Leadership in a Global Perspective: Challenges and Opportunities

in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 21, issue 3 , 319-327

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Montessoro Francesco

La Cina e il progetto euroasiatico di Putin

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLVIII, numero speciale, n. 177, estate , 379-390

Full text available online at http://www.affari-esteri.it/Affari_Esteri_177.pdf

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Dupré Mathilde

La fin du projet de partenariat transatlantique?

in *Esprit*, Octobre

No abstract available



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Hulsman John C.

La fine dell'epoca atlantica

in *Aspenia*, n. 73 - giugno

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Zucca Fabrizio

Luci e ombre del contributo della Cina ai BRICS

in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, Volume 83, n. 1, gennaio-marzo , 87-100

The Author illustrates the China contribution to the BRICS coordination and performs an in-depth analysis of the current, open problems in the development dynamics, both within the country and internationally. In particular, the Author analyzes the possible impact of the growing differences between the BRICS member States on the implementation of the common platform and the terms by which the specific national interests will be combined into a larger common interest, to internationally assert an incisive leadership of the BRICS. In particular, he raises the question how China will combine its position of global economic player, the inevitable reform choices of its internal development model and its contribution to BRICS coordination. The commitment in key strategic BRICS projects, as the New Development Bank-NDB and the start-up of major infrastructure projects, as the Eurasian corridors, seem to indicate that China will continue with this experience. But the objectives and growing differences between China and the other member States are in fact creating uncertainty on the future role that it will play as part of the BRICS.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Tardy Thierry

L'Union européenne et l'Union africaine : quelle complémentarité dans la gestion des crises?

in *Revue Défense Nationale*, n° 792, Été

L'Union européenne et l'Union africaine ont tissé des liens, en particulier pour la conduite de la gestion des crises. Cependant, il existe des divergences et une asymétrie entre les deux organisations sur la perception des instabilités chroniques. Des pistes de progrès sont possibles, nécessitant des efforts communs.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Florian Couveinhes-Matsumoto

L'accord commercial entre l'UE et ses Etats membres, d'une part, et le Pérou et la Colombie d'autre part : un révélateur de deux maladies du droit international actuel

in *Revue générale de droit international publique*, volume 120, no. 2 , 293-332



L'étude de l'accord commercial conclu en 2012 entre l'UE, la Colombie et le Pérou met au jour deux « maladies » du Droit international actuel. La première tient au caractère non-démocratique de la négociation, de la conclusion et de la ratification d'accords, qui empêchent en pratique des organes politiques élus d'adopter les règles nationales souhaitées par les populations qu'ils représentent. La seconde tient au caractère excessivement complexe, « économiste » et planificateur de tels accords. L'universitaire en Droit a le devoir de proposer des remèdes à ces deux graves pathologies.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Young Alasdair R.

Not your parents' trade politics: the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership negotiations in Review of International Political Economy, Volume 23, Issue 3, 2016 , 345-378

The Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) negotiations aspire to create the world's most ambitious trade agreement between the world's two largest economies. The politics associated with TTIP are different from those associated with previous trade negotiations. Moreover, they diverge from the prevailing International Political Economy (IPE) account of trade policy. The politics of TTIP diverge from the conventional IPE account of trade politics in two particularly noteworthy ways. First, rather than being rivals, American and European business interests are allies, adopting common positions on what they want the agreement to look like. Second, opposition within both the USA and the EU comes not primarily from firms and workers fearing increased economic competition, but from less traditional trade actors – consumer and environmental groups and citizens – concerned about the erosion of valued regulations. I argue that the unusual politics is the product of two distinct, but related factors. The first is the extraordinary level of cross-investment between the two economies. The second concerns the unique emphasis on addressing non-tariff barriers, particularly regulatory differences, and the significance of the negotiating partner. I test the plausibility of these arguments through within-case variation and by preliminary comparison to other contemporary negotiations of 'deep' preferential trade agreements.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Schumacher Tobias, Bouris Dimitris, Olszewska Maja

Of policy entrepreneurship, bandwagoning and free-riding: EU member states and multilateral cooperation frameworks for Europe's southern neighbourhood in Global Affairs, Volume 2, Issue 3 , 259-272

Over the past 25 years the EU and NATO have displayed considerable agency and thus influence as far as the development of institutionalised collective cooperation and/or foreign policy frameworks towards Europe's southern neighbourhood is concerned. Against this backdrop, this article puts EU and NATO member states' foreign policies towards their southern neighbourhood at its centre. After mapping their southern neighbourhood-related interests, it discusses how they have been pursuing these interests – to the extent that they exist – within and beyond the EU and NATO and examines whether this pursuit has resulted in concrete foreign policy action. The article focuses on the EU Big-5, i.e. France, Spain, Italy, the United Kingdom (UK) and Germany, as well as Portugal, usually considered a "small state". This choice allows for both a most deviant and a most similar case comparison and contrasts policy entrepreneurship (France, Spain, Italy) vis-à-vis Europe's southern neighbourhood with bandwagoning and free-riding



tendencies (Portugal) and a mix of opportunity-maximising and/or fence-sitting practices (United Kingdom and Germany).

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Piccardo Lara

On the Relations Between Russia and Europe

in *Politico (II)*, n. 241, 2016 , 29-51

ABSTRACT: La collocazione geografica e identitaria della Russia ha sempre patito l'ambiguità legata allo stato di terra di confine tra Est e Ovest, tra Asia ed Europa. Sarebbe tuttavia fuorviante misurare l'oscillazione russa tra Oriente e Occidente con il metro di una sua maggiore o minore europeizzazione, punto di vista che presuppone una implicita relazione gerarchica docente/ discente, della quale gli storici dovrebbero "stimare" progressi o involuzioni assumendo tale metro quale unica unità di misura. Al contrario, questo contributo intende evidenziare come la formazione dell'ideologia della monarchia zarista, le sue antitesi rivoluzionarie ottocentesche e quindi il progetto sovietico – al contempo geopolitico e ideologico – espressero di volta in volta una ricezione complessa di modelli europei o extraeuropei, per di più da sempre unita all'ambizione di essere una forza propulsiva autonoma sulla base della convinzione di identificarsi come il centro e non una periferia del mondo. In modi diversi, queste declinazioni dell'idea di Stato esprimevano la volontà di superare la stessa contrapposizione tra Oriente e Occidente, tra Europa e Asia. Erano animate dalla volontà di costituire un nucleo di irradiazione politica e culturale, articolato di volta in volta con un vocabolario universalistico o internazionalista. Da questo discende il complesso atteggiamento russo e sovietico rispetto al processo d'integrazione europea.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Di Dario Federico

Prime riflessioni sulla Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership

in *Comunità Internazionale (La)*, Vol. LXX, n. 1, primo trimestre

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Kembayev Zhenis

Regional Integration in Eurasia: The Legal and Political Framework

in *Review of Central & East European Law*, vol. 41, n. 2 , 157–194

This article examines the legal and political aspects of regional integration processes in Eurasia since the end of the Soviet era. It contends that both political and economic factors are driving these processes, including the desire of a number of post-Soviet countries to consolidate regional peace and security and, also, to create a larger and more effective economic space, thus increasing these countries' power and international influence. It also argues that the formation of a united Eurasia is being conducted in the framework of two separate but closely connected—with almost



identical membership—international organizations: the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO) and the Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU). This article provides some background to the CSTO and the EAEU and explains their consolidating factors. It also examines the institutional framework of these groupings and expounds on their purposes, principles, and major areas of cooperation. It argues that these two organizations, in combination, constitute a single de facto structure that, for discussion purposes in this article, is referred to as the Eurasian alliance. Finally, the article attempts to illustrate problems and to assess prospects related to integration processes in Eurasia.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Petrakos George, Tsiapa Maria, Kallioras Dimitris

Regional inequalities in the European Neighborhood Policy countries: The effects of growth and integration in Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy, Volume 34, Issue 4, June , 698-716

The paper explores the spatial dynamics in the European Neighborhood Policy (ENP) countries, in a period of significant transformations in their internal and external economic environment. Regional disparities are reported to be the net outcome of two opposite dynamics: a pro-cyclical pattern, on the one hand, with dynamic and developed regions growing faster in periods of expansion and slower in periods of recession, and a long-term spread effect, on the other, partly offsetting the cumulative impact of growth on space after some critical level of development. In this framework, expanding trade relations with the European Union advanced countries may be an additional source of spatially unbalanced growth and polarization for the ENP countries, as the costs and benefits of integration prove to be unevenly allocated in space. To the extent that growth and integration dynamics tend to polarize the ENP economic space, a set of critical policy questions arise.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Pastore Ferruccio

Relazioni euro-africane e migrazioni: tra contenimento e sviluppo in *Aspenia*, n. 72 - marzo , pp. 243-253

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Hamilton Daniel S.

Rule-Makers or Rule-Takers?: An American Perspective on Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 21, issue 3 , 365-382

ABSTRACT: The Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP), currently under negotiation by the United States and the European Union is not just another free trade agreement but a means for both parties to move beyond old bilateral disputes to reposition themselves for a world of diffuse power and intensified competition. Economically, TTIP is an effort to generate jobs and growth on each side of the Atlantic by going beyond traditional at-the-border trade tariffs to tackle regulatory differences in ways that can enhance rather than block growth without lowering standards; and



to use transatlantic agreement on such high standards to maintain and lift international standards. Geopolitically, TTIP can be both a symbolic and practical assertion of Western renewal, vigour and commitment; is an important means to engage rising powers on the terms of their integration into the international order; and is a potentially important instrument to bolster that order.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Bosque Mut Maria

Setting a new framework for co-operation between the Commonwealth and the European Union in Commonwealth and Comparative Politics, Volume 54, Issue 3 , pp. 409-435

This paper proposes a new approach to understanding the relations between the European Union (EU) and the Commonwealth. There has been a long-standing lack of mutual insight between the Commonwealth and the EU, chiefly due to a general lack of knowledge of the modern-day Commonwealth and its role on the international stage. The relations between both organisations are currently limited, despite the fact that there are areas of common interest, where cooperation would not only be feasible, but also beneficial. An agreement, such as that proposed in this paper could contribute significantly in the fight to eradicate poverty and uphold human rights.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Lenzi Guido

Strategia fluida in un mondo liquido

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLVIII, numero speciale, n. 178, autunno , 540-547

Full text available at http://www.affari-esteri.it/Affari_Esteri_178.pdf

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Mildner Stormy-Annika, Schmuker Claudia

TTIP right, TTIP light oder no TTIP at all? Wie steht es um die Transatlantische Handels- und Investitionspartnerschaft?

in *Zeitschrift für Außen- und Sicherheitspolitik* , vol. 9, n. 3 , 307-321

ABSTRACT: Der Druck auf die VerhandlerInnen von TTIP steigt. Bis Ende 2016 soll ein politischer Rahmenvertrag für das Freihandelsabkommen vorliegen. Nach einem Überblick über den Stand der Verhandlungen und die kritischen Verhandlungspunkte werfen wir einen Blick auf das handelspolitische Umfeld in der EU und den USA, bevor wir Bedingungen für einen erfolgreichen Abschluss der Verhandlungen identifizieren. TTIP ist machbar. Einfach wird das end game sicherlich nicht. Und ob der Durchbruch 2016 gelingt, bleibt abzuwarten.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation



Yabanci

The (II)legitimacy of EU state building: local support and contention in Kosovo
in *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, vol. 16, n. 3 , 345-373

This article investigates legitimacy of EU state building and conflict resolution as a continuous and collective process through which local stakeholders, as the direct bearers of EU policies, ascribe meaning and support for the EU actors and actions on the ground. Contrary to the static and narrow understanding of legitimacy in the EU literature, the article offers a dynamic framework of legitimacy based on two main aspects: (i) sources of legitimacy (input and output) and (ii) objects of legitimacy (diffuse and specific support) in order to trace the complicated relationship between the EU and different local groups (the government, parliamentary opposition, local NGOs and public opinion) in Kosovo. The main argument is that the EU fails to generate local consent and faces a worsening erosion of support in Kosovo due to the limited participation of local stakeholders into the EU-promoted political decision-making structures and the contested ability of the EU to foster outcomes that have salience for local actors.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Malmström Cecilia

The Case for an Ambitious Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership and Sustainable Trade
in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 21, issue 3 , 315-317

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Kembayev Zhenis

The Court of the Eurasian Economic Union: An Adequate Body for Facilitating Eurasian Integration?
in *Review of Central & East European Law*, vol. 41, n. 3-4 , 342–367

This article examines the structure and competences of the Court of the Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU Court). In doing so, it provides a comparative analysis of the EAEU Court with other judicial bodies created in the post-Soviet area, the Economic Court of the Commonwealth of Independent States and the Court of the Eurasian Economic Community (Community Court), as well as in some respects with the Court of Justice of the European Union (CJEU). Summarizing major problems of the EAEU Court and setting out the Court's first case, the article argues that the rules governing the activities of the EAEU Court represent a significant setback against the progress achieved previously by the Community Court. This setback reflects the lack of political will of the EAEU members to transform the EAEU Court into an effective judicial body similar to the CJEU and their insufficient commitment to the rule of law.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Lee Moosung

The EU, regional cooperation, and the North Korean nuclear crisis

in *Asia Europe Journal*, vol. 14, n. 4, December, special issue "Regional Integration and Conflict Transformation" , 401-415



North Korea poses a security threat by developing nuclear weapons. To address this source of regional insecurity, institutionalized frameworks of regional cooperation have been employed. Despite its usefulness as an alternative route to deal with the North Korean case, controversies still remain in terms of its relevance and effectiveness. Even so, the regional integration, consistently promoted by the EU as an integral part of its Asian policy, still requires systematic evaluation. This paper thus examines how and under which conditions regional integration can make a contribution to the transformation of the current crisis. In answering this question, it concludes that a long-term model-setting effect is hard to disregard, in spite of the mixed view of substantial compulsory and social learning effects. The underlying reasons are the ontological-seeking activities of North Korea, along with regional and global actors' reservations about the contributions of the EU as a key security provider in Asian affairs and in its promotion of the regional integration scheme.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Scherwitz Eva

The EU's approach towards Asia: regional cooperation and regional conflicts in the past and today

in *Asia Europe Journal*, vol. 14, n. 4, December, special issue "Regional Integration and Conflict Transformation" , 373-382

Within the context of EU-Asia relations, the EU has tried to export its regional integration model for decades. As regards this, the ASEAN has been the natural partner of the EU. This article gives an overview on how the EU has linked its regional integration efforts with the intention of transforming regional conflicts in the (East) Asian region in the past and today. It shows that the EU has in the past relied on active model setting and positioning in order to "export" its regional integration approach. Recent developments, however, show that this approach has been abandoned. Although there has been a recent increase in EU policy papers on the region, the EU is currently embracing a rather soft approach based on socialization efforts when it comes to East Asian conflict issues. The paper concludes by stating that this is both the result of a cautious EU "shying away" from adopting any precise position on pressing Asian security issues and of an adaptation of the EU approach towards a more modest *modus operandi* of mutual "sharing of experiences and best practices."

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Lesage Dries

The EU-Turkey relationship needs a new paradigm

in *Global Affairs*, Volume 2, Issue 2 , 217-221

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Kim Yeikyung

The European Union, regional integration, and conflict transformation in the South China Sea territorial disputes

in *Asia Europe Journal*, vol. 14, n. 4, December, special issue "Regional Integration and Conflict Transformation" , 383-399



This study assumes that the EU can contribute to a constructive transformation of regional conflicts in the South China Sea. To prove this assumption, the author investigates the process of the EU's influence inside and outside the regional cooperation and integration frameworks and also examines three different pathways of influence on regional integration and conflict transformation, i.e., compulsion, social learning and changing context, and model-setting effects. The South China Sea case illustrates that the current frameworks of regional cooperation and integration in East Asia are not likely to offer possible solutions to manage the present regional security threats. Even though the EU is hardly a determinant actor at the moment, the author concludes that a long-term prospect of spillover effects through growing economic interdependence, coupled with a certain level of social learning, may legitimize further interaction and thus the EU could have a positive role to play in the future.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Petersmann Ernst-Ulrich

The European Union's 'Cosmopolitan Foreign Policy Constitution' and Its Disregard in Transatlantic Free Trade Agreements

in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 21, issue 4 , 449-468

ABSTRACT: The universal recognition of human rights promotes international 'cosmopolitan law' protecting rights and judicial remedies of citizens in ever more fields of international regulation. Yet, even though free trade agreements (FTAs) protecting rights and remedies of citizens have been uniquely successful in European integration, the European Union (EU)'s 'cosmopolitan foreign policy mandate' is increasingly disregarded in FTA negotiations with non-European countries. The EU's transatlantic FTAs risk undermining fundamental rights and judicial remedies inside the EU. Citizens rightly challenge the interest group politics in designing transatlantic FTAs and the EU's neglect for participatory and deliberative democracy in EU trade policies on regulating international markets.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Schunz Simon

The Prospects for Transatlantic Leadership in an Evolving Multipolar World

in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 21, issue 3 , 431-447

ABSTRACT: This article explores the prospects for joint leadership by the United States (US) and the European Union (EU) in an evolving multipolar world. Arguing that multipolarity leads to a highly differentiated global system, it conceptualizes global order as negotiated order revolving around issue-specific global governance arrangements subject to constant negotiation processes. In this context, transatlantic leadership depends not only on a US and EU willingness to lead individually and collectively, but especially on their capacity to define joint purposes and mobilize followers in issue areas relevant to global order. To test whether the two parties fulfil these conditions, the article first engages in a discourse analysis comparing US and EU leadership ambitions and visions of world order as expressed in their global strategies. US and EU rhetoric is subsequently compared to their (inter)action in the major global policy domain of climate change, focusing on the negotiations of the 2015 Paris Agreement. The article finds that opportunities for US-EU leadership generally exist, but that sustained future leadership will depend on renewed commitments and tend to be, rather than cross-cutting and relatively stable as during the Cold War, issue-specific and contingent, necessitating regular negotiation with other major global forces.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Maher Richard

The Rise of China and the Future of the Atlantic Alliance

in *Orbis: a Journal of World Affairs*, vol. 60, n. 3, summer

ABSTRACT: The consequences and implications of China's rise have been analyzed and discussed from a number of perspectives. There has been little analysis that specifically evaluates the implications for the Atlantic Alliance, however, and whether an international system defined by U.S.-China bi-polarity would lead to a strengthening or a weakening of the transatlantic relationship. This article argues that China's rise will create security dynamics that likely will lead to a weakening of the Atlantic Alliance. It is unlikely that China's rise will provide NATO with a renewed purpose or give a convincing rationale for alliance cohesion the way the Soviet Union once did. Instead, China's rise will reveal divergent strategic interests and priorities among the members of the Atlantic Alliance, with a real possibility that America's rebalancing toward the Asia-Pacific could intensify perceptions on both sides of the Atlantic of NATO's declining geopolitical value and relevance.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Goldgeier James

The State of the Transatlantic Alliance

in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 21, issue 3 , 403-413

ABSTRACT: The North Atlantic Treaty Organization has much to be proud of since the end of the Cold War more than a quarter century ago, including enlargement across Central and Eastern Europe, the protection of the Kosovar Albanians, counterterrorism missions in the Mediterranean, the delivery of humanitarian assistance to Indonesia after the tsunami, and counter-piracy operations in the Indian Ocean. The operations in Afghanistan and Libya ultimately did not produce desirable outcomes after achieving their initial goals, but both of those endeavours demonstrated the strong intra-Alliance collaboration as well as cooperation with external partners. The main causes of concern for the Alliance have been the continued low levels of defence spending by Canada and most European allies, the renewed threat posed by the Vladimir Putin regime in Russia, and the refugee crisis that has divided Europe and decreased the sense of security across the continent. Despite the crises and the sense of doom that pervades United States and European capitals, the transatlantic Alliance is likely to endure. There are enough shared values and interests to provide a strong foundation for close relations in the face of the enormous political, economic, and social turmoil that will continue to confront decision makers. In many ways, the United States and Europe have no choice but to maintain an Alliance that has served them so well.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Kirkham Ksenia

The formation of the Eurasian Economic Union: How successful is the Russian regional hegemony?

in *Journal of Eurasian Studies*, vol. 7, n. 2, July , 111-128



January 2015 witnessed an important step towards further integration in Eurasia, with the Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU) coming into operation. It comprises three members of the former Eurasian Customs Union (CU), Russia, Belarus and Kazakhstan, plus Kyrgyzstan and Armenia.

Recent debates on Eurasian integration consider the EAEU to be a Russian hegemonic project in the region. However, the potential of this project is yet to be discovered. This article has pioneered in applying the neo-Gramscian approach to analysing the potential for the EAEU as a Russian counter-hegemonic initiative. The neo-Gramscian understanding of hegemony, which constitutes of four core elements, is reflected in the structure of the article: the institutional design, material capabilities (the capitalist system), security invulnerability (geopolitics) and cultural leadership.

The article concludes that Russian regional hegemony has not yet been formed, but has the potential to be completed. Hegemony has been consolidated domestically, and has started outward expansion through the EAEU as its institutional mechanism. However, to succeed with its hegemonic project, the Russian government should not simply copy the EU's institutional design but learn how to present the achievements of integration as successful efforts at creating a strong welfare system that favours key social groups in order to obtain social consent and take cultural leadership.

The novelty of the presentation of hegemony as an evolutionary process, which passes through initial, transitional and conclusive phases of its development, along with the recentness of the EAEU as a topic, could make this article a contribution to Eurasian integration studies.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Jappe Eckhardt, Arlo Poletti

The politics of global value chains: import-dependent firms and EU–Asia trade agreements

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 23, Issue 10

In 2006, the European Commission released its Global Europe Communication, in which it announced a shift from a multilateral to a bilateral trade strategy. One of the key pillars of this new strategy was to strengthen the bilateral trade relations with key Asian countries. In contrast to existing analyses that focus on European Union (EU) decision-makers' agency, we propose an explanation for this notable shift in the EU's trade policy that stresses the political role of import-dependent firms. In light of the increasing integration of such firms into global value chains, the article argues that a plausible case can be made, both theoretically and empirically, that import-dependent firms had a clear stake in the signing of preferential trade agreements between the EU and Asian countries and that their lobbying efforts significantly affected the EU's decision to start negotiations on such agreements with South Korea, India and Vietnam.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Nitoiu Cristian

Towards conflict or cooperation? The Ukraine crisis and EU-Russia relations

in *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, vol. 16, n. 3 , 375-390

The Ukraine crisis and Russia's contribution to it have raised numerous concerns regarding the possible emergence of a new 'Cold War' in Europe. At the same time, Ukraine's popular choice and enthusiasm for European integration



expressed clearly on the streets of Kyiv seem to have caused Russia to adopt a (neo)revisionist attitude. In this context, relations between Russia and the EU (and the West for that matter) have been limited, frozen and directed on path towards conflict. This article analyses how the traditional dichotomy between conflict and cooperation in EU–Russia relations was replaced by conflict in the context of the Ukraine crisis. The article contends that the breakdown of the symbolic and peaceful cohabitation between the EU and Russia has been influenced by the fact that both actors have chosen to ignore key tensions that characterized their post-Cold War interactions. The article identifies three such tensions: the first emphasizes divisions between EU member states and their impact on coagulating a common EU approach towards Russia; the second (geopolitical) tension highlights the almost mutually exclusive way in which the EU and Russia's security interests have developed in the post-Soviet space; finally, the third contends that a clash of values and worldviews between the EU and Russia makes conflict virtually unavoidable.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Fröhlich Stefan

Transatlantic Leadership in a Multipolar World: The EU Perspective

in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 21, issue 3 , 415-429

ABSTRACT: The following article suggests that the weakening of the transatlantic bond was, and still is, inevitable, as the end of the Cold War reduced Europe's reliance on the United States (US) for security. As a result the relationship has become more pragmatic and politics more selective at a time when the EU and the US need each other (not least because of the strong economic interdependence) maybe more than ever. Both sides differ more often than in the past (on issues such as the rise of China and a re-assertive Russia, the threat from Europe's southern periphery or the systemic challenges posed by autocratic regimes regarding the future global governance structures) and for this reason have to forge strategic partnerships with many others as well. Against this background Europe's unwillingness to allocate funds and unfold leadership is the most valuable indicator (and not the successful completion of the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership) of how seriously it is taking the underlying strategic issues. It is this unwillingness that has hampered Europe's geostrategic influence in its neighbourhood, the US value of security guarantees, and the future of the liberal order.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Martino Alessandra

Una strategia BRICS denominata Sudafrica

in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, Volume 83, n. 1, gennaio-marzo , 123-138

When Jim O'Neill, Chairman of Goldman Sachs Asset Management, coined, in 2001, the acronym BRIC to designate major emerging national economies destined to lead the global economy, he was referring to Brazil, Russia, India and China. Definitely he didn't consider South Africa one of them because of its economic characteristics, too different from those of the other

four States. So, with the inclusion of the African State in the economic aggregate, in 2011, the world started to consider what contribution the new member could provide to the group. Very soon, it was realized that the accession of South Africa was an economic and political strategy of the BRICS. The Author offers a comprehensive description of agreements, alliances, development strategies, general and sectorial, pursued by South Africa in collaboration with



other BRICS member States, both on the African continent and globally.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Ascani Andrea, Crescenzi Riccardo, Iammarino Simona

What drives European multinationals to the European Union neighbouring countries? A mixed-methods analysis of Italian investment strategies

in *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, Volume 34, Issue 4, June, 656-675

This article aims to investigate the economic integration between the European Union and its neighbouring countries by exploring the location drivers of Italian Multinational Enterprises in 33 destination countries including the New Member States of the European Union and the European Neighbouring Countries. The article compares market- and efficiency-seeking motivations with asset-seeking strategies. The analysis is based on a mixed-methods approach. The quantitative analysis assesses the location determinants of 518 Italian Multinational Enterprises that invested in the area in the years 2003–2008, whereas qualitative information on strategic location decisions is collected by means of in-depth interviews with executives in two of the largest Italian Multinational Enterprises active in the region. Market-seeking considerations are still predominant drivers of location decisions in European Union Neighbouring Countries together with resource-seeking motivations. However, different Multinational Enterprises develop diversified strategies to increase their access to these areas, which are of increasing interest for global investors.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Cianciara Agnieszka K.

'Europeanization' as a legitimization strategy of political parties: the cases of Ukraine and Georgia

in *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, vol. 16, n. 3, 391-411

This article's objective is to critically assess the top-down rational choice and sociological approaches to Europeanization, while advocating the 'usages of Europe' approach. I argue that both classic top-down perspectives do not adequately grasp the nature of Europeanization of political parties beyond member and candidate countries. Empirically, the analysis focuses on transnational cooperation of political parties from Ukraine and Georgia and stresses agency of domestic partisan actors seeking international and domestic legitimacy. It is argued that European party federations and parliamentary cooperation formats should not only be seen as channels of top-down Europeanization, but they should rather be conceptualized as resources that are used strategically by domestic political parties. Thus the article deals with the following question: To what extent and how channels of Europeanization have been used by national political parties from outside the European Union as resources serving to attain partisan goals, both in terms of domestic positioning and international legitimacy? Patterns of strategic and legitimating usage of European partisan and parliamentary resources depend on whether parties in question are in power or in opposition and whether they are more pro-European or more pro-Russian.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 1. Federalism

Dilulio John J.



Against Federal “Leviathan by Proxy” and for a Bigger, Better Full-Time Federal Workforce
in *Public Administration Review*, Volume 76, Issue 4 , 535–537

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 1. Federalism

Giorgio Napolitano

Consegna del riconoscimento “Altiero Spinelli” ai costruttori dell’Europa federale al Presidente emerito della Repubblica Giorgio Napolitano - Intervento di Napolitano

in *Federalista (II)/Federalist (The)*, Anno LVIII, n.1

Per riflettere qui oggi sull’arduo cammino del processo di integrazione europea e sul modo di affrontare le scelte che ci stanno davanti, vorrei partire dall’ultimo messaggio che Altiero Spinelli, “giunto quasi (così scrisse) all’estremo dei miei anni” consegnò – marzo 1986 – nella premessa a una seconda parte della sua autobiografia, poi rimasta solo abbozzata.

In quella “Premessa” egli evocò le sconfitte sue e del Movimento federalista, e dunque della causa dell’unità europea. E volle dire: “Nessuna di quelle sconfitte ha però lasciato in me quel rancore contro la realtà che così spesso alligna nell’animo degli sconfitti. ... Bisogna sentire che il valore di un’idea, prima ancora che dal suo successo finale, è dimostrato dalla sua capacità di risorgere dalle proprie sconfitte”. E in effetti, l’Europa unita, nel suo farsi da 65 anni a oggi, ha conosciuto non poche e non lievi crisi, e vere e proprie sconfitte. Quando si dice che l’integrazione europea è avanzata attraverso crisi ricorrenti, ci si riferisce a vicende che non è possibile porre tutte sullo stesso piano.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 1. Federalism

Jahn Egbert

Federalism as a Way to Integrate or to Disintegrate States Comments

in *Federalist Debate (The)*, Year XXIX, Number 2, July 2016

Federalism as a way of uniting different states into a supra-state

The concept of federalization is in theory first of all connected with the idea of peace, but also with common economic interests and attempts to preserve different regional peculiarities in a state. But in reality the rise of federalism is very often connected with the experience of war and the threat of war by external enemies of the uniting states. Thus, the first modern federation was created after the war of thirteen confederated American states against the British Empire in 1789, with the perception that the United States of America could face in future the aggression of European colonial powers. The confederation and later the federation of the small Swiss states in 1848 was also based on the central motivation to defend their common liberal and constitutional freedoms against potential external enemies, while keeping the peculiar characteristics and interests of the uniting states. Although the unification of Germany in 1871 was connected with the imperial interests of Prussia too, it was first of all motivated by a common interest of the uniting states and princes of most members of the German Confederation of 1815, which wanted to preserve the essence of their traditional regional characteristics and to defend themselves against external threats. Differently from temporary military alliances, federalism has predominantly defensive military functions.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 1. Federalism

Millet François-Xavier

Fédéralisme européen et identité nationale La voie du constitutionnalisme

in *Politique européenne* , 2016/3 (N° 53) , 60-84

Le phénomène fédéral ne peut être correctement appréhendé que de manière finaliste : le fédéralisme a pour objet d'atteindre un juste équilibre entre l'unité et la diversité. À partir de cette définition minimaliste, nous nous proposons ici de déterminer, d'une part, dans quelle mesure le respect de l'identité nationale de l'État membre constitue une garantie du fédéralisme dans l'Union européenne – autrement dit, s'il est de nature à embrasser à la fois l'unité et la diversité – et, d'autre part, ce que cela révèle à propos de la nature de ce fédéralisme et de l'Union en général.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 1. Federalism

Delledonne Giacomo

Homogénéité constitutionnelle et protection des droits fondamentaux et de l'État de droit dans l'ordre juridique européen

in *Politique européenne* , 2016/3 (N° 53) , 86-109

Cet article vise à approfondir la question de la relation dialectique et du conditionnement mutuel entre le(s) droit(s) constitutionnel(s) des États membres et la constitution de l'Union européenne. Ce faisant, nous puiserons dans les éléments du débat sur un vieux maître-mot des études juridiques du fédéralisme : l'homogénéité constitutionnelle. La contribution expliquera les raisons du nouvel essor d'une notion apparemment usée dans ce système juridique très particulier qu'est celui de l'UE. L'impératif d'homogénéité constitutionnelle, que l'art. 2 TUE consacrerait dans le droit primaire, fait figure de remède possible aux développements constitutionnels dans certains États membres, notamment en Europe centrale et orientale. L'article vise donc à éclairer les potentialités et les limites de l'homogénéité constitutionnelle.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 1. Federalism

Delledonne Giacomo, Martinico Giuseppe

Le fédéralisme européen

in *Politique européenne* , 2016/3 (N° 53) , 14-27

Le dossier thématique publié dans ce numéro de la revue fait le point sur le processus d'intégration européenne en tant que processus fédératif . Par là, nous faisons référence à la notion esquissée et utilisée par Carl Joachim Friedrich : le fédéralisme ne serait donc pas « a term for a static pattern, designating a particular and precisely fixed division of powers between governmental levels »,...



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 1. Federalism

Mény Yves

L'Union européenne et le fédéralisme Impossible ou inévitable?

in *Politique européenne* , 2016/3 (N° 53) , 8-13

Un numéro de *Politique européenne* consacré au fédéralisme pourrait, en France, être perçu quasiment comme une provocation intellectuelle ou un aveuglement idéologique ignorant du principe de réalité. Non seulement le fédéralisme n'y a jamais été bien reçu et perçu par les classes dirigeantes, les médias, les élites juridiques, politiques ou académiques mais il n'y a pas présentement beaucoup de personnes...

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 1. Federalism

Sukkoo Kim, Marc T. Law

Political Centralization, Federalism, and Urban Development: Evidence from US and Canadian Capital Cities

in *Social Science History* , Vol. 40, n°1

A growing empirical literature links political centralization with urban development. In this paper we present evidence showing how different patterns of political centralization in the United States and Canada affected urban agglomeration during the twentieth century, with a specific focus on the impact on the population of capital cities. Using data on Canadian and US cities and metropolitan areas, we find that the national capital effect on population grew over time in both countries but more so in the United States whereas the subnational (i.e., provincial or state) capital effect rose much more significantly in Canada than in the United States, controlling for other factors like geography and climate. We argue that these patterns in the national and subnational capital city effects reflect different trends in federalism in the two countries. In the United States, the Jeffersonian-Jacksonian tradition of states' rights and localism was transformed into a more nationally centralized form of federalism during the Progressive Era, but states and localities continued to retain significant autonomy. In Canada, federalism came to favor provincial rights but not localism. We believe that that these diverging trends were driven by institutional differences that gave the various levels of governments in Canada and the United States different access to revenue sources.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 1. Federalism

Sergio Pistone

Realismo politico, federalismo e crisi dell'ordine mondiale

in *Federalista (II)/Federalist (The)*, Anno LVIII, n.1

Il sistema internazionale in cui viviamo si trova in una situazione estremamente critica che si manifesta nella presenza di sfide esistenziali sul piano della sicurezza, sul piano economico-sociale e su quello ecologico. La questione della costruzione di un ordine internazionale più progressivo è il quadro in cui deve essere visto il problema della piena federalizzazione dell'Unione europea, la cui sollecita realizzazione è all'ordine del giorno. La federazione europea costituisce infatti la colonna portante del processo costruttivo di un ordine internazionale più progressivo.



Obiettivo di questa relazione è proprio quello di ricordare il paradigma teorico sulla base del quale il Movimento federalista si sforza di comprendere la realtà dei rapporti internazionali e quindi di stabilire il suo orientamento pratico nei confronti di tale realtà. A questo proposito un aspetto fondamentale della concezione del federalismo propria del MFE è costituito dal suo legame con la teoria politica realista, in particolare per quanto riguarda la sua visione delle relazioni internazionali; anche se è necessario chiarire subito il fatto che il paradigma federalista parte dal realismo, ma per superarlo.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 1. Federalism

Martinico Giuseppe

The Federal Language and the European Integration Process: The European Communities viewed from the US in *Politique européenne* , 2016/3 (N° 53) , 38-59

This paper aims to offer an analysis of the language and conceptual toolbox employed by comparative lawyers in the US during the first years of the European integration process, paying particular attention to important intellectual figures, namely Peter Hay and Eric Stein. Between the 1950s and 1980s, a substantial debate concerning the “strategies” of legal/political integration, used by European political actors, arose in several comparative legal reviews and journals. During those years many authors from both sides of the Atlantic compared their perspectives, considering the comparability between American and European integration. Still today we employ the federal language used by these first commentators (pre-emption, incorporation, supremacy clause) when describing key concepts of European Community (today European Union) law. This article looks at the origin of such linguistic inheritance.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 1. Federalism

Paul D. Miller

The Twenty-First Century Federalist

in *Perspectives on Political Science*, Volume 46, Issue 1 , 51-57

It is unlikely a “third party” will arise to threaten the two-party duopoly that has governed American politics since 1828. It is, however, possible that a new political movement will arise within the Republican Party, stake out new ideological terrain, and make a bid for control of the party apparatus. Movements arise when parties fail to address public challenges, policy entrepreneurs recognize the opportunity, and resources are available to make a bid feasible. Today the two parties have failed to address the increasing fragmentation of American public life. They have, in fact, contributed to fragmentation by appealing to identity politics and by attempting to use the national government as a tool of legal and judicial force against their opponents. A new political movement centered on federalism—the restoration of state and local government and a balance of power between the states and the national government—offers the hope of allowing cultural pluralism to flourish within an overarching political unity. It remains for enterprising candidates to recognize the opportunity and donors to fund them.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 1. Federalism

Pérez Sigfrido Ramírez



The strange non-death of Federalism in the historiography of European integration

in *Politique européenne* , 2016/3 (N° 53) , 110-129

From the 1970s, federalism was the earliest historiographical paradigm used to analyse the process of European integration. In spite of this initial success, it became increasingly marginalised in the expanding historiography of this booming field of historical research. This was, to a large extent, due to the increasing domination in this field by researchers coming from the history of international relations and social and economic history. Having been used as a powerful narrative within and outside European institutions, federalist historiography lost momentum. Such a loss of centrality took place in spite of enjoying institutional support, and although some of its hypotheses and conclusions had been confirmed by some of the most recent research. This article aims to explain such a paradox through an overview about the relevance of the federal principle in the context of the recent evolution of the historiography of European integration.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 1. Federalism

Schütze Robert

Two-and-a-half Ways of Thinking about the European Union

in *Politique européenne* , 2016/3 (N° 53) , 28-37

This article argues that the sui generis theory is a 'negative' and 'unhistorical' theory. It lacks explanatory value for it is based on a conceptual tautology (Hay, 1966, 37): the European Union is... what it is; and it is not... what it is not! Second, the sui generis theory moreover only views the Union in negative terms – it is neither international organisation nor Federal State – and thus indirectly perpetuates the conceptual foundations of the Westphalian tradition. Is there a better way of thinking about the European Union? This article argues that 'federal' thinking provides a rich key to unlocking the nature of the European Union.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Koensler Alexander

Acts of Solidarity: Crossing and Reiterating Israeli–Palestinian Frontiers

in *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, Volume 40, Issue 2, March , 340-356

In academic and public discourse on the Zionist–Palestinian conflict, there still prevails a 'methodological nationalism' based on a separatist imagination overshadowing the existence and role of Israeli–Palestinian forms of communality and solidarity. This article analyses micro-political practices that cross existing frontiers, both within Israel and between the occupied Palestinian territories and Israel. Through recent conceptualizations of 'acts', I read these ethnographic episodes in their intentional and performative dimension. What is the role of these 'acts'? What are their effects, both on participants and the wider public? Through two interconnected cases, different functions of acts are explored. The first case relates to encounters between Israelis and Palestinians in the embattled city of Hebron in the occupied Palestinian territories; the second investigates moments during a Gandhi-inspired peace march at the 'internal' frontier of the Israeli Negev desert. The ethnographic perspective reveals what lies behind and beneath the acts, going beyond the conflict's



obvious structures of power. Acts function primarily as a valve of catharsis for the participants themselves, both overcoming and reproducing hegemonic discursive elements of the conflict. Paradoxically, acts of solidarity are often crucial in shaping public knowledge about the conflict in more sectarian terms.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Militz Elisabeth, Schurr Carolin

Affective nationalism: Banalities of belonging in Azerbaijan

in *Political Geography*, Volume 54, Special Issue: Banal Nationalism 20 years on, September , 54-63

While Michael Billig's 'banal nationalism' points to the significance of the trivial reproduction of national representations in everyday routines, feminist political geographers have highlighted how the nation is brought into being through embodied and emotional practices. Building upon and extending these notions of the nation as represented and embodied, the paper argues that the nation also takes shape through bodily encounters and joyful as well as painful affections. In what we call 'affective nationalism', the nation emerges in moments of encounter between different bodies and objects through embodying, sharing, enjoying or disliking what feels national. We combine a Deleuzian reading of affect that discloses the mechanisms of material becomings with feminist scholarship sensitive to how bodies affect and are affected differently by materially produced nationalisms. Based on ethnographic field research in Azerbaijan, which we present in three vignettes, we untangle the affective becoming of national bodies, objects and places during a publicly staged ceremony of the collective remembrance of martyr and the celebration of a national holiday within the realm of a family. The paper makes two contributions to researching affective nationalism. First, it enquires into how people identify with Azerbaijan through their capacities to affect and to be affected by what feels national and, second, it explores how affective nationalism can be captured through vignettes of affective writing.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Michael Freeden

After the Brexit referendum: revisiting populism as an ideology

in *Journal of Political Ideologies* , Volume 22, Issue 1

In late May 2016, shortly before the British referendum on membership of the European Union that resulted in a modest majority of 51.9% for leaving the EU (and among those eligible to vote, a 37.47% vote to leave), I was interviewed on Czech TV on the topic of populism. At the height of the crisis of refugees from Syria, Africa and other middle eastern countries, I pointed to one striking difference between sentiments on migration on the European continent and in the UK. In continental Europe, people were afraid of refugees; in the UK, people were afraid of Europeans. Of course, this needs the kind of fine-tuning that a media soundbite cannot provide. The fear of refugees was unequally distributed spatially across Europe, attaining a higher intensity in its eastern and east-central reaches. The UK avoided similar sentiments of alarm simply by accepting a trifling number of refugees in the first place, so that their visibility was negligible (and in the case of the now dismantled Calais 'jungle' camps, forcibly keeping most of them out of British territory). The fear of non-national migrants was also unequally distributed ideologically, broadly affecting more people on the right-of-centre spectrum than on the left-of-centre. Furthermore, that fear was unequally distributed on socio-economic and age indices. And the modes of movement across borders were dissimilar: Europeans from EU countries entered and exited the UK freely, while non-European migrants into the European mainland entered illegally or were subject – usually retroactively



– to national quotas. Not least, in a telling twist of vocabulary, public discourse in the UK has for decades inserted a caesura between ‘Britain’ and ‘Europe’, setting Britain adrift from its European geographical location and rendering it, sometimes provocatively, continent-less.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Morden Michael

Anatomy of the national myth: archetypes and narrative in the study of nationalism in Nations and Nationalism, Volume 22, Issue 3, July 2016 , 447–464

Abstract

This paper argues that recognising types of underlying narrative form which repeatedly occur across cases is critical to the study of nationalism. It proposes a method borrowed from the literary theory of Northrop Frye – archetypal criticism – for identifying the four basic forms of emotional architecture that characterise the myths of particular nations: tragic, romantic, comic and satiric. The study of nationalism has long acknowledged the importance of narrative in political behaviour. But consideration of how distinct types of narratives affect specific emotions is missing. The ‘narrative turn’ in the social sciences, which has responded to instrumentalist scepticism, has thus far focused on the cognitive functions of narrative. That is, how narrative influences the acquisition and interpretation of information and how stories are used to construct or reinforce a collective understanding of events. The undertheorised dimension of narrative in nationalism relates to the emotional structures embedded within narrative. This is where this paper makes its contribution.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Koch Natalie, Paasi Anssi

Banal Nationalism 20 years on: Re-thinking, re-formulating and re-contextualizing the concept in Political Geography, Volume 54, Special Issue: Banal Nationalism 20 years on, September , 1-6

This introduction considers the significance of Michael Billig's (1995) *Banal Nationalism* to geographers, and how this fits into broader trends of nationalism research in the social sciences. Through an analysis of Web of Science citation trends for the book, we illustrate its spatial and temporal reach in terms of the countries where it has been cited and how its impact has developed since 1995. We also briefly examine how political geographers have engaged the concept of banal nationalism in their research, and what sort of questions it has raised for those conducting research on nationalist discourses and territorial identity narratives more broadly. Considering how political geographers might creatively advance this scholarship, we introduce the individual papers included in this special issue and conclude with a brief gesture to future directions for research beyond *Banal Nationalism*.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Serapiglia Daniele

Barça, més que un club: le radici del catalanismo blaugrana nel contesto della sportivizzazione spagnola in Spagna Contemporanea, Anno XXVI, n. 50



Since its emergence, the Barcelona FC has been bonded with a Catalanist feeling. This article explores the origins of this connection, especially focusing on the Francoist period. The Barça's leadership supported the Catalonia's autonomy at the beginning of the twentieth century, while during the dictatorship the blaugrana club entered the collective imagination as an Antifrancoist icon. Nevertheless, the government management of the events linked to this club help us to understand Franco's ability in handling the internal contradictions of the dictatorship.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Kudaibergenova Diana T.

Between the state and the artist: representations of femininity and masculinity in the formation of ideas of the nation in Central Asia

in *Nationalities Papers*, Volume 44, Issue 2, 2016 , 225-246

Abstract

After the Soviet collapse, the newly independent states of Central Asia found themselves in the process of forming their own national "imagined communities." This was done to legitimize their existing territorial integrity, their rights to their titular ethnicities, and the position of political elites. This process expressed itself through the creation of particular symbols, myths, and rituals which distinguished the nation but were also used to legitimize the nation's right to exist. The symbolic and ideological construction was influenced by the former Soviet era. For example, symbolically the country was still called Rodina (motherland), but most of the symbols of power were represented by male images, for example, Amir Timur in Uzbekistan or Ablay Khan in Kazakhstan. The tradition of representing power through a male connotation had a long history in Soviet Central Asia. Interestingly, however, some contemporary artists took an alternative view and used feminine images as strong, central symbols of their interpretation of national identity, contesting the official view of nation-building. This paper seeks to trace the development of the feminine and masculine dichotomy of representation by comparing official iconography with works of famous female artists such as Umida Akhmedova from Uzbekistan and Saule Suleimenova and Almagul Menlibayeva from Kazakhstan.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Mills Sarah, Waite Catherine

Brands of youth citizenship and the politics of scale: National Citizen Service in the United Kingdom

in *Political Geography*, Volume 56, January , 66-76

This paper explores the politics of scale in the context of youth citizenship. We propose the concept of 'brands of youth citizenship' to understand recent shifts in the state promotion of citizenship formations for young people, and demonstrate how scale is crucial to that agenda. As such, we push forward debates on the scaling of citizenship more broadly through an examination of the imaginative and institutional geographies of learning to be a citizen. The paper's empirical focus is a state-funded youth programme in the UK – National Citizen Service – launched in 2011 and now reaching tens of thousands of 15–17 year olds. We demonstrate the 'branding' of youth citizenship, cast here in terms of social action and designed to create a particular type of citizen-subject. Original research with key architects, delivery providers and young people demonstrates two key points of interest. First, that the scales of youth citizenship embedded in NCS promote engagement at the local scale, as part of a national collective, whilst the global scale is curiously



absent. Second, that discourses of youth citizenship are increasingly mobilised alongside ideas of Britishness yet fractured by the geographies of devolution. Overall, the paper explores the scalar politics and performance of youth citizenship, the tensions therein, and the wider implications of this study for both political geographers and society more broadly at a time of heated debate about youthful politics in the United Kingdom and beyond.

Full text available online at <http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0962629816300944>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Figuerola Jordi

Chiesa, cattolicesimo e questione catalana

in *Spagna Contemporanea*, Anno XXVI, n. 50

Studying the claim of Catalonia's independence made by a large part of its population, its parliamentary institutions and the government, this article makes an attempt to explain the role of the Catalan Church in the stated political discussion and to review the historical evolution of "catalanism" and nationalism within the Church of Catalonia from the end of the nineteenth century till our days.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Anatol Lieven

Clinton and Trump: Two Faces of American Nationalism

in *Survival*, Volume 58, Issue 5, 7-22

Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton exemplify new forms of old nationalisms that are likely to define politics in the United States for many years to come.

Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump exemplify – in Trump's case, to the point of caricature – contemporary versions of what I have previously called the thesis and antithesis of American nationalism.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Paasi Anssi

Dancing on the graves: Independence, hot/banal nationalism and the mobilization of memory

in *Political Geography*, Volume 54, Special Issue: Banal Nationalism 20 years on, September, 21-31

Nationalism is frequently considered as an extreme, 'hot' phenomenon related to often violent nation/state-building processes. Billig's Banal Nationalism turned the attention to how nationalism is also 'flagged' and routinely reproduced in existing states. This article studies the mobilization of these forms of nationalism and suggests that independence is a useful notion in bridging the hot/banal divide and for tracing the 'hot in the banal'. Whereas for separatist movements independence is primarily a goal aspired to, in existing states independence/sovereignty is used to bring together hot and banal forms of nationalism which are mobilized in reproducing the discourses/practices related to the purported national identity. This paper first outlines a heuristic framework for conceptualizing independence and its key dimensions



in relation to hot and banal nationalism as well as state-territory building. Secondly, the paper will study empirically the merit of the notion of independence regarding nationalism research via four themes: (1) the role of independence in Finland's state/nation-building process, spatial socialization and in mixing hot and banal nationalism; (2) the use of the 'independence card' by (nationalist) parties; (3) the mobilization of nationalist practices/discourses in the performativity of Finnish Independence Day; and (4) the resistance that the independence celebrations have incited. This study shows that the idea of independence in this context is inward-looking, draws on Othering, and is flagged in media and spatial socialization (e.g. education) using particular iconographies, landscapes, events, and memories related above all to wars. Rather than expressing hot or banal nationalism these discourses/practices effectively merge the two, challenging any simple dichotomy between them. The performativity of Independence Day in particular displays this blending. Full text available online at <http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S096262981500061X>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Piotrowska Natalia

Elephant(s) in the Room: Recent Developments in the Study of Nationalism (review article)

in **Nationalism and Ethnic Politics**, Volume 22, Issue 3, 2016 , 358-365

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

347-347

English Nationalism and Euroscepticism: A discussion

in **British Politics**, Volume 11, Issue 3, September 2016

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Smith Brian G.

Ethnonationalism as a Source of Stability in the Party Systems of Bulgaria and Romania: Minority Parties, Nationalism, and EU Membership

in **Nationalism and Ethnic Politics**, Volume 22, Issue 4, 2016 , 433-455

Abstract

Democratization, economic transformation, and EU accession have shaped the Bulgarian and Romanian party systems in ways similar to that seen across the rest of eastern Europe. A quarter century after democratization, the party systems remain unstable. The article demonstrates that nationalism and ethnic identity provide stable voter salience in party systems that remain dominated by fragmentation, personalistic political parties, and a lack of issue differentiation. An analysis of the use of ethnonationalism by political elites in Bulgaria is contrasted with a briefer analysis of Romania.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Weichlein Siegfried

Europäische Nationalgeschichten im Wandel

in *Historische Zeitschrift*, Volume 303, Issue 3 (Dec 2016) , 760–789

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Jean-Dominique Giuliani

Extrémismes, populismes et nationalismes à l'assaut de l'Europe

in *Politique Etrangère*, vol. 81, n° 2, automne 2016

Inachevée, la construction européenne se trouve confrontée à une triple vague d'extrémisme, de populisme et de nationalisme. Le phénomène n'est plus nouveau, mais son ampleur devient préoccupante : détournement des procédures référendaires, approches du pouvoir dans plusieurs pays. Ceci, même si ces mouvements n'ont pas produit de bouleversement dans les politiques, ni les institutions européennes. Ces dernières ont manifesté leur résilience, se montrant plus solides que prévu.

politique étrangère

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Christian Jenna, Dowler Lorraine, Cuomo Dana

Fear, feminist geopolitics and the hot and banal

in *Political Geography*, Volume 54, Special Issue: Banal Nationalism 20 years on, September , 64-72

In this paper we bring together Billig's notion of banal nationalism and recent feminist geopolitical examinations of fear in order to analyze two cases studies of fear among U.S. college students and U.S. soldiers experiencing sexual violence. Putting banal nationalism and feminist geopolitics into conversation, we argue, reveals both their compatibilities and important pathways for political geography and critical geopolitics to build on Billig's work. In this regard, the paper makes three key contributions. First, we demonstrate how the insights and imperatives of banal nationalism intertwine in critical ways with the work of feminist geographers, as the banal is often rendered feminine and apolitical and as gender itself is often treated as banal despite its role in the reproduction of the nation. Second, we argue that the multi-scalar analytic of feminist geopolitics offers a valuable intervention into banal nationalism, as relational feminist approaches to binaries like intimate/global provide a useful model to account for hot and banal nationalism as a single, intertwining complex. Finally, through an analysis of fear in relation to sexual violence, the paper illustrates both the inseparability of banal and hot nationalism and how they are deeply gendered, as certain forms of deeply hot violence and fear are depoliticized through their banalization (e.g. sexual assault on college campuses), and as violence that is recognized as hot (e.g. war) is maintained through processes that are deemed banal (e.g. gender).



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Ince Anthony, Barrera de la Torre Gerónimo

For post-statist geographies

in *Political Geography*, Volume 55, November , 10-19

This article critically investigates past and contemporary treatments of the state within geographical scholarship. We propose that there is a silent statism within geography that has shaped it in ways that limit geographical imaginations. Statism, herein, refers to a pervasive, historically contingent organisational logic that valorises and naturalises sovereign, coercive, and hierarchical relationships, within and beyond state spaces. We argue that although the explicit, colonial statism that characterised early geography is past, traces of statism nonetheless underpin much of the discipline. While political geography has increasingly critiqued ‘state-centrism’, we argue that it is essential to move beyond critique alone. Using anarchist state theory to critically build upon perspectives in geography, we argue that statism is intellectually and politically problematic and should be recast as an active constituent of unequal social relations. In turn, we outline five core myths that form its logical foundations. In concluding, three initial areas in which post-statist geographies can make inroads are identified: interrogating intersections between statism and other power relations; constructing post-statist epistemologies and methodologies; and addressing how the state is represented in geographical work.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Cserniczkó István, Fedinec Csilla

Four Language Laws of Ukraine

in *International Journal on Minority and Groups Rights*, Volume 23, Issue 4, Special Issue: Territoriality, Language Rights and Minorities – European Perspectives , 560-582

Following the Soviet Union’s dissolution, Ukrainian nation building was aided by the system of institutions inherited from the USSR, but made difficult by the Russian community in Ukraine which became a minority overnight. This presence has been felt primarily in Ukrainian-Russian language struggles. Some researchers and specialists have repeatedly pointed out that the question of languages is heavily politicised in Ukraine. The fact that it is not clearly settled can lead to the emergence of language ideologies as well as to conflicts of ethnic groups and languages. It is no coincidence that in Article 6, the Law on National Security regards the settling of the language issue as a priority among the country’s national interests. Through the comparative analysis of four linguistic rights documents, this article shows how between 1989 and 2014, the Ukrainian political elite attempted to maintain social equilibrium through introducing legislation aimed to regulate language use.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Seegel Steven

Geography, identity, nationality: mental maps of contested Russian–Ukrainian borderlands (review article)

in *Nationalities Papers*, Volume 44, Issue 3, 2016 , 473-487



No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Forti Steven

Gli storici e l'indipendenza catalana. Il dibattito sulla stampa (2012-2016)

in *Spagna Contemporanea*, Anno XXVI, n. 50

The article provides an overview of the debate on the independence of Catalonia that has involved the Spanish historians between 2012 and 2016. The numerous interventions in the press have highlighted some common points in the analysis of the reasons for the appearance of a Catalan independence claim, but, above all, made clear a profound divergence of views on the relations between Spain and Catalonia in the past and in the present.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Ståhlberg Per

Having a soul or choosing a face? Nation branding, identity and cosmopolitan imagination

in *Social Identities*, Volume 22, Issue 3 , pp. 274-290

If nation branding is about constructing and promoting national identity, what kind of 'identity' could it possibly be? This article analyses how the branded nation qualitatively differs from earlier forms of imagined communities by focusing on the tension between inward- and outward-directed dimensions of nation branding. A particular focus is placed on the concept of 'identity', which, it is argued, is insufficiently problematized in previous research. The discussion takes its departure in a case study of Ukraine, where all nation branding attempts came to an abrupt halt when political unrest broke out in late 2013. The political unrest led to a rapid shift in forms of concern over Ukraine, since nation branding can only be conducted in times of relative social harmony. The case further illustrates the argument that collective identity is not a main issue when branding a nation, and it is argued that a perspective of cosmopolitanism can bring new insights to the phenomenon.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Cornelißen Christoph

Histoire du temps présent et culture mémorielle en Europe

in *Histoire Economie et Société*, n° 2, juin , pp. 107-120

Partant du constat du dynamisme qui caractérise aujourd'hui la recherche sur la mémoire au sein de l'histoire du temps présent allemande, cette contribution commence par se pencher sur quelques-unes des raisons qui expliquent le succès de ce champ d'étude, en soulignant les impulsions importantes qui sont venues de France. L'article distingue ensuite les principales étapes de l'évolution différenciée des cultures mémorielles nationales depuis 1945. Une dernière partie, qui examine les influences que l'eupérisation de la mémoire a pu avoir sur les mémoires collectives nationales, conduit l'auteur à conclure que, indépendamment des nouvelles tendances à une eupérisation des mémoires publiques, les frontières nationales tout comme les anciennes frontières entre blocs ont conservé leur signification.



The article, firstly, traces a number of reasons for the boom of memory studies in contemporary German history. This development cannot be understood without considering the transfer of concepts from France to Germany. Secondly, the contribution determines major steps in the emergence and consolidation of nationally differentiated cultures of memory. Thirdly and lastly, it deals with tendencies towards Europeanisation of collective memories. As regards this trend, it argues that both national boundaries and the old East-West division still retain their prime importance for public memory.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Ramos José Luis Martín

Il movimento operaio in Catalogna e la questione nazionale

in *Spagna Contemporanea*, Anno XXVI, n. 50

Both the national question as the social question, and its answers, Catalanism and the workers' movement, must be studied in its respective historical process and within the common context. In the second half of the XIXth Century, when are taking shape the essential lines of organization and ideological structuring of the workers' movement, the latter set itself in the forefront of the claim of a federal organization of the State for reasons of democracy and of political and social equality; nevertheless it refused the proposal of the nationalists, who in a large majority took an hostile attitude towards the workers' movement. Catalanism's social spread gave birth to instances towards the merging with the workers' movement, that remained however a minority in its field; whilst within the workers' movement the mass immigration of the last decades of the XIXth and beginning of the XXth Century, strengthened the reactions of mistrust and even of mutual hostility. Notwithstanding this the fight against common enemies, the Restoration's monarchic régime and the Lliga Regionalista's hegemony, bound with the social and political revolution's expectations flourishing in the inter-war period, brought nearer the workers' movement and the catalanist left; even if it was always from the workers' movement positions towards the refusal of nationalism, and of the newly born movement supporting independence, and the recovery of the proposal of the federal treaty between regions born in the XIXth Century. Since then, the relationships, complicated and with fluctuations, between workers' movement and catalanism never abandoned the former assent to the federal solution, that in its extreme point could be considered in confederal terms.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Molinero Carmen, Ysàs Pere

Il problema catalano, il problema spagnolo. Dal franchismo alla democrazia

in *Spagna Contemporanea*, Anno XXVI, n. 50

From Francoism to Democracy In the second decade of the XXIst century, the question of Catalonia remains the question of Spain. The uniform and centralist idea of Spain — in spite of a rhetorical acceptance of its diversity—was a guiding principle of the Francoist policies towards Catalonia. Nevertheless, the dictatorship was not able — despite the repression that it continuously applied to fight the “Catalan problem” — to avoid the resurgence of Catalanism during the late Francoism. This article outlines the features of the popular Catalanism prevailing in those years and the influence it managed to exert on the Antifrancoism



as a whole. As a result, the unitary organizations of the Spanish opposition included in their democratic program the recognition of the right to autonomy for the “nationalities” and regions, as it was eventually formulated in the Constitution of 1978.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Rachel Seoighe

Inscribing the victor’s land: nationalistic authorship in Sri Lanka’s post-war Northeast in Conflict, Security, and Development, Volume 16, Issue 5 , 443-471

This article examines the nationalistic authorship of space in Sri Lanka’s post-conflict Northeast as part of the state’s nation-building strategy and as a continuation of a post-colonial process of Sinhala-Buddhist nationalistic revival. Exploring issues of historiography, conflict resolution, physical vehicles of ideology and collective memory, the article demonstrates how land policies, development and the tourism industry in a post-conflict context can go hand-in-hand with dispossession, militarisation and the humiliation of a ‘defeated’ minority community.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Billion Didier

Introduction. États et nations dans la mondialisation in Revue internationale et stratégique, 2016/2 (N° 102) , 71-74

Dans le moment présent de la mondialisation libérale, les questions concernant le rôle des États et le réexamen de la pertinence du concept de nation taraudent le débat public. En France, nation politique par excellence, les controverses sur le sujet, à défaut d’être toujours bien posées, sont singulièrement virulentes. La notion de nation, qu’au passage la plupart des grands États du monde défendent...

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Sutherland Claire

Inviting essential outsiders in: imagining a cosmopolitan nation in European Review of History - Revue Européenne d'Histoire, Volume 23 - Issue 5-6 , pp. 880-896

The article uses the archetype of a cosmopolitan, diasporic Jewish community to reassess the ‘imagined community’ of the nation. It takes as its starting point the notion of ‘Essential Outsiders’ mooted by Anthony Reid and Daniel Chirot in their so-titled, comparative study of Jewish and Chinese entrepreneurs in Europe and South-East Asia respectively. Drawing on Benedict Anderson’s methodological writings, the article discusses the possibility and desirability of such cross-cultural and continental comparisons. It uses work by Pheng Cheah, Heonik Kwon and Angharad Closs Stephens to examine the relationship between cosmopolitanism and nationalism, questioning whether this is indeed as antagonistic as it might first appear. Building on this analysis, the article explores alternatives to the bounded ‘imagined community’, of which ‘Essential Outsiders’ form a constituent part. The article considers new ways of thinking the nation using the guiding metaphor of ghosts and haunting. It asks: can the idea of Jews as ‘Essential Outsiders’ prompt the



development of new models of national belonging for the twenty-first century?

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Koch Natalie

Is nationalism just for nationals? Civic nationalism for noncitizens and celebrating National Day in Qatar and the UAE

in *Political Geography*, Volume 54, Special Issue: Banal Nationalism 20 years on, September , 43-53

Is nationalism just for nationals? The scholarly consensus seems to be yes, but two small monarchies on the Arabian Peninsula suggest the need to reconsider this assumption. In Qatar, citizens account for about 12 percent of the country's 2 million inhabitants. Of the UAE's 8.2 million residents, 13 percent are citizens. Citizen-nationals enjoy significant legal privilege in these states, preserved by their jus sanguinis citizenship regimes, which preclude noncitizens and their children from naturalizing. Although they are frequently dismissed as "ethnocracies," Gulf states are not exclusively dominated by ethnic nationalism. Rather, as this study of "National Day" holidays in Qatar and the United Arab Emirates (UAE) illustrates, an incipient form of civic nationalism is increasingly being used to narrate state-based belonging on the part of noncitizen "expats." Through textual analysis of celebration discourses in the lead-up to the 2013 and 2014 holidays in the UAE and Qatar, supplemented by participant observation, I analyze the political geographical imaginaries at work in these ostensibly inclusivist narratives. Extending the citizenship studies literature on noncitizen inclusion, this case study shows how the Gulf countries challenge traditional assumptions about nationalism being the exclusive domain of citizens, and points to the need for more research about how noncitizens elsewhere in the world participate in nationalist rituals and to what end.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Miran-Guyon marie

Islam in and out: Cosmopolitan patriotism and xenophobia among Muslims in Côte d'Ivoire

in *Africa: The Journal of the International African Institute*, Volume 86, Number 3, August , 447-471

The nativist ideology of ivoirité of the 1990s generated brutal discriminatory policies against those labelled as 'strangers', especially Muslims. Reversing that perspective, this article focuses on the interface between religion and national identity in twentieth-century Côte d'Ivoire from within Muslim society. The argument is divided into two parts. The first puts forward the counter-hegemonic, patriotic-cum-cosmopolitan narratives that a new Muslim leadership formulated in order to write Islam into national history. The second focuses on grass-roots, demotic, day-to-day realities. It explores Muslim takes on belonging and alienation in practice, paying careful attention to the community's internal diversity. It shows how, over time, Ivorian Muslims have showcased varying degrees of cosmopolitan patriotism but also of their own, local xenophobia. The concluding section returns to the new Muslim leadership and its multifaceted endeavours to reconcile Muslim lived experiences with their cosmopolitan patriotic aspirations. The article ends with a short epilogue surveying the violent armed conflicts of the period 2002 to 2011 and how Muslims were a part of them.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism



Langford Will

Jean Lagassé, Community Development, and the “Indian and Métis Problem” in Manitoba in the 1950s–60s
in *Canadian Historical Review (The)*, Volume 97, Number 3, Fall , 346-376

In the late 1950s, social worker Jean Lagassé oversaw a major survey of Indigenous peoples in Manitoba. His final report adapted the concept of “culture” to the “Indian and Métis problem” and proposed a program of community development to promote integration through acculturation. In doing so, he advocated an integrationist conception of citizenship that emerged as the dominant liberal paradigm for thinking about Canada. Community development was an idea adapted from the Third World. It held that people could be helped to solve their own problems through organization, democratic decision making, and cooperative action. Put into practice by Lagassé in the early 1960s, the technique was largely used in Indigenous communities in northern Manitoba, a region where government and capital also pursued hydroelectric dam construction and industrialized resource extraction. Lagassé intended for community development to catalyze the integration of First Peoples and Métis into liberal democracy and the capitalist economy. However, as events in Cedar Lake/Easterville and Thompson/Nelson House demonstrated, the practice worked instead to redirect political dissent and encourage local remedial social and economic action in the face of colonial dispossession, racism, capitalist social relations, and the unintended result of state-promoted high modernist development in northern Manitoba.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Gil Fons Antonio, Nieves Camacho Alejandra

La disputa por "Macedonia". Origen, desarrollo y consecuencias de un conflicto identitario
in *Foro Internacional*, Vol. LVI, 4

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Miralles Xavier Andreu

La nacionalización española en el siglo XIX. Un nuevo balance
in *Spagna Contemporanea*, Anno XXV, n. 49 , 169-184

The article reviews the latest trends on the XIXth-century Spanish nationalization process. The so-called «weak nationalization thesis» is outlined and it is pointed out how this thesis has been discussed or explained in recent works. Finally, the article describes the state of the art of research and argues that new bottom up approaches help reinterpret the process as a whole.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Dunbar Robert

Language Legislation and Policy in the UK and Ireland: Different Aspects of Territoriality in a ‘Celtic’ Context
in *International Journal on Minority and Groups Rights*, Volume 23, Issue 4, Special Issue: Territoriality, Language Rights



and Minorities – European Perspectives , 454-484

In spite of the long-term dominance in Britain and Ireland of English, other indigenous languages continue to be spoken, and in relatively recent years several of those languages have benefited not only from a more coherent and supportive language policy but also from significant language legislation. One of the interesting features of these other indigenous languages is that, although strongly associated with rural ‘heartlands’ in the particular jurisdictions with which they are associated, they are also spoken in other parts of those jurisdictions, and, indeed, in other parts of the United Kingdom and Ireland. In this article, the ways in which the concept of territoriality has impacted upon legislation and on broader policy for two of these languages, Irish and Scottish Gaelic, will be considered.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Beretka Katinka

Language Rights and Multilingualism in Vojvodina

in International Journal on Minority and Groups Rights, Volume 23, Issue 4, Special Issue: Territoriality, Language Rights and Minorities – European Perspectives , 505-529

Stricken by civil wars in the 1990s, Serbia, a newly formed nation state with immature democratic institutions, has faced challenges stemming from the changed ethnic composition of the country. It has had to create complex language policies that take into account the legitimate demands of old, traditional national minorities, the undefined status of new national minorities born out of the Yugoslav secession, and the needs of foreigners. It also had to find an adequate legal-political position for its multilingual, multicultural autonomous province, Vojvodina. Because these challenges are actual still today, the article examines whether the Serbian legislator has succeeded in the preservation of the traditional, and promotion of the newly evolved multilingualism, especially in its multicultural northern province, and how the constitutional status of the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina affects the enforcement of the language rights of its ethnically very heterogeneous population.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Lo Cascio Paola

Le commemorazioni del 1714 e del 1914 nella narrativa politica e istituzionale catalana

in Spagna Contemporanea, Anno XXVI, n. 50

This paper focuses on the institutional activities of celebration of the two anniversaries of 1714, year of the Bourbon victory in the Spanish Succession War and 1914, year of the constitution of the Mancomunitat de Catalunya, the first modern institution of catalan self-government. In a frame of a renewed interest (not only academic, but also of the general Catalan public opinion) on these two events and in a particularly significant political conjuncture— marked by the rise of the independence movement and the clear commitment of the Catalan institutions in this sense —, the goal is to conduct a reflection on the public use of history and the building of political and institutional narrative. In this context, it will be analyzed how the institutional attention devoted to these events has resulted in terms of public discourse.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea



Subsection 2.Nationalism

Georges Abou-Hsab, Samir Saul

Le nationalisme arabe, rétrospective et prospective : un essai
in *Guerres mondiales et conflits contemporains*, n° 262, 2016/2

Arab nationalism, the dominant political current a mere generation ago, was supplanted by Islamism. The ideas of nationality, even of the nation-state, seem to have become outdated. Yet, governing Tunisia and Egypt between 2011 and 2013 proved detrimental to Islamism; failure and rejection were unusually swift. In the meantime, the problems and challenges that nationalism confronted – such as the struggle for independence, unity, modernization and development – remain unresolved. Insofar as they are still topical, the historical experience of Arab nationalism has not lost its relevance. This article revisits its attempt to achieve advances on the four basic fronts previously referred to. Arab nationalism was an agent in the quest for progress, modernity and emancipation. Although it is possible that it has definitely been relegated to the past, the fact that the aspirations it embodied did not materialize renders its resurgence conceivable.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Glyn Morgan

Liberalism, nationalism, and post-Brexit Europe
in *Biblioteca della Libertà*, n. 215 , 7-26

This paper links the recent Brexit vote to Faragism, a political ideology that equates national sovereignty with effective political control – control over immigration, in particular. The paper exposes the incoherence of the Faragist claim that a sovereign Britain would have more control over its affairs than Britain now has as a member of the EU. The paper further argues that the form of Brexit that Faragists advocate – so-called “Hard Brexit” – is not only undesirable but unjust. The paper concludes with a defense of European Citizenship, which should be extended to all British nationals as a means of reconnecting them to the European project of integration.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Malloy Tove H, Wolf Sonja

Linguistic Minority Rights in the Danish-German Border Region: Reciprocity and Public Administration Policies
in *International Journal on Minority and Groups Rights*, Volume 23, Issue 4, Special Issue: Territoriality, Language Rights and Minorities – European Perspectives , 485-504

Language equality is not public policy in Denmark or Germany, and neither country has adopted an official state language constitutionally. Both countries protect minority languages through regional and local statutes on culture and education and have signed relevant international standards on linguistic rights for minorities and protection of regional or minority languages. Neither system is very transparent, nor comprehensive. This has created consternation and dissatisfaction among the national minorities residing in the Danish-German border region resulting in recent tensions in the municipalities in Southern Denmark, whereas the government of Schleswig-Holstein decided in 2015 to address the issue with policy reforms for public administration. This article focuses on linguistic minority rights in the Danish-German border region with specific attention to minority languages in public administration and specifically to the on-going



reforms in Schleswig-Holstein.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Jané Oscar

L'indépendance catalane: «identité, vous avez dit identité?»

in *Revue internationale et stratégique*, 2016/2 (N° 102) , 121-131

En 2010, en réaction à la décision du Tribunal constitutionnel espagnol déclarant inconstitutionnelle une bonne partie du nouveau « statut d'autonomie » de la Catalogne, plus de 1 million de personnes descendaient dans les rues de Barcelone et d'autres villes catalanes. Cette colère n'était alors que l'aboutissement d'un long processus de renouvellement de ce « statut ». En effet, celui-ci avait déjà...

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Ruiz Vieytez Eduardo J.

Minority Nations and Self-determination: A Proposal for the Regulation of Sovereignty Processes

in *International Journal on Minority and Groups Rights*, Volume 23, Issue 3 , 402-421

Basque and Catalan demands for legitimising political accommodation, solely on the basis of the democratic will of their residents, poses a significant challenge to the Spanish constitutional system. The core of the debate in this kind of conflict revolves around the so-called "right to decide" which commonly finds its expression in the capacity to hold a referendum over sovereignty matters. The path opened by Quebec, Scotland and other minority nations are considered by some to constitute evidence of the democratic need to include this right as a new accommodation formula. Incorporating a "sovereignist proceeding" into the legal system(s) may pave the way to a new framework aimed at solving the significant constitutional problems that exist in Spain and other countries. I suggest that such a procedure could be incorporated and regulated in the existing legal systems and provide some guidelines that could be adopted when drafting the aforementioned regulation

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Di Giacomo Michelangela

Musealizzare il passato. Il sistema catalano (1)

in *Spagna Contemporanea*, Anno XXVI, n. 50

This article aims to be an overview of the Catalan museum system. It highlights historical development paths, best practices and critical aspects. It analyzes this system both by the qualitative and quantitative points of view, placing them into the institutional and legal framework due to the peculiar history of Cataluña. Finally, the last part of the article describes the Pla de Museus of the Generalitat de Catalunya 2015-2025 as a window on the future.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Amanda Lea Robinson

Nationalism and Ethnic-Based Trust. Evidence From an African Border Region

in Comparative Political Studies , Volume 49, Issue 14, , 1819–1854

In diverse societies, individuals tend to trust coethnics more than non-coethnics. I argue that identification with a territorially defined nation, common to all ethnic groups, reduces the degree to which trust is ethnically bounded. I conduct a “lab-in-the-field” experiment at the intersection of national and ethnic boundaries in Malawi, which measures strength of national identification, experimentally manipulates national identity salience, and measures trust behaviorally. I find that shared nationality is a robust predictor of trust, equal in magnitude to the impact of shared ethnicity. Furthermore, national identification moderates the degree to which trust is limited to coethnics: While weak national identifiers trust coethnics more than non-coethnics, strong national identifiers are blind to ethnicity. Experimentally increasing national identity salience also eliminates the coethnic trust advantage among weak nationalists. These results offer micro-level evidence that a strong and salient national identity can diminish ethnic barriers to trust in diverse societies.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Carlson Allen R., Costa Anna, Duara Prasenjit, Leibold James, Carrico Kevin, Gries Peter H., Eto Naoko, Zhao Suisheng, Weiss Jessica C.

Nations and Nationalism roundtable discussion on Chinese nationalism and national identity

in Nations and Nationalism, Volume 22, Issue 3, July 2016 , 415–446

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Miccichè Andrea

Nazionalismo e partiti “statali”. Il socialismo nei Paesi baschi fra tradizione e rinnovamento identitario

in Spagna Contemporanea, Anno XXV, n. 49 , 103-120

In recent years, scholarship on Basque socialism has stressed the role of its leadership in the political events that have characterized the Transition to democracy in Spain and in Euskadi. The new socialist leadership had to affirm a radical and pseudo-nationalist identity to innovate the image of a party that was meant to be statewide. The renewal of the Socialist Party in the Basque Country was the local counterpart of the innovation of Spanish socialism, in a social and cultural context where nationalisms have always received a great deal of support.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Beramendi Justo

Nazione e nazionalismo in Catalogna, 1808-1936



in *Spagna Contemporanea*, Anno XXVI, n. 50

The gestation of the Catalan nation as socio-political reality has been a long term process that did not reach its peak till the first third of the XXth Century. Not with standing that some realities which affected such gestation come from much earlier, ethnicity especially that goes back to the Middle Ages and some events of its history as the aborted revolt in the XVIIth Century or the loss of self-government at the beginning of the XVIIIth. In the XIXth Century small elitist groups began the ideological implantation of ethnicity and local history thus creating provincial patriotism, literary renaissance and regionalism without denying at the moment that Catalonia is part of the Spanish nation. The negative answers of the Spanish central governments to the devolution requests and the humiliating Spanish defeat in 1898 mark the turning point whence Catalan nationalism and a strong process of nationalization alternative to the Spanish took its birth. The result is the existence of a Catalan nation which coexist with the Spanish one within a society also broken by social tensions. The "Catalan problem" remains, without a stable solution, as the first point in the political agenda of the three political systems occurring in succession until the Civil War: the parliamentary monarchy, Primo de Rivera's dictatorship and the Second Republic.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Klaus Abbink, Jordi Brandts

Political autonomy and independence: Theory and experimental evidence

in *Journal of Theoretical Politics*, 28 (3)

We use a game-theoretical model and results from laboratory experiments to study the process by which subordinated regions of a country can obtain a more favorable political status. In our theoretical model a dominant and a dominated region first interact through a political process. This process involves two referenda, one at the level of the country as a whole and one at the level of the subordinated region. If the political process succeeds, then the new autonomy level is implemented. If this process fails, then both regions engage in a costly political conflict in which both sides can spend resources to win the upper hand. We show that in the subgame-perfect equilibrium of our game the voting process leads to an intermediate arrangement acceptable for both parts so that the costly political struggle never occurs. In contrast, in our experiments we observe frequent fighting involving high material losses.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Kroetz Flávia Saldanha

Post-genocide Identity Politics in Rwanda and Bosnia and Herzegovina and their Compatibility with International Human Rights Law

in *International Journal on Minority and Groups Rights*, Volume 23, Issue 3 , 328-354

Rwanda and Bosnia and Herzegovina were scenarios of large-scale violence throughout the 1990s, substantiated by the manipulation of public and private discourses that denied diversity. After the conflicts, the states were faced with the challenge of addressing not only the consequences of the conflicts but also the constructed narratives behind them. In the two cases, public policies were implemented to elude further violence and strengthen a peaceful and long-term coexistence. Whether based on the rejection of ethnic identity or on the preservation of ethnic and national divides, both countries adopted policies that undermine basic rights and ignore sections of society excluded from official versions of



history. Victimization is still a tool for political interests and remains present in public discourses. Irrespective of governmental policies that intend to surpass ancient animosities, divisionism is still present and underpins politics, religion, and social life in Rwanda and in Bosnia.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Csata Zsombor, Marác László Károly

Prospects on Hungarian as a Regional Official Language and Szeklerland's Territorial Autonomy in Romania in International Journal on Minority and Groups Rights, Volume 23, Issue 4, Special Issue: Territoriality, Language Rights and Minorities – European Perspectives , 530-559

This article analyses two options the Hungarian ethno-linguistic community in the Transylvanian region of Romania has in order to preserve its ethno-linguistic identity. Firstly, there is the option of unrestricted language use in the public domain. At present the Romanian legal framework assigns members of the Hungarian speaking community in Transylvania individual linguistic and cultural rights only. The Romanian language policy is further restricted by a threshold rule. The ratio of minority must number 20 per cent of the total inhabitants of a certain administrative-territorial unit in order to have their language recognised officially. The second possibility is that historical territories where Transylvanian Hungarians statistically form a dominant majority (i.e. Szeklerland) are granted territorial autonomy. The territoriality principle would secure linguistic minority rights. We will conclude that the prospects for Hungarian as a regional language in Romania are more realistic than the recognition of Szeklerland's territorial autonomy.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Charles E. Ziegler

Russia as a nationalizing state: Rejecting the western liberal order in International Politics , Volume 53, Issue 5 , 555-573 Get Access

Russia's government has become increasingly nationalistic, defensive, and vocal in rejecting elements of the Western liberal order. The Kremlin has attempted to mobilize and channel Russian nationalism into an antiliberal discourse to achieve selected foreign and domestic policy goals, but contending nationalisms complicate the government's ability to control and direct these potent forces. This article draws on official documents, presidential speeches, and recent Russian political writings to assess how Russia's governing elite has adopted and utilized a specific Eurasianist form of Russian nationalism to promote an aggressive foreign policy while marginalizing domestic opposition. Protecting Russian compatriots abroad, restoring historic lost territories, and confronting the Western world strengthen Putin's popularity among the Russian people and legitimize his hold on power, while alienating non-Russian minorities and isolating Russia internationally.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Botterill Kate, Hopkins Peter, Sanghera Gurchathen, Arshad Rowena

Securing disunion: Young people's nationalism, identities and (in)securities in the campaign for an independent Scotland



in **Political Geography**, Volume 55, November , 124-134

This paper explores ethnic and religious minority youth perspectives of security and nationalism in Scotland during the independence campaign in 2014. We discuss how young people co-construct narratives of Scottish nationalism alongside minority ethnic and faith identities in order to feel secure. By critically combining literature from feminist geopolitics, international relations (IR) and children's emotional geographies, we employ the concept of 'ontological security'. The paper departs from state-centric approaches to security to explore the relational entanglements between geopolitical discourses and the ontological security of young people living through a moment of political change. We examine how everyday encounters with difference can reflect broader geopolitical narratives of security and insecurity, which subsequently trouble notions of 'multicultural nationalism' in Scotland and demonstrate ways that youth 'securitize the self' (Kinnvall, 2004). The paper responds to calls for empirical analyses of youth perspectives on nationalism and security (Benwell, 2016) and on the nexus between security and emotional subjectivity in critical geopolitics (Pain, 2009 and Shaw et al., 2014). Funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC), this paper draws on focus group and interview data from 382 ethnic and religious minority young people in Scotland collected over the 12-month period of the campaign.

Full text available online at <http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0962629816301573>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Grdešić; Marko

Serbia's Anti-Bureaucratic Revolution as Manipulation? A Cultural Alternative to the Elite-Centric Approach in Comparative Studies in Society and History, Volume 58, Issue 3, July , 774-803

Why did nationalism and socialism combine during Serbia's "anti-bureaucratic revolution"? This article critiques the elite-centric approach prevalent in the literature and suggests a cultural argument instead. Three interconnected "elective affinities" brought nationalism and socialism together and separated them from a weak liberal alternative: (1) the emergence of bureaucracy as a "floating signifier"; (2) the search for enemies and a predilection for conspiracy theories; and (3) anti-intellectualism with special emphasis on the search for "one truth." The elite-centric approach is assessed by looking at actors who, if the thesis is correct, should have been the least likely adopters of nationalist ideas.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Chonka Peter

Spies, stonework, and the suuq: Somali nationalism and the narrative politics of pro-Harakat Al Shabaab Al Mujaahidiin online propaganda

in **Journal of Eastern African Studies** , Volume 10, Issue 2 , 247-265

Since 2013, media affiliates of Harakat Al Shabaab Al Mujaahidiin (HSM) have been producing and disseminating online documentary-style videos presenting daily life in areas of south-central Somalia under the militant group's control. In the context of their wider 'jihad' waged against foreign occupiers and an 'apostate' Federal Government, these videos feature narratives of nationalist economic self-determination as alternatives to aid dependence and the allegedly nefarious interference of external powers in Somalia. This paper analyses the iconography of these videos in the context of the 'narrative politics' of a fragmented modern Somalia. If HSM has, at times, been characterised by a broad



ideological divide between factions with an ‘internationalist’ jihadi outlook and those with a more pragmatic ‘nationalist’ worldview, then the discourses of this latter faction require detailed analysis not only for a clearer understanding of the internal dynamics of the HSM insurgency but also in regards to the wider role of narratives of Somali ethno-nationalism in ongoing processes of state reconfiguration. The paper argues that although HSM no longer benefits from the popular nationalist kudos it previously enjoyed in its resistance to the Ethiopian invasion of 2006, it nonetheless operates in a discursive battlefield where narratives around malign foreign intervention – based on exploitation of socio-political divisions of society and the dependence brought by external humanitarian aid – transcend the movement itself and find expression in the wider public spheres of news media and popular commentary.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Daniel Stockemer

Structural Data on Immigration or Immigration Perceptions? What Accounts for the Electoral Success of the Radical Right in Europe?

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 54, Issue 4

Targeting immigrants as a threat to employment, security and cultural cohesion, the radical right has averaged 10 percent of the vote in elections. What drives this vote? Are voters affected by the numbers of foreign-born individuals in a geographical region, by negative perceptions about immigrants, or both? In this article, I entertain the possibility that it is not the number of foreigners but citizens’ perceptions about immigrants that explain individuals’ tendencies to vote for the radical right. To test this stipulation, I combine European Social Survey (ESS) data on individual perceptions of immigrants for more than 25,000 individuals with macro-level data on the actual percentage of foreign-born citizens across 200 European regions. Using a bivariate and multivariate framework, I highlight that it is only the individual perceptions of immigration indicator, and not the number of foreign-born citizens, that is positively related to higher support for radical right-wing parties.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Vizi Balázs

Territoriality and Minority Language Rights

in *International Journal on Minority and Groups Rights*, Volume 23, Issue 4, Special Issue: Territoriality, Language Rights and Minorities – European Perspectives , 429-453

Territorial principle emerges not only in domestic legislations on language rights, but also in international documents. The article aims at offering an overview of the interpretations of territoriality in international documents relevant for minority language rights, with a special focus on the European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages and the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities. While states often use territorial requirements as a tool of political control over minority language use, the interpretation of their obligations under the two Council of Europe treaties would require a more practical and technical approach to territorial limitations.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism



Orriols Lluís, Rodon Toni

The 2015 Catalan Election: The Independence Bid at the Polls
in *South European Society & Politics*, Volume 21, Issue 3 , 359-381

This paper examines the context, campaign and main determinants of how Catalans voted in the 2015 regional election. The elections were exceptional because the incumbent and the remaining Catalan nationalist parties framed the contest as a de facto referendum on secession. In this paper we scrutinise whether attitudes towards independence affected vote choice and whether they eclipsed other traditional significant vote-driving factors such as the state of the economy or government performance. Results show that, although the independence issue became a major determinant of vote choice, the elections did not become a pure plebiscite on secession, since voters also used their vote to hold the regional government accountable for its past performance.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Olga Khrushcheva & Marianna Poberezhskaya

The Arctic in the political discourse of Russian leaders: the national pride and economic ambitions
in *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, Volume 32, Issue 4 , 547-566

This article explores how Arctic policy is presented in Russian political narratives. This is achieved through the discourse analysis of 109 official documents published within a seven-year timeframe (2008–2015) on the official website of the Russian President. The article argues that Russian leaders emphasise the state's geographical location and significant contribution to historical exploration and environmental protection of the region to frame Russia as an "Arctic Great Power" which has natural rights to possess and utilise the Arctic's abundant resources. The logic of "our Arctic, our rules" can justify any necessary sacrifices, and the assertive policy of the state. However, this discursive representation of the Russian Arctic does not correlate with the reality of the country's current interests in international cooperation and its willingness to "play by the rules".

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Kyriakou Nikolas, Skoutaris Nikos

The Birth of a Republic, But Not of a Nation: The Case of State-Building in Cyprus
in *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, Volume 22, Issue 4, 2016 , 456-477

Abstract

The principle of bicommunality has been advanced as a founding feature of state-building in Cyprus. The aim of this article is to provide a systematic account of the different variations of the bicomunal principle enshrined in the Constitution of the Republic of Cyprus and in the Annan Plan as the most comprehensive proposal for the reunification of the island. In order to achieve its scope, the article focuses on the provisions concerning state institutions and citizenship. It argues that, in all those constitutional structures, state-building is not linked with nation-building. In fact, the acceptance of bicomunalism as a fundamental principle of the united Cyprus proves that the main concern has been the accommodation of the political tensions resulting from a divided society.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Helbling Marc, Reeskens Tim, Wright Matthew

The mobilisation of identities: a study on the relationship between elite rhetoric and public opinion on national identity in developed democracies

in *Nations and Nationalism*, Volume 22, Issue 4, October 2016 , 744–767

Abstract

Over the last decade, the topic of national-identity has gained considerable importance after various heads of states have made it an important political issue in the context of ongoing globalisation and European integration processes. There is also a large, mainly historical literature that has emphasised the role of the political elite in the formation of national-identities. While this argument is widely discussed in both public and academic debates, there is, surprisingly, hardly any empirical research on this issue. We do not know whether elite positions resonate with how the masses think about these issues. We therefore set out to test this relationship by combining the 2003 wave of the International Social Survey Programme and content analysis of elite mobilisation rhetoric from the Comparative Manifesto Project. Results indicate that an overlap exists between politicians' articulation of exclusive notions about the contours of national-identity and heightened expressions of civic and ethnic national-identity within public opinion. By contrast, elite mobilisation along more inclusive lines appears ineffective. From this, it appears that exclusionary arguments play a more important role, at least in terms of attitudes about national-identity, than inclusionary ones.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Eriksen Thomas Hylland

The problem of African nationhood

in *Nations and Nationalism*, Volume 22, Issue 2, April 2016 , 222–231

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Götz Irene

The rediscovery of 'the national' in the 1990s – contexts, new cultural forms and practices in reunified Germany

in *Nations and Nationalism*, Volume 22, Issue 4, October 2016 , 803–823

Abstract

This article examines how and in which societal and political contexts nationhood is expressed and symbolised in reunified Germany. This 'rediscovery' of nationhood since the 1990s mixes new and old motifs of the cultural repertoire



of 'the national' for different purposes. Three main contexts triggered a rediscovery of 'the national' after 1989: reunification, immigration and the retrenchment of the social state. I argue, by analysing ethnographic material and political discourses, that these contexts, on the one hand, rearticulate old forms of ethnic and cultural nationalism and, on the other hand, create new images and symbols of an open civic society and immigration country. There are 'playful' forms, such as campaigns of nation branding, that symbolically include the 'productive' and 'useful' immigrant into the national project. Moreover, such campaigns serve to legitimatise the downsizing of the national state that – according to a neoliberal attitude – relies on a new community spirit of entrepreneurial, 'activated' citizens who 'help themselves'. Thus, focusing on these pluralised renationalisation processes makes evident how polyvalent 'the national' still is. It can be employed by those who attempt to 'reunite' the East and West Germans, by businesses to sell their goods and ideas and by almost any political orientation, be it right-wing or left-wing.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Antonsich Marco

The 'everyday' of banal nationalism – Ordinary people's views on Italy and Italian

in Political Geography, Volume 54, Special Issue: Banal Nationalism 20 years on, September , 32-42

In 1995, Banal Nationalism set a new way to study nationhood. Away from the traditional concern with its historical origins ('when') and its substantialist features ('what'), Banal Nationalism offered a systematic analysis of its reproduction ('how'). Informed by social and discursive psychology, Billig pointed to the role played by familiar, unremarkable 'little words' (deixis) to explain the persistence and pervasiveness of the idea of a world divided into nations. The present article aims to expand Billig's seminal study on the reproduction of nationalism, by incorporating an 'everyday nationhood' perspective, which attends more closely to human agency and contextual interaction. To give empirical substance to this move, the article relies on photo-elicitation group discussions and written essays collected in a vocational school in Milan, Italy, among an ethno-culturally diverse sample. By bringing the voices of people in as active producers of national meanings, the article offers a more complex picture of a world banally divided into nations. Both a national 'we' and a national 'here' emerge in fact as socio-spatially differentiated, fragmented and articulated at a plurality of scales, thus defying the logical linearity of banal nationalism, which unwittingly reproduces nations as singular, internally homogenous discursive entities. The article concludes by arguing for the need to complement the banal with the everyday in order to more fully capture processes of national reproduction in contexts of increasing ethno-cultural diversity.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Culcasi Karen

Warm nationalism: Mapping and imagining the Jordanian nation

in Political Geography, Volume 54, Special Issue: Banal Nationalism 20 years on, September , 7-20

In 2002, fourteen years after their withdrawal from the West Bank, the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan revealed its new national program known as "Jordan First." The Palace initiated this campaign as part of its shifting national discourse which now sought to actively unite Palestinian-Jordanians and East Jordanians living to the east of the Jordan River. This campaign, and particularly its common map-logo symbol, has evolved over the last fourteen years into a rather "banal" national discourse and symbol. However, Jordanian nationalism and the everyday symbols of the Jordan First



campaign are not forgotten. Instead, for many Jordanians, the campaign is a reminder of “hot” geopolitics and palpable identity politics. Drawing from Michael Billig's theorizations of banal nationalism, I examine the relationship between banal and hot forms of nationalism in Jordan and argue that scholarly work on banality needs to focus attention on the connections between these categories. As such, I suggest that framing nationalism as something quite “warm” can in many instances more aptly capture the complexity of nationalism. Using a multi-method approach that includes analyses of national maps and map-logos of Jordan and in-depth interviews with Jordanians about their national identities, I highlight the connections of hot and banal nationalism. Through my analysis, I also show that a Jordanian national identity is multi-scalar, merging Arab supranationalism with Jordanian and Palestinian identities; and thus I also extend Billig's work to examine the multiple scales of nationalism.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Harris Erika

Why has nationalism not run its course?

in *Nations and Nationalism*, Volume 22, Issue 2, April 2016 , 243–247

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Hosking Geoffrey

Why has nationalism revived in Europe? The symbolic attractions and fiscal capabilities of the nation-state

in *Nations and Nationalism*, Volume 22, Issue 2, April 2016 , 210–221

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Tønnesson Stein

Will nationalism drive conflict in Asia?

in *Nations and Nationalism*, Volume 22, Issue 2, April 2016 , 232–242

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3.Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Ponzano Paolo

Altiero Spinelli : les enseignements d'un Père fondateur de l'Europe

in *Revue du droit de l'Union Européenne*, n. 2 , 227-229

No abstract available



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Mario Albertini

Altiero Spinelli, eroe della ragione

in *Federalista (II)/Federalist (The)*, Anno LVIII, n.1

Persino nello stile di vita, ispirato ad una semplicità esemplare, e ad un realismo che non temeva alcuna verità, per amara che fosse, Altiero Spinelli ha incarnato, in modo che si può dire perfetto, la figura dell'eroe politico così come l'ha delineata Max Weber. Ricordo che Weber conclude il suo saggio su "La politica come professione" con queste parole: "La politica consiste in un lento e tenace superamento di dure difficoltà, da compiersi con passione e discernimento al tempo stesso. È perfettamente esatto, e confermato da tutta l'esperienza storica, che il possibile non verrebbe raggiunto se nel mondo non si ritentasse sempre l'impossibile. Ma colui il quale può accingersi a quest'impresa deve essere un capo, non solo, ma anche – in un senso molto sobrio della parola – un eroe. E anche chi non sia l'uno né l'altro deve foggarsi quella tempratura d'animo tale da poter reggere anche al crollo di tutte le speranze, e fin da ora, altrimenti non sarà nemmeno in grado di portare a compimento quel poco che oggi è possibile. Solo chi è sicuro di non venir meno anche se il mondo, considerato dal suo punto di vista, è troppo stupido o volgare per ciò che egli vuol offrirgli, e di poter ancora dire di fronte a tutto ciò: 'non importa, continuiamo!', solo un uomo siffatto ha la vocazione per la politica". Non si può dire meglio, e non si può dire altrimenti per ricordare Altiero Spinelli. Si deve solo aggiungere che egli è stato un eroe della politica perché è stato un eroe della ragione.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Mori Massimo

Ancora sul cosmopolitismo

in *Studi Kantiani*, Anno XXIX, 2016

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Mori Massimo

Between Hobbes and Rousseau. Kant's Conception of State and Sovereignty

in *Rivista di Filosofia*, number 1, April 2016 , 3-26

Immanuel Kant's philosophy is greatly influenced by the thought of Thomas Hobbes and Jean-Jacques Rousseau. From Hobbes he derived the notion that it is necessary to exit the state of nature and to establish a form of incoercible sovereign power. Kant does not share, however, Hobbes' utilitarian rationale. On the contrary, his criteria are exclusively juridical. In this regard, Kant's thought is close, instead, to Rousseau's conception of sovereignty, founded upon the participation of the people, inasmuch as it results from the concept of general will. Yet, the perils associated with a possible subversive interpretation of the notion of general will lead Kant to grant this concept, and the social contract upon which it is based, a purely normative and ideal value, so as to preserve in full the principle concerning the denial of



the right to resistance. Kant's conception of sovereignty hence oscillates between a stance which advocates the exclusive role of the people's will in the definition of power, and one which, instead, suggests that sovereignty be associated only with the actual exercise of political power. This uncertainty in perspective is evident with regard to the notion of representation, which oscillates between a parliamentary conception in which citizens are represented by their deputies, and the Hobbesian notion according to which the sovereign represents his subjects since he forces them into unity.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Giorgio Anselmi

Consegna del riconoscimento "Altiero Spinelli" ai costruttori dell'Europa federale al Presidente emerito della Repubblica Giorgio Napolitano - Intervento di Anselmi

in *Federalista (II)/Federalist (The)*, Anno LVIII, n.1

Un lunga tradizione descrive i federalisti europei come nemici degli Stati. E' una caricatura che rifiutiamo. Siamo nemici della sovranità assoluta, del resto ormai nient'altro che vuota parvenza, non degli Stati. Nessuno degli eminenti statisti ed uomini politici italiani che hanno contribuito al processo di unificazione europea è venuto meno alla lealtà verso l'Italia. Non Luigi Einaudi. Non Alcide De Gasperi. Non Altiero Spinelli. Non Carlo Azeglio Ciampi. Non certamente Giorgio Napolitano. Al contrario, tutti coloro che si sono battuti e si battono per l'unità federale dell'Europa hanno sempre ritenuto di servire nel migliore dei modi il proprio Paese ed i suoi veri interessi. Non quelli di breve durata e di corta veduta, che attirano forse qualche applauso, ma che si rivelano alla lunga controproducenti o addirittura nefasti. La lungimirante scelta europea attuata nel secondo dopoguerra e poi sempre confermata ha invece assicurato al nostro Paese decenni di pace ed una prosperità mai prima conosciuta. Rimetterla in discussione proprio oggi, in un mondo sempre più disordinato e caotico, sarebbe davvero segno di imperdonabile leggerezza e di scarsa chiarezza. Anche perché tutto lascia credere che la fine del processo di unificazione europea non ci ricondurrebbe al mondo ottocentesco degli Stati nazionali, ma ad una ulteriore frammentazione degli stessi Stati.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Bunyan Anita

Cosmopolitan Europeans? Jewish public intellectuals in Germany and Austria and the idea of 'Europe'

in *European Review of History - Revue Européenne d'Histoire*, Volume 23 - Issue 5-6 , pp. 931-946

The recent Eurozone crisis and the outbreak of political and populist Euroscepticism pose an unprecedented challenge to advocates of the post-war 'Idea of Europe'. In the United Kingdom and France, some of the most eloquent and impassioned defences of 'Europe' have been penned by Jewish intellectuals. The historian Walter Laqueur, the philosopher Bernard-Henri Levy and journalists such as David Aaronovich, for example, have all rallied to the cause of 'Europe'. This article will focus on the responses of Robert Menasse and Henryk Broder, two Jewish intellectuals from Austria and Germany, who have recently published powerful reflections on the European idea. Menasse's polemic of 2012, *Der Europäische Landbote (The European Courier)*, defends the idea of Europe as a 'Friedensprojekt', or 'peace project', and the European Union as an institutional antidote to the destructive power of nationalism and the self-interest of the nation-state. Broder's bestselling book of 2013, *Die letzten Tage Europas: Wie wir eine gute Idee versenken (The Last Days of Europe: How we are Scuppering a Good Idea)*, embraces 'European values' but launches a critique of a



European Union which stifles pluralism and critical debate. This paper analyses how Menasse and Broder define the idea of 'Europe' and argues that, despite their differences, in form and content, the work of Menasse and Broder draws on a common tradition of enlightened cosmopolitanism as well as informs the renewed academic debate in the humanities and social sciences about the place of 'cosmopolitanism' in our global world.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

O'Neill Onora

Enactable and Enforceable: Kant's Criteria for Right and Virtue

in *Kant-Studien*, Volume 107, Issue 1 (Mar 2016) , 111–125

Abstract

Kant's distinction between duties of right and of virtue remains controversial, for a number of reasons. A close look at the distinctions he draws and the claims that he makes suggests that a distinction between the requirements of enforceable duties of right and of unenforceable duties of virtue is neither exclusive nor exhaustive. It is not exclusive because it is possible to fulfil duties of right as a matter of principle, in which case what is done is both right and virtuous. It is not exhaustive because certain duties, among them the duty to enter a civil condition and duties of equity, are not in principle enforceable, yet are duties of right.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Godeffroy Gabriel

Entre Mitteleuropa et Paneuropa : le projet d'Elemér Hantos dans l'entre-deux-guerres

in *Bulletin de l'Institut Pierre Renouvin*, n. 43, Printemps

Pendant l'entre-deux-guerres, Elemér Hantos (1880-1942) élabore un projet ambitieux d'intégration centre-européenne pour lutter contre les problèmes économiques des pays successeurs de la monarchie habsbourgeoise nouvellement créés. Hantos développe également une approche régionaliste de l'intégration européenne. Les pays partageant des intérêts culturels et économiques communs devraient intégrer leurs économies nationales pour devenir des groupes régionaux, avant de fusionner en une communauté économique, puis politique, couvrant l'Europe tout entière.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Dastoli Pier Virgilio

Europa. ricominciamo da Spinelli

in *Critica liberale*, volume XXIII, n.229 autunno, luglio-settembre

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea



Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Milani Tommaso

From laissez-faire to supranational planning: the economic debate within Federal Union (1938–1945)
in *European Review of History - Revue Européenne d'Histoire*, Volume 23 - Issue 4 , pp.664-685

This article focuses on the early years of Federal Union (FU), the leading British federalist association created in 1938. It sets out to demonstrate that FU members heavily disagreed about the economic powers of the future Federation and that these divisions weakened the appeal of the federalist cause. Archival evidence suggests the organisation shifted from economic neutrality, favoured by allegiance to nineteenth-century liberalism, which emphasized the benefits of free trade while keeping a minimum of centralized force in order to prevent interstate rivalries from boiling over into war, to a radical advocacy of supranational planning, aimed at enforcing social rights and welfare entitlements granted to all the citizens of the member-states. This swing to the Left had several implications, including abandoning the prospect of an Anglo-American union, developing a more sympathetic attitude towards the Soviet system, and breaking ties with influential members of the British establishment who had initially lent support to FU, such as Lionel Curtis and William Beveridge. By pointing at the tension between the models of 'Federation Pure and Simple' and 'Federation Plus', this article also highlights the supple and muddled nature of federalism as an ideology.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Pereira Irène

Féminisme, anarchisme et fédéralisme. L'exemple de l'organisation Alternative libertaire entre 2006 et 2012
in *Modern and Contemporary France*, Volume 24 - Issue 2 , pp.193-206

This article examines the spatial, and especially scalar, dimension of feminism in a contemporary French anarchist organisation. This perspective is contextualised by a reminder of the role of feminism in the political history of anarchism and of the role of the spatial dimension through the question of anarchist federalism. The empirical study is based on research conducted through participant observation within the organisation Alternative Libertaire between 2006 and 2012. The problem to be addressed is the question of whether anarchist women succeed as well as they claim in bringing into question, in their promotion of feminism both inside the organisation and outside, the centrality of Paris in favour of an anarchist federalism. For this reason two scales or levels are studied: the national level and the local level of the city. The city of Paris is treated as both the national capital and as a locality.

Résumé

L'article étudie la dimension spatiale, et en particulier scalaire, du féminisme dans une organisation anarchiste française contemporaine. Cette perspective se trouve recontextualisée en rappelant la place du féminisme dans l'histoire politique de l'anarchisme et la place de la dimension spatiale à travers la question du fédéralisme anarchiste. L'étude empirique s'appuie sur une enquête en situation d'observation participante au sein de l'organisation Alternative libertaire entre 2006 et 2012. Le problème qui est abordé vise à se demander si les militantes anarchistes réussissent à remettre en question, dans leur prise en charge du féminisme interne et publique, la centralité parisienne au profit, comme elles le revendiquent, d'un fédéralisme anarchiste. C'est pourquoi deux échelles sont en particulier étudiées : l'échelle nationale et l'échelle locale de la ville. La ville de Paris est y abordée à la fois comme capitale nationale et comme localité.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea



Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Caranti Luigi

Kantian Peace and Liberal Peace: Three Concerns

in *Journal of Political Philosophy*, Volume 24, Issue 4, December 2016 , 446–469

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Horn Christoph

Kant's Political Philosophy as a Theory of Non-Ideal Normativity

in *Kant-Studien*, Volume 107, Issue 1 (Mar 2016) , 89–110

Abstract

Kant's political philosophy confronts its interpreters with a crucial difficulty: it is far from clear if (or how) Kant, in his political theory, makes use of the Categorical Imperative (CI). It is notoriously demanding to clarify the relationship that exists between his political thought on the one hand and the ethics of the Groundwork and the Critique of Practical Reason on the other. There are basically two interpretative options available: the more traditional dependence reading and the somewhat provocative separation reading. Following the first option, the normativity included in 'right' (Recht) is immediately derived from the normativity of the 'Moral Law' as we know it from the 1780s. According to the second reading, Kant's legal normativity is substantially different from what we know as those foundations and procedures on which the Categorical Imperative is based. In this article, a third interpretation is defended that tries to combine the advantages of the previous two. In the political realm we are, according to Kant, dealing with a somewhat different type of normativity which still shows some connection with the moral law. It turns out that Kant's political normativity is not just a kind of 'applied ethics'. Kant has formulated a non-ideal form of normativity, according to which 'non-ideal' means: a weaker version of normativity which can be lived up to by human beings, which is appropriate to specific situations and which is intended for a long-term effect, namely that of a historical development.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Møller Sofie

Rethinking Kant as a public intellectual

in *European Journal of Political Theory*, Volume 16, Issue 1, January 2017 , 100-108

The full text is free:

<http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/1474885115611518>

Abstract

In Kant's Politics in Context, Reidar Maliks offers a compelling account of Kant's political philosophy as part of a public debate on rights, citizenship, and revolution in the wake of the French Revolution. Maliks argues that Kant's political thought was developed as a moderate middle ground between radical and conservative political interpretations of his



moral philosophy. The book's central thesis is that the key to understanding Kant's legal and political thought lies in the public debate among Kant's followers and that in this debate we find the political challenges which Kant's political philosophy is designed to solve. Kant's Politics in Context raises crucial questions about how to understand political thinkers of the past and is proof that our understanding of the past will remain fragmented if we limit our studies to the great men of the established canon.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Baiasu Sorin

Right's Complex Relation to Ethics in Kant: The Limits of Independentism

in Kant-Studien, Volume 107, Issue 1 (Mar 2016) , 2–33

Abstract:

The recent literature on the relation in Kant between duties of right and duties of virtue is dominated by a debate on whether duties of right can be derived from duties of virtue. According to one important argument, there is a tension or even a paradox in Kant between various claims concerning juridical norms, a paradox which can best be solved by assuming an "Independentist" position, that is, the view that the Universal Principle of Right is independent from the Categorical Imperative and, hence, that duties of right are normatively independent from duties of virtue. My claim in this paper is that the paradox which supports the independentist reading affects Kant's claims only when the focus is on the subjective validity of duties. Once the focus is changed to objective validity, with which Kant is actually concerned, the paradox is dissolved and the Universal Principle of Right can appear as normatively dependent on the Categorical Imperative. In other words, in this paper, I argue that the scope of the paradox of juridical norms is confined to a specific focus and independentism (the view that duties of right are independent from duties of virtue) is confined in a similar way. Hence, the complexity of Kant's account makes it possible for him to accommodate both independentist and dependentist views of the relation between right and virtue.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Paul Guyer

The Twofold Morality of Recht: Once More Unto the Breach

in Kant-Studien, Volume 107, Issue 1 (Mar 2016) , 34–63

Abstract

Authors such as Allen Wood and Marcus Willaschek continue to argue that Kant's doctrine of right is "independent" or "freestanding" from his moral theory, as Thomas Pogge earlier put it. I argue that some of the recent arguments in behalf of this position repeat mistakes made by Johann Gottlieb Fichte before Kant had even published his own doctrine of right, and depend upon confusing his account of moral obligation with his account of morally estimable motivation. In particular, I argue that on Kant's moral theory perfect duties, generally duties of omission, must be fulfilled regardless of motivation, even though agents earn moral esteem only for fulfilling even these duties out of respect for the moral law, and that this requirement is what creates the conceptual space for duties of right as part of rather than independent from



Kant's moral theory.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Barsotti Edoardo Marcello

Un cospiratore repubblicano e la "Nazione-guida". Giuseppe Mazzini e gli Stati Uniti d'America

in *Società e Storia*, fasc. 152

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Pauer-Studer Herlinde

"A Community of Rational Beings". Kant's Realm of Ends and the Distinction between Internal and External Freedom

in *Kant-Studien*, Volume 107, Issue 1 (Mar 2016) , 125–159

Abstract

This paper proposes a new account of the relationship between Kant's ethics and Kant's philosophy of right. I reject the claim of some philosophers that Kant's Groundwork of the Metaphysics of Morals cannot offer a foundation for Kant's philosophy of right. While I agree that the basic principles of Kant's philosophy of right cannot be deduced from Kant's ethical Categorical Imperatives, I try to show that we find in Kant's Groundwork the normative resources for grounding his philosophy of right. My thesis is that Kant's conception of a realm of ends, as he develops it in the Groundwork, provides a common normative source for Kant's ethical Categorical Imperatives, on the one hand, and the Universal Principle of Right, on the other. Agreement on common universal principles, which is crucial for Kant's notion of a realm of ends provides, I will argue, a justification of the ethical Categorical Imperatives and the Universal Principle of Right.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Reis da Silva André, Piffero Spohr Alexandre, Loreto da Silveira Isadora

0 CrossRef citations Original Articles From Bandung to Brasilia: IBSA and the political lineage of South–South cooperation

in *South African Journal of International Affairs* , vol. 23, issue 2 , 167-184

ABSTRACT: This article aims to trace South–South cooperation political lineages connecting the Non-Aligned Movement and the IBSA (India, Brazil, South Africa) Forum. In order to determine whether IBSA could be considered the 'heir' to Bandung's principles, we analyse the concepts of 'Third World' and 'Global South' as well as their current applicability, the interpretations provided by existing literature on the IBSA grouping, and its member countries' shared views on different issues of the international agenda. The article also considers the historical evolution of 'Southern' diplomatic thought and actions. IBSA's actions and history, as well as its members, are studied to grasp how they are related to the Third World movement in the Cold War.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Euikon Kim

21st-Century Northeast Asian Order and America's Choice

in *Pacific Focus*, Volume 31, Issue 2 , 155–166

The emerging new order in Northeast Asia in the 21st century is attributable to a few factors. First, the relative decline of the United States as the hegemonic power contributes to it. Second, the rise of China is also responsible. Buttressed by remarkable economic growth over the past 20 plus years, China is eager to regain its traditional influence and status as the regional hegemon. Third, the relative decline of Japan leads to Northeast Asian power restructuring. Fourth, North Korea is another major factor leading to instability in Northeast Asia. Finally, the rise of South Korea is also responsible for Northeast Asian power restructuring. In the intermediate and long-run, the US policy toward Northeast Asia will be centered on China, and its China policy will be characterized by engagement and/or hard balancing. To pursue the goal, the United States should further develop close ties with its allies, such as South Korea and Japan, and pursue improved relations with Vietnam and the Philippines. At the same time, the United States should persuade China that cooperating with its neighboring countries would be in its intermediate and long-term interests. In other words, the United States should firmly and persistently pursue the policy of the “Asianization of China.”

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Van der Noll Jolanda, Dekker Henk

A comparative analysis of Chinese urban citizens' attitudes towards the EU, the United States, Russia and Japan

in *International Relations*, vol. 30, n. 4, december , 456-472

ABSTRACT: What are the attitudes towards the European Union (EU), the United States, Russia and Japan among Chinese urban citizens, and how can we explain these attitudes? These are the intriguing questions that we want to answer in this article. The image, social identity, trust, and political socialization theories proposed the various explanatory variables. We assessed their explanatory powers by analysing survey data from more than 2000 Chinese urban citizens. Most empirical evidence is found for the image theory: positive perceptions of the people (trustworthy and peaceful) and the bilateral relationship (friendly) clearly contribute to positive attitudes.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Lino Dylan

Albert Venn Dicey and the Constitutional Theory of Empire

in *Oxford Journal of Legal Studies*, Volume 36 Issue 4 Winter , 751-780

In the post-1945 world, constitutionalism has transcended the nation state, with an array of transnational arrangements now manifesting constitutional characteristics—so says a growing number of scholars. This article reveals an earlier but



largely forgotten discourse of transnational constitutionalism: the constitutional theory of the British Empire in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Focusing on the work of Albert Venn Dicey, the article shows that, when the Empire was at the height of its power and prestige, British constitutional scholars came to see the Empire as a constitutional order and project. For Dicey, a committed constitutionalist and imperialist, the central dynamic of the imperial constitutional order was balancing British constitutional principles with imperial unity. This article focuses in particular on parliamentary sovereignty, a constitutional principle that, for Dicey, was both necessary for and dangerous to the Empire's integrity. An exercise in intellectual history, the article rethinks Dicey's work and the constitutional tradition in which Dicey has played such an integral part, seeking to reveal empire's forgotten significance.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Bjola Corneliu

An enduring diplomatic dilemma: to be feared or to be loved?

in **Global Affairs**, Volume 2, Issue 3 , 243-245

Full text available online at <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/23340460.2016.1196425>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Corsini Filippo, Rizzi Francesco, Frey Marco

Analysing smartness in European cities: a factor analysis based on resource efficiency, transportation and ICT in *International Journal of Global Environmental Issues*, Volume 15, No. 3 , 235-254

The interest in smart cities has been growing steadily in recent years; however, there are few examples of analyses, which take into account, at the same time, multiple socio-demographic variables, economic variables and smart city characteristics. In our study, we took into account different types of socio-demographic and economic variables and smart city characteristics of 63 European cities. Data were analysed using a factor analysis. Results suggest that there is no correlation between city size and smart city characteristics and no correlation between economic wealth and smart city characteristics. Our investigation highlighted shared features between top-ranking cities in terms of smartness in the same countries. The results presented in this study could be used to better delineate a strategic agenda for European cities allowing decision makers to address challenges for smarter urban development.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Guittet Emmanuel-Pierre

Approches méthodologiques de la sécurité : engagements, obstacles et défis ‪

in **Cultures & Conflits**, n. 102, Questions de méthodes Savoir-faire des études critiques de sécurité, été , 7-15

Full text available at <http://www.cairn.info/revue-cultures-et-conflits-2016-2-page-7.htm>



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Womack Brantly

Asymmetric parity: US–China relations in a multinodal world

in International Affairs , vol. 92, issue 6, november , 1463-1483

ABSTRACT: The period 2008 to 2015 is likely to prove a traumatic transition from the post-Cold War era of American unipolar hegemony to a new status quo of asymmetric parity between the US and China. With approximately equal masses of production and one third of the world's total, the relationship of the United States and China will remain the focus of global politics for the foreseeable future. While parity in economic mass makes each the greatest concern of the other, their asymmetry in wealth, developmental levels, and geopolitical concerns makes unnecessary a power transition scenario. Hitherto the analysis of parity has assumed symmetry, and therefore the point of power transition and challenge is highlighted and strategy has focused on relative gain vis-à-vis the rival. With asymmetric parity the transitional moment becomes ambiguous, and it is a reasonable strategy for each side to pursue absolute gain. Sustainable asymmetric rivalry is competitive, but it can also be win-win. Moreover, neither the US nor China—nor the two together—can exercise the kind of hegemonic control that was the premise of earlier bipolar and unipolar eras. The diffuse interdependence created by globalization gives every state broader alternatives and raises the cost of hostility. The US and China do not face each other as hegemon and challenger, but rather as the largest, but quite different, players in a multinodal world that neither controls.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Cormack Zoe

Borders are galaxies: Interpreting contestations over local administrative boundaries in South Sudan

in Africa: The Journal of the International African Institute, Volume 86, Number 3, August , 504-527

This article explores conflicts over local administrative boundaries in South Sudan and what these reveal about relationships between pastoralist communities and the state. Drawing on research in the Gogrial region of South Sudan, it argues that conflicts over local boundaries are rooted in the existence of different border paradigms and in subsequent attempts to resolve, sometimes violently, competing moral claims on the landscape. It draws a contrast between a Dinka concept of the border as a point that is owned and the state's concept of the border as a neutral dividing line. These concepts are based on different cultural logics, but there has been a century of interpenetration as well as conflict between them. The state has tried to lay its lines over Dinka points and local people have sought to tap the power of the state by claiming authority at administrative boundaries. These complex processes of interpenetration show how rural populations negotiate with violent state power: both in the past and in the process of forming the new state of South Sudan. They also reveal how some pastoralist populations have played an active role in shaping the geography of the state.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Stuenkel Oliver

Brazil and Responsibility to Protect: a case of agency and norm entrepreneurship in the Global South

in International Relations, vol. 30, n. 3, september , 375-390



ABSTRACT: This article questions the still broadly accepted notion that the global debate about Responsibility to Protect (R2P) is divided into a Western (or Northern) 'pro-R2P' camp and a non-Western (or Southern) 'anti-R2P camp'. In the same way, the relatively broadly accepted assertion that R2P is a Western concept overlooks the important contributions developing countries have made in the creation of the norm. Brazil's stance vis-à-vis R2P, analyzed in this article, is a powerful example of this reality, and the country has, in the past years, temporarily assumed leadership in the discussion about how to strengthen the norm. Paradoxically, Brazil's move was widely seen as obstructionist. This points to a broader bias that tends observers not to grant non-Western powers the same agency in the creation of rules and norms. The ongoing multipolarization will force observers to correct this vision, as countries in the Global South such as China will be increasingly able to 'act upon' R2P, a capacity that so far has been reserved for established powers.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Mayer Thierry

Brexit, Trumpit : la fin des accords régionaux ? Conséquences pour l'industrie automobile

in *Lettre du CEPII*, N°371, novembre 2016

L'année 2016 a été marquée par une forte remise en question de la libéralisation commerciale dans l'opinion publique et parmi les décideurs politiques. Les difficultés auxquelles se sont heurtés l'accord entre le Canada et l'UE (CETA) ainsi que celui entre les États-Unis et l'UE (TTIP) rendent peu probable la signature de nouveaux accords. L'heure est même à la remise en cause des accords existants : le vote en faveur d'une sortie du Royaume-Uni de l'Union européenne (Brexit) et les promesses électorales du nouveau président des États-Unis, Donald Trump, d'augmenter de 35 % les droits de douane sur les importations en provenance du Mexique (que nous appellerons « Trumpit ») montrent que les Accords Commerciaux Régionaux (ACR) sont réversibles au gré des décisions politiques. Dans cette Lettre, nous analysons les conséquences du démantèlement potentiel et désormais hautement probable de certaines relations préférentielles au sein de l'Union européenne et de l'ALENA. Les estimations proposées permettent de mesurer les coûts économiques importants d'un retour au protectionnisme.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Martínez Bocos Laura

Burundi: ¿Cómo gestionar un déjà vu?

in *Cuadernos Manuel Giménez Abad*, n. 12, diciembre, 210-218

Full text available online at

http://www.fundacionmgimenezabad.es/images/Documentos/Cuadernos/cuadernos12_diciembre_2016.pdf

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous



Franzmann Simon T.

Calling the Ghost of Populism: The AfD's Strategic and Tactical Agendas until the EP Election 2014
in *German Politics*, Volume 25, Issue 4 , 457-479

Since the formation of the German AfD in spring 2013, political scientists have discussed whether the AfD can be classified as a populist party. Despite the split of the party in summer 2015 leading to this characterisation becoming uncontested, the question remains whether the AfD was populist from its inception. This article demonstrates that distinguishing between the tactical and strategic agendas of the party solves this conundrum. While the AfD seldom applied populist discourse in its official manifestos, its tactical agenda was undoubtedly framed by populism. Ironically, it has been the ideologically moderate economist wing that has applied populist discourse in combination with its critique of the euro.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Clarke Nick, Jennings Will, Moss Jonathan, Stoker Gerry

Changing spaces of political encounter and the rise of anti-politics: Evidence from Mass Observation's General Election diaries

in *Political Geography*, Volume 56, January , 13-23

Negativity towards the institutions of formal politics is currently a concern across much of the democratic world. It is generally agreed that such negativity increased among British citizens during the second half of the twentieth century. In this paper, we analyse a novel dataset not previously used to study this topic: Mass Observation's General Election diaries. Since diarists wrote mostly about politicians, political campaigns, and associated media coverage, we ask specifically what the diaries can tell us about increased negativity towards politicians and its relationship to developments in political communication. We take a postholing approach to sampling of the diaries, enabling comparative-static analysis between the middle and end of the twentieth century. We view the diaries in a geographical framework derived from contextual theories of social action. This gives us a focus on spaces of political encounter, modes of political interaction, performances by politicians, and judgements by citizens. We argue that prominent spaces of political encounter changed over the period from long radio speeches and rowdy political meetings to televised debates and associated expert commentary. We demonstrate how these latter settings for political interaction afforded less opportunity for politicians to perform virtues to citizens, and for citizens to calibrate judgements of politicians.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Howden Julie Gjørtz

Communities of Interest in the Nordic Management of International Watercourses

in *Nordic Journal of International Law*, vol. 85, issue 4 , 348-367

ABSTRACT: This article takes a closer look at water cooperation among Nordic countries, and in particular the newly established Finnish-Norwegian River Basin District. It addresses the effectiveness of water governance within the structure chosen for managing the River Basin District and compares this with the main features of the community of interest approach in international water law. Serving as backdrop for this comparison is the earlier Finnish-Swedish Frontier Rivers Commission, which was considered a pioneer project of common water management, and the common



values that unite the Nordic countries. Cooperation over shared water resources challenges the principle of territorial sovereignty in international law, and requires engaged cooperative regimes. While Norway and Finland have excellent opportunities to create a progressive water management regime, their current solution has some significant shortcomings.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Katalin Koos Agnes

Constitutional Definition of the Demos and Inter-Ethnic Relations Authors

in Politics & Policy, Volume 44, Issue 4, August , pp. 639-676

The study reveals some conceptual differences inherent in the world's active constitutions as they relate to defining the country's population. The basic classification question asks whether the population of the state ("demos") is conceptualized as a communally homogeneous or heterogeneous entity. An inquiry into the texts of more than 167 constitutions evidenced a wide gamut of answers, and an emerging trend toward endorsing the accommodation of diversities, as opposed to expecting and aiming at homogenization. A descriptive section presents the constitutional conceptualizations of the countries' ethnic makeup, then some concerns about the real-world potency of the ideals enshrined in constitutions are addressed. The demos concepts are studied in their relationship with the pertinent policy choices, and contemplated in their causal context connecting the objective country features, such as communal fractionalization and development level, with the resulting constellations of communal cooperation versus hostility.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Ziegler Charles E.

Contesting the Responsibility to Protect

in International Studies Perspectives , vol. 17, issue 1, february , 75-97

ABSTRACT: This article explores the responsibility to protect (R2P) as a contested norm through a detailed study of the position of one major power—Russia—and brief consideration of those of the remaining BRICS. Although Russia's position on R2P has been toward the extreme end of the oppositional spectrum, Russia's concerns about the implementation of R2P are reflected in statements advanced by other BRICS members. Non-Western perspectives on the R2P are explored through the evolution of Russian foreign policy responses to R2P over three periods: from NATO's bombing of Yugoslavia to the UN Summit in 2005; from 2005 to 2011, when Moscow misapplied the R2P norm in the Russo-Georgian war; and the debates in 2011–2013 over R2P in the Libyan and Syrian cases. International pressure has been sufficiently strong to induce formal adherence to the norm of protecting vulnerable populations, though sovereignty issues and concerns about the implementation of R2P make internalization of the norm among non-Western states problematic in the near future.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Isaias Rivera

Cosmopolitanism and Ethics



in *Perspectives on Global Development and Technology* , Volume 15, Issue 5

The word “cosmopolitanism” is often used to describe a form of civic universalism that in the view of some contemporary philosophers is a well-matched response to present circumstances. Given that the fact of pluralism is among the salient features of these circumstances, how does contemporary thinking on cosmopolitanism suggest that we resolve the ethical dilemmas that cultural differences presents? As early as 308BC the Stoics taught on the use of reason and autonomy in the individual. Self control was believed to be a method to achieve virtue, wisdom, and unbiased character. The Stoics believed in the development of clear judgment through logic and experience.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Fine Robert

Cosmopolitanism and the critique of antisemitism: two faces of universality

in *European Review of History - Revue Européene d'Histoire*, Volume 23 - Issue 5-6 , pp. 769-783

The antisemitic imagination sometimes derides Jews as ‘rootless cosmopolitans’, and sometimes as the particularistic enemy of cosmopolitanism. The seemingly contradictory character of these antisemitic representations is not new but needs unpacking. In this article the author argues that Enlightenment cosmopolitanism has shown two faces to Jews: an emancipatory face manifest in movements for legal recognition of Jews as equal citizens and for social recognition of Jews as equal human beings; and a repressive face that has been expressed in the form of the so-called ‘Jewish question’. The former holds that Jews are human beings and treats this sense of common humanity as a practical imperative; the latter turns ‘the Jews’ into an imagined collectivity incapable of meeting the universal standards of humankind. The Jewish question is in nuce the question of what is to be done about the harm Jews inflict on humanity at large; it appears and reappears in the modern world in a variety of forms; and it is always at odds with the emancipatory face of cosmopolitanism. The author illustrates this conflict within cosmopolitanism at three key moments of Western European history: the eighteenth-century Enlightenment, nineteenth-century revolutionary thought, and the ‘new cosmopolitanism’ of our own time. He addresses in a historical fashion some of the difficulties the ambivalence of cosmopolitanism poses for our understanding of antisemitism and conversely some of the difficulties the study of antisemitism poses for the further development of cosmopolitan ways of thinking.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Ziegler Charles E.

Critical perspectives on the Responsibility to Protect: BRICS and beyond

in *International Relations*, vol. 30, n. 3, september , 262-277

ABSTRACT: The articles in this Special Issue derive from a conference on the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) held under the auspices of the Center for American and Global Security at Indiana University–Bloomington, 15–16 May 2015. The studies in this issue variously explore the development of the R2P in the United Nations, assess the role of the International Criminal Court in bringing perpetrators of mass atrocities to justice, introduce a territorial dimension to R2P, and elucidate the current position of non-Western emerging countries, specifically the BRICS, on R2P. The most ardent advocates of the doctrine tend to be from the major English-speaking liberal democracies, although prominent African statesmen were also instrumental in promoting the concept. The Libyan experience prompted a reassessment of R2P,



magnifying suspicions that the norm may be simply a Western strategy for enhancing influence and effecting regime change. The idea of state sovereignty as responsibility domestically, and the possibility of international assistance to regimes struggling to protect vulnerable populations, has widespread support in the non-Western world. Coercive measures against predatory regimes are not rejected wholesale, but the BRICS are suspicious of Western motives in advocating forcible intervention and justifiably skeptical that such interventions will do more good than harm.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Parlato Giuseppe

Cultura europea e terza via cattolica italiana

in *Europa*, Anno 1, n. 2, novembre , 33-46

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Varsori Antonio

Dalla storia delle relazioni internazionali alla storia globale? Il caso italiano fra tradizione e cauta innovazione

in *Ricerche di Storia Politica*, numero 3, dicembre , pp. 269-284

What is the position of Italian historians of international relations in the ongoing scholarly debate on world history, global history and international history? Are they at the margins or are they aware of the new research methodologies? The author addresses these questions reviewing the evolution of the discipline in Italy from the beginning, in the age of imperialism, to the present. He highlights how, without severing ties with the best tradition of Italian history of international relations, the discipline has been able to produce scientific works in the same vein of those of the French *histoire des relations internationales*, which was deeply affected by the teachings of the «Annales School», and of transnational history. Moreover, the recent foundation of the Società italiana di storia internazionale has encouraged an interdisciplinary dialogue with national and foreign scholars.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Kovras Iosif, Robins Simon

Death as the border: Managing missing migrants and unidentified bodies at the EU's Mediterranean frontier

in *Political Geography*, Volume 55, November , 40-49

The paper explores how the management of migrant bodies by national and EU authorities reflects particular understandings of contemporary borders and how the failure to address such bodies has implications far from the frontier. The study of the management both of the dead and of the data that can serve to identify missing migrants, can benefit our understanding of the contemporary border, and has to date received only limited scholarly attention. To address this gap we draw on field research carried out on the Greek island of Lesbos, one of the key migrant entry points to the EU, that has seen repeated incidents of deadly shipwrecks. Based on interviews with families of migrants and local stakeholders the paper explores how death at the border introduces novel – and often invisible – borders and



categories of inclusion and exclusion. By shedding light on the experiences of the families of the dead we aspire to introduce a critical set of actors who have been marginalized from the study of the border. In exploring the remote effects of deaths on such families in migrant countries of origin, the paper shows that bordering practices have transnational impacts at the human level, thereby broadening our conceptualization of the border.

Full text available online at <http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0962629816300233>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Bobba Giuliano, McDonnell Duncan

Different Types of Right-Wing Populist Discourse in Government and Opposition: The Case of Italy in South European Society & Politics, Volume 21, Issue 3 , 281-299

Does right-wing populist discourse change when parties move from opposition to government? How do different ideological types of right-wing populist parties express this discourse? Through an analysis of the Lega Nord and Forza Italia/Popolo della Libertà between 2006 and 2013, we find that while the switch to office does bring some changes, the main elements of their populist discourse remain largely the same. We also show how their respective emphases on 'elites' and 'others' distinguish the parties: FI/PDL focuses overwhelmingly on 'elites' while the LN places similar emphasis on both 'elites' and 'others'.

Full text available online at <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/13608746.2016.1211239>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Kenis Anneleen

Ecological citizenship and democracy: Communitarian versus agonistic perspectives in Environmental Politics, Volume 25, Issue 6 , 949-970

Grassroots environmental movements have recently started to question the focus on sustainable consumption as a main strategy to tackle climate change. They prefer to address individuals as citizens rather than as consumers, and focus on collective rather than individual change. Two prominent movements in this regard are Transition Towns and Climate Justice Action. While both movements criticise conventional approaches, they put forward entirely different strategies for what has to happen instead. Based on extensive qualitative research, this article analyses how these movements manifest themselves in Flanders (Belgium). The focus is on their different accounts of how and why collective practices have to be built, and the place they attribute to 'the political' in this. The analysis reveals the existence of two different forms of ecological citizenship: one communitarian, the other agonistic.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Picarella Lucia, Fiorino Vctor Martin

El intricato camino de las transformaciones democráticas: el conflicto colombiano in Cuadernos Manuel Giménez Abad, n. 11, junio , 136-141

Full text available online at



http://www.fundacionmgimenezabad.es/images/Documentos/Cuadernos/cuadernos11_junio_2016.pdf

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Hurrelmann Achim

Empirical legitimation analysis in International Relations: how to learn from the insights – and avoid the mistakes – of research in EU studies

in *Contemporary Politics*, Volume 23, issue 1, 2017 , 63-80

The political legitimation (or de-legitimation) of the European Union (EU) has been the object of much empirical research. This paper argues that this research holds lessons that can inform debates about the legitimation of global governance more generally. After some conceptual clarifications, the paper presents a critical review of the literature on the EU's legitimation, focusing on six crucial aspects – (1) the emergence and change of legitimation debates; (2) the arenas where legitimation occurs; (3) the role of the state as a reference point in legitimacy assessments; (4) the difference between various objects of legitimation; (5) the actors that trigger legitimation change; as well as (6) the relationship between legitimation and polity development. In each of these respects, the paper identifies important insights that can be gained from EU Studies, but also conceptual and methodological weaknesses in the EU-related literature that researchers working on other aspects of global governance should avoid. The paper closes by formulating a set of general desiderata for empirical legitimation research in International Relations.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Kolmes Steven A.

Environmental Policy Choices: The Importance of the Preferential Option for the Poor in Laudato si'

in *Environment: Science and Policy for Sustainable Development* , May-June

The November/December 2015 issue of *Environment* contained an editorial and eight invited reflections on the encyclical *Laudato si'* by a variety of scholars, which might make further commentary seem superfluous. After reading the issue with great interest, I realized that one of the most germane points in Catholic social thought for environmental scientists and policymakers was never highlighted. I refer to the preferential option for the poor, synonymously the option for the poor. It is not surprising with commentators trying to describe the importance of such an extensive and rich document that not everything was included, but I feel this point deserves special mention. As a scientist directing an environmental studies department at a Catholic university for 20 years I have found the preferential option for the poor to be one of the unique contributions (along with the dignity of the human person and the common good) that the Catholic intellectual tradition makes to environmental policy decisions.¹ When a policy decision requires the adjudication of conflicting claims between recognizable groups of people (e.g., the needs of industrial water users and the health of Native Americans²), the preferential option for the poor provides a tool for guiding difficult policy decisions. In brief, in such adjudication the voice of the poorest should be given preference in a measure of restorative justice.³

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Tukker Arnold, Bulavskaya Tanya, Giljum Stefan, de Koning Arian, Lutter Stephan, Simas Moana, Stadler Konstantin, Wood



Richard

Environmental and resource footprints in a global context: Europe's structural deficit in resource endowments
in *Global Environmental Change*, Volume 40, September , 171-181

The European Union (EU) has proposed in its Resource-efficiency roadmap a 'dashboard of indicators' consisting of four headline indicators for carbon, water, land and materials. The EU recognizes the need to use a consumption-based (or 'footprint') perspective to capture the global dimension of resources and their impacts. In this paper, we analyse how the EU's footprints compare to those of other nations, to what extent the EU and other major economies of the world rely on embodied resource imports, and what the implications are for policy making based on this comparison. This study is the first comprehensive multi-indicator comparison of all four policy relevant indicators, and uses a single consistent global Multi-Regional Input Output (MRIO) database with a unique and high level of product detail across countries. We find that Europe is the only region in the world that relies on net embodied imports for all indicators considered. We further find that the powerful economies of China and others in the Asia-Pacific already dominate global resource consumption from a footprint perspective, while they still haven't reached the prosperity of developed countries. Competition for resources is hence likely to increase, making Europe even more vulnerable. A hot spot analysis suggests that final consumption of food, transport and housing are priorities for reduction efforts along the life cycle. Further, countries with a similar Human Development Index can have very different footprints, pointing at societal organisation at macro-level as option for improvement. This points at options for countries for lowering their footprint, becoming less dependent on embodied imports, while maintaining a high quality of life.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Ferraris Luigi Vittorio

Epitaffio dei diritti universali dell'uomo?

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLVIII, numero speciale, n. 177, estate , 281-297

Full text available online at http://www.affari-esteri.it/Affari_Esteri_177.pdf

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Nye Joseph

Fine del secolo americano?

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLVIII, numero speciale, n. 178, autunno , 548-555

Full text available online at http://www.affari-esteri.it/Affari_Esteri_178.pdf

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

376-394

From logic of competition to conflict: understanding the dynamics of EU–Russia relations

in *Contemporary Politics*, Volume 22, issue 3, 2016 , Casier Tom



To understand the gradual worsening of EU–Russia relations in the decade preceding the Ukraine crisis, it is essential to understand the dynamics of their interaction. This article divides EU–Russia relations into three stages on the basis of changing intergroup dynamics: asymmetrical cooperation (1992–2003), pragmatic but increasing competition (2004–2013) and conflict (2013–present). It draws on the concept of ‘attributional bias’ to explain the escalating logic of competition during the second stage. The EU and Russia started to attribute each other negative geopolitical intentions up to the point where these images became so dominant that they interpreted each other’s behaviour almost exclusively in terms of these images, rather than on the basis of their actual behaviour. With the Ukraine crisis, EU–Russia relations changed from competition over institutional arrangements in the neighbourhood and over normative hegemony to conflict over direct control.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Molinaro Enrico

Geopolitical trends: Statalist BRICS challenge Glocalist financial instability

in Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali, Volume 83, n. 1, gennaio-marzo , 49-68

The Author suggests an innovative scientific methodology for an effective prediction of geopolitical trends, with special reference to the political-economic BRICS organization. The assumption that economic and political élites use sophisticated tools of mass manipulation to influence people’ minds and the interpretation of geopolitical events is crucial to any correct analysis. Two élites in competition with each other apply their respective opposite and complementary Statalist and Glocalist model of collective identity to affect international dynamics, alternating cyclical success throughout history. Statalists propose the idea of State boundaries as limits of collective identity, while Glocalists suggest alternative trans-boundary or intra-boundary identity models. Five case-studies (Israel, Italy, Russia, United States and BRICS organization) show the current gradual progress of the Statalist élite. In this perspective, the undeniable social, political and economic troubles and setbacks of some of the BRICS countries are not interrupting the advancing success of the Statalist model of collective identity, common to the five BRICS governments. The study of the two powerful Statalist and Glocalist modern élites entails the use of a multidisciplinary approach necessarily complex. The main bibliographic sources are media articles, previous publications by the article’s Author, official documents published on this subject, international scientific literature. The Author’s innovative methodology, applicable to a potentially unlimited number or additional case-studies, shows the current success of the Statalist trend, which can affect positively also the recently troubled five BRICS’ governments, regardless of their project’s final fate.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Thackara John

Gli stati sono morti, viva le bioregioni

in CNS Ecologia politica, XXVI, n. 6, 24 giugno , 3

Full text available online at <http://www.ecologiapolitica.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/Viva-le-bioregioni.pdf>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous



Ramutsindela Maano

Greening Africa's borderlands: The symbiotic politics of land and borders in peace parks
in *Political Geography*, Volume 56, January , 106-113

Full text available online at <http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0962629816302323>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Kozyrev Vitaly

Harmonizing 'Responsibility to Protect': China's vision of a post-sovereign world
in *International Relations*, vol. 30, n. 3, september , 328-345

ABSTRACT: This article examines the recent evolution of China's policies toward the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) concept in the context of a changing international environment. As an example of an emerging 'non-Western' alternative to the existing normative consensus, the Chinese perception of the norm reflects the nature of the ongoing new East–West divide and is derived from Beijing's new vision of a future world order and China's role in it. In 2001–2011, China supported R2P as a new mechanism to revise Western practices of humanitarian interventionism and to contribute to a changing multilateral global international legal order exemplifying China's new status as a responsible 'global citizen'. When the R2P norm was politicized by the West as part of its global democratic interventionist policies of 2005–2014, China's predominantly globalist vision of the international rule of law was replaced by its predominantly security-driven approach. This perspective, while recognizing the ongoing globalization of sovereignty, calls for a 'right balance between justice and interest' by the international community and denies the traditional Western leadership in the norm-making process. The Communist Party of China (CPC) leaders believe that the future evolution of the R2P concept should meet China's strategic interests, including its global order-forming and institution-building initiatives. Efforts to operationalize the R2P norm will have to take this factor into account.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Holslag Jonathan

Hedging the hard way: Russia's response to world disorder
in *Global Affairs*, Volume 2, Issue 2 , 165-176

This paper posits that Russia's role during the Ukrainian Crisis presaged a strategy of hard hedging. Confronted with the apparent threat of growing influence of the West and growing influence of China, Russia has responded with a policy of hard hedging that is characterized by an emphasis on military power, sovereignty and autonomy. The paper comes to that conclusion by reconstructing shifts and continuity in Russia's behaviour between 2014 and 2015, considering a wide range of economic, political, and military indicators.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea



Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Brand Ulrich

How to Get Out of the Multiple Crisis? Contours of a Critical Theory of Social-Ecological Transformation in Environmental Values, Volume 25, Number 5, October , 503-525

The concept of transformation has become a buzzword within the last few years. This has to do, first, with the ever broader recognition of the profound character of the environmental crisis, secondly, with increasingly obvious limits to existing forms of (global) environmental governance, thirdly, with the emergence of other dimensions of the crisis since 2008 and, fourthly, with intensified debates about required profound social change, especially of societal nature relations. However, the term transformation itself is contested. It largely depends on theoretical assumptions as well as the plausibility and applicability of the arguments which are made. In this paper, a historical-materialist approach to social-ecological transformation is outlined by referring to a theoretically sophisticated understanding of 'subject(s)' of transformation as well as the 'object(s)' of what is to be transformed. Theoretical concepts like the capitalist mode of production, regulation and hegemony, a critical understanding of the state and governance as well as the term societal nature relations are key. Such a perspective contributes to a more sophisticated understanding of the obstacles and requirements of real-world transformation. Finally, the argument has implications for visions and strategies, i.e., an emancipatory and democratic shaping of social relations and societal nature relations.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Adeleke Fola

Human rights and international investment arbitration in South African Journal of Human Rights, vol. 32, issue 1 , 48-70

ABSTRACT: Recent investment arbitration disputes have raised several human rights related issues, which do not form part of the traditional scope of investment treaties. Obligations in investment treaties can impair human rights if interpreted too broadly during arbitration. Therefore, it is necessary to determine whether investor-state dispute settlement (ISDS) tribunals are adequately equipped to resolve treaty disputes where the human rights obligations of states clash with a state's investment treaty obligations. In some states, such as South Africa, there are competing interests between the state's constitutional rights obligations and treaty-imposed investment obligations. In seeking to balance these competing interests and to ensure that the constitutional rights as well as responsibilities of the state are not undermined, this article proposes an interpretive approach in ISDS tribunals that applies a hybrid approach that considers both domestic and international law. The paper argues that the use of global administrative law principles, particularly the principle of deference, can achieve the consideration of both domestic and international law. In building this argument, the author explores the emerging trends in ISDS, such as new rules on transparency and public participation and the scope of their application, which has led to the claims that ISDS arbitration is undergoing a legitimacy crisis. This paper proposes an alternative approach where ISDS tribunals defer to domestic law when determining the content and scope of treaty obligations.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Alfieri Luigi

I confini d'Europa



in *Europea*, Anno 1, n. 2, novembre , 7-31

Abstract available online at <http://www.aracneeditrice.it/pdf/9788854897991.pdf>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Jean Carlo

I mutamenti geopolitici e il ritorno della power politics

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLVIII, numero speciale, n. 178, autunno , 482-485

Full text available online at http://www.affari-esteri.it/Affari_Esteri_178.pdf

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Sideri Rodolfo

Il Primato dell'Europa nel fascismo degli anni Trenta e Quaranta

in *Europea*, Anno 1, n. 2, novembre , 69-95

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Indelicato Alberto

Il caso Caillaux e la politica francese

in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, Volume 83, n. 2, aprile-giugno , 225-234

Joseph Caillaux, minister and prominent radical politician of the French Third Republic, was well known for his pacifist feelings. Perhaps he could positively affect the development of events leading up to the First World War. But at the time of the crisis he was no more a member of the government because of the trial of his wife accused of the murder of his relentless opponent, the director of «Le Figaro», Calmette.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Panebianco Angelo

Il declino dell'America è una profezia sbagliata

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLVIII, numero speciale, n. 178, autunno , 556-559

Full text available online at http://www.affari-esteri.it/Affari_Esteri_178.pdf

Section D) Federalism as a political idea



Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Benedetti Adriano

Il declino dell'Occidente

in **Affari Esteri**, Anno XLVIII, numero speciale, n. 177, estate , 271-280

Full text available online at http://www.affari-esteri.it/Affari_Esteri_177.pdf

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Benedetti Adriano

Il triangolo Stati Uniti, Europa e Russia

in **Affari Esteri**, Anno XLVIII, numero speciale, n. 178, autunno , 532-539

Full text available online at http://www.affari-esteri.it/Affari_Esteri_178.pdf

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Del Vecchio Angela

Il valore della CEDU nella giurisprudenza costituzionale italiana

in **Studi sull'integrazione europea**, Anno XI, n. 2-3, maggio-dicembre , 205-220

This article deals with the evolution of the jurisprudence of the Italian Constitutional Court concerning the legal status of the European Convention on Human Rights within the Italian legal order. Indeed, the Court has always tried to come through the gap between the formal value of ordinary law recognized in Italy to the Convention and its substantive content. After the constitutional reform of 2001, in its well-known judgments Nos. 348 and 349 of 2007, the Constitutional Court provided for a solution to the issue concerning the Convention's value, recognizing its sub-constitutional status, as an "interposed source of law". Nevertheless, the legal value of the European Convention on Human Rights as interposed source of law was reconsidered in the following constitutional case-law and it is still an open problem, because in some most recent judgments the Constitutional Court is inclined to balance the demands of the general interest of the community with the requirements of the protection of the individual's fundamental rights and declares that a wide margin of appreciation exists with regard to the enforcement of ECHR also for the domestic judges.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Ganguly Sumit

India and the Responsibility to Protect

in **International Relations**, vol. 30, n. 3, september , 362-374

ABSTRACT: India, though a working democracy, has adopted an ambivalent stance toward the genesis and evolution of the doctrine of the Responsibility to Protect. This article traces India's views toward the earlier principle of humanitarian intervention, outlines its reactions toward the advent of the norm, and discusses India's positions on the attempts to apply it to recent international crises. It then argues that India's cautious support for the principle stems in part from



concerns about its potential abuse in the hands of the great powers, post-colonial concerns about the diminution of the norm of state sovereignty, and finally, its own domestic vulnerabilities in the protection of human rights.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Eva Ruffing

Inside regulatory bureaucracy: When Europe hits home in pharmaceuticals and chemicals in Public Policy and Administration, Volume 32, Issue 1 , 3-23

Research on the impact of European integration focuses on the external relations of national agencies. This has neglected the impact that Europeanization has on the internal operations of agencies and the way in which coordination is practiced. This article researches the impact of European integration on national agencies with regard to three dimensions: their recruitment schemes, their internal organization, and their external coordination arrangements. The paper presents a 20-year historical review of highly Europeanised agencies – the German pharmaceutical and chemical regulators. This allows us to explore whether different roles in the policy process mediate the effects of Europeanisation. As a result, the article shows that Europeanisation has impacted comprehensively on the recruitment schemes, organizational structure, and coordination arrangements of the two agencies. Both agencies have gained highly qualified personnel for their tasks related to European decision-making and have reorganized their structure to adapt to the requirements of this decision-making.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Ruike Xu

Institutionalization, path dependence and the persistence of the Anglo-American special relationship in International Affairs , vol. 92, issue 5, september , 1207-1228

ABSTRACT: One of the remarkable phenomena in post-Cold War world politics is the persistence of the Anglo-American special relationship (AASR) in spite of recurrent announcement of its death by pessimists. Current scholarship on Anglo-American relations largely draws on interests and sentiments to explain the persistence of the AASR, ignoring other important contributing factors such as institutionalization. This article is the first to give serious consideration to the role of institutionalization in influencing the persistence of the AASR. By using the concept of path dependence, this article argues that the high-level institutionalization in Anglo-American intelligence, nuclear and military relations plays a seminal role in contributing to the persistence of the AASR in the post-Cold War era. The institutionalized intelligence relationship is exemplified by the relationship between the UK's Government Communications Headquarters (GCHQ) and the US's National Security Agency (NSA), which is underpinned by the UKUSA Agreement. The institutionalized nuclear relationship is exemplified by a variety of Joint Working Groups (JOWOGs), which is underpinned by the 1958 Mutual Defence Agreement. The institutionalized military relationship is exemplified by routinized military personnel exchange programmes, regular joint training exercises and an extremely close defence trade partnership. The high-level institutionalization embeds habits of cooperation, solidifies interdependence and consolidates mutual trust between the UK and the US in their cooperation on intelligence, nuclear and military issues.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Carrai Maria Adele

International law and global history. Chinese approaches

in *Storica*, anno XXII, n. 64

The recent resurgence of global history has also affected international law. One of the objectives of the emerging global history of international law is to broaden its scope in an attempt to overcome Eurocentrism. In this context, China, not only as an emerging global power that can influence the creation of the normative principles grounding the future world order, but also with its own history of international law, offers a counter-teleology to the classic narrative of progress of international law understood as a scholarly discipline. This article presents a critical overview and analysis of a selection of Chinese scholarly approaches towards the history of international law. Current debates seem to be closely linked to a new conception of modernity that no longer corresponds with the Western conception. The Chinese perspective, in this sense, can contribute to broadening the history of international law, especially when it claims to be global.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Dongwook Kim

International non-governmental organizations and the abolition of the death penalty

in *European Journal of International Relations*, vol. 22, n. 3, september, 596-621

ABSTRACT: During the past 45 years, nearly 100 national states have abolished the death penalty for all crimes. This global diffusion poses a puzzle since capital punishment has long been accepted as the ultimate criminal sanction and its abolition has often been politically unpopular in many parts of the world. Although the literature has provided several possible explanations, the role of human rights international non-governmental organizations in worldwide death penalty abolition has not yet received sustained analytic attention. This article offers the first such analysis by arguing that human rights international non-governmental organizations empower pro-abolition constituencies and influence governments toward abolition by framing capital punishment as a human rights violation and lobbying parliamentarians to repeal death penalty laws. Event history analyses of 158 national states from 1967 to 2010 offer strong support for the theory. Controlling for regime type, regional demonstration effects, the Council of Europe, and other rival factors, this article finds that human rights international non-governmental organizations' local engagement has strongly significant positive relationships with complete abolition. This finding is highly robust against control variable bias, endogeneity bias, omitted variable bias, model dependence, and the alternative operationalization of control variables and the dependent variable. Furthermore, the Philippines example demonstrates the theory's plausibility. It provides process-tracing evidence that through human rights framing and legislative lobbying, the national sections and member organizations of such human rights international non-governmental organizations as Amnesty International, the International Commission of Catholic Prison Pastoral Care, the International Federation of Human Rights, and Caritas Internationalis led Philippine legislators toward complete abolition in 2006.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Piiparinen Touko

Intervening to strengthen sovereignty: The lessons of the UN Intervention Brigade for global peacekeeping



in *International Relations*, vol. 30, n. 2, June, 154-175

ABSTRACT: The main significance and novelty of the Intervention Brigade established by the United Nations (UN) Security Council in March 2013 in the Democratic Republic of the Congo have previously been attributed to its robust mandate, enhanced capacities and offensive concept of operations. At the tactical, strategic and doctrinal levels of analysis, the Brigade could be considered a continuum of the robust and technological turn of UN peacekeeping, which has continued for more than a decade and is reinvigorated in the so-called new generation of peacekeeping tactics outlined in the New Horizon document. However, this article argues that the most profound significance and novelty of the Brigade reside at the underlying paradigmatic level, which has been ignored in the previous literature. The Brigade embodies not only robust capacities and mandate (peacekeeping with muscles) but also a new peacekeeping paradigm, namely, sovereignty-building (peacekeeping for body politic). The sovereignty-building paradigm is aimed at creating or strengthening the positive and negative sovereignty of the host government. The Brigade reinforces the positive sovereignty of the Congolese government by boosting its self-directive domestic and foreign policy, political will, ownership and responsibility vis-à-vis its regional peers, for example, by making its exit strategy conditional on the Congolese own Rapid Reaction Force. With regard to negative sovereignty, the Brigade contributes to the reinstatement of territorial integrity and supreme state authority by neutralising militia groups.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

HessChristin, Green Simon

Introduction: The Changing Politics and Policies of Migration in Germany

in *German Politics*, Volume 25, Issue 3, 315-328

Not only is Germany one of the principal destinations for immigration in Europe, but its policies and politics have also evolved substantially over the past half-century. This introduction argues that the time is now right to bring back the national perspective into the study of migration, but to do so from a cross-disciplinary perspective. The article provides a context for the contributions within this volume by setting out some key turning points in the development of this area, as well as pinpointing the contradictory nature of the challenges facing policy-makers.

If, in a moment of boredom, an enterprising member of the Twitterati were to invite nominations for the top 10 issues to have shaped Europe since 1945, there would be little doubt that immigration would feature near the top of that list. For immigration from former colonies, other European and Mediterranean countries as well as refugees from the world's trouble spots has profoundly, permanently and progressively transformed almost all European states. That degree of transformation is all the more remarkable for the fact that, prior to 1945, Europe was largely a continent of emigration. Indeed, for several countries, including the UK, net emigration continued until well into the 1980s.

Even so, few countries in Europe have changed to the extent that Germany has. In 1950, both West and East Germany were still ethnically largely homogenous countries. Moreover, the partition of Germany in 1949 made an ethnically based definition of citizenship politically indispensable, at least in West Germany, which the 1913 Imperial Citizenship Law (Reichs- und Staatsangehörigkeitsgesetz), with its emphasis on the jus sanguinis tradition of ascription, conveniently provided.

Compared to that starting point, Germany's demographic and political transformation has been nothing short of remarkable. At the end of 2014, there were 8.2 million non-nationals resident in Germany, and over 20 per cent of the population had a 'migration background' (Migrationshintergrund). Most large cities, such as Frankfurt or Stuttgart, are now ethnically and culturally diverse urban centres. Germany has thus become one of the world's principal destinations for immigration as well as Europe's top destination for asylum seekers, especially in 2015. Indeed, today, few would



deny that Germany is a de-facto country of immigration, marked by rich ethno-cultural diversity. Certainly, this process of transformation has been at times both controversial and hotly contested: witness the decades-long debate over whether Germany even was a 'country of immigration' (Einwanderungsland). In addition, there have been more recent polarised discussions about the challenges of integrating large numbers of refugees to Germany, as well as around Thilo Sarrazin's incendiary thesis *Deutschland schafft sich ab*, over the status of Islam as part of (or otherwise) German society. Yet successive German federal governments, especially since 1998, have also implicitly acknowledged this reality by virtue of the laws they have passed, which together represent a 'paradigmatic' change in the way the country thinks about migration and integration. Thus, German citizenship is now acquired through a mixture of *jus sanguinis* and *jus soli*, while dual citizenship, despite some persistent reservations, is no longer the political taboo it once was. The OECD has declared Germany to be among the countries in Europe with the fewest restrictions on highly skilled labour migration. Regular Islam summits and remarkably detailed and comprehensive national integration plans demonstrate how important the issue of migrant integration is for policy-makers.

This deep transformation of German society and politics merits closer scrutiny, and the purpose of this collection is to make a contribution to our understanding and interpretation of these changes. With 2015 marking the 60th anniversary of the first recruitment treaty (*Anwerbevertrag*) which in turn heralded the beginning of organised recruitment of labour to West Germany, the time to do so is undoubtedly right. But what is more, this collection is also timely from the perspective of the scholarly literature on migration to Europe, which has, broadly speaking, shown two key themes since the late 1980s. Initially, this literature was often focused around single country studies, which were moreover frequently historically based. These valuable studies helped to set the context and provide the foundations for the second, complementary trend, which has developed since 2000. This has witnessed the publication of a range of comparative sectoral analyses of migration, including of asylum, labour migration and integration. Such studies have typically been structured around disciplinary perspectives, often reflecting the issue under discussion: thus studies of asylum have often drawn on international law, while those of labour migration have tended to be grounded in political economy. The burgeoning field of studies on integration has been led by sociologists, with notable contributions also from political scientists.

There is no question that each of these broad approaches has been hugely valuable in developing a rich and varied corpus of scholarship in the area of migration. At the same time, there is a growing case to be made for bringing back the perspective of individual destination countries. On the one hand, the various elements of the migration policy domain are ultimately interlinked: thus, one of the largest forms of immigration, namely dependant family members, only takes place because others, typically labour migrants, have entered the country of destination beforehand. Likewise, the challenge of legal and societal integration applies, albeit in different ways, to all migrants, irrespective of the rubric under which they entered a country in the first place. On the other hand, migration policies and politics are not formulated in a vacuum compared to other policy areas; in fact, quite the opposite is true. Migration policy tends to be among policy areas which draw most heavily on, and overlap with and inform, other policy areas, such as education, health, housing, labour and social affairs. Furthermore, despite the growing influence of the institutions of the European Union (EU) in this domain, the EU's role varies significantly between the various constituent policy areas. Even in those areas where integration is most advanced, such as asylum policy, individual member-states remain centrally involved in the formulation and implementation of policy. So here too, the focus on a given country is justified, especially when that country is Germany, which is not only one of the principal destination countries of immigration in the EU, but also has a unique and 'semi-sovereign' governance structure, placing high value on the structures of federalism and the role of political parties.

The purpose of this collection, therefore, is to combine the best of both approaches by bringing together a cross-disciplinary, comprehensive, cross-sectoral perspective of migration, while at the same time maintaining the cohesive structure of a single country framework. Last, but by no means least, although immigration has featured prominently in the annals of this distinguished journal, this is the first special issue of *German Politics* to be devoted to



the topic. By uniting political scientists, sociologists and political economists from Germany, the UK, the USA and Canada, each of whom specialises in a particular area of German migration, this volume provides a methodologically diverse analysis of policies and policy-making processes, as well as their reception by German society and migrants. This collection thereby both draws on the best traditions of Migration Studies, which have reflected the multiple dimensions of this phenomenon, and contributes to them.

In the remainder of this introduction, we will therefore first briefly set out the context for the current discussion before introducing the contributions to this collection.

Full text available online at <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/09644008.2016.1172065>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Thomas Cottier

John H. Jackson, Sovereignty-Modern and the Constitutional Approach to International Law
in *Journal of International Economic Law*, Volume 19 Issue 2 , 323-328

In his own words, John H. Jackson was intrigued by frequent recourses to sovereignty in the congressional debate over the adoption of the results of the Uruguay Round of multilateral trade negotiations in 1994.¹ Concerns of politicians and lobbyists for policy space, democracy, accountability, but also an agenda for economic protectionism, all informed this debate and the recourse to a notion which had emerged in Europe after the Thirty Years War and shaped ever since the post-1648 Westphalian System of nation states. Himself a convinced multilateralist, educated in Wilsonian traditions, John did not react by discarding the notion of sovereignty as historical and outdated in modern times, as did Louis Henkin,² or as it was depicted by Stephan Krasner as a matter of 'organized hypocrisy'.³ John was more cautious, recognizing national sovereignty as an important component of international law. Simply rejecting or dismantling it would bear the risk of undermining international law and thus its stabilizing functions. He identified sovereignty as one of the logical foundations of international law, and 'to discard it risks undermining international law and certain other principles of the international relations system'.⁴

John instead set out to analyse or 'decompose' the term in an analytical process typical for him: informed by the tradition of American pragmatism, empirical research, logic and reflection—and the finding and tension, as he recalled that 'all politics is local' (Tip O'Neill) and 'all economics is international' (Peter Drucker).⁵ Of course, he would not stop to deal with an understanding of sovereignty as a blank check to the prince to do and leave whatever royalty pleases in capricious and arbitrary manners. The absolutist perception of sovereignty and understanding of states as black boxes was out of the question; no reasonable person could adhere any longer to this kind ...

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Caponio Tiziana

L'Italia, l'Europa e le tre crisi dell'immigrazione. Quali prospettive oltre l'emergenza?
in *Paradoxa*, ANNO X - Numero 3 - 2016

No abstract available



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Lasserre Isabelle

La France, l'Europe, le monde

in *Politique internationale*, n°151 - PRINTEMPS - 2016

Entretien avec Jean-Marc AYRAULT

Ministre des Affaires étrangères depuis février 2016

Just a few weeks after his appointment as Foreign Affairs Minister, Jean-Marc Ayrault chose *Politique Internationale* for his first in-depth interview as France's chief diplomatic spokesman. From the major challenges facing Europe - migrant crisis, terrorist threat, possibility of a Brexit and the rise of populist movements - to the conflicts currently tearing apart the Middle East, as well as the tricky task of dealing with Putin's Russia and the U.S. presidential race, the new minister touches on all aspects of global affairs and outlines the main thrusts of his plans. The former prime minister (2012-2014) also insists on the need for France to do more to assist Africa - a continent he believes could look forward to a bright future, provided that the rich nations actively support the people who are the lifeblood of these countries. In a concrete step toward meeting this ambitious goal, Paris has already announced an increase in its development aid budget.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Díaz Gamboa Luis Bernardo

La Paz en Colombia: entre el acuerdo, el desacuerdo y el desespero

in *Cuadernos Manuel Giménez Abad*, n. 12, diciembre , 150-158

After 52 years of armed conflict, the Colombian Government and the FARC sat down for four years – with two explorations – in order to negotiate a political solution, in a confrontation that resulted in a negative military tie, where the guerrilla was not liquidated, but did not take power either. With the support of the International Community, one of the relicts of the Cold War seemed to be coming to an end. The agreement, subject of a plebiscite on Oct. 2, was defeated first by a 63% abstention and second by the opponents of the right and the churches. After the referendum the agreement was re-negotiated and most opponents' requests included, with exception of the political eligibility, to which the opponents of the agreement were opposed. With a Nobel Peace Prize that weighed in favor of President Santos, and a right that plays to win the next elections, the peace agreement is most likely to be endorsed through Congress, where Santos has majorities. The other guerrilla, the ELN, seems to follow the paths of the FARC may start also a dialogue with the government.

Full text available online at

http://www.fundacionmgimenezabad.es/images/Documentos/Cuadernos/cuadernos12_diciembre_2016.pdf

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Maiolini Mario E.

La ricerca di nuovi equilibri nel mondo islamico

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLVIII, numero speciale, n. 177, estate , 298-



Full text available online at http://www.affari-esteri.it/Affari_Esteri_177.pdf

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

de Varennes Fernand, Kuzborska Elżbieta

Language, Rights and Opportunities: The Role of Language in the Inclusion and Exclusion of Indigenous Peoples

in *International Journal on Minority and Groups Rights*, Volume 23, Issue 3 , 281-305

Indigenous peoples throughout the world have often seen their languages and cultures disregarded, denigrated or even suppressed. The legacy of these practices remain among us even today and can be witnessed through the low retention and success rates in schools teaching in a language alien to many indigenous children, as well as the common and continued refusal of state authorities to use indigenous languages in their contacts and interaction with indigenous populations. This article presents a global overview of the role of languages historically on the rights of indigenous peoples, and how language preferences have excluded – or in other cases been used to include – indigenous peoples in various spheres of society. It also considers the nature and scope of the rights of indigenous peoples as human rights, and the potential for the language rights of indigenous peoples to be used to empower them.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Salleo Ferdinando

Le elezioni americane e l'equilibrio mondiale

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLVIII, numero speciale, n. 177, estate , 257-270

Full text available online at http://www.affari-esteri.it/Affari_Esteri_177.pdf

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Foucher Michel

Le nouvel environnement stratégique Un aide-mémoire aux Européens

in *Debat (Le)*, n° 190, Mai-juin , pp. 18-32

« Quand je me fus installé au ministère des Affaires étrangères et qu'on m'eut mis sous les yeux l'état des affaires, je fus effrayé du nombre et de la grandeur des difficultés que j'apercevais », dut constater Alexis de Tocqueville en juin 1849 au premier jour de sa prise de fonction.

L'effroi est encore (...)

Plan de l'article

Panorama des théâtres de crise : l'Afrique sahélo-saharienne

Le Maghreb et le Machrek, après les révolutions arabes

L'Orient arabe : majorités, minorités et jeux d'influence



L'Est européen : crises maîtrisées et effets d'aubaine
Aide-mémoire aux (décideurs) européens

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Ferguson Peter

Liberalism and Economic Growth: A Theoretical Exploration

in Environmental Values, Volume 25, Number 5, October , 593-619

This article explores how the liberal tradition of political thought has dealt with the prospect of limits to economic growth and how it should approach this issue in the future. Using Andrew Moravcsik's explanatory liberal theory, it finds that the commitment of governments to growth stems primarily from the aggregation of societal preferences for the social goods that growth produces. The arguments of liberal thinkers who have grappled with the issue of growth are then examined to gain a deeper theoretical understanding of the relationship between liberal democracy and growth. These include John Stuart Mill, for whom a non-growing economy was essential for overcoming the tension between liberty and equality; Ronald Dworkin, who argues that growth is a derivative means to further more fundamental ends; and Marcel Wissenburg, who suggests that it is legitimate for liberal democracies to limit the preference for growth if it risks undermining liberal norms and institutions. Using these theoretical insights, it is argued that environmental degradation, which is partly driven by growth, now threatens the fundamental liberal commitments of many liberals, including some forms of state neutralism, utilitarianism, inalienable individual rights and above all human autonomy. Therefore, liberal democratic states not only can, but must move towards a post-growth economy to secure these objectives into the future.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Pomar Valter

L'internationalisme au défi de la mondialisation

in Revue internationale et stratégique, 2016/2 (N° 102) , 133-140

L'analyse des tendances qui façonnent actuellement la situation internationale permet de mettre en évidence une contradiction puissante. D'un côté, rarement les relations capitalistes de production et d'échange n'ont été aussi intenses. De l'autre, nous vivons le développement d'une crise de ce capitalisme qui affecte à son tour la situation internationale. Cette crise a démarré en 2007-2008. Il s'agit...

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Davet Christopher P

Mass Violence as Post-Genocide and the Limits/Potential of Responsibility to Protect

in Peace, Conflict and Development, Issue 22, July , 1-24



Is the concept of Responsibility to Protect fit for purpose in a world where conflict dynamics are fluid and evolving, and global crises, such as climate change, present emerging dangers and anthropological impact? R2P, framed in response to what were conceived as typical, formative episodes of genocide (Former Yugoslavia and Rwanda) is exclusionary to emerging forms of violent conflict, impacting the concept's ability to respond to such variations of mass violence. This paper uses Mark Levene's global systems analysis of "post-genocide" to describe violence in the Democratic Republic of Congo thereby discussing and identifying the limitations of R2P as it is currently conceptualized. This paper will explain the emerging phenomena of post-genocide as an outcome of state responses, or the lack thereof to political, economic and climate crises, the systemic mismatch of R2P aspirations for holistic approaches to gross violations of human rights. It will be argued that R2P must reconsider its scope for the object of responsibility and push for new international consensus that incorporates the trends of post-genocide. Understanding climate change and civilian protection as associated conflict prevention dynamics can carry forward the work of R2P.

Full text available online at

<http://www.bradford.ac.uk/social-sciences/peace-conflict-and-development/latest-issue/Chris-Davey.pdf>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Migliavacca Paolo

Medio Oriente dal caos al disordine organizzato?

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLVIII, numero speciale, n. 178, autunno , 581-596

Full text available online at http://www.affari-esteri.it/Affari_Esteri_178.pdf

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Castaño Félix Fernández

Medir la calidad democrática desde la sociología

in *Cuadernos Manuel Giménez Abad*, n. 11, junio , 172-179

Certainly, we recorded a trend and at the same time a need to introduce more relevant and realistic criteria by sociology, to examine contemporary democracies. While there is no doubt that democracy has globalized as a type of order and political and legal system, the fact remains that in certain countries and societies is still very emerging in their institutions, procedures and operations, and in that sense is not enough with noting that we are present in a regime considered "democratic" but some conditions are required, variables and requirements to discuss a framework of democratic quality in qualitative and quantitative order.

Full text available online at

http://www.fundacionmgimenezabad.es/images/Documentos/Cuadernos/cuadernos11_junio_2016.pdf

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Casado-Asensio Juan, Steurer Reinhard

Mitigating climate change in a federal country committed to the Kyoto Protocol: how Swiss federalism further complicated an already complex challenge



in *Policy Sciences*, vol. 49, issue 3, september , 257-279

ABSTRACT: When policy scholars assess the effects of federalism on climate change mitigation, they often look at countries that rejected binding commitments (in particular, the USA) and find that federalism enabled sub-national entities to partly fill national regulatory voids. In accordance with a similar case study on Austria, we find the exact opposite for Switzerland, a country that committed itself to an 8 % cut in 1990 greenhouse gas emissions under the Kyoto Protocol. To reveal the detrimental effects of federalism, we focus our case study on the integration of climate change concerns into building policies, a policy field fully in the hands of Swiss sub-national authorities known as cantons. Apart from a few pioneer cantons, we found mainly federal departments concerned with integrating climate change mitigation into cantonal building policies and cantonal as well as federal actors struggling with the numerous pitfalls of Swiss federalism in their own ways. On the one hand, various federal departments tried repeatedly to facilitate a nationwide greening of cantonal building policies, and their interventions often resulted in lowest common denominator solutions that were difficult to improve once in place. On the other hand, Swiss federalism gave a few pioneer cantons the freedom to green their building policies early on, but their policies hardly diffused to other cantons. Resembling our main finding of the Austrian case study, we conclude that the 15 % emission decline in the Swiss building sector during 2008–2012 compared to 1990 levels happened despite, not because of Swiss federalism. This warrants caution against high hopes in assuming that decentralised or polycentric governance can fully compensate for failed national (or international) climate policies.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Khader Bishara

Muslims in Europe or European Muslims? The construction of a 'problem'

in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, Volume 83, n. 2, aprile-giugno , 169-188

The article examines the various stages of migration flows, from temporary labour migration to permanent settlements and shows the gradual construction of the Muslim problem in Europe and the emergence of far-right anti-Muslim parties. It tackles the issue of radicalisation of some young European Muslims and discusses the de-radicalisation policies adopted by European States. The message which the article tries to convey is simple: 25 million Muslims are settling in Europe, and their number will increase in the years to come. Those young Muslims who engage in radicalisation and terrorism constitute a very tiny minority which suffers from an identity rupture and is in search of a 'mission'. Given this reality, European States should do their utmost to avoid stigmatisation of all Muslims, to clearly define the root causes of radicalisation in order to devise the adequate strategies of de-radicalisation, and to further the socio-economic integration of Muslims populations in Europe. In their vast majority, Muslims in Europe are attached to their new home countries. They do not see themselves as 'Muslims in Europe' but as 'European Muslims'. Although, often, they consider that they are not perceived and treated as full-fledged citizens.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Christine Philliou

Nationalism, Internationalism, and Cosmopolitanism - Comparison and Commensurability

in *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and Middle East*, Volume 36, Number 3 , 455-464



This essay, written as a response to Partha Chatterjee's on the same three concepts—nationalism, internationalism, and cosmopolitanism—in India (published in *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 36, no. 2), first considers the validity and terms of comparison and commensurability between the Indian and Ottoman/post-Ottoman cases. It then goes on to offer a sketch of how the three concepts play out in the more indeterminate political world of the Ottoman space, looking not to cases of formal colonialism in the Middle East, but to the beginning and endpoints of the devolution of the Ottoman world and its transformation into the many nation-states of the post-Ottoman world. It poses the emergence of Greece (in the 1820s) and of Turkey one century later as crystallizing moments in a different but related process to that of the colonization and decolonization of the Indian subcontinent. The goal of the exercise is to use the three concepts of nationalism, internationalism, and cosmopolitanism to arrive at a new kind of comparison, and perhaps a new kind of model of power in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries for areas that were not formally colonized but were nevertheless crucial to the formation of modern relations of power.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Partha Chatterjee

Nationalism, Internationalism, and Cosmopolitanism - Some Observations from Modern Indian History
in *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and Middle East*, Volume 36, Number 2 , 320-334

This paper looks at nationalism, internationalism, and cosmopolitanism as an interconnected triad of political ideas and movements in twentieth-century India. Militant Indian nationalists and communists created a distinction between the internationalism of empire and that of the anticolonial national movements. In the period of the Cold War and decolonization, a movement among nonaligned countries sought to preserve the legacy of anticolonial internationalism. Until the 1960s, the violation of human rights was largely seen as related to the persistence of colonial rule and racial discrimination. Contemporary proposals for a cosmopolitan order frequently reject the legacy of anticolonial nationalism and appeal to the tradition of the liberal internationalism of empire. Specific global movements that point to future transnational political arrangements are an important new development, but they do not yet offer a blueprint for a cosmopolitan order. Compared to the historical legacy of anticolonial nationalism in countries like India, the appeal of cosmopolitanism is limited.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Jiajie He

Normative Power in the EU and ASEAN: Why They Diverge
in *International Studies Review*, vol. 18, issue 1, march , 92-105

ABSTRACT: The European Union (EU) and Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) aspire to two different types of normative roles in their foreign relations, which reflect the different contexts and goals of their socialization frameworks. The EU, which can collectively count itself as a contemporary great power, seeks a normative role aiming to engage smaller players, often with serious domestic problems. By contrast, ASEAN—essentially a group of relatively weak states—is located in an area where its own security depends on the competition between great powers. Although the EU employs its normative power primarily to shape the political preferences of its neighboring small states and thus construct a normative hegemon in the European periphery, ASEAN's normative influence is more concerned about intervention by the great powers of Asia. Although the EU model has dominated the discourse of normative power, the



normative practice of ASEAN may be more relevant to the developing world facing great powers or a regional hegemon.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Maiolini Mario E.

Nuove incertezze per il Medio Oriente

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLVIII, numero speciale, n. 178, autunno , 560-570

Full text available online at http://www.affari-esteri.it/Affari_Esteri_178.pdf

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

M. Sornarajah

On fighting for global justice: the role of a Third World international lawyer

in *Third World Quarterly*, Volume 37, Issue 11 , 1972-1989

The life of a Third World international lawyer is devoted to resistance to the norms of international law designed by agents with power to promote the interests of the powerful sections of the international community. Increasingly the instrumental norms of international law are fashioned through the use of private power, making the positivist claim that public international law is a law between states illusory. The task of this paper is to identify a framework of common concerns so that a collectivity of Third World lawyers can work together, examine how mechanisms of power can be countered, and devise a confrontational strategy.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Butler Graham, Ratcovich Martin

Operation Sophia in Uncharted Waters: European and International Law Challenges for the EU Naval Mission in the Mediterranean Sea

in *Nordic Journal of International Law*, vol. 85, issue 3 , 235-259

ABSTRACT: This article addresses the main legal challenges facing the European Union (EU) Naval Force, EUNAVFOR Med ('Operation Sophia'), established in 2015, to disrupt human smuggling and trafficking activities in the Mediterranean Sea. It examines a number of legal issues that have given rise to scepticism on the viability of this type of operation, ranging from challenges under European Union law regarding mandate and oversight, to complex questions of compliance with international law. Forcible measures may be at variance with the international law of the sea, binding on the EU and its Member States alike. Even if such strictures can be avoided by a broad United Nations mandate and/or the consent of the neighbouring government(s), international refugee law and international human rights law provide limitations on the measures that Operation Sophia will be tasked with. Different avenues will be explored to ensure the Operation's compliance with these different legal regimes.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea



Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

de las Heras José Ángel

Propuesta y evaluación de un nuevo método de asignación de escaños en las elecciones generales españolas
in **Cuadernos Manuel Giménez Abad**, n. 11, junio , 190-203

Full text available online at

http://www.fundacionmgimenezabad.es/images/Documentos/Cuadernos/cuadernos11_junio_2016.pdf

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Margrit Pernau

Provincializing Concepts - The Language of Transnational History

in **Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and Middle East**, Volume 36, Number 3 , 483-499

Global history needs common concepts. European concepts are deeply problematic, as Dipesh Chakrabarty has shown, because their genealogy in European experience makes them particular and universal at the same time and reduces the rest of the world to a history of lack. Taking the history of the ashraf and their relation to the middle classes as an example, Pernau's article moves beyond the impasse of European thought as "both indispensable and inadequate." In the first step, it claims, it makes sense to use those analytical categories to create a common field of reference, while marking their use as provisional. In the second step conceptual history becomes central in two respects; investigating the history of the analytical concepts allows us to destabilize the boundary between the interpretation offered by the historical actors and the one offered by historians. To this needs to be added the history of colonial actors' concepts, taking into consideration translanguing practices. The third step addresses the problem of how to transform the existing analytical concepts in order to do greater justice to the ways in which actors conceived of their world.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Monroy Santander Louis

Reconciliation: a critical approach to peacebuilding in Bosnia-Herzegovina

in **Peace, Conflict and Development**, Issue 22, July , 77-116

This paper studies reconciliation as a source for critically viewing postconflict peacebuilding and its impact on state-society relations after state-building processes. As traditional peace-building focuses on liberal formulas, it has been criticised for lacking legitimacy and withdrawing from everyday life. Looking at peacebuilding through a reconciliation perspective contributes to the liberal critique by looking at how reconciliation has been identified by peacebuilding agents in Bosnia who have worked during the state building process. The present paper is based on interviews in Bosnia-Herzegovina through fieldwork during July 2014, a qualitative study that compares the understanding of reconciliation between different peacebuilders (international agencies, leaders of NGOs and grassroots organizations) and the obstacles identified as key for reconciliation in post-war Bosnia.

Full text available online at

<http://www.bradford.ac.uk/social-sciences/peace-conflict-and-development/latest-issue/Monroy-Santander.pdf>



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Nesrine Badawi

Regulation of armed conflict: critical comparativism

in *Third World Quarterly*, Volume 37, Issue 11 , 1990-2009

his paper calls for comparative analysis of international humanitarian law and Islamic laws regulating armed conflict by focusing on the underlying assumptions and interests informing both systems (rather than on rule-based comparison). It argues that examination of the biases inherent to each legal system can potentially inform scholars to understand better the paradigms shaping each of them. In doing so, the paper builds on contextual and critical interpretations of both fields of law to assert the need for 'critical comparativism' rather than functionalist comparativism. Unlike functionalist comparativism, which treats international law as the 'objective' benchmark against which other legal traditions are measured, 'critical comparativism' treats the two legal systems examined as alternative manifestations of power structures which, when contrasted against each other, help shed more light on the inherent bias in each legal system.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Teivo Teivainen & Silke Trommer

Representation Beyond the State: Towards Transnational Democratic Non-state Politics

in *Globalizations* , Volume 14, Issue 1 , 17-31

The crises of representative democracy and of state-based politics have been declared many times and 'participation' is often advocated as a remedy for the shortcomings of both. While the literature has extensively discussed representative practices in relation to territorial states, we argue in this article that more attention should be paid to the question of representation within transnational social movements striving for a politics that transcends current territorially bounded representative democracy. Analysing the World Social Forum and West African participatory trade policy-making, we find that as transnational social movements aiming at democratic goals deepen their interactions, they can face demanding questions such as: who or what has a right to be made present in a given political process and how is this established? We claim that avoiding the question of representation in transnational non-state-centred politics leaves power too many places to hide.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Védrine Hubert

Retour au réel. Entretien.

in *Debat (Le)*, n° 190, Mai-juin , pp. 4-17

L'Europe est rattrapée aujourd'hui par la menace d'un environnement auquel elle avait désappris à s'intéresser. À l'est, les desseins de la Russie de Poutine inquiètent, au sud, la déstabilisation du Moyen-Orient nous atteint désormais directement, via le terrorisme et les migrations. L'Afrique est gagnée à son tour par le djihadisme et laisse (...)



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Colón-Ríos Joel I.

Rousseau, Theorist of Constituent Power

in *Oxford Journal of Legal Studies*, Volume 36 Issue 4 Winter , 885-908

Rousseau has always had an uncertain relationship with the theory of constituent power. On the one hand, his distrust of political representation and support for popular sovereignty seem consistent with the idea of the people as a legally unlimited constitution-maker. On the other hand, if, from those views about representation and sovereignty, it follows that Rousseau is a proponent of direct democracy, then there seems to be no place in his thought for a theory that presupposes, above all, a separation between those who exercise a delegated authority (eg legislators) and those who possess an original constitution-making power (the people). In a legal order in which all laws must be directly made by the people, such a separation is absent: the constituent and the legislative body are one and the same. It is therefore not surprising that Rousseau's name is largely absent from contemporary literature on constituent power. In this article, however, I will show that once Rousseau's particular conception of law, as well as his distinction between sovereignty and government, are properly understood, one finds in his work not only the first major formulation of the theory of constituent power, but also a careful exploration of its implications for actual constitutional practice.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Nitoiu Cristian

Russia and the EU's quest for status: the path to conflict in the post-Soviet space

in *Global Affairs*, Volume 2, Issue 2 , 143-153

This article suggests that both the EU and Russia sought to achieve the great power status by enhancing their presence in the post-Soviet space. Conflict has arisen as the status seeking efforts of the two have been transformed into a dangerous zero-sum game. Moscow's actions in Ukraine prompted the EU to adopt a more conflictual attitude, where it now actively aims to counteract Moscow's influence. This transformed Russia and the EU's status seeking efforts into a deep security dilemma. Both actors perceive that maintaining their influence in the region is crucial for maintaining their status. Rather than seeking a mutually and sustainable agreement that would give equal importance to Ukraine's interests, the EU and Russia draw more red lines, and revert to cold war rhetoric. In the short term this behaviour will put their status seeking efforts even more at odds with each other and deepen the conflict.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Ziegler Charles E.

Russia on the rebound: using and misusing the Responsibility to Protect

in *International Relations*, vol. 30, n. 3, september , 346-361



ABSTRACT: Russian leaders consider the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) a Western liberal democratic norm that erodes sovereignty and threatens Russia's great power status. They suspect the United States and Europe use R2P as a means of effecting regime changes that support their national interests, not as a purely altruistic effort to protect vulnerable populations. Having experienced state collapse, societal fragmentation, and a weakened foreign policy over the past two decades, Russia rejects the Western universalist interpretation of R2P in favor of a civilizational perspective that privileges the Kremlin's interpretation of when intervention is or is not legitimate. A close analysis of domestic factors in Russian politics, combined with an understanding of Moscow's newly confident approach to geopolitics, are needed to understand Russia's position as one of the most vocal critics of the Responsibility to Protect.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Leib Julia

Shaping peace: an investigation of the mechanisms underlying post-conflict peacebuilding in Peace, Conflict and Development, Issue 22, July , 25-76

What shapes peace, and how can peace be successfully built in those countries affected by armed conflict? This paper examines peacebuilding in the aftermath of civil wars in order to identify the conditions for post-conflict peace. The field of civil war research is characterised by case studies, comparative analyses and quantitative research, which relate relatively little to each other. Furthermore, the complex dynamics of peacebuilding have hardly been investigated so far. Thus, the question remains of how best to enhance the prospects of a stable peace in post-conflict societies. Therefore, it is necessary to capture the dynamics of post-conflict peace. This paper aims at helping to narrow these research gaps by 1) presenting the benefits of settheoretic methods for peace and conflict studies; 2) identifying remote conflict environment factors and proximate peacebuilding factors which have an influence on the peacebuilding process and 3) proposing a set-theoretic multi-method research approach in order to identify the causal structures and mechanisms underlying the complex realm of post-conflict peacebuilding. By implementing this transparent and systematic comparative approach, it will become possible to discover the dynamics of post-conflict peace.

Full text available online at

<http://www.bradford.ac.uk/social-sciences/peace-conflict-and-development/latest-issue/Julia-Leib.pdf>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Smith Karen

South Africa and the Responsibility to Protect: from champion to sceptic in International Relations, vol. 30, n. 3, september , 391-405

ABSTRACT: This article provides an overview of the South African government's evolving position on the Responsibility to Protect (R2P). While the country was an advocate of R2P in the run-up to the 2005 United Nations (UN) World Summit and the related idea of non-indifference in Africa, its conduct while serving as a non-permanent member of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) and subsequent developments have raised questions about its continued commitment to these principles. In particular, Resolution 1973 (2011) on Libya proved to be a turning point. It is argued that while South Africa continues to support the broad idea of civilian protection, it is in favour of a consultative, regional approach and has become increasingly critical of what it views as the selective application and militarisation of the R2P. In trying to make sense of the apparent contradictions in South Africa's position, it is necessary to situate the debate



against the background of broader tensions in its foreign policy, particularly around the promotion of human rights. These, in turn, are linked to divergent and multiple foreign policy identities that the post-apartheid state is still coming to terms with.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Bleaney Michael, Dimico Arcangelo

State history, historical legitimacy and modern ethnic diversity

in *European Journal of Political Economy*, Volume 43, June 2016 , Pages 159-170

How much does the antiquity of states, and the sometimes arbitrary nature of colonial boundaries, explain the modern degree of theory of ethnic diversity and income disthnic diversity? It is shown that states with greater historical legitimacy (more continuity between the pre-colonial and post-colonial state) have less ethnic diversity. Historical legitimacy is more strongly correlated with ethnic diversity than are the antiquity of states, genetic diversity or the duration of human settlement. Although historical legitimacy is particularly pertinent to Africa, the correlation also holds outside Africa.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

De Ville Ferdi, Vermeiren Mattias

The Eurozone crisis and the rise of China in the global monetary and trading system: The political economy of an asymmetric shock

in *Comparative European Politics*, vol. 14, n. 5, september , 572-603

ABSTRACT: In this article we examine the role of EMU-China monetary and trade relations in the divergent evolution of the extra-regional trade balance of Germany and the GIPS countries (Greece, Italy, Portugal, Spain). These deepening relations generated an asymmetric shock in the Eurozone: while Germany largely benefited from the rise of China in the global monetary and trading system, the GIPS countries have been much less adapted. Drawing on the insights of the varieties of capitalism literature, we argue that the institutional adaptability of these countries to these deepening relations has been a function of the presence of particular labor market institutions that allow manufacturing firms to maintain their competitiveness. Coordinated labor market institutions supported Germany's extra-regional trade balance performance by bestowing its manufacturing firms with comparative institutional advantages, whereas the absence of these labor market institutions in the GIPS rendered their manufacturing firms much less institutionally adjusted to deal with the competitiveness pressures associated with the rise of China. As such, EMU-China monetary and trade relations have been a contributing factor in the Eurozone debt crisis by forcing the GIPS countries to run increasing extra-regional trade deficits.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Scott James

The International Politics of South-South Trade

in *Global Governance*, vol. 22, n. 3, july-september , 427-445



ABSTRACT: South-South trade has become a core component of the contemporary trade debate, but the idea of using preferential trade agreements among developing countries to foster industrialization and diminish dependence on the North has a long history. This article examines the North-South and South-South politics surrounding two efforts to operationalize this idea—the Protocol Relating to Trade Negotiations Among Developing Countries in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade and the Global System of Trade Preferences Among Developing Countries within the UN Conference on Trade and Development. It argues that the rich world has been somewhat obstructive in these efforts, but ultimately the primary cause for the weakness of these agreements is traced to failure by the Global South to make good on the rhetoric surrounding economic cooperation and South-South solidarity. Lessons from this history must be learned if current efforts to extend the GSTP are to bring greater benefits, particularly to the least developed.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Linos Katerina, Pegram Tom

**The Language of Compromise in International Agreements
in *International Organization*, vol. 70, issue 3, July, 587-621**

ABSTRACT: To reach agreement, international negotiators often compromise by using flexible language: they make controversial provisions vague, or add options and caveats. Does flexibility in agreement language influence subsequent state behavior? If so, do states follow both firm and flexible language somewhat, as negotiators hope? Or do governments respond strategically, increasing their energies on firmly specified tasks, and reducing their efforts on flexibly specified ones? Testing theories about agreement language is difficult because states often reserve flexible language for controversial provisions. To make causal claims, we study an unusually drafted agreement in which states had almost no opportunity to dilute agreement language. We examine the influence of the 1991 Paris Principles on the Design of National Human Rights Institutions (NHRIs), using an original data set of twenty-two institutional safeguards of NHRIs in 107 countries, and case studies. We find that variations in agreement language can have large effects on state behavior, even when the entire agreement is nonbinding. Both democracies and authoritarian states followed the principles' firm terms closely. However, authoritarian states either ignored or reduced their efforts on flexibly specified tasks. If flexibly specifying a task is no different from omitting it altogether, as our data suggest, the costs of compromise are much greater than previously believed.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Heald Seth

**The Pope's Climate Message in the United States: Moral Arguments and Moral Disengagement
in *Environment: Science and Policy for Sustainable Development*, May-June**

Full text available online at

http://www.environmentmagazine.org/Archives/Back%20Issues/2016/May-June%202016/pope_full.html

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Zoran Oklopcic



The South of Western constitutionalism: a map ahead of a journey

in *Third World Quarterly*, Volume 37, Issue 11 , 2080-2097

In starting from the simple question, 'Why didn't the field of constitutional studies ever generate a school of thought akin to TWAIL?', this article seeks to sketch the contours, obstacles and promises of Southern constitutionalism. In confronting the intra-, meta-, and extra-disciplinary challenges to such a project, the article defines the 'South' of Southern constitutionalism, not the 'South' of the developed 'North', but rather the 'South' of the modernist hopes in – and the post-modernist disappointments with – the templates of Western constitutional imagination.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Cameron Oren Hunter

The Submission of the Sovereign: An Examination of the Compatibility of Sovereignty and International Law

in *Denver Journal of international law and policy*, Vol. 44, No. 4, Summer

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Cater Charles, Malone David M.

The origins and evolution of Responsibility to Protect at the UN

in *International Relations*, vol. 30, n. 3, september , 278-297

ABSTRACT: This article situates the emergence of the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) concept, later accepted by many as a principle, in the wider flow of events following on the end of the Cold War. Among the hallmarks of change in the United Nations (UN) Security Council as of the early 1990s, in stark contrast to the Council's preoccupations during its first four decades of activity, was its growing attention to humanitarian considerations relating to conflict, its new willingness to tackle conflicts (mainly internal ones) it might have avoided earlier, and its willingness to experiment with new approaches to resolving them. Just as worries over terrorism and the threat of weapons of mass destruction were to become dominant themes in its work, the humanitarian imperative also incrementally wove itself into the fabric of the Council's decision-making. It is against this wider backdrop and that of several spectacular UN failures to prevent genocide and other mass humanitarian distress that UN Secretary-General (UNSG) Kofi Annan was impelled as of 1999 to look beyond existing international law and practice for a new normative framework, that while formally respecting the sovereignty of states nevertheless elevated humanitarian concerns and action to the level of an international responsibility to prevent the worst outcomes. Today R2P finds itself competing with other legal and diplomatic principles, but it remains a potent platform for advocacy and, at times, for action by the UN.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Vukov Visnja

The rise of the Competition State? Transnationalization and state transformations in Europe

in *Comparative European Politics*, vol. 14, n. 5, september , 523-546



ABSTRACT: This article analyses the transformations of state policies in the European Union and explores the patterns of their convergence or divergence in the context of increased economic transnationalization. The starting point is the thesis that in the globalized, post-Fordist economy welfare states are transforming into Competition States concerned primarily with increasing the competitiveness of their territory and aiming at labour recommodification rather than decommodification. The article offers an operationalization of the concept of Competition State and uses cluster analysis to examine to what extent different European states converged on this model from mid-1990s to 2007. The results show that Eurozone members over time converge to a single cluster that is less oriented towards increasing competitiveness than are the states outside of the EMU, while the latter indeed experience transformations towards Competition States. However, rather than finding a single ideal-type, the analysis actually identifies three different types of Competition States.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Waters Timothy William

The spear point and the ground beneath: territorial constraints on the logic of Responsibility to Protect in International Relations, vol. 30, n. 3, september , 314-327

ABSTRACT: The doctrine of Responsibility to Protect (R2P) faces considerable criticism, of both its inefficacy – its failure to describe an effective pathway around the obstacles to humanitarian intervention in the sclerotic global security system – and its overreach, especially the risk that it enables pretextual agendas of intervention and regime change. Yet neither defenders nor critics have paid much attention to another possibility or risk incumbent in R2P: the likelihood, once intervention is undertaken, that the interveners themselves will be involved in a conflict over territory, whose likely solutions will include, not simply regime change, but partition. The doctrine as we now have it, built thoroughly on a state-centric logic, does not engage with this question, and indeed there are strategic reasons for ignoring the issue: acknowledging such a quality would be too much for R2P's supporters to admit or its critics to accept. But whatever our normative orientation toward this rising or stumbling doctrine, we ought to be clear about where taking it seriously is really likely to lead us: sooner or later – and more often than we might wish to acknowledge – R2P interventions will force us to confront the logic of partition.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Dueñas Andrés

Tradicional y nuevas formas de racionales y nuevas formas de participación política. Un análisis comparativo entre España y Ecuador
in **Cuadernos Manuel Giménez Abad**, n. 12, diciembre , 159-173

Since emergence of Movimiento 15M, Spain has undergone a lot of important political changes. There are many people that propose constitutional amendments for institutions of direct and participative democracy gain weight in our system. Ecuador approved the current Constitution in 2008, participative mechanisms. This text de situation of participative political rights in Spain, inside of a comparative framework with Ecuadorian legal system.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea



Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Hazenberg Jilles L. J.

**Transnational Corporations and Human Rights Duties: Perfect and Imperfect
in *Human Rights Review*, vol. 17, number 4 , 479-500**

ABSTRACT: This paper aims, firstly, to bridge debates on human rights and Transnational Corporations (TNCs) within practical philosophy and those within the business and human rights literature and, secondly, to determine the extent to which human rights duties can be assigned to TNCs. To justifiably assign human rights duties to TNCs, it is argued that these duties need to be grounded in moral theory. Through assessment of two approaches from practical philosophy, it is argued that positive duties cannot be assigned to TNCs because their bindingness cannot be grounded in moral theory. A positive argument is introduced to interpret TNCs' human rights duties as corresponding to virtues rather than rights. Though such duties are indeterminate regarding what constitutes adequate performance, they can be made more determinate through legal instruments outside of positive human rights law. An approach is introduced exemplifying how such approaches can achieve the end of TNCs compliance with human rights norms.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Smith Jackie, Plummer Samantha, Hughes Melanie M.

**Transnational social movements and changing organizational fields in the late twentieth and early twenty-first
centuries**

in *Global Networks*, vol. 17, issue 1, january , 3-22

ABSTRACT: Recent decades have seen dramatic changes in the global political arena, including shifts in geopolitical arrangements, increases in popular mobilization and contestation over the direction of globalization, and efforts by elites to channel or curb popular opposition. We explore how these factors affect changes in global politics. Organizational populations are shaped by ongoing interactions among civil-society, corporate and governmental actors operating at multiple levels. During the 1990s and 2000s, corporate and government actors promoted the 'neoliberalization of civil society' and the appropriation of movement concepts and practices to support elite interests. Not all movement actors have been passive witnesses to this process: they have engaged in intense internal debates, and they have adapted their organizational strategies to advance social transformation. This article draws from quantitative research on the population of transnational social movement organizations (TSMOs) and on qualitative research on contemporary transnational activism to describe changes in transnational organizing at a time of growing contention in world politics. We show how interactions among global actors have shaped new, hybrid organizational forms and spaces that include actors other than states in influential roles.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Lucentini Mauro

Un requiem per la soluzione bistatale in Palestina?

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLVIII, numero speciale, n. 178, autunno , 571-580

Full text available online at http://www.affari-esteri.it/Affari_Esteri_178.pdf



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Paoloni Lorenza

Un “localismo cosmopolita”. Una proposta della Università del Molise

in *CNS Ecologia politica*, XXVI, n. 6, 24 giugno , 6

Full text available on line at <http://www.ecologiapolitica.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/lorenza-paoloni.pdf>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Beery Jason

Unearthing global natures: Outer space and scalar politics

in *Political Geography*, Volume 55, November , 92-101

During the 1960s, the United Nations Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space (COPUOS) worked to develop laws that would regulate activity in outer space. In the treaty that followed, outer space, a resource that encompassed Earth, was to remain outside of existing political borders, free from sovereign claims, and open to use by all states. Because of these stipulations, many have labeled outer space a “global commons” or “global resource.” In most academic analyses of global commons, these laws rejecting sovereign claims are treated as the de facto way that a resource that materially spanned all states would be governed. As debates in and outside of COPUOS indicate, however, the status of outer space as beyond states’ sovereign territorial jurisdiction was not given. Rather, as I demonstrate in this paper, the status of outer space and orbits as beyond sovereign territories is a result of political contestation over the understanding of physical properties of outer space and Earth. I trace the debate in the late 1960s and 1970s over the border between sovereign air space and “global” outer space. This was a debate over how outer space would be incorporated into political–economic relations. By using a production of nature approach that recognizes the importance of physical materialities and scalar politics, I demonstrate the constructedness of outer space as a “global” resource and how its construction as such furthered uneven political–economic processes. Such analysis illuminates how such socionatures beyond and across borders are produced to achieve particular political–economic outcomes.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Abulof Uriel

We the peoples? The strange demise of self-determination

in *European Journal of International Relations* , vol. 22, n. 3, september , 536-565

ABSTRACT: The self-determination of peoples is a fundamental legitimating principle of the international system; it justifies the system’s very existence. Through a vast diachronic corpus and pertinent data sets, this article nevertheless reveals a puzzling decline in the public discourse on, and practice of, self-determination over the last 50 years. I identify and assess four structural explanations for this decline: “lexical change” (replacing self-determination with alternative terms); “silent hegemony” (taking the norm for granted); “reactive rhetoric” (echoing conflicts and new state formation



post hoc); and “mission accomplished” (rectifying the incongruence between national boundaries and state borders). Complementing these structural causes with agential reasons, I further suggest that powerful state actors and persuasive academics have sought to “tame” self-determination as both principle and practice, retaining the term but altering its meaning from a source of threat into a resource for containing it. Self-determination, however, has not been eliminated, and taming it may yet prove a pyrrhic victory.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Bilgin Pinar

What is the point about Sykes–Picot?

in Global Affairs, Volume 2, Issue 3 , 355-359

The Sykes–Picot Agreement (1916) became (in)famous once again following a tweet announcing a propaganda video by the group that call themselves the Islamic State of Iraq and al Sham (ISIS) declaring “the end of Sykes–Picot”. In this essay I suggest that the point about Sykes–Picot is not about the “artificiality” of borders in the Middle East (for all borders are artificial in different ways) or the way in which they were drawn (for almost all borders were agreed on by a few men, and seldom women, behind closed doors) but (also) that it was shaped by a discursive economy that allowed for the International Society to decide the fate of those that were deemed as not-yet capable of governing themselves. ISIS preoccupation with the “end of Sykes–Picot” is conditioned by the same discursive economy that it apparently seeks to resist.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Nizhnikau Ryhor

When Goliath meets Goliath: how Russia and the EU created a vicious circle of instability in Moldova

in Global Affairs, Volume 2, Issue 2 , 203-216

Moldova (like most of the post-Soviet countries) suffers from state capture, endemic corruption and a lack of prosperity. This article examines the policies of the EU and Russia in Moldova and in particular how they have contributed to the dysfunctional institutions, political instability and social unrest that have become a permanent feature in the country’s development. Comparing Russia’s and the EU’s policies on the eve of and after the Parliamentary elections in Moldova of 2014, it argues that Russian and EU policies in Moldova are similar in their strategies. They both focus on creating a support base for their vision of Moldova’s future among local elites and both thereby become involved in domestic politics. The winners are the domestic elites that use external assistance to maintain existing structures and institutions that support an inefficient state which continues to extract rents and through which they manage to stay in power. A consequence of the preservation of inefficient state structures and mechanisms is the uneven distribution of power and resources, flourishing corruption and the impoverishment of the population. The elite-oriented policies of both Russia and the EU reinforce, rather than improve, the status quo in Moldova and contribute thereby to greater domestic instability, prevent substantial economic growth and increase existing social problems in the country.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous



Hassing Nielsen Julie

Why use experiments in EU studies?

in *Comparative European Politics*, vol. 14, n. 5, september , 626-644

ABSTRACT: The past decades have witnessed an explosion in the use of experiments. Though experiments have been increasingly applied, their recognition as useful methodological tools to investigate EU-related research questions has lagged behind the rest of the political science community. This article does two things. First, by summarising the use of experiments in EU research, it provides an overview of the evolution of the use of experiments within EU studies. This includes a content exploration of the pioneering sub-areas within EU studies where experimentation is frequently used. Particular focus is paid on election, framing and deliberation studies. Second, the article argues for the promising potentials experimentation provides for EU studies, overcoming problems of causal estimation as well as endogeneity concerns. The article concludes by addressing some of the critiques often made against experimentation, arguing for a renewed view on validity.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Baudet Floribert

'A statement against the totalitarian countries of Europe': human rights and the early Cold War

in *Cold War History*, Volume 16 - Issue 2 , pp. 125-140

This article discusses scholarly views on the rise of the human rights paradigm. Based on a case study of the Netherlands it argues that the appeal of human rights cannot simply be attributed to the memory of the Holocaust, or the rise of post-war generations disillusioned with traditional ideologies in the 1960s and especially, the 1970s. Instead, it proposes that human rights primarily owe their popularity to the ideological contest of the Early Cold War, even though means to convey the message all over the world were only available in the decades that followed.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Burke Roland

'How Time Flies': Celebrating the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in the 1960s

in *International History Review (The)*, Volume 38, Issue 3 , pp. 394-420

Recent histories of human rights have identified the 1970s as the most decisive epoch in the birth of the modern rights era. These works have tended toward a parenthetic dismissal of the period 1948–70 as years of interregnum, of marginal impact to the 'breakthrough' moment which followed. This article argues for a more complex periodisation, and reclaims the importance of the 1960s. Far from an undifferentiated abyss, the two decades between the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) and the 1968 International Human Rights Year held their own shifts, integral to the evolution of modern human rights. A crucial transition in the status of the UDHR occurred across the mid-1960s, roughly aligned with the terminal years of liberal post-colonialism. Through a comparison of two hitherto neglected events in the history of human rights, the fifteenth and twentieth anniversary commemorations of the UDHR, in December 1963 and 1968, this article traces the trajectory of that transition. These commemorations, concentrated moments of explicit reflection on the meaning of human rights, encapsulated the gulf between the early and the late 1960s. In the space of five years, any vestigial consensus on the vision enunciated in 1948 was obliterated.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Joronen Mikko

“Refusing to be a victim, refusing to be an enemy”. Form-of-life as resistance in the Palestinian struggle against settler colonialism

in **Political Geography**, Volume 56, January , 91-100

This paper focuses on practices of non-violent resistance as they are played out in the ongoing Palestinian struggle against the Israeli settler colonialism in the occupied West Bank. By looking at the resistance of expanding settlements, demolition and land confiscation orders, and livelihood destruction in two Palestinian sites, the paper shows how Israeli settler colonial apparatuses, and the variety of techniques and practices of erasure they mobilize, can be fruitfully studied through site-specific ways of Palestinian resistance. In order to do so, the paper turns to discuss a peculiar form of non-violent resistance grounded in what Giorgio Agamben calls ‘destituent power’. It shows how the acts of destituent resistance in the two sites under study function by playing with the apparatuses of control in creative but non-violent ways; namely, by using the potentialities of that form-of-life that the settler colonial apparatuses try to cancel, overrule, control, weaken, criminalize, and erase. The idea of ‘destituent play’ is hence elaborated, and special attention paid to its ability to slow down and hamper the repressive functions of the settler colonial apparatuses through the creative use of the potentialities of Palestinian everyday life.

Full text available online at <http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0962629816300774>