



## Bulletin n. 1-2/2014 - November 2014

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Grégoire Jean-François

#### **Beyond the Liberal Route to Federalism: Republican Freedom**

in *Theoria*, Volume 61, Number 138, March 2014, 18-36

#### Abstract:

In an effort towards developing a normative theory of federalism, this paper offers a critical assessment of the work of Will Kymlicka and Ferran Requejo in order to show the progress and failures of liberal nationalist authors on issues raised by the normative dimensions of federalism in Western multinational contexts. More exactly, the paper argues that both authors fail to give a complete theory of federalism because the liberal conception of self-determination as non-interference can only create superficial unity and contingent trust, especially in multinational contexts, where non-interference is to regulate relations between particular identities and conceptions of citizenship. Drawing on this critical assessment of liberal nationalism, I argue that the neo-republican ideal of non-domination, as developed by Philip Pettit (1997, 2012), provides us not only with the adequate normative heuristics to assess national rights of self-determination, but also international relations and the institutional conditions needed to create binding trust within multinational federal constellations.

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

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Jakimow Tanya

#### **DECENTRALISED GOVERNANCE AS SITES FOR SELF-FORMATION: A COMPARISON OF PRACTICES OF WELFARE DISTRIBUTION IN TELANGANA, INDIA, AND CENTRAL LOMBOK, INDONESIA**

in *International Journal of Asian Studies (The)*, Volume 11 - Issue 02, 161-185

Studies that examine the effects of decentralisation for social change or stasis have placed necessary attention on its institutional dynamics: the ways social institutions have transformed as a result of new governance regimes, or alternatively, how the existing institutional context and attendant power relations determine its actualisation. The second facet of the structure/agency dialectic is often overlooked however, that is, the actors themselves. This article seeks to overcome this lacuna by exploring the effects of citizens' engagement in practices associated with decentralised governance for individuals' understandings of self, society, and their relationship with the state. A comparison of two villages in Telangana, India, and Central Lombok, Indonesia reveals how differences in the distribution of welfare benefits have implications for the potential of such interactions to be sites of creative self-formation. Differences such as the regularity and ability to demand entitlements, preferential versus equal access to resources, and the levels at which citizens engage with the state, may be crucial for processes of subjectification, and by extension, social transformation.

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

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Rummens Stefan, Sottiaux Stefan

**Democratic Legitimacy in the Bund or 'Federation of States': the Cases of Belgium and the EU**  
in *European law journal*, Volume 20, Issue 4 , 568–587

Carl Schmitt developed the concept of the 'federation of states' (Bund) in order to characterise intermediate constitutional systems which are integrated beyond the level of a confederation (Staatenbund) without, however, acquiring the level of integration of an actual federal state (Bundesstaat). In this paper we analyse the constitutional specificity of the 'federation of states' and present three normative principles for assessing the democratic legitimacy of the decision-making procedures within such a federation. We argue that both the European Union and Belgium can be analysed as instances of such a federation of states and show how this characterisation improves our understanding of the evolutionary dynamics of both polities and the constitutional and democratic challenges they are facing.

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

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Manuel Fondevila Marón

**Dificultades para la formulación de una teoría en torno al Estado de las Autonomías**

in *Revista de derecho politico*, no. 89 , 239-268

This essay deal with, referring of recent book of Professor J. Ruipérez División de Competencias y Forma Territorial del Estado the difficulties that, since the origin of the State of Autonomies, political and academic class have found to a correctly understanding of the nature of its political form. The thesis is that the State of Autonomies is a specific type of Federal State, even if it would be appropriate a constitutional reform in order to clarify distribution of powers between the central government and the autonomous communities.

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

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Aziz Z. Huq

**Does the Logic of Collective Action Explain Federalism Doctrine?**

in *Stanford Law Review*, vol. 66, issue 2 , 217-302

Recent federalism scholarship has taken a "collective action" turn. Commentators endorse or criticize the Court's doctrinal tools for allocating regulatory authority between the states and the federal government by invoking an economic model of collective action. The ensuing corpus of "collective action arguments" has been invoked by both pro-federal and pro-state scholars to underwrite either judicial acquiescence in broad national authority or robust judicial intervention to protect states' interests. Both strands of argument have also found echoes in recent Supreme Court jurisprudence.

This Article reconsiders the relevance of collective action arguments for federalism doctrine. Without questioning the role of collective action dynamics in descriptive accounts of American federalism, it challenges their normative significance for the purpose of fashioning structural constitutional doctrine. At the Article's core is a simple claim with plural ramifications: there is no unique logic of collective action that can well explain American federalism. Instead, hetero-geneous collections of states will, under different circumstances, follow distinct trajectories that end in divergent end states. Collective action dynamics among the several states can hence produce not only optimal but also highly



undesirable equilibria depending on how initial parameters are set. Moreover, the various collective action dynamics animating American federalism are too heterogeneous and empirically contingent to point univocally in one direction toward any simple and stable judicial approach. Absent a single model that works as a reliable rule of thumb, the plural logics of collective action do not provide a stable analytic lodestar to guide judicial intervention. Nor do they provide an accurate proxy for the Framers' original understanding of federalism. Accordingly, the Article concludes that judicially enforced federalism cannot be vindicated in terms of collective action arguments. Instead, it suggests that to the extent the case for judicially enforced federalism rests principally on the availability and soundness of collective action explanations, there may be sound reasons for courts to abandon the field.

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

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Reuchamps Min, Kavadias Dimokritos, Deschouwer Kris

**Drawing Belgium: Using Mental Maps to Measure Territorial Conflict**

in **Territory, Politics, Governance**, Volume 2, Issue 1 , 30-51

Governing divided Belgium is not an easy affair. Traditional tools of political research have provided insights about the dynamics of Belgian federalism but they have fallen short in exploring the territorial dimension of the conflict and its political representations within the population. Mental maps, scarcely used hitherto by political scientists, offer an innovative research tool to dig into territorial conflict dynamics since they aim at capturing the mental representation an individual has of a given object or space through the materialization of their representation with a drawing. This article discusses drawings of Belgium made by over 5000 first year higher education students in this country. The drawings confirm the importance of the two most prominent—and thus symbolic—elements of the territorial conflict in Belgium: the internal language border and the position of Brussels. In triangulation with responses to a questionnaire collected simultaneously, the analyses show that differences between the two language groups in Belgium are not very high, but that opposed visions on the country are reflected by those who exclusively identify themselves with Belgium or with Flanders. We state that if used with caution to ensure both internal and external validity, mental maps can prove to be an innovative but robust research tool for the study of territorial conflict broadly speaking. Because of their flexibility and their openness, mental maps capture the shortcuts citizens use to forge their political and territorial representation of their country.

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

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Bulman-Pozen Jessica

**From Sovereignty and Process to Administration and Politics: The Afterlife of American Federalism**

in **Yale Law Journal (The)**, vol. 123 - n. 6

Announcing the death of dual federalism, Edward Corwin asked whether the states could be “saved as the vital cells that they have been heretofore of democratic sentiment, impulse, and action.” The federalism literature has largely answered in the affirmative. Unwilling to abandon dual federalism’s commitment to state autonomy and distinctive interests, scholars have proposed new channels for protecting these forms of state-federal separation. Yet today state and federal governance are more integrated than separate. States act as co-administrators and co-legislatures in federal



statutory schemes; they carry out federal law alongside the executive branch and draft the law together with Congress. Lacking an autonomous realm of action, states infuse federal law with diversity and competition, aligning themselves with certain federal actors to oppose others. States also participate in national political contests on behalf of Americans both inside and outside their borders. They facilitate competition between the Democratic and Republican parties and offer staging grounds for national networks seeking to advance their agendas through direct democracy. Instead of focusing on state autonomy and distinctive interests, we should accordingly recognize contemporary American federalism as an expression of our multifarious nationalism. This need not lead us to answer Corwin's question in the negative: precisely because states are disaggregated sites of national governance, not separate sovereigns, they continue to serve as vital cells of "democratic sentiment, impulse, and action."

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

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John Law

**How Can We Define Federalism?**

in *Perspectives on federalism*, vol. 5, issue 3 , E88-E120

While the study of federalism has in many respects reached an advanced stage today, there nevertheless remains a troubling absence of agreement as to the precise meaning of the concept. It is subject to multiple definitions, which overlap with one another in various ways and sometimes conflict. This leads to material negative consequences for both academic research and public policy, which can no longer be overlooked. The article confronts the problem by reviewing what the social science theory of concepts teaches for the construction of methodologically sound definitions of concepts. It employs the insights gained in the elaboration of a valid taxonomy of political systems, from which the definition of a federal political system can be inferred, and hence that of federalism. Rethinking the concept in this way points to the need to reject the currently fashionable 'broad' definition (following Elazar) in favour of a return to a 'narrow' differentiated definition (following Wheare). Further, it illuminates the existence of two distinct federal structures – the federal state and the federal union of states – where before only the former was known. It thus leads to identification of the presently unidentified or 'sui generis' European Union as an instance of the latter form.

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Regazzoni Bernardino

**L'esperienza del federalismo svizzero**

in *Federalismi*, Anno XII - Nr 9

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

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Charles-Emmanuel Côté

**Les difficultés d'application du principe d'unité de l'Etat fédéral dans le droit de la responsabilité de l'Etat: retour sur le(s) livre(s) d'André Mommeja et Maurice Donot**

in *Revue générale de droit international publique*, vol. 117, no. 4 , 769-794

No abstract available

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

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Hutchinson Francis E.

**Malaysia's Federal System: Overt and Covert Centralisation**

in *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, Volume 44, Issue 3, 2014 , 422-442

In recent decades, many countries have implemented decentralisation drives to increase efficiency and responsiveness. However, Malaysia is an exception. Its federal system is more than 50 years old and, rather than decentralising, the country has pursued a sustained centralisation drive. The cause dates back to the pre-independence period, when the nationalist elite, the British and the traditional rulers negotiated the structure of the future government. The first two parties wanted a strong central government, but had to factor in pre-existing political structures centred on the rulers. The result was a federal system with a powerful central government and state governments with diminished responsibilities. Since independence, the ruling coalition founded by the nationalist elite has remained in power at the federal level. Enabled by the constitution's "top-heavy" design and its unbroken tenure, the coalition has implemented a continuous centralisation drive. Further catalysts – but not causes – have been the implementation of the New Economic Policy and creeping authoritarianism. The centralisation drive has been pursued through a variety of tactics, including: appropriating state government responsibilities; altering incentive structures; privatising state government-owned assets; and "organisational duplication." Recent policies look to continue this, precluding the potential benefits of a functioning federal system.

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Rebecca L. Gruby, Xavier Basurto

**Multi-level governance for large marine commons: Politics and polycentricity in Palau's protected area network**

in *Environmental Science & Policy* , Vol. 33 , 260-272

This paper brings together institutional theories of polycentricity and critical human geography theory on scalar politics to advance understanding of the form and function of nested, polycentric regimes for the governance of large-scale common pool resources. We focus on institutional changes associated with a national marine protected area network in Palau through which national government and NGOs gain influence in local decision-making processes. Influence is gained through an attempt to scale up common-pool resource governance to an ecologically-relevant spatial scale in an effort to protect coral reef resilience and biodiversity across Palau. An institutional approach informed by scalar politics brings into focus potential tradeoffs between organizing governance reform around ecologically versus institutionally relevant scales. Our analysis suggests that prioritization of ecologically-relevant scales in institutional reform resulted in more nested but less polycentric institutional arrangements governing the network. We conclude that less distributed



decision-making in the overall nested governance system could threaten the sustainability and resilience of coral reefs in the long-term by constraining institutional innovation and diversity. Results demonstrate the potential for interdisciplinary dialog to advance the research frontier on multi-level governance for large common pool resources.

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R. Gluck Abbe

**Our [National] Federalism**

in *Yale Law Journal (The)*, vol. 123 - n. 6

“National Federalism” best describes the modern allocation of state and federal power, but it is a federalism without doctrine. Federalism today comes primarily from Congress—through its decisions to give states prominent roles in federal schemes and so to ensure the states’ continuing relevance in the statutory era. As a result, many of the most significant state sovereign acts now occur through state implementation of federal statutory law, but we have no law to effectuate this account of state authority. This is National Federalism: nationalism and federalism, simultaneous and in tension—and generated entirely by federal statutes. Unlike traditional federalism, it is neither a constant presence nor an entitlement: rather, it is a feature of federal statutory design. But nor does it have the usual trappings of nationalism, because it incorporates experimentation, variety and state historical expertise—the classic “federalism” values—into national law. State sovereignty remains, even if law does not yet recognize it as such. States pass state legislation, appoint new state officials and hear state-law cases in state courts, all as part of their work to implement federal statutory law, but in many ways autonomous from it. Yet, instead of having Chevron-like doctrines that give implementing states more policymaking discretion; or jurisdictional rules that keep more of these cases in state courts; or choice-of-law regimes requiring that state standards of review and state rules of administrative procedure should apply to the state laws enacted by states legislatures that shape the local implementation of federal law in ways unique to each state—instead of all of that, we have a doctrinal muddle and a Court that does not even see these questions as federalism questions in the first place. This essay develops the account of Congress as our primary source of federalism, and re-situates nationalism within that account. It then assembles a list of fifteen unresolved doctrinal questions that reveal the complexity and importance of federalism’s modern statutory domain.

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Levinson Sanford

**Popular Sovereignty and the United States Constitution: Tensions in the Ackermanian Program**

in *Yale Law Journal (The)*, Volume 123, Issue 8

The very title of Bruce Ackerman’s now three-volume masterwork, *We the People*, signifies his commitment to popular sovereignty and, beyond that, to the embrace of democratic inclusion as the leitmotif of American constitutionalism. But “popular sovereignty,” not to mention “democracy,” has many conceptions, and there is a tension within Ackerman’s overall project as to which of the varieties he is most comfortable with. The United States Constitution, though written (and ratified) in the name of “We the People,” nonetheless adopts a theory of “representative democracy” that is purposely designed to minimize to the vanishing point the ability of “the people” to have any direct role in making national-level political decisions. They are restricted to electing purported representatives, who will make decisions in





their name, with or without genuine consultation. One can contrast this to American state constitutions, almost all of which include at least some aspect of direct democracy and many of which, with California being the most prominent example, allow vigorous popular participation in governance through initiative and referendum. So an obvious question is whether Ackerman simply feels constrained by the undoubted limits of the national Constitution—one lives with the Constitution one has, not the Constitution one might wish to have—or, on the contrary, whether he affirmatively embraces the particular crabbed form of popular sovereignty instantiated in the United States Constitution and rejects the more robust forms that are available not only in theory but also in the practices of many states (and foreign countries).

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Hoi L. Kong

**Republicanism and the Division of Powers in Canada**

in **University of Toronto Law Journal**, vol. 64, issue 3 , 359-401

Republicanism has emerged as an important school of thought in political theory and has exerted a strong influence on Anglo-American legal scholarship. Republicanism has, however, been largely absent from Canadian constitutional law scholarship and this absence is particularly noticeable in the legal literature on federalism. In this article, I intend to show that a particular version of republicanism, which stresses the norm of non-domination, provides a promising normative framework for analysing the multinational elements of Canadian federalism. The argument seeks to achieve two main goals. First, it aims to build on Philip Pettit's suggestive analyses of minority rights and federalism in order to arrive at a robust republican conception of multinational federations. Second, the argument aims to demonstrate that republican theory can benefit from a close contextual analysis of a particular set of political institutions and that Pettit's version of republicanism is amenable to this kind of attention to context.

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

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Burgess Michael

**Small Worlds: The Character, Role and Significance of Constituent Units in Federations and Federal Political Systems**

in **Europe en formation (L')**, n. 369, 2013/3 , 7-7

In this article I map out the broad contours of key factors and variables involved in the comparative survey of constituent units as 'small worlds' in federal states and political systems. This includes the character, role and overall significance of these constituent units as territorial building blocks of the state which in turn determines the function each one plays in the body politic. This short sketch highlights the way that these factors and variables are closely intertwined to reveal complex subnational political cultures usually rooted in written constitutions and legal systems that utilise asymmetrical procedures and devices successfully to accommodate the politics of difference which it is the principal purpose of these small worlds to protect, promote and preserve.

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Jean Leclair

**Socrates, Odysseus, and Federalism**

in *Review of Constitutional Studies/Revue d'études constitutionnelles*, vol. 18, issue 1, 1-18

This essay briefly develops an epistemological, anthropological, normative, and legal/constitutional theory of federalism through which we could envisage anew the complexity of the relationships between Aboriginal peoples and Euro-Canadians or that of Quebecers and Anglo-Canadians. According to this understanding, federalism is not only characterized by a recognition of the inescapable pluralism of Canadian society, but also of the close interaction between the constituent parts of that plural society - an interaction constantly torn between centrifugal and centripetal forces. Because of the bi- or multifocal perspective commanded by this understanding of federalism, none of these interlaced components may be ignored. Concepts such as sovereignty, nationalism, and rights revolve around a single centre. Federalism requires the recognition that the Self is not of one essence and that a community cannot be envisaged in ignorance of other legitimate collectivities surrounding it. In the perspective defended here, federalism is not a monoconceptual but rather a hyphenated notion forcing one to reconcile dyads such as self-other, us-them, autonomy-solidarity, power-justice, etc. Federalism also acknowledges an uncertainty in our world and in ourselves that other concepts tend to obscure. As such, federalism, at an epistemological level, requires that we be suspicious of monocular outlooks.

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Keating Michael

**Territorial Imaginations, Forms of Federalism and Power**

in *Territory, Politics, Governance*, Volume 2, Issue 1, 1-2

Full text available at <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/21622671.2014.883246>

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Jones Martin

**Territory, Politics, and Relational Autonomy**

in *Territory, Politics, Governance*, Volume 2, Issue 2, 109-114

Full text available at <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/21622671.2014.927286>

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

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Barrios-Suvelza Franz Xavier

**The Case for Conceptual Dichotomies in Comparative Federalism: Can Political Science Learn from Comparative Constitutional Law?**

in *Territory, Politics, Governance*, Volume 2, Issue 1, 3-29

Comparative federalism has offered a stable theoretical framework for classifying states according to their formal





structure. However, in the last decades heterodox constitutional outcomes as in the Spanish, Italian and South African cases have put the conventional taxonomies under pressure, particularly the widely accepted unitary-federal dichotomy. This article will show that a better link between political science and legal theory is needed for improving taxonomies in comparative federalism by offering a complementary way of classifying state forms from the perspective of territorial structures. A new methodology of classifying territorial state forms, based on the distribution of rulemaking authority, is operationalized through adjusted parameters that are tested by means of a re-classification of selected countries according to a new dichotomy and to subtypes reflecting the status of territorial layers within the state.

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**Gagnon Alain-G.**

**The Five Faces of Quebec**

**in Europe en formation (L'),** n. 369, 2013/3 , 39-52

Various uses of key concepts such as political nationality, nation, distinct society, region-state, and multinational democracy have a significant impact on the way one imagines constituent units in federal states. My intention in the following article is to introduce the main faces and narratives that have surfaced and resurfaced since the beginning of the Quiet Revolution in Quebec and assess their impact on the mind-set of Canadians and Quebecers. Though I chose not to include the notion of stateless nation to depict Quebec, since this political community has developed major state apparatuses active in paradiplomacy, education, culture, economy, and intergovernmental matters that would make many existing countries very envious of its accomplishments. The concepts of minority nation, of global society or of province proved to be less relevant to discuss the Quebec-Canada dynamics since Quebecers conceive of themselves as forming one of the two principal political communities in the country.

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**Strauss David A.**

**The Neo-Hamiltonian Temptation**

**in Yale Law Journal (The),** Volume 123, Issue 8

The central force behind the development of constitutional law, according to Bruce Ackerman's magisterial *We the People: The Civil Rights Revolution*, is not the courts but the People, acting through the elected officials who were responsible for the civil rights laws of the 1960s. But if, as Professor Ackerman emphasizes, the Constitution should be interpreted to reflect actual decisions made by the People—rather than decisions attributed to the People by creative interpreters—it is not clear what room is left for judicial review. Ackerman shows that a true popular consensus against Jim Crow segregation did, eventually, emerge. But many well-settled principles of constitutional law have been established by courts without the support of such a consensus. No such consensus supported *Brown v. Board of Education* itself, when it was decided.

To a greater extent than Professor Ackerman perhaps recognizes, his account may even ally him with skeptics who would abolish judicial review—skeptics who also, albeit in a different way, believe that the Constitution should be entrusted to the People. The great challenge to those skeptics is that they would repudiate *Brown*. Ackerman celebrates *Brown*, but he also shows that the civil rights era was an extraordinary time in which the nation eventually united to finish



the work of the Civil War. The logic of Ackerman's account suggests (although he may not intend the suggestion) that Brown was an extra-legal but morally justified intervention that was needed to start this process—and was therefore a historically exceptional event that can be accepted as consistent with general skepticism about judicial review.

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**Barnett Randy E.**

**We the People: Each and Every One**

in *Yale Law Journal (The)*, Volume 123, Issue 8

In his book series, *We the People*, Bruce Ackerman offers a rich description of how constitutional law comes to be changed by social movements. He also makes some normative claims about “popular sovereignty,” “popular consent,” “higher law,” and “higher-lawmaking.” In this essay, I examine these claims and find them to be both highly under-theorized and deeply problematic. Ackerman's own presentation of what he considers to be an informal process of constitutional amendment illustrates the importance of formality in protecting the rights retained by the people. And he assumes a collective conception of popular sovereignty without considering the serious normative problems raised by majority and supermajority rule. Rule by a majority or supermajority is not the answer to the problem of constitutional legitimacy; it is the problem that requires a normative solution. As an alternative to collective or majoritarian conceptions of popular sovereignty, I identify an individualist conception that yields fundamentally different conclusions about the purpose of a written constitution, including the importance of written amendments in safeguarding the rights retained by a sovereign people, each and every one. Finally, in a Postscript, I respond to Professor Ackerman's reply to this essay.

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**Andrew G.I. Kilberg**

**We the People: The Original Meaning of Popular Sovereignty**

in *Virginia Law Review*, vol. 100, issue 5 , 1061-1109

The Constitution is based on popular sovereignty. But who are the People? Two hundred and twenty six years after the ratification of the Constitution, the answer to this question is still debated. This Note jumps into the fray, closely examining the Constitution itself and the history surrounding its adoption in order to reverse-engineer a coherent theory of American popular sovereignty as it was understood at the time of ratification and the adoption of the Bill of Rights. Did the state peoples exist as sovereigns before the Constitution? If yes, did the Constitution consolidate them into one unitary national people? If not, is there a national people in addition to the state peoples? In short, there is a national people, but it coexists with the sovereign state peoples. Furthermore, the national people must be interpreted through a lens of state peoples—the People is national in scope and importance, but it is defined in reference to the state peoples. The reservoir of reserved powers—those uses of governmental authority that are not expressly mentioned in the text of the Constitution—defaults to the state level. This balance of peoples means that the American system is one of limited sovereignty. Neither the federal nor the state governments can eliminate or alter the other; they reinforce each other in a structure that presupposes its perpetuity. Dual popular sovereignty is the essence of federalism, and it has broad implications for the fundamental distribution of power between the federal government and the states.

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

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Ramón Máiz

**“Dividing sovereignty”: federalismo y republicanism en la teoría política de James Madison**

in *Revista d'Estudis Autònoms i Federals*, no. 19 , 1-66

Aquest article mostra la connexió interna i conceptual en el pensament de Madison entre (1) el republicanisme, centrat en el control popular, l'opinió pública i el protagonisme de “the people themselves” i el disseny institucional d'un sistema parlamentari amb supremacia del legislatiu, així com la cultura política que fa possible la república en un país extens, i (2) el federalisme, entès com a solució republicana d'equilibri i síntesi d'autogovern i govern compartit, unitat i diversitat. Així, l'antagonisme teoricopolític fonamental de l'època se substancia entre Madison i Hamilton, i no entre Madison i Jefferson. Aquests es troben, des de les respectives posicions, molt a prop en els seus temors sobre les conseqüències antirepublicanes i centralistes de la “commercial society” i el “vigor of government” defensats per Hamilton i l'obert menyspreu d'aquest últim per la república, els drets dels estats i, fins i tot, la divisió de poders. Serà precisament la proximitat teòrica i política de fons entre Madison i Jefferson pel que fa tant a la idea d'Estat com a la de nació americans la que estarà a la base de la creació, entre la primera i la quarta legislatura, del partit republicà, que s'oposarà a la “consolidation” centralista i presidencialista de la Unió, i que generarà el naixement del sistema de partits nord-americà.

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

*Subsection 2. Constitutional reform*

Ferreya Raúl Gustavo

**1852: Origins. On 'Bases' of Juan Bautista Alberdi and the Federal Constitution of the Argentine Republic, throughout time**

in *Jahrbuch des öffentlichen Rechts der Gegenwart*, Band 62, 2014

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 2. Constitutional reform*

Stefania Parisi

**Appunti sul sistema delle competenze Stato-Regioni proposto dalla Commissione per le riforme costituzionali in Regioni (Le), no. 4 , 715-725**

No abstract available

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*Subsection 2. Constitutional reform*

John Sarah, DeBats Donald A.

**Australia's Adoption of Compulsory Voting: Revising the Narrative — not Trailblazing, Uncontested or Democratic**

in *Australian Journal of Politics & History* , Volume 60, Issue 1, March , 1-27



Presentations of the history of Australian democracy inevitably dwell on the innovative and early democratic practices of the colonies and, later, the nation. Compulsory voting is typically placed in this frame. This article challenges three key pillars of the accepted narrative of the Australian adoption of compulsory voting by placing nineteenth-century debates over the mandatory franchise in the Australian colonies in the context of other similar democracies in North America. It shows that compulsory voting debates in the colonies were contentious, protracted and motivated by negative experiences of democracy and a desire to limit or order democracy to ensure that engaged minorities did not overwhelm an apathetic majority.

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

*Subsection 2. Constitutional reform*

**Meinel Florian**

**Berlin ist nicht Bonn. Zur Kritik des Art. 22 Abs. 1 GG**

**in Archiv des öffentlichen Rechts** , Volume 138, Number 4, October 2013 , 584-632

Abstract:

German constitutional law has only recently introduced provisions on the status of the federal capital Berlin. The new Art. 22 (1) of the constitution came into force with the 2006 constitutional reform and states the following in just three short sentences: First, Berlin is the capital of the federal republic. Second, the federal government is charged with the "representation of the state as a whole" (Repräsentation des Gesamtstaates). Third, a statutory law is supposed to define in greater detail the status of the capital and its relations to the federal government. Irrespective of its wording, Art. 22 (1) has mostly been referred to as the constitutional recognition of a "symbol of the state". It has however not triggered any scrutiny of the largely informal modes of governance concerning the federal capital; thereby extending cold war state practice, when the status of Berlin was at the heart of the German Question and any formal regulation on the status of Bonn as the seat of government was feared to impact claims for reunification. To date, German law lacks substantial provisions in statutory law on governance and finance of the capital. Instead, most of these issues are settled by treaties between local and federal government. The article argues that any reading of Art. 22 (1) must reflect this dramatically changed context and therefore cannot be limited to a new frame for old administrative routines. The challenges arising from the constitutional status of capitals as well as a variety of solutions can be analysed in a comparative perspective. Yet, the meaning and scope of constitutional provisions on federal capitals has changed significantly over the 19th and 20th century. The model of federal districts, established by the U.S. Constitution and widespread throughout the world, is alien to European constitutions. In consequence, European constitutions of federal states have to cope with the conflicts arising from the special status of a capital city (such as the hegemonic threat) in more indirect ways. With the decrease of confessional and ethnic tensions, however, the key aspects of the capital in the constitution are no longer questions of territoriality and status, with one important exception: the European Union. In the nation states, the most contentious issues in capital politics now include urban planning, financing, and the relations between state and cultural life. Since these issues are located more on the administrative field rather than on the level of the constitution, it is at least from a constitutional point of view crucial to determine the legal forms and instruments that shape the relationship between the state and its federal capital.

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

*Subsection 2. Constitutional reform*

**Giovanni Di Cosimo**

**Brevi considerazioni (soprattutto di metodo) sulla relazione della commissione per le riforme**



in **Regioni (Le)**, no. 4 , 683-689

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 2. Constitutional reform*

**Dimitri Giroto**

**Considerazioni sulle funzioni non legislative e sul ruolo del Senato nella Relazione della Commissione per le riforme costituzionali**

in **Regioni (Le)**, no. 4 , 701-713

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 2. Constitutional reform*

**Wirz Rolf**

**Der schweizerische Bundesstaat von 1848 bis 1874: Mehrheits- oder Konsensusdemokratie?**

in **Swiss Political Science Review - Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft - Revue suisse de science politique**, Volume 20, Issue 1, March 2014 , 165–178

Abstract (English)

This paper examines the question of whether the Swiss democracy was already a strong consensus democracy in the first period after the foundation of the confederation in 1848. To answer this question, the study makes use of the concept of Arend Lijphart (2012) with the distinction between majoritarian and consensus democracy. Based on literature and document analysis, Lijphart's indicators were coded for the Swiss State of 1848–1874. Results show that, on Lijphart's democracy map, the political system of young Switzerland is located close to the position of the USA. Consistent with expectations, this is especially true concerning the horizontal division of power.

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

*Subsection 2. Constitutional reform*

**Maurice Adams**

**Disabling constitutionalism. Can the politics of the Belgian Constitution be explained?**

in **International Journal of Constitutional Law**, vol. 12, no. 2 , 279-302

For the second time in just a few years, Belgium recently faced a profound political and institutional crisis. Since constitutions are the ultimate means of building and sustaining a just and stable politico-institutional order, these crises raise the question of what role the constitution plays in channeling and/or constraining the political state of affairs. This is a most pressing topic, especially since the dominant theory about why and how countries such as Belgium are able to function as stable polities also claims to be indicative of the democratic quality of these countries. In this article, it is submitted that the Belgian case can indeed be instructive in telling us a bit more about the constitutional conditions that are, if nothing else, at least not antagonistic to societal stability. The thesis proposed in this article is that for creating a



stable society, there should be a connection between what is called negative and positive constitutionalism (S. Holmes): not only should a constitution disable political decision-making by building procedural roadblocks or by enacting bills of rights (negative constitutionalism); it can also help create the very demos which governs itself through the constitutional regime by including incentives for politicians to cooperate (positive constitutionalism). The Belgian Constitution has failed in connecting these types of constitutionalism. And since partition and secession, which might be the result of all this, usually come with an array of negative consequences (the possibility of violence being one of them), this is a problematic state of affairs.

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

*Subsection 2. Constitutional reform*

Ilenia Ruggiu

**Il Senato nella Relazione della Commissione per le riforme costituzionali del 17 settembre 2013 in Regioni (Le), no. 4 , 737-743**

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 2. Constitutional reform*

Omar Chessa

**Il bicameralismo dei Saggi in Regioni (Le), no. 4 , 665-678**

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 2. Constitutional reform*

Niels Petersen

**Karlsruhe Not Only Barks, But Finally Bites—Some Remarks on the OMT Decision of the German Constitutional Court**

in *German Law Journal*, vol. 15, issue 2 , 321-327

On 6 September 2012, the European Central Bank (ECB) published a press release on “Technical features of Outright Monetary Transactions.” In this press release, the ECB announced that it would purchase bonds of Member States participating in the European Financial Stability Facility (EFSF)/European Stability Mechanism (ESM) program on the secondary sovereign bond markets under certain conditions. Furthermore, it gave notice that there were no ex ante quantitative limits on the size of these outright monetary transactions (OMT). This OMT announcement of the ECB was challenged before the German Constitutional Court. In a 6:2 decision, the Court raised doubts with regards to the compatibility of the actions announced in the OMT press release with the rules governing the mandate of the ECB in the Treaty for the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU), and referred the case to the European Court of Justice (ECJ) for a preliminary ruling.

The relationship between the German Constitutional Court and the European Court of Justice has a long history.





Karlsruhe has never fully accepted the absolute supremacy of the ECJ in matters of EU law. Instead, the German judges have always tried to influence the course of the European integration. This started with the Solange judgments of the Federal Constitutional Court, which initiated the development of a fundamental rights jurisprudence by the ECJ. In its judgments on the treaties of Maastricht and Lisbon, Karlsruhe tried to impose limits on the European integration project. In many respects, the OMT decision of the German Constitutional Court is a continuation of these previous developments. Karlsruhe claimed to have jurisdiction to review the actions of an EU institution, and the line of reasoning follows, to a considerable extent, the path of the established jurisprudence.

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

*Subsection 2. Constitutional reform*

Eduardo Gianfrancesco

**L'amministrazione regionale nei lavori della Commissione per le riforme costituzionali  
in Regioni (Le), no. 4 , 691-700**

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 2. Constitutional reform*

Antonio Ruggeri

**L'autonomia regionale in bilico tra innovazione e restaurazione (note minime a prima lettura della relazione  
finale della Commissione per le riforme costituzionali)**

**in Regioni (Le), no. 4 , 727-736**

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 2. Constitutional reform*

Aziz Z. Huq

**The Function of Article V**

**in University of Pennsylvania Law Review, vol. 162, issue 5 , 1165-1236**

What good is Article V? The Constitution's amendment rule renders the text inflexible, countermajoritarian, and insensitive to important contemporary constituencies. Comparative empirical studies, moreover, show that textual rigidity is not only rare in other countries' organic documents, but also highly correlated with constitutional failure. To promote our Constitution's survival and to counteract Article V's "dead hand" effect, commentators argue, Americans have turned to informal amendment through the courts or "super" statutes. Article V, the conventional wisdom goes, is a dead letter.

Against this pervasive skepticism, I propose instead that Article V may have played an important but hitherto unrecognized function in the early Republic. I hypothesize that Article V may have mitigated a "hold-up" dilemma that could have precluded the Constitution's ratification and undermined its stability in the early Republic era. By hindering strategic deployment of textual amendment, Article V-induced rigidity fostered a virtuous circle of investment in new institutions, such as political parties and financial infrastructure. Identification of Article V's potential role in the early



Republic leads to a more nuanced view of the Constitution's amendatory regime. In effect, it raises the possibility that we have a two-speed Constitution—with Article V—induced rigidity at the inception, supplemented gradually over time by informal judicial or statutory amendment protocols.

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

*Subsection 2. Constitutional reform*

Weill Rivka

**The New Commonwealth Model of Constitutionalism Notwithstanding: On Judicial Review and Constitution-Making**

*in American Journal of Comparative Law*, Volume 62, Issue 1 / Winter

Scholars traditionally deduce the nature of judicial review (whether weak or strong) in a given country from the text of constitutional provisions (e.g., notwithstanding clause, incompatibility framework). They generally contrast the strong-form judicial review exercised under the U.S. model with weak-forms of judicial review exercised under the new Commonwealth model of constitutionalism. This article argues, however, that the strength of judicial review is mainly dictated by the method used for constitution-making. As such, it challenges conventional accounts of how models of constitutionalism come about and which systems should be classified as belonging to the new Commonwealth model of constitutionalism.

This article further asserts that the process of constitution-making has practical implications for a country's present and future constitutional development. It explores how the various theories ascribed to a country's process of constitution-making lead to different resolutions of such fundamental issues as: (1) the implications of using "notwithstanding" language to overcome constitutional enactments; (2) the effectiveness of legislative self-entrenchment provisions; (3) the legitimacy of using referenda to decide constitutional matters; and (4) the "unconstitutional constitutional amendment" doctrine. The article shows that the process used for adoption and amendment of a constitution defines the nature of constitutionalism in a given country more than any text included in the constitution itself.

I. INTRODUCTION

II. DUALIST MODEL

A. Theoretical Framework

B. The Advantages of the Dualist Model

1. True Supremacy

2. The Popular Legitimacy of the Constitution

3. Response to the Counter-Majoritarian Difficulty

4. Strong Model of Constitutionalism



C. The Pitfalls of the Dualist Model

1. The Difficulty to Obtain Dualist Consent
2. The Creation of False Negatives
3. The Lack of Formalism

III. LEGISLATIVE SELF-ENTRENCHMENT

A. Theoretical Framework

B. The Advantages of Self-Entrenchment and Its Explanatory Power

C. The Shortcomings of the Self-Entrenchment Model

1. Supremacy and Entrenchment
2. Democratic Deficit
3. Weak Constitutionalism
4. Sovereignty Vacuum

IV. THE MANNER AND FORM MODEL

A. Theoretical Framework

B. The Advantages of the Model and Its Explanatory Power

C. The Difficulties with the Model

1. Inconsistencies within the Theory
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3. Weak Model of Constitutionalism

V. FOUNDATIONALISM OR COMMON-LAW CONSTITUTIONALISM

A. Theoretical Framework

B. The Need for the Theory



C. The Difficulties with the Foundationalist Theory

1. The Importance of Textual and Historical Support
2. Foundationalism Deepens the Counter-majoritarian Difficulty
3. Common-Law Constitutionalism Should Be the Last Resort

VI. DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE VARIOUS MODELS

- A. The Notwithstanding Technique
- B. The Validity of Legislative Self-Entrenchment Provisions
- C. The Use of Referenda
- D. The “Unconstitutional Constitutional Amendment”

VII. CONCLUSION

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**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*

Alexander Thiele

**Friendly or Unfriendly Act? The “Historic” Referral of the Constitutional Court to the ECJ Regarding the ECB’s OMT Program**

in **German Law Journal**, vol. 15, issue 2 , 241-264

The boundaries of European integration and especially the relationship between European and German Constitutional Law have occupied the German Constitutional Court—the Bundesverfassungsgericht in Karlsruhe—time and again since its first Solange I Judgment of 1974. Practically all of these decisions—Solange II, Maastricht, Lisbon, and Honeywell to name just a few—have had a major impact not only on the national, but also on the European discourse regarding the future of the European Union. 14 January 2014 now marks the date of another “historic” decision in this sense, which, unsurprisingly, has already led to major discussions not only in Germany, but all over Europe. For the first time ever the Constitutional Court has initiated a referral to the European Court of Justice asking questions about the conformity of some of the highly disputed measures of the ECB taken to fight the crisis with Primary European Law. The reluctance of the Constitutional Court to comply with its duties under the TFEU and to accept the role of the ECJ as the final interpreter of European Law had been criticized for many years, not only after the Lisbon Decision of 2009. However, the Constitutional Court reacted to these critics in its Honeywell Decision of 2010 and, so it seemed, started to redefine its understanding of its relationship with the European judicial system. This redefining process has now found its temporary endpoint with this first referral, which therefore truly stands for a new era in the relationship between the Constitutional Court and the ECJ within the “European Network of Constitutional Courts.”



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**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*

Andrew Koppelman

**How the Obamacare Case Defined Deviancy Down: Response to Michael Dorf, What Really Happened in the Affordable Care Act Case**

in *Texas Law Review*, vol. 92, issue 6 , 1617-1628

Professor Koppelman responds to Michael Dorf's review of his book, *The Tough Luch Constitution and the Assault on Health Care Reform*.

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**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*

Karsten Schneider

**Questions and Answers: Karlsruhe's Referral for a Preliminary Ruling to the Court of Justice of the European Union**

in *German Law Journal*, vol. 15, issue 2 , 217-239

In the environment of ongoing endeavors to "rescue" the Euro, the Second Senate of the Federal Constitutional Court (FCC) is meanwhile dealing with several constitutional complaints challenging matters that could be described as "the future of the German Bundesbank" and "the present and the past of the German Federal Government and the German Bundestag." Or, to be more specific, the complainants currently challenge the prospective participation of the German Bundesbank in possible future implementations of the so called "OMT Framework" of 6 September 2012. They also argue that the German Federal Government and the German Bundestag "failed to act" regarding this OMT framework.

The Court's ruling on 14 January 2014 has cleared the path for the admissibility of such complaints through use of the ultra-vires pattern. The ultra-vires pattern is the German Constitution's generic exception handling mechanism that includes particular powers of review to examine whether acts of European institutions and agencies are based on "manifest transgressions of powers." The Court held that the mere existence of an ultra-vires act creates an obligation on German authorities to refrain from implementing it and a duty to challenge it. These duties can, the Senate points out, be enforced before the Constitutional Court at least insofar as they refer to constitutional organs.

Longest-serving Justice Lübke-Wolff and Justice Gerhardt both dissented and delivered separate opinions. They deny support—either in the text of the constitution or in the case-law interpreting it—yielding the kind of duties and obligations the Second Senate holds in this case. The dissenters argued that, in an effort to secure the rule of law against (alleged) manifest transgressions of power, the Senate had exceeded its judicial competence.

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**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*

Franz C. Mayer

**Rebels Without a Cause? A Critical Analysis of the German Constitutional Court's OMT Reference**

in *German Law Journal*, vol. 15, issue 2 , 111-146



One of the most famous scenes from the 1957 James Dean movie classic “Rebel Without a Cause” is the chicken run scene. Two cars are speeding towards an abyss; the one who slows down or jumps out of the car first loses. The chicken run in the movie ends in tragedy; when one of the protagonists finally tries to get out of his car, it is too late—he is caught in the car and dies.

The German Constitutional Court's latest actions in the Euro crisis remind me of this chicken run: A court speeding towards the edge, trapped in its own reasoning, making it increasingly difficult to get out in time. The decision to submit its first preliminary reference ever to the European Court of Justice (ECJ) appears at first to be a decision to get out of the car in time. But looking closer, it turns out that this reference to the ECJ is, in fact, the right thing done in the wrong way at the wrong time. The one thing it is not is a surrender, as some initial media comments suggested.

Let me first explain the decision and its background—Sections B and C—before I turn to an analysis—Section D.

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**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*

Killenbeck Mark R.

**A Prudent Regard to Our Own Good? The Commerce Clause, in Nation and States**

in *Journal of Supreme Court History*, Volume 38, Issue 3 , 281–308

No abstract available

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**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*

Smith Andrew, Mann Jatinder

**A tale of two ex-dominions: why the procedures for changing the rules of succession are so different in Canada and Australia**

in *Commonwealth and Comparative Politics*, Volume 52, Issue 3 , 376-401

In 2011, the leaders of the nations that share Queen Elizabeth as their head of state agreed to change the rules governing the inheritance of the throne. The federal nature of the Canadian and Australian Crowns raises the question of whether Canadian provinces and Australian states should be involved in the process for modifying the rules of succession. Australia's federal government has decided to include its states in the process, whereas Canada's did not. This article will assess what the differences between these two approaches reveal about the political cultures and leaders of these nations. The issues discussed include relations between the civil service and elected politicians, the contested social memory of the British Empire, and the relationship between neoliberalism and cooperative federalism.

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**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*

Klaus Ferdinand Gärditz

**Beyond Symbolism: Towards a Constitutional Actio Popularis in EU Affairs? A Commentary on the OMT Decision of the Federal Constitutional Court**

in *German Law Journal*, vol. 15, issue 2 , 183-201





In its OMT Decision of 14 January 2014, the Bundesverfassungsgericht (Federal Constitutional Court of Germany, hereinafter: BVerfG) made its first referral for a preliminary ruling to the European Court of Justice (ECJ). This has been perceived by some commentators as an act of submission under the judicial sovereignty of the ECJ, and by some as a strategy to pass the ball to the ECJ and postpone further involvement, which the Court willingly entered into when it ordered its bold preliminary injunction. These are questions of legal symbolism used in the political communication triggered by any major decision of a constitutional court. Kept in the right perspective, the Court merely followed the program laid down in Article 267 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU). It, thus, fulfilled an obligation that is, undoubtedly, binding on all national courts, including the BVerfG (as a court of last resort), which had—in its Mangold decision— expressly announced that it would refer to the ECJ in appropriate circumstances.

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**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*

**Asteris Pliakos and Georgios Anagnostaras**

**Blind Date Between Familiar Strangers: The German Constitutional Court Goes Luxembourg!**

in *German Law Journal*, vol. 15, issue 2, 369-382

Preliminary references by national constitutional courts are not an everyday occurrence in Union law. No surprise, therefore, that they attract considerable publicity and give rise to a significant amount of academic comment. However, the recent preliminary request of the German Federal Constitutional Court (GFCC) in Gauweiler constitutes undoubtedly the most important and historic preliminary reference made thus far by a constitutional court. This is not only because it is the very first preliminary request of this particular court, inaugurating potentially a whole new era in its institutional relationships with the Court of Justice and paving the way for other national constitutional courts to make more regular recourse to the preliminary reference procedure; but also because it relates to an issue of central importance for the process of European integration with far reaching economic and political repercussions.

The preliminary request concerns the compatibility with primary Union law regarding the European Central Bank's bond purchases program. This program envisions that the European System of Central Banks can purchase government bonds of certain Member States on the secondary market to an unlimited extent, if and so long as these Member States participate in a reform program agreed upon with the European Financial Stability Facility and the European Stability Mechanism. The objective of this program is to safeguard the monetary policy transmission mechanism in the euro area, preserving the singleness of monetary policy.

According to the GFCC, this program amounts to an ultra vires act and national authorities are obliged to refrain from its implementation. This is for two basic reasons. First, because the program is not covered by the mandate of the European Central Bank but constitutes in essence an independent act of economic rather than monetary policy that falls within the competence of the Member States. Second, because the program infringes the...

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**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*

**Albert Capelleras González**

**Competències autonòmiques en matèria de justícia: estat de la qüestió**

in *Revista d'Estudis Autònoms i Federals*, no. 19, 234-273



L'article examina les compétences autonomiques en matière de justice, à partir de l'évolution normative et jurisprudentielle de ces dernières décennies et de l'analyse des titres compétentiels actuellement en vigueur. La CE a attribué à l'État une compétence exclusive en matière d'administration de justice, mais la majorité des lois ont inclus des compétences dans la même matière. En 1990, le TC a résolu cette apparente contradiction, en différenciant l'administration de justice en un sens strict et les moyens personnels et matériels qui sont à son service, domaine dans lequel sont projetés la majeure partie des compétences autonomiques, si ce n'est avec des limites importantes. L'EAC de 2006 a tenté de dépasser ces limites, souvent, mais avec une subordination explicite à la LOPJ. Cette subordination à la LOPJ constitue l'argument principal de la STC 31/2010 pour rejeter l'inconstitutionnalité des normes statutaires attributives de compétence, et les prononcements les plus récents du TC semblent ne pas tenir compte des nouveaux titres compétentiels de l'EAC. Une augmentation significative de l'étendue compétentielle en matière ne sera atteinte, donc, qu'en combinant la réforme de la LOPJ, et, d'une perspective plus large, en combinant une réforme constitutionnelle qui modifie l'actuelle structure unitaire du pouvoir judiciaire.

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**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*

Tschentscher Axel, Lehner Caroline

**Das Amparo-Verfahren im Verhältnis zur Individualverfassungsbeschwerde**

in *Jahrbuch des öffentlichen Rechts der Gegenwart*, Band 62, 2014

No abstract available

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**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*

Jürgen Bast

**Don't Act Beyond Your Powers: The Perils and Pitfalls of the German Constitutional Court's Ultra Vires Review**

in *German Law Journal*, vol. 15, issue 2, 167-181

On 26 July 2012, the European Central Bank (ECB) issued a new currency, the "Draghi." A country where the Draghi has the status of legal tender must be fabulously wealthy—a single coin gives unlimited purchasing power to its owner. This is one way to characterize ECB President Mario Draghi's pledge to do "whatever it takes" to save the Euro. It is widely believed that the move prevented the common currency from breaking apart. Yet, the ECB's resolve caused severe conflict within the European System of Central Banks (ESCB). A few weeks later, when the Governing Council of the ECB formally adopted the Outright Monetary Transactions (OMT) program to pave the way for the implementation of Draghi's rescue policy, the representative of the German Bundesbank was outvoted. Subsequently—in a maneuver quite unusual among central bankers—he appealed to the public to stir up support for his opposition to the policy.

Eighteen months later the Euro is still around, and so is the conflict. Did the ECB exceed its mandate when it expressed its willingness to buy, under certain conditions, government bonds of selected Member States? Meanwhile the conflict has moved on from the central bankers to another famous counter-majoritarian institution, the Bundesverfassungsgericht (German Federal Constitutional Court). In its OMT Case decision of 14 January 2014, the Constitutional Court concurred with the Bundesbank and found the OMT policy to be unlawful. The Court suspended the proceedings and referred the matter to the European Court of Justice (CJEU) for a preliminary ruling on the validity of the ECB's OMT Decision.



In this paper I will discuss the legal context of the Constitutional Court's first-ever reference to the CJEU. I will particularly focus on the Constitutional Court remedy out of which the referral arose, namely, the ultra vires review (UVR).

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

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Theodore Konstantinides

**EU foreign policy under the doctrine of implied powers: codification drawbacks and constitutional limitations in *European Law Review*, vol. 39, issue 4 , 511-530**

In recent years, the proliferation of EU powers to enter into international obligations has raised concerns about the respect the European Union places upon Member States' autonomy to conduct foreign policy at the national level. This article provides a fresh take on the EU doctrine of implied powers by examining its current scope as well as its implications for national autonomy to unilaterally conclude international agreements. Since the doctrine has been encapsulated in the Lisbon Treaty, the article provides a discussion of the constitutionalisation of EU implied external powers and offers new insights into established case law. It discusses whether the Lisbon codification is a shorthand solution which does little justice to the otherwise detailed jurisprudence of the Court of Justice of the European Union ( CJEU) in ensuring the proper balancing of powers between the European Union and the Member States in the foreign policy realm.

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Krausnick Daniel

**Grundfragen der intraföderalen Verwaltungsrechtsvergleichung in *Jahrbuch des öffentlichen Rechts der Gegenwart*, Band 62, 2014**

No abstract available

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**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*

Logan Dancey, Kjersten R. Nelson, and Eve M. Ringsmuth

**Individual Scrutiny or Politics as Usual? Senatorial Assessment of U.S. District Court Nominees in *American Politics Research*, 42 (5) , 784-814**

Senate Judiciary Committee confirmation hearings offer senators a public opportunity to exercise their "advice and consent" privilege and scrutinize presidential nominees. In this article, we examine the purpose and functioning of confirmation hearings for federal district court nominees, which make up the majority of presidential selections to federal courts. Using transcripts from all hearings between 1993 and 2008, we find the characteristics of individual nominees have little effect on the types of questions senators pose. Instead, larger institutional and political factors—such as Senate composition, party of the president, and proximity to a presidential election—are much better predictors of how senators use their opportunity to scrutinize nominees. The results indicate senators use hearings to engage in partisan and ideological position taking rather than to ascertain the qualifications of district court nominees.



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**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*

Johnson Gbemende

**Judicial Deference and Executive Control Over Administrative Agencies**

*in State Politics & Policy Quarterly*, Vol. 14, No. 2 , 142-164

Do judges defer to executives with increased institutional control over the executive branch? Administrative agencies play a key role in the policy implementation process. Executives could view aggressive judicial review of executive branch activity as a threat to executive power and negatively respond to perceived judicial intrusions. Governors across the country possess varying amounts of institutional authority over the agencies that comprise their states' executive branches. For example, in many states, executive branch officials are elected by the public or appointed by someone other than the governor. Increased fragmentation increases the difficulty of centralized management and decreases gubernatorial influence over the executive branch. I examine whether state supreme courts defer more to agencies in states where governors have more formal control over the executive branch. I find that state supreme courts are more likely to rule in favor of state administrative agencies in states where the governor has increased appointment power and increased power to review agency rulemaking.

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

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Udo Di Fabio

**Karlsruhe Makes a Referral**

*in German Law Journal*, vol. 15, issue 2 , 107-110

On 7 February 2014 in the OMT Case, the German Constitutional Court in Karlsruhe referred a question about the interpretation of Treaty law to the European Court of Justice for the first time. The question was whether the European Central Bank exceeded its mandate when it declared, in September 2012, that it was prepared to make emergency, unlimited purchases of specific states' bonds. Some view the referral as a genuflection acknowledging the judicial superiority of European Union jurisprudence. Has the Karlsruhe Court relinquished its role as "the final arbiter" and thereby surreptitiously bid farewell to the German sovereignty that the same Senate of the Constitutional Court so vigorously endorsed in the Lisbon Treaty Case in 2009?

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

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Irene Sobrino Guijarro

**La reforma sanitaria de Obama: limitado avance en la protección del derecho a la salud**

*in Revista Espanola de Derecho Constitucional*, no. 101 , 181-212

On March 2010, one of the most important pieces of health care reform legislation in decades was enacted in the U.S.



Among its main objectives is the expansion of access to health care for millions of uninsured citizens. While the new legislation is an incremental improvement, it retains many of the previous structural limitations since it does not transform the existing architecture of a fundamentally private health insurance system and preserves the dynamics of a flexible federal framework. After an extraordinary political and constitutional debate, the Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of the reform's major provisions. However, the restrictive interpretation of both the «commerce clause» and the «spending power» delivered by the majority opinion may erode some of the major achievements of the reform.

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**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*

Marco Mancini

**La resistibile ascesa, l'inesorabile declino e l'auspicabile rilancio del principio di leale collaborazione in Regioni (Le)**, n. 5-6 , 947-999

No abstract available

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

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Ouziel Lauren M.

**Legitimacy and Federal Criminal Enforcement Power in Yale Law Journal (The)**, vol. 123. n. 7 , 2134-2573

A defining feature of criminal federalism is extreme disparities in case outcomes across state and federal forums. All else being equal, prosecution in the federal forum entails a significantly higher likelihood of conviction, and a higher penalty. But why do such disparities exist? Conventional explanations point to differences among sovereigns' legal rules, resources, and dockets. These understandings, while valid, neglect to account for a less tangible source of federal criminal power: legitimacy. "Legitimacy" refers to the concept, refined through decades of empirical research, that citizens comply with the law, and defer to and cooperate with legal authority, when they perceive both the laws and the authorities to be fair. A legitimacy-based exploration of the federal criminal justice system significantly enriches our understanding of the sources of federal criminal enforcement power. Distilling those sources, moreover, reveals surprising and counterintuitive implications: to emulate the sources of federal legitimacy in local systems, we need more localized criminal justice.

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

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Rodríguez Cristina M.

**Negotiating Conflict Through Federalism: Institutional and Popular Perspectives in Yale Law Journal (The)**, vol. 123 - n. 6

The contours of our federal system are under constant negotiation, as governments construct the scope of one another's interests and powers while pursuing their agendas. For our institutions to manage these dynamics



productively, we must understand the value the system is capable of generating. But no single conception of this value exists, because the virtues and costs of any particular federal-state relationship, in any given federalism controversy, will appear different depending on perspective: the federal, state, and even local will each perceive their own advantages. And none of these conceptions will map perfectly onto the people's perceptions. In this essay, I attempt to answer the question of what federalism might be good for from each of these perspectives by considering how it has structured various regulatory and social controversies in recent years on matters such as immigration, marriage equality, drug policy, and health care reform. I focus on the administrative and enforcement judgments that each of these debates has required, in order to illuminate the discretionary spaces in which much of the work of federalism occurs. I argue that the value of the system common to all participants and that should govern the negotiation of inter-governmental relations is its creation of a framework for ongoing negotiation of differences large and small. In the spirit of this Feature, I emphasize that having many institutions with lawmaking power enables overlapping political communities to work toward national integration, while preserving governing spaces for meaningful disagreement when consensus fractures or proves elusive.

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

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**Marshall Bryan W, Curry Brett W., Pacelle Richard L. Jr.**

**Preserving Institutional Power: The Supreme Court and Strategic Decision Making in the Separation of Powers in Politics & Policy**, Volume 42, Issue 1, February , 37-76

We argue that the Supreme Court's long-term goal of maintaining legitimacy and institutional power reflects an underdeveloped strategic consideration in models of judicial decision making. Our article posits that both institutional- and policy-related incentives exist for the Court to engage in strategic behavior, and that those motivations may be differentially applicable to decision making in constitutional versus statutory cases. Our results offer broad confirmation of the above hypotheses, providing an important supplement to our understanding of how Congress may affect the Supreme Court's role in constructing legal policy

Nuestro argumento es que la meta de largo plazo de mantener poder institucional y legitimidad de la Suprema Corte refleja una consideración estratégica subdesarrollada de los modelos de hechura de decisiones judiciales. Nuestro estudio postula que incentivos tanto institucionales como los relacionados con políticas existen para que la corte incurra en un comportamiento estratégico y que tales motivaciones podrían ser diferenciadamente aplicables a la hechura de decisiones cuando se confrontan casos constitucionales contra reglamentarios. Los resultados ofrecen amplia confirmación de las hipótesis mencionadas, ofreciendo un suplemento importante para entender cómo el Congreso puede afectar el papel de la Suprema Corte en la construcción de políticas legales.

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**Mattias Kumm**

**Rebel Without a Good Cause: Karlsruhe's Misguided Attempt to Draw the CJEU into a Game of "Chicken" and What the CJEU Might do About It**

in **German Law Journal**, vol. 15, issue 2 , 203-215





When the Federal Constitutional Court (hereinafter FCC) decided to refer the question of whether the European Central Bank's (ECB) decision on the purchase of Outright Monetary Transactions (OMTs) is compatible with EU primary law, it effectively forced the Court of Justice of the European Union (CJEU) into a game of "chicken."

"Chicken" is a game in which two drivers drive towards each other on a collision course. If neither of them swerves, both may die in the crash. But if one driver swerves and the other does not, the one who swerved is a coward (a "chicken"). The best outcome for each player is to go straight while the other swerves (a crash is avoided and the other is the "chicken"). A crash is presumed to be the worst outcome for both players. This yields a situation where each player, in attempting to secure his best outcome, risks the worst. One strategy for playing this game is to disable the steering wheel in a way clearly visible to the other party. The only way to avoid the crash is then for the other party to swerve, given that the first party has effectively pre-committed itself not to swerve.

The FCC has decided to disable the steering wheel and has limited its own options by largely pre-committing itself to declare the ECB's policy unconstitutional, unless the CJEU follows the interpretative approach laid out by Karlsruhe. To elucidate the exact structure of this game and to understand the options available to the two major actors, part B of this essay will (I) briefly describe the specific legal context of the reference as the FCC sets it up, then (II) assess possible ways the CJEU might and perhaps should respond, and (III) finally discuss what options the FCC will...

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**Joseph Blocher**

**Selling State Borders**

in **University of Pennsylvania Law Review**, vol. 162, issue 2 , 241-305

The relationship between state sovereignty and state territory in the United States is more complex, interesting, and unstable than the reassuring familiarity of an American map might suggest. State borders move as a result of wandering rivers, interstate border compacts, and even newly discovered surveying errors. States and the federal government also buy and sell proprietary interests in vast tracts of public land, while effectively leasing their sovereign functions to private parties. This Article argues that those threads—mobile state borders and active markets for public land and sovereign functions—can and should be woven together to create an interstate market for sovereign territory.

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**Manoj Mate**

**State Constitutions and the Basic Structure Doctrine**

in **Columbia human rights law review**, vol. 45, issue 2 , 441-498

Across the United States, voters in many states have enacted initiative constitutional amendments that abrogate protections for equality and fundamental rights. In most cases, state supreme courts have upheld the validity of these amendments, undermining protections for fundamental rights at the state level. This Article proposes a novel solution to this problem: it argues for the application of the basic structure doctrine in the review of constitutional amendments by state supreme courts. Under this doctrine, the Supreme Court of India (like constitutional courts in other nations) asserted the power to invalidate amendments that



abrogate "basic features" of the Indian Constitution as defined by the Court. Drawing on this doctrine, this Article seeks to provide a methodological framework for articulating which foundational principles and rights should be entrenched within the constitutional framework. For instance, the application of the basic structure doctrine would help

address several flaws in the California Supreme Court's revision amendment standard applied in *Strauss v. Horton*. In *Strauss*, the majority upheld Proposition 8, the initiative measure banning same-sex marriage, as a constitutional amendment.

Constitutional review at the state level is likely to garner increased attention as a result of the U.S. Supreme Court's recent decisions in *Hollingsworth v. Perry* and *U.S. v. Windsor*. These decisions can arguably be read to stand for "rights federalism," the concept that state governments will have the final say in defining the range and scope of fundamental rights protections. Although the U.S. Supreme Court may define and set a "floor" of guaranteed federal constitutional rights, in light of the decisions in *Perry* and *Windsor*, state supreme courts will continue to play a key role on these issues.

This Article frames the potential application of the basic structure doctrine at the state level within theories of constitutional change, and the tension between conceptions of popular sovereignty and rights federalism. I argue that the basic structure doctrine would advance the cause of "rights federalism" by enabling state supreme courts to provide for stronger protections of fundamental rights than does the Federal Constitution. State constitutions are far more malleable than the federal Constitution and consequently, state supreme courts can play a crucial role in shielding rights from abrogation by popular majorities. The Article concludes by exploring the potential implications of adoption of a basic structure doctrine for democratic theory and theories of constitutional change, the tension between popular sovereignty and federalism.

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

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Clark Gordon L., Monk Ashby H. B.

#### **State and Local Pension Fund Governance and the Process of Contracting for Investment Services: The Scope of Diversity and the Problem of Embeddedness**

**in Territory, Politics, Governance**, Volume 2, Issue 2, 150-172

US state and local public employee retirement systems (PERS) utilise various models of contract with distinctive features in their form and substantive content in relation to industry norms. These models differ between states, within states, and even between PERS within major metropolitan areas. Diversity goes against expectations to the effect that the sector relies upon commonly accepted investment management agreements (IMAs), given the similarities between state and local PERS as to the nature of pension benefits. One goal of this paper is to account for apparent commonalities and differences. Another goal of the paper is to explain the nature and significance of the pre-contract screening of potential suppliers to the sector, suggesting that requests for proposals tend to 'sterilise' contracts for investment management services. We provide a comparison of the categories and items evident in model IMAs with reference to selected states, in particular Illinois and the Chicago-area PERS. We also briefly note relevant provisions of pending legislation establishing the Oregon Investment Corporation, emphasising provisions which would enable the fund to make contracts like its private sector peers. The paper concludes that it is important to focus on the process of contracting in the US state and local PERS as well as the form of contract.

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Schieren Stefan

**TAG und KiföG im Vergleich. Über die Leistungen und Grenzen informellen Regierens im Dickicht des sozialen Bundesstaats in Deutschland**

in *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Politikwissenschaft* , Volume 8, Issue 1 Supplement, September 2014 , 287-310

Abstract

Due to the fact that the German municipalities and Länder failed to fulfill their responsibility to expand child care (especially in Western Germany) over the course of many years, the federal government made two efforts to take over, namely the TAG and the KiföG. While the results of this initiative may be desirable, it is questionable whether this matter is actually in the jurisdiction of the federal state. This situation prompted the author to determine the relevance of informal processes in implementing plans of this nature that concern different levels of government.

By comparing the TAG and the KiföG in the case at hand, the author shows that the actors use informal means in a flexible manner in order to attain the desired results in an environment that has changed due to the federalism reform between 2004 and 2008 and because of a new government. However, they also fell back on formal regulatory structures to achieve their interests whenever it seemed convenient. The analysis yields a complex pattern of formality and informality, government and governance, hierarchy and negotiation. It can only be judged in an adequate manner when it is studied separately for the level of legislation, implementation and financing. The extent and proportion of the components of the pattern vary within these different levels.

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Dagmar Schiek

**The German Federal Constitutional Court's Ruling on Outright Monetary Transactions (OMT) – Another Step towards National Closure?**

in *German Law Journal*, vol. 15, issue 2 , 329-342

The German Federal Constitutional Court (FCC) ruling of 14 January 2014 deserves a thorough evaluation on several accounts: It is the first ever reference by the FCC to the Court of Justice of the European Union (CJEU), it represents a continuation of FCC case law aimed at restricting the impact of European Union law as interpreted by the Court of Justices of the European Union (CJEU) on German law as well as questioning Germany's participation in an ever closer European Union, and it has the potential to dictate the future course of the EU's Economic and Monetary Union (EMU).

This case note discusses three aspects of this decision. First, it considers the aims of challenging the youngest measures to contain the euro currency crisis before the FCC, focusing on the question in how far the claims are based on national closure as opposed to an ever closer union of the peoples of Europe. Secondly it analyzes in how far the aims the claims pursue are reflected in the FCC's response. Thirdly, it considers the substantive relevance of this reference, highlighting the surprisingly vague consequences the FCC envisages should the CJEU not re-interpret the OMT decision as the FCC suggests, and illuminating the strategic aims of the reference without deference. In conclusion, it sketches the remaining scope for the EU to engage in or at least facilitate transnational solidarity.

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McMurtry J.J.

**The Political Economy of Procurement**

in *Canadian Public Policy* , Volume 40 Supplement 1 , 26-38

This paper discusses the political economy of procurement and purchasing policies, specifically at the sub-national level. It frames these policies historically and philosophically as struggling to articulate an alternative to capitalism while working within capitalist contexts. It then examines the proposed trade agreement between Canada and the European Union, the Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement (CETA), as an exemplar of this struggle, concluding with three policy suggestions.

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Waxman Matthew C.

**The Power to Threaten War**

in *Yale Law Journal (The)*, vol. 123 - n. 6

Existing war powers scholarship focuses overwhelmingly on the President's power to initiate military operations abroad and the extent to which that power is constrained by Congress. It ignores the allocation of legal power to threaten military force or war, even though threats—to coerce or deter enemies and to reassure allies—are one of the most important ways in which the United States government wields its military might. This paper fills that scholarly void, and draws on recent political science and historical scholarship to construct a richer and more accurate account of the modern presidency's powers to shape American security policy.

The swelling scope of the President's practice in wielding threatened force largely tracks the standard historical narrative of war powers shifting from Congress to the President. Indeed, adding threats of force to that story might suggest that this shift in powers of war and peace has been even more dramatic than usually supposed. This Article shows, however, that congressional influence operates more robustly—and in different ways—than usually supposed in legal debates about war powers to shape strategic decision-making. In turn, these mechanisms of congressional influence can enhance the potency of threatened force.

By refocusing the debate on threatened force and its credibility requirements, this Article also calls into question many orthodoxies of the policy advantages and risks attendant to various allocations of legal war powers. Instead of proposing a policy-optimal solution, the Article concludes that the allocation of constitutional war powers is—and should be—geopolitically and strategically contingent. The actual and effective balance between presidential and congressional powers over war and peace in practice necessarily depends on shifting assumptions and policy choices about how best to secure U.S. interests against potential threats.

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Myers Jan, MacDonald Martha

**The Role of Government and the Social Economy in the Co-construction of Social Policy in Atlantic Canada in Canadian Public Policy**, Volume 40 Supplement 1, 17-25

This paper reports on research exploring the contribution to social policy of social economy organizations (SEOs) in Atlantic Canada. Of particular interest is whether SEOs and government are engaged in what we have termed "reciprocal relationships," through inclusive, cross-sector alliances linked to improved policy planning and decision-making. Initial findings suggest that reciprocity of relationships between government and SEOs to enhance policy solutions and service provision is not yet fully realized and that SEOs remain structurally marginalized in the design and implementation of policy. The paper points to investment in appropriate support mechanisms to make government-SEO alliances meaningful and more durable.

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LaCroix Alison L.

**The Shadow Powers of Article I**

in *Yale Law Journal (The)*, vol. 123 - n. 6

This essay argues that the interpretive struggle over the meaning of American federalism has recently shifted from the Commerce Clause to two textually marginal but substantively important battlegrounds: the Necessary and Proper Clause and, to a lesser extent, the General Welfare Clause. For nearly a decade, these quieter, more structurally ambiguous federal powers—the "shadow powers," as I term them—have steadily increased in prominence. Beginning with *Gonzales v. Raich* (2005) and continuing through and beyond *National Federation of Independent Business v. Sebelius* (2012), the Supreme Court's federalism jurisprudence has shifted from its once-typical form of inquiry into the scope of Congress's commerce power, refracted through the Tenth Amendment, to become an inquiry into the transsubstantive reasons for allowing Congress to regulate at all. Paradoxically, the growth of shadow powers analysis has tended to narrow the permissible scope of congressional regulatory power. The novelty of shadow powers analysis lies in the sharp line the Court appears increasingly willing to draw between solid, if controversial, Article I powers such as the commerce power, and auxiliary Article I powers such the necessary and proper power. The invocation of the shadow powers has helped the Court find room to maneuver within its federalism analysis, while also appearing to maintain its commitment to an apparently unmoving baseline of a narrow commerce power. The growth of shadow powers analysis has obscured the outlines of federalism's map—to shroud genuine (and perhaps salutary) doctrinal changes within a fog of constitutional text, insufficiently overruled precedents, and acontextual readings of foundational cases.

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Spicer Zachary

**The Ties That Bind? Exploring the Dynamics of Intermunicipal Agreement Formation between Separated Cities and Counties**

in *Canadian Public Policy*, Volume 40 Number 3, 245-258





City-county separation was the original method of organizing municipalities in the province of Ontario. When an urban area of a county became classified as a city, it would be politically separated. The province has moved toward regional structures that link urban and rural since the 1950s, but we still know very little about the 18 cities and towns that remain separated from their counties. This article examines the principal method of compensating for institutional gaps between municipalities: the creation of intermunicipal agreements. Overall, it is found that separated cities and counties are scarcely using intermunicipal agreements to ensure service and policy continuity. It is argued that this is principally due to provincial interference.

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Dennis Baker

**The temptation of provincial criminal law**

in *Canadian Public Administration*, vol. 57, issue 2 , 275-294

Under s.91 (27) of the BNA Act, 1867, the Federal Parliament has the exclusive authority to legislate “criminal law.” This has not stopped the provinces from passing “quasi-criminal” laws that are difficult to distinguish from criminal law. Recent legislation regarding “public fighting” and civil remedies for criminal acts suggest there are few legal obstacles to enacting provincial criminal law. This article identifies such provincial criminal laws, explains how the modern doctrines of federalism might invite and allow for their enactment, and discusses impacts on criminal justice policy and administration. It highlights the discretion afforded the Crown and police in charging individuals under the federal Criminal Code or similar provincial laws (or municipal by-laws). While provincial or local laws may allow for more efficient law enforcement, they do so at the expense of the procedural guarantees associated with the criminal law.

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Ogbuabor Chukwunweike A.

**Tribunals of Inquiry as a Residual Matter Under the Nigerian Constitution: Resolving the Nigerian Conundrum**

in *African Journal of International and Comparative Law*, 22.2

No abstract available

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

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Tandel Vaidehi, Gandhi Sahil, Libeiro Sirus Joseph, Marpakwar Chaitanya

**Vulnerabilities of Institutional Checks in Indian Federalism: The Case of the Adarsh Society Scam in Mumbai**

in *India Review*, Volume 13, Issue 2 , 112-128

In developing countries, separation of powers coexists with corruption by the ruling elite. This can be attributed to informal institutions, which counter the formal checks and balances. We demonstrate, by studying the Adarsh scam, the vulnerabilities of checks and balances. Fourteen actors belonging to different tiers of the Indian federal setup who could have vetoed the project or certain permissions failed to do so. We find that 54 percent of the checks collapsed because of quid pro quo, 21 percent due to being overridden, 4 percent due to misrepresentation, 7 percent due to absorption,





and 14 percent due to omissions in the process.

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**Libman Alexander, Obydenkova Anastassia**

**overnance of Commons in a Large Nondemocratic Country: The Case of Forestry in the Russian Federation**

**in Publius: The Journal of Federalism**, vol. 44, n. 2, Spring , 298-323

A substantial portion of Elinor Ostrom's work critically examines the interplay between decentralization and efficient governance of commons. Ostrom's suggestion is to shift from the dichotomous view of decentralization versus centralization to a more complex picture, labeled "polycentric governance." This article applies this theory and uses a novel data set to test how the allocation of jurisdictions between the center and the regions affects forest governance in the Russian Federation. The main finding confirms the central argument of polycentricity; that is, the combination of federal involvement and the involvement of subnational interest groups improves the efficiency of forestry management. However, when either federal government or subnational nongovernmental actors dominate forest governance, the efficiency of forest management decreases.

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**Joaquín Rius and Mariano Martín Zamorano**

**¿Es España un Estado casi-federal en política cultural? Articulación y conflicto entre la política cultural del Estado central y la del Gobierno de Cataluña**

**in Revista d'Estudis Autònoms i Federals**, no. 19 , 274-309

En les anàlisis de política cultural comparada, des dels anys setanta s'ha destacat l'evolució cap a models descentralitzats administrativament i respectuosos o bé promotors de la pluralitat cultural i identitària. Espanya sovint s'ha caracteritzat com un país profundament descentralitzat, i se n'ha destacat la rica diversitat cultural i lingüística. També s'ha assenyalat el seu caràcter d'Estat singular, a mig camí entre l'Estat centralitzat i el federal, i de vegades se l'ha qualificat de sistema quasifederal. No obstant això, en l'àmbit de les polítiques culturals, és l'Estat espanyol quasifederal? L'article analitzarà com, a pesar del desenvolupament amplament descentralitzat de la gestió de les polítiques culturals, els recents processos jurídics i organitzatius de l'Administració general de l'Estat s'allunyen molt de promoure un Estat federal plurinacional i s'orienten de manera creixent cap a la recentralització i la simetrització.

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*Subsection 4. The legislative branch*

**David R Jones**

**A More Responsible Two-Party System? Accountability for Majority and Minority Party Performance in a Polarized Congress**

**in Polity**, Volume 46, Issue 3 , 470-492

Existing research suggests that to the extent that accountability for congressional performance occurs, it does so primarily through a referendum on the performance of the majority party. If true, this means that the minority party has



no incentive to act responsibly, and may even have an incentive to polarize and obstruct. I argue that Americans do not simply hold one summary evaluation of congressional performance. Instead, partisan polarization in Congress has allowed Americans to form distinct evaluations of each congressional party. When casting ballots in House elections, Americans take into account their evaluations of both congressional parties. As a result, American politics is now closer to the “responsible two-party system” ideal set by the American Political Science Association more than six decades ago.

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**Staiano Sandro**

**Alcuni ragionevoli motivi per prendere sul serio la proposta di riforma del bicameralismo in *Federalismi*, Anno XII - Nr 8**

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

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**Daniel C. Bowen**

**Boundaries, Redistricting Criteria, and Representation in the U.S. House of Representatives in *American Politics Research*, 42 (5) , 856-895**

Many U.S. states require redistricting authorities to follow traditional districting principles (TDPs) like the creation of compact districts and respecting the integrity of county and town boundaries. Reformers, academics, and other redistricting experts have long suggested that following such districting principles may enhance representation. Yet, very few academic studies have empirically examined these expectations. Using two measures of geographical compactness and a new measure of respect for political subdivisions (referred to as coterminosity) created with a geographic information system (GIS), the connection between district boundaries and representation is tested. The results show strong evidence that the use of geographic districting principles can enhance dyadic representation, as more compact and more coterminous districts are associated with more positive evaluations of legislative responsiveness and greater citizen-representative communication. Violating TDPs to advance other goals in redistricting like strict population equality between districts thus comes with a clear representational cost.

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**Josu Osés Abando**

**Early warning and regional parliaments: in search of a new model. Suggestions from the Basque experience in *Perspectives on federalism*, vol. 5, issue 2 , E74-E88**



The balance sheet of having had the early warning procedure for two years shows that the active role developed by some regional parliaments, like the Basque Parliament, has reached a point of lack of efficacy and confidence.

The Basque Chamber has not limited itself to express a "yes-or-no"-opinion, but has tried to make specific contributions for improving the proper performance of the provisions of Protocol 2 of the Treaty of Lisbon. But the mechanism implemented in Spain does not guarantee the taking into account of the contributions by the regional parliaments, and so we need a new procedural scheme.

The author proposes a step-by-step approach to making a selection of all the initiatives expressed in the yearly legislative program of the European Commission, with a focus on analysing the procedure for selected topics to provide an informational background to the Basque parliamentary committees.

If no solution is found, the early warning system will become a repetitive ritual that will fail due to lack of effective use.

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

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Pilar Mellado Prado

**El sistema de representación del Parlamento Europeo cuestionado: la ausencia de un procedimiento electoral uniforme**

in *Teoría y realidad constitucional*, no. 33 , 219-242

The analysis of the electoral legislations of the EU member States shows the existence of serious differences among them. As a consequence the representation is clearly unequal. Thus, notwithstanding the wording of Article 14.2 Lisbon TEU, and contrary to the claim that Article 10.1 Lisbon TEU seems to make according to its wording the European Parliament is still an institution that does not represent the European people.

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Vidal Correa Fernanda

**Federalism and genders quotas in Mexico: analysing propietario and suplente nomination**

in *Representation*, Volume 50, Issue 3 , 321-335

Leading approaches in the literature on women's representation have studied the effects of gender quotas in their interaction with the national electoral system. Two aspects of Mexican law have been understudied thus far, but provide important insights for understanding the degree to which quotas empower women in politics. First, quota enforcement at the subnational level depends on state-level laws, which in some cases dictate partial or no enforcement at all. Second, the joint ticket system has created a two-nominee system in which two elected figures run; the first occupies the seat (propietario) while the second is elected as a substitute (suplente). Quotas in some states may apply only to suplentes, resulting in women's entrapment in substitute and powerless positions. The analysis is based on new aggregated dataset on the nomination and election of women in a sample of 12 states' elections covering the period of 1998 to 2010.

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Poggi Annamaria

**Funzioni e funzionalità del Senato delle Autonomie**

in *Federalismi*, Anno XII - Nr 8

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

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Caravita Beniamino

**Glosse, scorrendo il testo della proposta Renzi**

in *Federalismi*, Anno XII - Nr 8

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Salerno Giulio M.

**Il progetto di riforma costituzionale del Governo Renzi: qualche osservazione preliminare**

in *Federalismi*, Anno XII - Nr 8

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Manassé Aboya Endong

**Le parlementarisme sous tutelle de l'État fédéral (1961-1972) : une construction politique par le droit de l'État unitaire du Cameroun**

in *Revue française de droit constitutionnel*, n. 97 , e1-e29



No abstract available

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

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**Bhattacharya Kaushik, Mitra Subrata K.**

**More Can Be Less: Hyper Plurality of Candidates, the Rationality of Electoral Choice, and Need for Electoral Reform in India**

*in India Review*, Volume 13, Issue 1 , 15-39

A large number of candidates has become a regular feature of Indian elections. Given the regulatory concerns the problem has evoked, this article reviews the process of candidate entry in select developed countries. The review reveals the presence of diverse approaches, ruling out the necessity for extreme options like debarring fringe candidates—a course suggested by several Indian expert groups. Among various policy options, India had largely relied on electoral deposit. Our results suggest that an increase in deposits had a significant negative impact on candidate entry in India. However, for an effective deterrence, India needs to continue to keep deposits at a very high level compared to the current international benchmark, discriminating political participation of genuinely underprivileged groups. In contrast, the current level of signature requirements, a relatively unused policy tool in India, was found to be too low and could be easily increased further in order to be effective. We argue that given the high variation and lack of stability in candidate structure across regions and over time, a local approach on signature requirements—as in the U.S.—could be an effective deterrent in India. Accordingly, we suggest that the Election Commission of India should not only have the power to determine the deposit before each election; it should also have the power to change the minimum signature requirement across constituencies (subject to some standard checks and balances).

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**Porena Daniele**

**Nel nuovo Senato delle Autonomie nasce il 'partito del Presidente'**

*in Federalismi*, Anno XII - Nr 8

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

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**Clementi Francesco**

**Non un Senato 'federale', ma un Senato 'federatore'**

*in Federalismi*, Anno XII - Nr 8



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

*Subsection 4. The legislative branch*

Nicotra Ida

**Note a margine del ddl costituzionale deliberato dal CdM in data 31 marzo 2014**

in *Federalismi*, Anno XII - Nr 8

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

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Ferrara Antonio

**Osservazioni a prima lettura sul ddl costituzionale Renzi-Boschi**

in *Federalismi*, Anno XII - Nr 8

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

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Ward Ian

**Parliament on “the Wireless” in Australia**

in *Australian Journal of Politics & History* , Volume 60, Issue 2, June , 157-176

Australia's parliament allowed the radio broadcast of proceedings in 1946, a decade after New Zealand, but well before the “Mother of all Parliaments” in 1978. In keeping with Australia's reputation as a pioneering democracy, early interest in broadcasting parliamentary debates can be traced to the 1920s. In the formative years of “wireless” it was imagined radio might close the gap between parliaments and the public. Proceedings of the New South Wales parliament were actually broadcast for several weeks during 1932 (and before the New Zealand parliament institutionalised this practice). Tasmania experimented with parliamentary broadcasting in 1934. Australia's embrace of parliamentary broadcasting in 1946 was less carefully planned than has been suggested. It was an opportunistic, caucus-initiated Chifley government measure driven by a long-held ALP concern about newspaper bias. It was however generally justified as reform to bring the people to their Parliament and, remarkably, did have bipartisan support.

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





*Subsection 4. The legislative branch*

Keith L. Dougherty, Michael S. Lynch, and Anthony J. Madonna

**Partisan Agenda Control and the Dimensionality of Congress**  
in *American Politics Research*, 42 (4) , 600-627

Recent studies have questioned the familiar characterization of Congress as unidimensional. We argue that agenda control, orchestrated through the House Rules Committee and other techniques, can make multidimensional congresses appear more unidimensional. We evaluate this argument by examining the relationship between measures of unidimensionality and various measures of party control for the House of Representatives from 1875 to 1997, at both the roll-call level and congress level. Our findings contribute to an expanding literature explaining why a single dimension could explain most of the variance in voting data, even if latent ideology is multidimensional.

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

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McDonald Michael P.

**Presidential Vote within State Legislative Districts**  
in *State Politics & Policy Quarterly*, Vol. 14, No. 2 , 196-204,

Presidential vote shares in legislative districts are widely available for congressional districts and are often used by scholars in their research. Here, I describe the general methodology to construct statewide vote shares within districts and apply these methods to a new database of presidential vote shares within 36 states' legislative districts.

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Lavagna Gavina

**Qualche breve considerazione sul disegno di riforma della Costituzione del Governo Renzi**  
in *Federalismi*, Anno XII - Nr 8

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

*Subsection 4. The legislative branch*

Morrone Andrea

**Questioni di principio per la riforma costituzionale**



in **Federalismi**, Anno XII - Nr 8

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

*Subsection 4. The legislative branch*

**Roberto Bin**

**Rappresentanti di cosa? Legge elettorale e territorio**

in **Regioni (Le)**, no. 4 , 659-663

No abstract available

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

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**Ceccanti Stefano**

**Riforme costituzionali e composizione del Senato: il ritorno alla rappresentanza territoriale**

in **Federalismi**, Anno XII - Nr 8

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

*Subsection 4. The legislative branch*

**Rossi Emanuele**

**Senato delle autonomie: una composizione da rivedere (è possibile un Senato di dopolavoristi?)**

in **Federalismi**, Anno XII - Nr 8

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

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**Catelani Elisabetta**

**Stato federale o Stato regionale nel Senato delle Autonomie?**

in **Federalismi**, Anno XII - Nr 8



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

*Subsection 4. The legislative branch*

**Bhattacharya Kaushik**

**Strategic Entry and the Relationship between Number of Independent and Non-Independent Candidates: A Study of Parliamentary Elections in India**

in **Asian Journal of Political Science**, Volume 22, Issue 1, 2014 , 93-112

Elections in developing countries like India have sometimes attracted a large number of independent candidates. As this type of phenomenon is unheard of in developed countries, the article attempts to examine what kind of strategic settings can explain the emergence of such candidates. The article observes that a major factor behind the emergence of independents under first-past-the-post (FPTP) electoral systems with weak regulatory checks could be the surreptitious strategic floating of such candidates by major political parties. Accordingly, the article hypothesizes a strong positive relationship between the number of non-independent and independent candidates in such democracies. The article also hypothesizes that the break-up of one or two-party dominance in these democracies and subsequent political churning may trigger such a relationship or strengthen it further. Empirical results for all parliamentary elections in India since 1962 reveal that during the first four elections in the reference period (e.g. during 1962–1977) when political fragmentation was low, the relationship was weak. However, subsequent political fragmentation in India during the 1980s gave birth to a new class of independents whose entries into elections were opportunistic in nature, leading to a strong relationship between the above two variables during this period.

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**De Vergottini Giuseppe**

**Sulla riforma radicale del Senato**

in **Federalismi**, Anno XII - Nr 8

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 4. The legislative branch*

**Cristina Fasone**

**The Relationship between State and Regional Legislatures, Starting from the Early Warning Mechanism**

in **Perspectives on federalism**, vol. 5, issue 2 , E122-E155

The early warning mechanism represents an opportunity for building new and direct relationships between regional councils and the national parliament, which to date have



been substantially lacking in Italy. Relying on the provision of Art. 6 of Protocol no 2 annexed to the Treaty of Lisbon, the new law on the participation of Italy in EU affairs provides, for the first time, a bottom-up process of transmission of regional opinions (also from the regional executives, by means of a 'political dialogue') to the Italian parliament, thus indirectly also enhancing the ties between the regional and national levels of government.

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

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**Esther Martín Núñez**

**The scrutiny of the principle of subsidiarity by autonomous regional parliaments with particular reference to the participation of the Parliament of Catalonia in the early warning system**  
in *Perspectives on federalism*, vol. 5, issue 2 , E51-E73

The purpose of this article is to offer a practical approach to the new European dimension for regional parliaments signified by the entry into force of the Treaty of Lisbon. The parliamentary scrutiny of subsidiarity by way of the early warning system has assigned a new mission to legislative assemblies with the aim of reinforcing the intervention of regions in the drafting of policies by Union institutions. In the Spanish case, the institutionalisation of this mechanism came about with Act n° 24/2009, which attributes to the Joint Committee for the European Union, in the name of the Cortes Generales [the Spanish Parliament], the function of receiving the proposals for legislative acts by the EU and transferring them to the regional parliaments in order for the latter to issue, in a brief period of four weeks, a report on compliance with the principle of subsidiarity. The majority of regional parliaments have also carried out normative reforms to regulate the procedure of participation in the early warning system.

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**Un progetto squilibrato**

in *Federalismi*, Anno XII - Nr 8 , Lanchester Fulco

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

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**D'Amico Marilisa**

**Una riforma irragionevole?**  
in *Federalismi*, Anno XII - Nr 8



No abstract available

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

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**Ruggeri AnNote minime a prima lettura del disegno Renzi di riforma costituzionale**

in **Federalismi**, Anno XII - Nr 8

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

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**Mookherjee Dilip**

**Accountability of local and state governments in India: an overview of recent research**

in **Indian Growth and Development Review** , vol. 7, issue 1 , 12-41

Purpose

– This paper aims to provide an overview of recent research on accountability of local and state governments in India.

Design/methodology/approach

– The Downsian theory of electoral competition is used as a departure point for classifying different sources of government accountability failures. Subsequent sections deal with each of these sources in turn: limited voter participation and awareness; ideology, honesty and competence of political parties and electoral candidates; capture by elites; clientelism and vote-buying. Each section starts by explaining the relevant departure from the Downsian framework and then reviews available empirical evidence in the Indian context for each of these possible “distortions”, besides effects of related policy interventions. The final section summarizes the lessons learnt, and the fresh questions that they raise.

Findings

– The paper describes a range of possible reasons that limit the effectiveness of elections as a mechanism inducing governments to be accountable to their citizens and reviews the evidence available from the Indian context concerning each of these.

Originality/value

– The contribution of the paper is to provide an overview and perspective of recent literature on political economy problems affecting performance of state and local governments in India.

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**Appointing State Attorneys General: Evaluating the Unbundled State Executive**

in *Harvard Law Review*, Volume 127 - n. 3

No abstract available

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

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James D. Boys

**Exploiting Inherited Wars of Choice: Obama's Use of Nixonian Methods to Secure the Presidency**

in *American Politics Research*, 42 (5) , 815-840

Despite a slogan advocating a change from practices of the past, Barack Obama's presidential campaign of 2008 had an intriguing similarity to that of Richard Nixon in 1968. Like Nixon, Obama benefited from and secured victory partly due to his opposition to a contentious "war of choice." The wars in Vietnam and Iraq provided the political and cultural circumstances that made Nixon and Obama credible candidates in 1968 and 2008, respectively. The wars weakened support for the incumbent party and caused divisions within the country and in their own parties that both men exploited to neutralize political rivals in the primary season and defeat their opponent in the general election. This article examines the manner in which Obama, like Nixon, benefited directly from conflict by promoting his opposition and apparent solutions to gain public confidence, neutralize political opponents, and secure the presidency.

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Dino P. Christenson and Corwin D. Smidt

**Following the Money: Super PACs and the 2012 Presidential Nomination**

in *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, Volume 44, Issue 3 , 410-430

The entrance of Super Political Action Committees (Super PACs), outside groups with no caps on fundraising or independent expenditures, prompts a reexamination of the role of money in campaigns and elections. We investigate the influence of Super PAC expenditures in the 2012 Republican nomination contest. A compressed calendar makes nomination campaigns expensive and money crucial, especially for lesser-known candidates, such that outside expenditures likely made a difference. Indeed, we find Super PACs helped to extend Santorum's long-shot candidacy but also helped Romney by weakening momentum from Gingrich and Santorum wins. Using panel data of candidate dynamics, we also find that candidate and Super PAC expenditures within various key primary states reactively complement each other. However, we do not find dispositive evidence that Super PACs coordinate with campaigns, thereby acting, at least in this context, within the bounds of their legally mandated independence.

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

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Spier Tim

**Große Koalitionen in den deutschen Bundesländern 1949-2013**

in *Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft* , Heft 4, 2013





## Grand Coalitions in the German Federal States 1949-2013

Game-theoretic coalition theories have problems explaining the formation of grand coalitions, defined as coalitions of both major parties CDU/CSU and SPD in German context, because they fit the logic of office- and policy-maximization only to a limited extent. This paper wants to contribute to a better understanding of these grand coalitions by examining their structure and the determinants of their formation quantitative-empirically on the level of the German federal states from 1949 to 2013. It is shown that certain party system characteristics, like high fragmentation or an asymmetry towards the left-wing political camp, correlate with the formation of such coalitions. Especially the share of pariah parties excluded from coalition formation and the absence of an alternative minimal winning coalition in both political camps are good predictors of their formation.

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Ruffing Eva

#### **How to Become an Independent Agency: The Creation of the German Federal Network Agency in German Politics**, Volume 23, Issue 1-2 , 43-58

The German Federal Network Agency (FNA) was established in 2005 as multi-utilities regulator thereby creating Germany's first energy regulator. It maintains a quite exceptional position in the landscape of German agencies because of its far-reaching independence from political influence. This independence represents an empirical puzzle, because in Germany no comprehensive agencification of the federal administration can be observed and independent agencies are rather an exception than a rule. This article explores whether this puzzle can be plausibly solved by the approach of institutional isomorphism. It argues that the German government faced informal pressure from the European Commission and its endeavour to build a network of European energy regulators at the European level. Furthermore, independent regulatory agencies increasingly became a kind of guiding model in the utilities sector. Therefore, mechanisms of coercive and mimetic isomorphism can be seen as plausible explanations of the agency's independence.

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Pisano Vittorfranco

#### **La politica estera e di sicurezza americana. Organi e strumenti in Affari Esteri**, Anno XLVI, numero speciale, n. 173, gennaio-inverno , 134-147

No abstract available

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

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Arklay Tracey M.

#### **Leadership Lessons: Minority Governments, Independents and Relationships in Australian Journal of Politics & History** , Volume 60, Issue 1, March , 58-72



The 2010 Australian election returned the first “hung” House of Representatives since the Second World War. This paper tracks the political lessons of history to the only other time when a prime minister had to work in a hung parliament. Circumstances and political parties differ, but on closer examination some common themes emerge. The prime ministership is both a gift and a burden, where control is, for the most part illusory. R.G. Menzies lacked the personal qualities his parliamentary colleagues found in Arthur Fadden. In 1941 he lost the prime ministership because he lost the support of his party room. Just as she had defeated Kevin Rudd in 2010, Julia Gillard was eventually defeated in a caucus ballot in June 2013. However, at least initially, Gillard displayed personal traits which Rudd lacked and which enabled her to retain the trust of both the ALP caucus and key independent members. History contains some valid lessons which, given recent events, need restating: relationships in politics matter.

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**Thompson Frank J., Gusmano Michael K.**

**The Administrative Presidency and Fractious Federalism: The Case of Obamacare**

**in Publius: The Journal of Federalism**, vol. 44, n. 3, Summer 2014, Special Issue: The State of American Federalism 2013-2014 , 426-450

Growing executive branch discretion in the U.S. separation-of-powers system has elevated the importance of the administrative presidency. However, research on this topic has paid scant attention to federal policies that rely on the states to implement them. We seek to advance knowledge of the administrative presidency under conditions of fractious federalism by examining the nature and efficacy of the Obama administration’s efforts to secure state cooperation in implementing the Affordable Care Act (ACA). This law sought to assure that nearly all Americans would have health insurance. Despite strong partisan, ideological pressures on Republican policy makers in the states to refrain from implementing the ACA, the Obama administration has had some initial success in overcoming their resistance. Waivers have been a particularly valuable presidential tool.

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**Jones Kate, Jacobs Kerry**

**The Cerberus from Warringah: F.A. Bland and the Renaissance of the Public Accounts Committee**

**in Australian Journal of Politics & History** , Volume 60, Issue 1, March , 43-57

In 1932 the Lyons UAP government suspended the operations of the Commonwealth parliament’s public accounts committee, allegedly as an economy measure. The role of public accounts committees is, in principle, that of a non-partisan reviewer of the public finances, but in this case the committee had diverged from its charter and become involved in politics and policy. Twenty years later, the Menzies government resurrected the committee. A crucial figure in its re-establishment was F.A. Bland, variously a professor of public administration, member for Warringah in the House of Representatives, and a significant public intellectual from the 1920s to the 1960s. Today Bland is almost forgotten but the role the re-established committee played in its early days was largely a reflection of his interests and commitments.

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Fang-Yi Chiou and Lawrence S. Rothenberg

**The Elusive Search for Presidential Power**

in *American Journal of Political Science*, Volume 58, Issue 3 , 653–668

Unilateral presidential actions, such as executive orders, are widely cited as a key strategic tool for presidential power. However, is unilateral action evidence of unilateralism or might it represent executive acquiescence? We answer this by (1) specifying three competing models, each with a different presidential discretion assumption and generating alternative hypotheses; (2) extending the canonical item-response model to best measure executive-order significance; and (3) comparing competing theoretical models to data for 1947–2002. Theoretically, we show that legislative preferences may impact unilateral actions differently than previously thought and indicate how parties may be influential. Empirically, a model where the president is responsive to the chamber's majority-party median fits the data better than models assuming responsiveness to the chamber median or no presidential acquiescence. Unilateral action appears not tantamount to presidential power, as evidence implies that legislative parties, or the judicial actors enforcing their will, are key conditioning factors.

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Spadijer Steve

**The Head of State Debate: A Comment**

in *Australian Journal of Politics & History* , Volume 60, Issue 1, March , 125-129

No abstract available

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

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Elena Griglio

**The evolving role of the Italian Conference system in representing regional interests in EU decision-making**

in *Perspectives on federalism*, vol. 5, issue 2 , E89-E121

This contribution focuses on the Italian experience of the 'collective representation of regional interests through the State-Regions Conference and the other 'horizontal', interregional Conferences representing either the regional executive bodies (the Conference of the Regional Presidents, better known as "Conference of the Regions") or the legislative assemblies (the Conference of the Presidents of the Regional Councils). Although such Conferences have, over time, conquered a well-defined institutional position also in the stage consisting in the implementation of EU norms, the present analysis is centred on the role exercised by such bodies in the EU decision-making process. After a general overview of the main organisational and functional features characterising the activity of these bodies in EU affairs, the contribution focuses on the most relevant reforms which have affected the Italian legislation as regards the participation in the EU integration process. This diachronic analysis is critically assessed in the conclusions. It is argued that some challenges still remain open in the coordination of the functions of intergovernmental Conferences - also due to confusion of roles between the State-Regions Conference and the



Conference of the Regions - and in the promotion of a reinforced synergy between these latter and the Conference of the Presidents of Regional Councils.

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Randour François, de Visscher Christian

**The reform of the Belgian federal administration 10 years on: what balance has been achieved between operational autonomy of top managers and the supervision carried out by the horizontal ministerial departments?**

in *International Review of Administrative Sciences* , vol. 80 - No. 1

In the wake of the Copernic reform, Belgium's senior federal civil servants are now appointed for a fixed term and guided on performance via management plans. This article sets out to assess the impact of the introduction of the fixed-term system on the autonomy of senior civil servants with regard to the horizontal departments responsible for the budget, on the one hand, and human resources, on the other hand, within Belgium's federal administration. Based on the so-called 'inconsistencies' approach, the article focuses briefly on three inconsistencies: internal, discursive and contextual. An analysis of these inconsistencies confirms one of the forms of 'cheating' in the relationship between ministers and senior civil servants formulated by Hood and Lodge (2006), namely that the first can be inclined to reduce the margin of discretion of the latter by maintaining formal or informal mechanisms to exercise control over the provision of resources.

Points for practitioners Greater managerial autonomy for senior civil servants, as advocated by NPM, cannot succeed without a transformation of the traditional modes of operation of the political-administrative relationship accompanying structural reforms. The low degree of autonomy of senior civil servants does not stem so much from the introduction of a 'contractual' relationship, but from the lack of support shown by the latter in the implementation of such reforms. In the case studied, senior civil servants can only be made more accountable and given greater autonomy if the 'pyramid' of control is reformed and internal audit activities developed.

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Rondeaux Giseline

**What are the dynamics of organizational identification in the course of modernization processes Analysis of a Belgian administration**

in *International Review of Administrative Sciences* , vol. 80 - No. 1

In the course of reform, organizational identity emerges as a prominent issue. While the process of modernizing the administration sets out to redefine this identity, how is this experienced by its members? What are the identity dynamics at work in terms of their perception of changes in their environment?

By analysing the Copernic reform in Belgium, we inductively developed a typology of identity rationales and profiles



(Rondeaux, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2010). On this basis, we conducted a questionnaire survey in a regional administration engaged in reform. Our analysis highlights the coexistence of different identity rationales and diverse perceptions of the environment, which are congruent or dissonant with them. The results underline the importance of the environment and of its perception in organizational identification processes and confirms the hypothesis of identity hybridization, providing also an empirical basis for the integrative approach of Ravasi and Schultz (2006).

Points for practitioners This article proposes an identity interpretive framework for reform processes, considering both the institutionalized organizational identity, at the heart of the modernization project and various alternative rationales contributed by the civil servants. Our analysis highlights the diverse perceptions of the environment in the light of the identities present and underlines the practical implications of such an approach in terms of change management.

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Pattie Charles, Johnston Ron

**“The electors shall meet in their respective states”:** Bias and the US Presidential Electoral College, 1960–2012  
in *Political Geography*, Volume 40, May , 35-45

American Presidential elections are indirect, reflecting popular support for the candidates through the institution of the Electoral College to choose the President. In common with other plurality-based electoral systems, the College tends to exaggerate the apparent mandate received by the winner of the popular vote but, on occasion, can deliver victory to the second-placed candidate. Despite a sizeable literature on its operation and vagaries, however, relatively little attention has been paid to the question of systematic bias in the College: does one party receive a consistent advantage over the other from the College's operation? The paper examines the evidence for such a bias in each Presidential election since 1960. Although biases have occurred and in some cases were substantial, neither major party is a consistent beneficiary; the prime source of bias is to be found in the relative effectiveness of parties' own vote-winning strategies.

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*Subsection 6. The judiciary branch*

Leonard Meghan E. , Ross Joseph V.

**Consensus and Cooperation on State Supreme Courts**  
in *State Politics & Policy Quarterly*, Vol. 14, No. 1 , 3-28

The opinion-writing process is a vital yet understudied aspect of judicial decision making on state supreme courts. We argue that this process is influenced by the political context and particularly by institutional rules that serve to reactivate and reinforce divisions among justices, leading to less cooperation on the court. We test our theory with original data comprising all education cases decided from 1995 to 2005 in all 50 states and find evidence to support our theory. Specifically, we find that elections lead to fewer unanimous decisions and more separate written opinions, indicating that judicial elections may have a more pervasive effect on the daily work of these courts than previously thought.



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

*Subsection 6. The judiciary branch*

Wesneski Joshua M.

**Finding Federalism in Waiver of Personal Jurisdiction: Federalism and Individual Rights in the Second Circuit in Cornell Law Review**, Volume 99 Issue 1

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 6. The judiciary branch*

Goelzhauser Greg , Cann Damon M.

**Judicial Independence and Opinion Clarity on State Supreme Courts in State Politics & Policy Quarterly**, Vol. 14, No. 2 , 123-141

We contribute to the literature on judicial independence and performance in the states by analyzing opinion clarity. Written opinions are the primary means of communication for state supreme court justices, and clarity is a core component of judicial performance. Using automated text analysis on a sample of state supreme court opinions from all 50 states, we find that variation in judicial retention systems is not associated with substantively meaningful differences in opinion clarity. Furthermore, elected judges do not seem to produce clearer opinions in salient cases notwithstanding the increased public visibility of those decisions. These results suggest that judges tend to conform to prevailing professional norms despite differing institutional pressures.

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

*Subsection 6. The judiciary branch*

Miguel Ángel Cabellos Espiérrez

**Reforma constitucional y poder judicial: la perspectiva de la relación entre justicia y modelo de Estado in Revista de derecho politico**, no. 89 , 135-173

The Constitution, while putting the basis for the political decentralization of the State, configured the Judiciary on a unitary model, so that the Judiciary and the model of State appeared to be two realities destined to ignore each other, and not seek any type of reciprocal influence. The principle of jurisdictional unity, understood in a particularly rigid way, linked with a distribution of powers in the field of administration of justice that seemed to exclude the Autonomous Communities, led inevitably to that conclusion. However, both statutes as LOPJ as the current statutory reforms have tried different mechanisms of rapprochement between the two realities. The STC 31/2010 shows how these mechanisms are clearly limited by the constitutional provisions; only a constitutional reform would allow a true adequacy between the Judiciary and the model of State. The purpose of this paper is to see in which areas it can be, and what options are open in each.





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Sezgin Yüksel, Künkler Mirjam

**Regulation of “Religion” and the “Religious”: The Politics of Judicialization and Bureaucratization in India and Indonesia**

*in Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Volume 56, Issue 2, April , 448-478

This article compares the strategies through which Hindu-majority India and Muslim-majority Indonesia have regulated religion and addressed questions of what constitutes “the religious” in the post-independence period. We show that the dominant approach pursued by the Indian state has been one of judicialization—the delegation of religious questions to the high courts—while in Indonesia it has predominantly been one of bureaucratization—the regulation of religious issues by the Ministry of Religious Affairs. Contrary to the expectation that judicialization devitalizes normative conflicts while bureaucratization, more frequently associated with authoritarian politics, “locks” these conflicts “in,” we show that these expectations have not materialized, and at times, the effects have been reverse. Engaging the literatures on judicialization and on bureaucratization, we argue that what determines the consequences of the policy toward religion is less the choice of the implementing institution (i.e., the judiciary or bureaucracy) than the mode of delegation (vertical versus horizontal) which shapes the relationship between the policy-maker and the institution implementing it. Bureaucrats, judges, and elected politicians in multicultural societies around the world encounter questions of religious nature very similar to those that authorities in India and Indonesia have faced. How they address the challenge of religious heterogeneity has a profound impact on prospects of nation-building and democratization. It is therefore imperative that the consequences of the policy toward religion, and even more so the consequences of political delegation, be studied more systematically.

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

*Subsection 6. The judiciary branch*

Irving Helen

**State Jurisdictional Residue: What Remains to a State Court When its Chapter III Functions are Exhausted in Federal Law Review**, Volume 42 Number 1

Momcilovic v The Queen (2011) 245 CLR 1 provided the first opportunity for the High Court of Australia to consider the constitutional validity of a 'declaration of inconsistent interpretation' made under s 36 of the Charter of Human Rights and Responsibilities Act 2006 (Vic). The Court's ruling on this point attracted attention going well beyond the rest of the case. The constitutional status of the Charter's 'declaration' function had long been uncertain; in addition, although the case concerned a conviction under State law, the judgment of the Victorian Court of Appeal, from which Ms Momcilovic's appeal had come to the High Court, had been exercised in federal jurisdiction. This, then, raised questions about the extent to which the State Court was jurisdictionally limited, under the Kable doctrine, by its 'identity' as a Ch III court: whether the declaration power could be exercised by both, either, or neither, a State or federal court. Notably, French CJ found the power valid for a State court, but invalid for a federal court. In explaining his conclusion, the Chief Justice identified what this paper calls 'State jurisdictional residue.' In his Honour's words, 'there is no reason in principle why the Court of Appeal, having exhausted its functions in the exercise of its federal jurisdiction ... could not proceed to exercise the distinct non-judicial power conferred upon it by' the Charter. Further questions were then raised about the



extent to which a State court, albeit exercising federal jurisdiction, remains free to exercise a 'residual' State power relevant to the same proceedings. This paper considers such questions. It also asks what the case might be for reconsidering *Kable v Director of Public Prosecutions (NSW)* (1996) 189 CLR 51, particularly in light of the more recent judgment in *Kirk v Industrial Court (NSW)* (2010) 239 CLR 531.

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

*Subsection 6. The judiciary branch*

Short John Rennie

**The Supreme Court, the Voting Rights Act and Competing National Imaginaries of the USA  
in *Territory, Politics, Governance*, Volume 2, Issue 1 , 94-108**

In 2013, the US Supreme Court overturned key elements of the Voting Rights Act relating to the racial geography of the USA and relations between federal and state government. The historical background to the Act and its role in changing the political geography of voting are explored. A detailed analysis of the ruling, *Shelby v. Holder*, reveals competing national imaginaries. The Court's majority view saw a cohesive nation where past assumptions of the racist geographies of the USA centered on the 'Deep South' no longer hold true. The Court's minority view, saw a nation still deeply divided and subject to second-generation discriminatory practices. The contradictions of both are discussed. The resiliency of the Act and the implications of the ruling are examined.

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

*Subsection 6. The judiciary branch*

Tom Ginsburg and Mila Versteeg

**Why Do Countries Adopt Constitutional Review?**

in *Journal of Law, Economics, and Organization*, vol. 30, no. 3 , 587-622

In recent decades, there has been a wide-ranging global movement towards constitutional review. This development poses important puzzles of political economy: Why would self-interested governments willingly constrain themselves by constitutional means? What explains the global shift toward judicial supremacy? Though different theories have been proposed, none have been systematically tested against each other using quantitative empirical methods. In this article, we utilize a unique new dataset on constitutional review for 204 countries for the period 1781–2011 to test various theories that explain the adoption of constitutional review. Using a fixed-effects spatial lag model, we find substantial evidence that the adoption of constitutional review is driven by domestic electoral politics. By contrast, we find no general evidence that constitutional review adoption results from ideational factors, federalism, or international norm diffusion. (JEL: K00, K19, K49)

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

*Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism*

Erik M. Jensen

**Did the Sixteenth Amendment Ever Matter: Does It Matter Today Symposium Did the Sixteenth Amendment Ever Matter? Does It Matter Today?**

in *Northwestern University Law Review*, vol. 108, issue 3 , 799-824



This Article argues that, if the United States was going to have a workable, national income tax, the Sixteenth Amendment was legally and politically necessary in 1913, when it was ratified, and that the Amendment remains significant today. The Amendment provides that “taxes on incomes” need not be apportioned among the states on the basis of population, as would otherwise be required for direct taxes. An apportioned income tax would be an absurdity, and, without the Amendment, Congress could not enact an unapportioned tax on income from property, the sort of tax that was struck down by the Supreme Court in 1895 in *Pollock v. Farmers’ Loan & Trust*. The *Pollock* result was changed by the Sixteenth Amendment, but the core of the case has not been overturned. Indeed, in 2012, in *National Federation of Independent Business v. Sebelius*, Chief Justice Roberts favorably cited *Pollock* on a constitutional issue. All of that is to say that, without the Sixteenth Amendment, an unapportioned national tax on the income from property would continue to be invalid today. The Amendment is also important for what it does not say. It provides no protection for an unapportioned national tax on property if the tax is not treated as one “on incomes.” Such a tax on property would therefore be subject to the apportionment rule and, as a result, would make the tax difficult, and perhaps impossible, to implement.

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

*Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism*

**Aurore Laget-Annamayer and Jean-Marc Sorel**

**Le meccano de l'euro: les multiples contraintes d'une monnaie pas comme les autres**

in *Revue générale de droit international publique*, vol. 117, no. 4 , 833-870

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism*

**Kessler Anke S.**

**Communication in Federal Politics: Universalism, Policy Uniformity, and the Optimal Allocation of Fiscal Authority**

in *Journal of Political Economy* , Vol. 122, No. 4, August 2014 , 766-805

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism*

**Joanis Marcelin**

**Comparaison de l'endettement public dans les provinces canadiennes et dans les États américains: une analyse de sensibilité**

in *Canadian Public Policy* , Volume 40 Number 2 , 143-155

This paper compares the public indebtedness of the Canadian provinces and the US states (including a share of the federal debt) over the 2000-2007 period. It presents rankings of the most indebted subnational jurisdictions based on five public debt concepts. Among the provinces, Quebec (with the lowest average rank) and Alberta (with the highest



average rank) display the most stable position across the rankings. All other provinces show important fluctuations in their position in the rankings. Hence, allocating the federal debt to subnational states and the specific debt concept being considered significantly influence the rankings, quite spectacularly in some instances.

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

Hay Robert ,Martin Steve

**Controlling Local Government Spending: The Implementation and Impact of Capping Council Taxes in Local Government Studies**, Volume 40, Issue 2, , 224-239

The level of local fiscal autonomy is widely regarded as an important indicator of the state of central-local relations and the capping of council tax increases has proved to be one of the most contentious of all of the constraints placed on local authorities by UK central government. Over the last decade the devolved administrations in Scotland and Wales have moved away from capping in favour of a more consensual approach. This decision reflects the difference in scale and nature of their policy communities and appears to have been at least as successful in controlling increases in local taxes as the more directive, top-down strategy favoured by policymakers in England. The current UK government's proposals to promote local referenda rather than ministerial diktat as the means of controlling council tax levels represents a potentially important new but as yet unproven approach.

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

Edmondo Mostacci

**Dal "dialogo" al decalogo: le OMT nel primo rinvio pregiudiziale del Bundesverfassungsgericht in Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo**, no. 1 , 35-43

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

Zachary Horváth, Brian David Moore and Jonathan C. Rork

**Does Federal Aid to States Aid the States? in Growth and Change** , Vol. 45, n°2 , 333-361

Using data from 1977 to 2009, we explore whether the agency issuing federal aid to states influences the rate of state economic growth. We find that agencies' housing poverty alleviation programs, such as the Department of Health and Human Services and the Department of Labor, have negative effects. The Department of Commerce and the Department of Interior have consistent positive effects, although this last effect is due to inordinately disproportionate spending in the state of Wyoming. Overall growth effects are relatively modest, suggesting that potential future cuts to federal discretionary spending may not be as damaging as feared.

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

Brian Galle

**Does Federal Spending Coerce States? Evidence from State Budgets**

in *Northwestern University Law Review*, vol. 108, issue 3 , 989-1027

According to a recent plurality of the U.S. Supreme Court, the danger that federal taxes will “crowd-out” state revenues justifies aggressive judicial limits on the conditions attached to federal spending. Economic theory offers a number of reasons to believe the opposite: federal revenue increases may also buoy state finances. To test these competing claims, I examine for the first time the relationship between total federal revenues and state revenues. I find that, contra the NFIB v. Sebelius plurality, increases in federal revenue—controlling, of course, for economic performance and other factors—are associated with a large and statistically significant increase in state revenues. This version of the study provides extensive background explanations of underlying economic concepts for readers unfamiliar with the prior public finance literature.

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

Paul van den Noord

**EMU will Succeed Even Without a Federal State**

in *Global Policy*, Volume 5, Issue 2 , 258–259

Is it really true that a monetary union without a federal state is bound to fail?

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

Gemechu Eskinder Demisse, Butnar Isabela, Llop Maria, Castells Francesc

**Economic and environmental effects of CO2 taxation: an input-output analysis for Spain**

in *Journal of Environmental Planning and Management*, Volume 57, Issue 5 , 751-768

The aim of this work is to investigate the direct and indirect effects of an environmental tax on Spanish products, based on their CO2 emission intensities. For this purpose, we apply environmental input-output (EIO) and price models. The short-term price effects of the introduction of tax on consumption prices, and its influence on consumers’ welfare, are determined. We also quantify the environmental impacts of such taxation in terms of the reduction in CO2 emissions. The results, based on the Spanish economy for the year 2007, show that sectors with a relatively poor environmental profile are subjected to high environmental tax rates. As a consequence, applying a CO2 tax on these sectors increases production prices and induces a slight increase in the Consumer Price Index, and a decrease in private welfare. In general, our analysis highlights that the environmental and economic goals cannot both be met at the same time with the environmental taxation, unless there is a way in which the public revenues could be used to compensate those who are negatively affected by the tax.

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

Peck Jamie

**Editor's Choice: Pushing austerity: state failure, municipal bankruptcy and the crises of fiscal federalism in the USA**

in *Cambridge Journal of Regions, Economy and Society*, Volume 7 Issue 1 March 2014 , 17-44

By way of a critical exploration of austerity politics in the USA, the paper examines the means by which the Wall Street crisis of 2008 has been translated into a state crisis, especially for the state at the subnational and urban scales. It examines the strategies, rationales and tactics adopted by advocates of austerity measures, which amount to a sustained effort to socialize, rescale and 'dump' the costs of the economic crisis. These manoeuvres are transforming the operating environment for state and local government in the USA, and they are remaking the terrains of urban politics at the same time.

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

Camilla Buzzacchi

**Equilibrio di bilancio versus autonomie locali e "Stato sociale"**

in *Amministrare*, no. 1 , 49-91

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

Emi Nakamura, Steinsson Jón

**Fiscal Stimulus in a Monetary Union: Evidence from US Regions**

in *American Economic Review*, Vol. 104 No. 3, March 2014 , 753-792

We use rich historical data on military procurement to estimate the effects of government spending. We exploit regional variation in military build-ups to estimate an "open economy relative multiplier" of approximately 1.5. We develop a framework for interpreting this estimate and relating it to estimates of the standard closed economy aggregate multiplier. The latter is highly sensitive to how strongly aggregate monetary and tax policy "leans against the wind." Our open economy relative multiplier "differences out" these effects because monetary and tax policies are uniform across the nation. Our evidence indicates that demand shocks can have large effects on output.

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

Antonis Adam, Manthos D. Delis, Pantelis Kammas

**Fiscal decentralization and public sector efficiency: evidence from OECD countries**

in *Economics of Governance*, Volume 15, Issue 1, February 2014 , 17-49

This paper studies the impact of fiscal decentralization on public sector efficiency (PSE). We first use a theoretical





framework that illustrates the two opposing forces that shape a non-monotonic effect of fiscal decentralization on PSE. Subsequently, we carry out an empirical analysis for 21 OECD countries, between 1970 and 2000. A country-level dataset is used to measure PSE in delivering education and health services and the new indices are regressed on well-established decentralization measures. Irrespective of whether PSE concerns education or health services, an inverted U-shaped relationship has been identified between government efficiency in providing these services and fiscal decentralization. This relationship is robust across several different specifications and estimation methods.

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

Charlotte Crane

**Foreword: 100 Years under the Income Tax**

in *Northwestern University Law Review*, vol. 108, issue 3 , 767-771

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

Jacob H. Gutwillig

**Glass Versus Steagall: The Fight over Federalism and American Banking**

in *Virginia Law Review*, vol. 100, issue 4 , 771-815

In 1933, Congress passed the Glass-Steagall Act as a response to the Great Crash of 1929. Two basic responses to the banking crisis were on the table in the weeks prior to the Act's passage: unification of the national banking system under federal control or preservation of the state unit banking system augmented by a full federal guarantee of deposits made in every American bank. The conflict between these two alternatives represented the final episode in the nearly 150-year-long struggle between state and federal authorities for control over the banking system.

The competition dated back to 1791 and posed the question of how the values and structure of American republican federalism should be engrafted onto the banking system. This Note begins by arguing that the answer, in 1791, was competitive dual federalism. It frames this federal-versus-state competition and then presents the two broad ideologies that drove the struggle, typified by Senator Carter Glass and Representative Henry Steagall. Next, this Note presents the so-called Vandenberg Amendment—adopted as part of the Glass-Steagall Act—as representative of a long-overlooked model of cooperative federalism for banking.

This Note concludes by suggesting that, contrary to the traditional scholarly account, the Glass-Steagall Act as shaped by the Vandenberg Amendment represented a fundamental change to the existing American banking structure, reversing the choice made in 1791 by rejecting a competitive dual federalism model in favor of a cooperative federalism one.

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*



Giovanni Boggero

**Gli obblighi di Regioni ed enti locali dopo la legge n. 243/2012**

in *Amministrare*, no. 1 , 93-148

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

Sacchi Agnese, Salotti Simone

**How regional inequality affects fiscal decentralisation: accounting for the autonomy of subcentral governments**

in *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, Volume 32, Issue 1, February , 144-162

The aim of this paper is to analyse the influence of regional economic disparities on the fiscal decentralisation processes in twenty-one OECD countries over the period 1981 to 2005. We use novel and robust measures of fiscal decentralisation based on different degrees of autonomy over both expenditures and taxes granted to subcentral governments. Our results show that high regional economic disparities call for lower fiscal decentralisation. This could be interpreted as the outcome of a bargaining process driven by the relative strength and different incentives of rich and poor regions. Moreover, the extent to which responsibility and decision powers are really left to subcentral governments appears to be crucial. Thus, from a positive point of view, equity considerations seem to suggest avoidance of fiscal decentralisation processes in countries with significant regional economic disparities, notwithstanding the well-known efficiency gains.

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

Lo Duca Pasquale

**Il federalismo fiscale: una riforma dimezzata? Stato della legislazione, problemi aperti e prospettive**

in *Federalismi*, Anno XII - Nr 14

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

Cooper Russell, Kempf Hubert, Peled Dan

**Insulation Impossible: Monetary Policy and Regional Debt Spillovers in a Federation**

in *Journal of the European Economic Association*, Volume 12, Issue 2, April 2014 , 465-491

This paper studies the effects of monetary policy in the presence of debt spillovers within a monetary union. When capital markets are integrated, the fiscal policy of any member country will generally influence equilibrium wages and interest rates across the whole union. We ask whether there exists a monetary policy which can offset these spillovers. Within a general class of monetary policy rules, there does not exist one that completely insulates agents in one region from fiscal policy in the other. These debt spillovers will affect welfare through two channels: intertemporal efficiency and



redistribution.

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

Edmondo Mostacci

**La sindrome di Francoforte: crisi del debito, costituzione finanziaria europea e torsioni del costituzionalismo democratico**

in *Politica del diritto*, n. 4 , 481-558

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

Carsten Gerner-Beuerle, Esin Küçük and Edmund Schuster

**Law Meets Economics in the German Federal Constitutional Court: Outright Monetary Transactions on Trial in German Law Journal**, vol. 15, issue 2 , 281-320

The Eurozone banking and sovereign debt crisis has brought the fragility of the European monetary union into sharp focus and exposed the lack of effective instruments at the European level to maintain financial stability. As a response to the crisis, the Member States and the institutions of the Union adopted in short succession several financial assistance measures that have given rise to much political and legal controversy. The European Central Bank (ECB) played an active role in the institutions' efforts to contain the crisis and prevent the disintegration of the Eurozone by deploying a number of so-called non-standard or unconventional monetary policy measures, namely its Securities Markets Programme, Long-Term Refinancing Operations, and in September 2012 the Outright Monetary Transactions Programme (OMT Programme). The OMT Decision envisages unlimited purchases by the ECB of specific types of sovereign bonds issued by Member States participating in an EFSF/ESM macroeconomic adjustment or precautionary program in the secondary market. Without the program having been activated, i.e. without the ECB actually implementing the decision and without any purchases of government bonds, yields on bonds of the affected Eurozone countries decreased markedly after the announcement of the OMT Decision. The OMT Programme has accordingly been credited with having been instrumental in restoring financial stability and preventing a breakup of the Euro area and with being one of the most effective announcements any central bank has ever made.

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

Vaillancourt Yves

**Le tiers secteur dans la co-construction des politiques publiques canadiennes**

in *Canadian Public Policy* , Volume 40 Supplement 1 , 4-16

This paper defines two key core concepts in the field of public policy: co-production and co-construction. It first examines the role of the third sector in the co-construction of two public policy initiatives, the Voluntary Sector Initiative and the Social Economy Initiative, developed under the responsibility of the federal state. Then it turns to the participation of the third sector in co-constructing public policy under the responsibility of the Quebec provincial state in six policy areas:



policy to recognize autonomous community organizations, policy to recognize the social economy, daycare policy, home care policy, social housing policy and Quebec legislation to combat poverty. The policy initiatives of both the federal state and Quebec state are compared and analysed from a co-construction perspective.

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

Robin L. Einhorn

**Look Away Dixieland: The South and the Federal Income Tax**  
in *Northwestern University Law Review*, vol. 108, issue 3 , 773-797

Although it can seem paradoxical today that the federal government redistributes from “blue” states where majorities are tolerant of federal taxation to “red” states where they are hostile, the rhetoric was more straightforward in the politics surrounding the adoption of the Sixteenth Amendment a century ago. In fact, Southerners and Westerners demanded the adoption of the federal income tax for the obvious reason that it would benefit their constituents. By exempting income taxation from the apportionment rule that the Constitution specifies for “direct taxes,” the Sixteenth Amendment allowed Congress to tax in proportion to the distribution of income rather than the distribution of population. Because of the lopsided geographical distribution of income at the time, this procedure generated lopsided contributions from the high-income states of the Northeast, particularly New York. Yet some Southerners also thought the income tax was potentially dangerous because it would strengthen the federal government, with results that could potentially threaten their oppression of African Americans (disfranchisement, segregation, and rampant lynching). White Southerners worried about the safety of white supremacy in their debates with each other about whether to ratify the Sixteenth Amendment. In the end, however, they ratified enthusiastically, not only because they knew that their states would benefit, but also because they believed, correctly, that Northerners had lost interest in attempting to protect the rights of African Americans. Thus, this milestone in the history of taxation exemplified the irony of the Progressive Era.

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

DIEGO LÓPEZ GARRIDO

**Los cimientos históricos de la Unión Económica y Monetaria**  
in *Política Exterior*, n.159

La utopía que para muchos fundamentaba el proyecto europeo –ceder soberanía a Europa– nunca estuvo tan cerca como con la creación de una UEM que pronto mostró todas sus limitaciones.

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

Luby Martin J.

**Not All Refinancings Are Created Equal: A Framework for Assessing State and Local Government Debt Refinancing Measures**  
in *State and Local Government Review*, Vol. 46, No. 1 , 52-62



In this ongoing era of fiscal stress, state and local governments have increasingly turned to financial measures to help balance their budgets. One financial tactic commonly employed is debt refinancing. This article details the common refinancing strategies employed by state and local governments. Based on these strategies, typical refinancing transaction types are constructed and evaluated based on an assessment framework that relies on four debt refinancing principles developed in this article. Based on this assessment framework, the article concludes with a series of general recommendations for state and local governments to consider when refinancing debt.

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

*Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism*

Foremny Dirk

**Sub-national deficits in European countries: The impact of fiscal rules and tax autonomy**

in *European Journal of Political Economy*, Volume 34, June 2014 , 86-110

This paper empirically examines how fiscal rules and tax autonomy influence deficits of sub-national sectors across European countries. I use a new panel-data set to measure tax autonomy and the stringency of fiscal rules for EU15 regional and local government sectors over the period 1995 to 2008. I apply an instrumental variables approach to obtain an unbiased estimate of the impact of fiscal rules on deficits. I use political variables describing the central governments characteristics as instruments for fiscal rules at the sub-national level. The results show that the effectiveness of fiscal rules and tax autonomy depends on the constitutional structure. Fiscal rules decrease deficits only in unitary countries. Deficits of sub-national sectors in federations can be avoided through tax autonomy.

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

*Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism*

Federico Fabbrini

**Taxing and spending in the Eurozone: legal and political challenges related to the adoption of the financial transaction tax**

in *European Law Review*, vol. 39, issue 2 , 155-175

The article examines the recent high-level policy proposals to establish a fiscal capacity for the euro zone and discusses the relationship between taxing and spending in the Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) by analysing the need and possibility to levy taxes at the supranational level to sustain this new fiscal capacity. To this end, the article focuses on the pending legislation for the introduction of a Financial Transaction Tax (FTT) and considers the legality of resorting to enhanced cooperation to adopt a FTT among a sub-group of euro zone countries. While the use of enhanced cooperation in the area of FTT has been the object of recent challenges, the article discards these concerns and argues that the adoption of an FTT through enhanced cooperation is consistent with the constitutional function of this instrument, complies with the principles of the internal market and does not affect the rights of nonparticipating Member States—so it is legal. However, the article suggests that the use of enhanced cooperation to enact an FTT meets several political challenges, precisely because of the connection between taxing and spending in the euro zone. Since only 11 Member States have agreed to levy an FTT, it appears difficult to appropriate the revenues of the FTT for the benefit of a common euro zone budget. In the end, the establishment of a fiscal capacity for the euro zone requires further institutional reforms in the architecture of the EMU aimed at ensuring a more



effective and legitimate decision-making process in fiscal affairs.

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

Mou Haizhen, Atkinson Michael M., UI-Munim Ata

**The Cost of Government: Decomposing Provincial Expenditures, 1981-2007**

*in Canadian Public Policy* , Volume 40 Number 1 , 84-97

Debates about the size of government, which are often debates about what government should or should not do, need to be joined by a concern for the relative cost of government. Since 1981, the price in the public sector has grown faster than the price for GDP. We decompose the ratio between the price index for the public sector and that for GDP in the provinces and capture the governments' price advantage/disadvantage in different spending categories. Our analysis shows that governments with lower debt ratios and weaker fiscal rules are more vulnerable to rising costs, particularly during periods of higher commodity prices.

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

Caldeira Emilie, Rota-Graziosi Grégoire

**The Crowding-in Effect of Simple Unconditional Central Grants on Local Own-Source Revenue: The Case of Benin**

*in Journal of African Economies*, Volume 23 Issue 3 June 2014 , 361-387

The design of grants from central government to local government is an important issue in developing countries. In these countries the decentralisation process involves a vertical gap, i.e. an imbalance between the cost of local public competences and local governments' revenue-raising powers. Our analysis considers the crowding-in (or crowding-out) effect of simple unconditional central grants on local own-source revenue. We demonstrate a theoretical ambiguity concerning the nature of this effect by taking into account the collection costs of local governments' own revenue. Our empirical analysis focuses on Benin. We study the impact of a very simple grant that is collected at the border by Customs and is allocated to local governments through a fixed rule (based on population). Our empirical analysis covers panel data for the seventy-seven Benin communes (local governments) from 2003 to 2008, and addresses the potential endogeneity issues of transfer from the centre. We conclude unambiguously that there is a positive impact of this grant on local own-source revenue. This effect is contingent on a minimum level of wealth of the commune and is stronger for local governments that do not share the same political affiliation as the president in office. Our result emphasises a neglected property of those unconditional transfers whose allocation rule is solely population based: their complementarity with local own-source revenue. Such transfers are not only simpler than other formula-based equalisation transfers, but they may also have an incentive effect on local own-source revenue.

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

Stanislas Adam and Francisco Javier Mena Parras

**The European Stability Mechanism through the legal meanderings of the Union's constitutionalism: comment on Pringle**





in *European Law Review*, vol. 38, issue 6 , 848-865

In its judgment in *Pringle*, delivered on November 27, 2012, the Court of Justice of the European Union upheld the establishment of the European Stability Mechanism through the conclusion of an international agreement by Euro Area Member States. Beyond its implications for the Union's economic and monetary policy, this landmark judgment offers food for thought on a series of central issues in EU constitutional law, including the scope of the simplified revision procedure in art.48(6) TEU or Member State co-operation and the use of EU institutions outside the EU legal order. It also constitutes a unique illustration of multilevel dialogue in the European Union in the post-Lisbon era.

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

André Prüm

**The European Union Crisis Responses and the Efficient Capital Market Hypothesis**

in *Columbia Journal of European Law*, vol. 20, issue 1 , 1-29

The hypothesis that capital markets naturally function in an efficient way - possibly one of the widest accepted dogmas of contemporary liberalism - has for many years encouraged politicians and regulators in the United States and Europe to refrain from regulating too strictly or even to deregulate the financial industry. Moreover, by leaving Member States with the final responsibility for the soundness of their public finances, the Efficient Capital Markets Hypothesis (ECMH) underpins the constitutional framework of the Economic and Monetary Union (EMU). The recent financial and sovereign debt crises, however, have highlighted the limits of the ECMH and the dangers for market actors, financial institutions, regulators and politicians of relying on the efficiency of financial markets without any qualification. In reaction to the financial and sovereign debt crises, the European Union and its Member States have proposed or adopted a vast set of measures, which range from new mechanisms of solidarity within the Eurozone to a banking union. While the overarching goal is to relieve the stress that financial markets continue to exercise both on the stability of the financial system and the EMU, these measures have been designed in urgency and tend to focus on specific issues. The overall vision and coherence of these measures are far from obvious. The present paper proposes to assess the extent to which the European Union has learned from the lessons taught by the crises relating to the ECMH and its impact on regulation.

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

*Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism*

Thuy Vu Thanh, Zouikri Messaoud, Deffains Bruno

**The Interrelationship between Formal and Informal Decentralization and Its Impact on Subcentral Governance Performance: the Case of Vietnam**

in *CESifo Economic Studies*, Volume 60 Issue 3 September 2014 , 613-652

Formal and informal institutions are often viewed as complements or substitutes in empirical and theoretical studies. In this article, we find no evidence of complementary or substitutive relationships in our empirical analysis of the relationship between formal and informal decentralization across 64 provinces in Vietnam. Instead, the formally decentralized system of public goods and service provision accommodates the informal one, and informal decentralization in public order provision tends to compete with the existing and ineffective formal system. This implies that the central government needs to reorganize the decentralized provision of public order and public goods and



services to make informal institutions complements to rather than competitors of or free-riders on formal institutions.

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

*Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism*

**Cécile Salcedo**

**Un aspect méconnu du fédéralisme américain : la gestion fédérale des faillites municipales**

in *Pouvoirs*, n. 147 , 145-154

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism*

**SEIJI FUJII**

**Which Level of Government Do the ASEAN People Think that Environmental Issues Should Be Decided By? An Analysis of the ASEAN-Barometer Survey of 2009**

in *Japanese Journal of Political Science*, Volume 15 - Special Issue 02

This paper explores preferences and attitudes related to fiscal federalism held by the ASEAN people in the context of environmental issues. Fiscal federalism would predict that local environmental problems will be handled more efficiently by local governments, while national environmental problems will be solved more efficiently by the national government. But it is not obvious whether citizens consider in the same way as economics theory predicts. To unveil this point, I address questions of whether those who have higher consciousness toward environmental issues at the neighbor or local level prefer local governments to decide environment policies, whether those who have more consciousness about environmental issues at the national level prefer the national government to decide the policies, and whether those who have higher consciousness toward environmental problems at global level prefer higher levels government such as the United Nations to decide the policies. By fitting multi-level probit regressions to cross-national survey data collected in ASEAN countries, I found the results supporting the hypotheses. The country analyses show the results which support the hypotheses in Brunei, Indonesia, and the Philippines.

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

*Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)*

**Matthias Goldmann**

**Adjudicating Economics? Central Bank Independence and the Appropriate Standard of Judicial Review**

in *German Law Journal*, vol. 15, issue 2 , 265-280

In Karlsruhe's recent request for a preliminary ruling, an unconventional monetary policy measure of the European Central Bank (ECB) finds an unconventional judicial response. Based on its mandate to enforce the fundamental right to vote, the Federal Constitutional Court (FCC) leaves no doubt about its view that the ECB's Outright Monetary Transactions Programme (OMT Programme) violates the law of the European Union and hence the German Basic Law, unless one reads them in a rather restrictive way. But as unconventional monetary policy steps up the need for the ECB to justify the legality of its measures, so does the FCC's unconventional expansion of the scope of judicial review raise questions which the recent decision in its—generally laudable—brevity leaves underexplored. In particular, the decision



does not dwell much on the issue whether it is appropriate for a court to review issues of monetary policy, and which standard of review should apply. Only Judge Gerhardt calls the majority's standard of review into question when he doubts whether the requirement for transgressions of the European Union's competences to be "manifest" is a workable criterion for defining the scope of the FCC's ultra vires control.

This article argues first that the concept of democracy endorsed by the Basic Law as well as the contested nature of the economic theories underpinning monetary policy rule out the possibility of a full review of ECB measures by the FCC or any other court. Instead, courts may only perform rationality checks. Subsequently, it tackles the arguments advanced by the FCC against the legality of the ECB's OMT Programme one by one and demonstrates that the conclusions of the FCC cannot be upheld if one applies a rationality check instead of a full review and avoids adjudicating between competing approaches in economic theory.

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

*Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)*

Dietrich Murswiek

**ECB, ECJ, Democracy, and the Federal Constitutional Court: Notes on the Federal Constitutional Court's Referral Order from 14 January 2014**

in *German Law Journal*, vol. 15, issue 2 , 147-165

The European Central Bank's (ECB) program of purchasing government bonds, the OMT program (Outright Monetary Transactions Program), which was announced on 6 September 2012, is illegal. With this program, the ECB transgresses its powers. This is the central message of the Federal Constitutional Court's decision from 14 January 2014. However, the decision is not final. The Federal Constitutional Court has suspended the trial and has referred the matter to the European Court of Justice (ECJ) for a preliminary ruling. Only after the ECJ has examined the compatibility of the OMT program with European law will the Federal Constitutional Court pronounce its final judgment.

The decision of the Federal Constitutional Court is of great importance in many respects. It illuminates the role of the central bank and develops criteria for the concretization of its competences (see Section B). In doing so, the Federal Constitutional Court makes use of its claimed right to an ultra vires review and, for the first time, determines a transgression of powers by an EU institution (see Section C). The right of every citizen to initiate such proceedings before the Federal Constitutional Court through his or her constitutional complaint has been strengthened (see Section D).

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

*Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)*

Buzelay Alain

**La Banque centrale européenne face au besoin d'une relance économique**

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 578, mai , 264-268

In the current economic context, the exclusive price stability objective assigned to the ECB slows up the efficiency of its financing strategy in favour of economic recovery in the eurozone. That strategy has attempted, since the crisis, to extrapolate and update the close assignment given to it by the Maastricht Treaty, but that has to handle orthodox interpretations of the monetary policy, low control of its transmission channels as well as a lower borrowing need of



companies, dictated by a drop in their investments.

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

***Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)***

**Phoebus Athanassiou**

**Reflections on the Modalities for the Appointment of National Central Bank Governors**

**in *European Law Review*, vol. 39, issue 1 , 27-46**

Despite regulating exhaustively the procedure for the appointment of the members of the European Central Bank's Executive Board, the Treaties are silent on the modalities for the appointment of the governors of the national central banks (NCBs) participating in the European System of Central Banks (ESCB). As a result, the governors' appointment is left entirely in the hands of their competent national authorities. This article examines the issue of the appointment, through exclusively national procedures, of the governors of the national central banks participating in the European System of Central Banks, and proposes ways in which the concerns to which it gives rise could be addressed.

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

***Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)***

**Thomas Beukers**

**The Bundesverfassungsgericht Preliminary Reference on the OMT Program: "In the ECB We Do Not Trust. What About You?"**

**in *German Law Journal*, vol. 15, issue 2 , 343-368**

It should be no surprise that a case can be made both for and against the legality of secondary market bond purchases by the European Central Bank (ECB), and of the Outright Monetary Transactions (OMT) Program in particular. It is also no secret that the ECB—like many other institutional actors in Europe—is in several ways testing the boundaries of legal provisions as a consequence of the financial and sovereign debt crisis. Still, the Bundesverfassungsgericht (Federal Constitutional Court) Order of 14 January 2014 on the OMT Program is surprising for several reasons.

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

***Subsection 9. Local government(s)***

**Javier Fuenzalida Aguirre, José Inostroza Lara and Marjorie Morales Casetti**

**Alta Dirección Pública Municipal: un primer paso para resolver los nudos críticos de la descentralización chilena**

**in *Reforma y democracia (Venezuela)*, n. 59**

This paper analyzes the tense relationship between central government and municipalities in Chile. The relationship has affected the design and implementation of several decentralization reforms over the last three decades. The political-institutional context of such reforms has been characterized by a climate of distrust and by stakeholders with high veto power who have obstructed decentralization initiatives. This has resulted in ineffective public policies as well as high levels of red tape, and created a situation of status quo with regard to decentralization development in Chile.

Considering that the strengthening of human capital in local governments is vital for decentralization success, a first step



should be the creation of a Senior Public Service System for municipalities. The two principal elements of such a system are the maximization of trust among stakeholders with high veto power and a gradual, modular and scalable implementation strategy that provides the design with continuous feedback. In addition, the article suggests specific recommendations such as the creation of autonomous councils across different zones in Chile to generate lists of final candidates, the payment of additional financial rewards for public managers appointed through the System, and the use of pre-certified candidates to reduce the administrative costs of the selection process.

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

**Bunch Jaclyn**

**Does Local Autonomy Enhance Representation? The Influence of Home Rule on County Expenditures in State and Local Government Review**, Vol. 46, No. 2 , 106-117

This article examines the interactive role between institution type and ideology at the local governmental level, demonstrating that additional degrees of autonomy allow for meaningful policy decisions locally. With increased discretion over policy expenditures, autonomy enhances the opportunity for ideological representation of constituents. The article explores the role of autonomy in county governments in Florida over a thirty-year period, questioning whether ideological dispositions of constituents are reflected in redistributive expenditures. Findings support the claim that local governments, with an augmented degree of autonomy provided via charter governance, may exhibit more flexibility in policy priorities than counties without more autonomous institutions.

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

**Aulich Chris, Sansom Graham, McKinlay Peter**

**A Fresh Look at Municipal Consolidation in Australia**  
**in Local Government Studies**, Volume 40, Issue 1 , 1-20

This article draws from a major research project examining the impact of various forms of municipal consolidation in Australia and New Zealand. Its wide-ranging research involved studies of 15 cases of different forms of consolidation, including amalgamation, together with a series of interviews with senior practitioners from the local government sector. Data revealed little evidence of consistent economies of scale from consolidation, however both case studies and interviews indicated that consolidation generated economies of scope and what may be termed 'strategic capacity'. While it was not possible to disaggregate the data for particular sizes of local authority, enhancement of strategic capacity was more obvious through processes of consolidation in larger ones and less so in smaller, more remote ones.

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Razin Eran, Hazan Anna

**Attitudes of European Local Councillors towards Local Governance Reforms: A North–South Divide?**

in **Local Government Studies**, Volume 40, Issue 2, , 264-291

The impact of governance attributes on frequently overlooked attitudes of local councillors towards local governance reform agendas is assessed, based on the MAELG survey of approximately 11,000 councillors in 15 European countries and Israel. Eighteen policy statements are grouped into six reform agendas, followed by analyses of their explanatory factors. Europe's north–south divide is found meaningful for the understanding of variations in attitudes towards reform, being most profound in notions of democracy, participation and devolution. Southern Europe, including post-communist Europe, shows clear support for new democratic mechanisms, whereas northern European councillors reveal more reserved, perhaps weary, attitudes towards reforms. Councillors may provide the 'correct' statements in the south, because less has been reformed there so far, knowing that change would anyway be difficult. Substantial variations between different northern sub-groups could be linked to the memory of non-democratic regimes in Germany and Austria and to the influence of existing systems, deeply embedded in local political cultures. Nevertheless, the impact of present institutional practices is far from universal. Councillors in liberal regimes are not pro-privatisation, and cautious attitudes towards reform are shared by northern decentralised and centralised countries.

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Im Tobin, Lee Hyunkuk, Cho Wonhyuk, Campbell Jesse W.

**Citizen Preference and Resource Allocation: The Case for Participatory Budgeting in Seoul**

in **Local Government Studies**, Volume 40, Issue 1, , 102-120

This article seeks to measure the extent to which the service priorities of citizens of Seoul, South Korea, are reflected in corresponding resource allocations in the city's budget, despite there being virtually no participation by citizens in the budget creation process. We find a less than perfect congruence between budget allocations and citizen preferences at both the city and district level. Given these results, we discuss the potential for participatory budgeting to address discrepancies in resource allocation by focusing on the unique demographic and cultural makeup of Seoul constituencies.

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Giovanni Cocozza

**Città metropolitane e Province in Italia: organi, funzioni fondamentali ed esigenze di riduzione della spesa**

in **Revista d'Estudis Autonomics i Federals**, no. 19, 67-95





Aquest article analitza els problemes de la institució de les ciutats metropolitanes a Itàlia i la reforma simultània de les províncies. El problema forma part d'un debat polític italià més ampli i actual, vinculat als objectius de reducció de la despesa pública, i concerneix la necessitat d'aconseguir una nova organització del govern local respecte del pla contingut en el títol V de la Constitució italiana després de la reforma del 2001. Després d'examinar els anteriors intents de regulació de les ciutats metropolitanes, s'analitza la disposició continguda en el decret llei sobre l'spending review (d.l. n. 95/2012). Així, el text pretén exposar les dificultats i les incoherències en la identificació de les funcions administratives o en l'estructura general organitzativa del nou ens (la ciutat metropolitana) previst a la Constitució italiana el 2001, que encara segueix sense regulació jurídica normativa. En conseqüència, es consideren les implicacions i els efectes de la reforma en relació amb les funcions exercides per altres òrgans (municipis, províncies, regions) que ja operen en el territori.

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Mone Daniela

**Città metropolitane. Area, procedure, organizzazione del potere, distribuzione delle funzioni**

in *Federalismi*, Anno XII - Nr 8

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Tiwary Abhishek, Chatterton Tim, Namdeo Anil

**Co-managing carbon and air quality: pros and cons of local sustainability initiatives**

in *Journal of Environmental Planning and Management*, Volume 57, Issue 8 , 1266-1283

This paper reports the pros and cons of co-management (i.e. concerted actions towards climate change and air quality management) through local sustainability initiatives using three case studies, each encompassing the planning and management issues at local government levels. Case study I is policy-based and reports the outcome of a consultation exercise while case studies II and III have greater scientific bearing. These case studies pave the way for development of a more integrated Climate Change Strategy Action Plan at local scales, specifically regarding policies on emissions sources from transportation and decentralised energy. They highlight the merits and the trade-offs of implementing local scale co-management practices, using a more integrated planning framework than what is currently under offer. We recognise that delivery of such ambitious, cross-cutting agenda may be impeded, primarily owing to limited expertise in assessing the synergies and the expected outcomes from cross-fertility between these two arenas. This calls for a step-change through more cohesive, cross-disciplinary policy frameworks, going beyond the local administrative spheres to maximise the co-management potentials while mitigating the wider environmental impacts.

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Cashmore Matthew, Wejs Anja

**Constructing legitimacy for climate change planning: A study of local government in Denmark**  
in *Global Environmental Change*, Volume 24, January , 203-212

Existing research on climate change planning has tended to adopt an overly simplistic approach to analyzing how agency and structure mediate local governments' responses to climate change. This research contributes to scientific capacity to predict and explain patterns of climate change planning by focusing on the concept of legitimacy and examining its influence upon the dialectic between structure and agency. A conceptual framework foregrounding legitimacy is developed based upon new institutional theory. An initiative to institutionalize climate change planning in Aarhus Municipality, Denmark, is used as a case study to validate four propositions derived from existing research but filtered through the conceptual framework. Validation of the propositions evidences a hierarchy in the salience of different forms of legitimacy, with moral and ethical arguments for undertaking climate change planning having limited social traction in Denmark in the absence of significant extreme climatic events. The analysis also generates thicker, more nuanced explanations for real-world patterns of climate change planning. The findings thereby provide a corrective to a number of assertions made in the literature, notably in relation to the role of agency in the institutionalization of climate change planning.

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Green Andrew D.

**County Governments and Democratic Decision Making: Explaining Why Counties Seek Approval of Local Option Sales Taxes**

in *State Politics & Policy Quarterly*, Vol. 14, No. 1 , 50-71

Local option sales taxes have become an important source of local revenue across the United States. Thirty-three of the 50 states have granted authorization to their counties or cities (or both) to levy local option sales taxes, and said taxes generated nearly \$50 billion in 2005, which accounted for 11% of all local tax revenue nationwide. Even though local option sales taxes have significant impacts on a county's ability to fund programs and services, little has been written about the decisions of counties to place such taxes on the ballot. Using demographic, fiscal, and political variables, a model is developed that explains the decision to place a county transportation sales tax on the ballot. Modeling and analysis reveal that counties behave strategically as the impact of demographic, fiscal, and political factors on the decision to place a local option sales tax on the ballot is shaped by whether the county is making an initial attempt to adopt, a subsequent attempt to adopt after voter rejection, or a renewal attempt when an existing local option sales tax is nearing its sunset date.

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Evans Matt



## **Democracy, Legitimacy and Local Government Electoral Reform**

in **Local Government Studies**, Volume 40, Issue 1 , 41-63

Local government electoral system reforms have been implemented in many countries across Europe during the past two decades. These reforms have, by and large, shifted power from the local councils to the mayors, primarily through adoption of a system of direct election of mayors. The reforms are promoted with the aim of making decision-makers more accountable, and improving the effectiveness of policymaking. Governance by directly elected mayors differs from that of their predecessors, with greater power and increased interaction with a variety of other actors. Although there has been a good deal of research on the effect of a shift to direct elections on mayors, surprisingly little attention has been paid to the impact of this kind of reform on local councils. While these reforms are relatively new in Europe, Israel enacted similar reforms more than three decades ago. This research examines the effect of the adoption of direct election of mayors in Israel and the way in which it affected voting behaviour and the roles of local councils. The research shows that the move to directly elected mayors led to greater political fragmentation by reducing the incentive to vote for the larger national parties, which virtually disappeared from local councils. The consequences of this type of reform in Israel raise important considerations in terms of local decision-making, governance and pluralism for similar local government reforms in other countries.

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

**Prado-Lorenzo José-manuel, García-Sánchez Isabel-maría, Cuadrado-Ballesteros Beatriz**

#### **Do Electoral Risks Moderate the Effect of Partisan and Electoral Cycles on Debt-Financed Local Spending?**

in **Local Government Studies**, Volume 40, Issue 5 , 745-765

Governments' use of debt as a political instrument has been widely studied from the perspective of partisan and electoral cycles, mainly concerning central government. On the whole, previous studies have attempted to determine the effects of political ideology and the proximity of elections on the opportunistic use of public spending. The current study aims to broaden the scope of attention to the effect of partisan and electoral cycles on debt, by means of a broader consideration of the motives that lead politicians to take on a deficit and that are usually linked to the associated electoral risk. More particularly, we examine whether, during the electoral period, greater confidence in re-election can modify party behaviour concerning the use of public spending, and if so, whether the change is greater or smaller depending on the ruling party's ideology. The results obtained show that local administrations need to incur debt, although politicians take on more liability than is appropriate to their demographic and economic characteristics, especially in an election year. It was also found that political stability favours a reduction in the public deficit, a pattern that is maintained in electoral periods. This effect was found to be independent of the partisan cycle.

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

**Filippo Pizzolato**

#### **Dopo le circoscrizioni, i quartieri**

in **Amministrare**, n. 2 , 281-304



No abstract available

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Fenwick John, Elcock Howard

**Elected Mayors: Leading Locally?**

in **Local Government Studies**, Volume 40, Issue 4, 581-599

The directly elected executive mayor was introduced to England a decade ago. Drawing inspiration from European and American experience, the elected mayor appealed to both New Labour and Conservative commentators in offering a solution to perceived problems of local leadership. There was a shared view that governance of local areas was failing and that elected mayors were the answer. The first local referendums were held in 2001. Most have continued to reject the idea of the elected mayor. During 2012, the coalition government initiated 10 further mayoral referendums in England's largest cities but only one, Bristol, opted for an elected mayor. Overall, there is no evidence of widespread public support, yet the prospect of more mayors – with enhanced powers – remains firmly on the policy agenda.

Drawing from a decade of research, this paper considers reasons for the persistence of the mayoral experiment, the importance of local factors in the few areas where mayors hold office and the link to current policy debates. Using the authors' analytical leadership grid, this paper links the governmental, governance and allegiance roles of mayors to the problematic nature of local leadership. It then draws tentative conclusions about the strange case of the elected mayor in England.

Drawing from a decade of research, this paper considers reasons for the persistence of the mayoral experiment, the importance of local factors in the few areas where mayors hold office and the link to current policy debates. Using the authors' analytical leadership grid, this paper links the governmental, governance and allegiance roles of mayors to the problematic nature of local leadership. It then draws tentative conclusions about the strange case of the elected mayor in England.

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Hughes Sara, Pincetl Stephanie

**Evaluating collaborative institutions in context: the case of regional water management in southern California**  
in **Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy**, Volume 32, Issue 1, February, 20-38

Regional collaborative institutions are seen as tools for improving collaboration and for reducing the inefficiency of fragmented management and planning. However, recent research has shown that the ability of new regional institutions to achieve these aims is contingent upon their relationship to the existing institutional landscape. This paper uses network analyses of six newly created Integrated Regional Water Management (IRWM) subregions in southern California to examine how their introduction intersects existing water management systems and whether the patterns of interaction in water planning have changed as a result. The results further our understanding of collaborative governance and regionalism by showing that the ability of regional institutions to facilitate new interactions can vary widely across a given institutional landscape. Further, while IRWM has helped to strengthen the water management



network in southern California, it has not replaced existing watershed planning efforts. Interviews with water managers reveal there is support for IRWM but it is still too early to evaluate its effectiveness. Further research should explore the drivers and consequences of heterogeneity in IRWM and whether the incentives for participation are sufficient.

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Wang XiaoHu, Berman Evan

**Financing conservation: some empirical evidence from Florida local governments**  
in *Journal of Environmental Planning and Management*, Volume 57, Issue 5 , 733-750

Government is the primary financer of conservation services, but conservation financing in government is rarely studied. This study makes two contributions to understanding conservation financing in government. First, it develops a framework to classify and analyse conservation funding. Applying this framework to the data from Florida county governments, this study finds that conservation funding has become more stable and secure. More resources are used for large and long-term capital projects that benefit not only the current generation but also future generations, which reflects the ultimate goal of conservation. Second, this research offers an explanation about why some governments spend more on conservation than others. The results suggest that conservation funding in government is the result of combined forces in environmental pressure of economic activities and budgetary politics. The paper concludes that government should develop a structured conservation funding strategy that includes close monitoring of environmental pressure and proper political and institutional responses to the pressure.

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Fünfgeld Hartmut, McEvoy Darryn

**Frame divergence in climate change adaptation policy: insights from Australian local government planning**  
in *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, Volume 32, Issue 4, August , 603-622

Complex policy issues such as climate change adaptation can be interpreted in many different ways, resulting in different assumptions about their purpose and goals. Using material from a qualitative study in the Australian local government sector, this research shows that stakeholders involved in local adaptation policy formulation often do not have a shared view about the meaning and purposes of adaptation, although such shared understanding is commonly assumed in adaptation processes. Drawing on the frame-research literature and current conceptualisations of climate change adaptation, we argue that subconscious frame divergence can present a major challenge for effective organisational-level adaptation. Conversely, making frames and framing processes explicit is a first step towards clarifying adaptation goals and generating shared ownership of adaptation processes. While frames have been shown to be intrinsically subjective, we discuss three dominant frames that emerged from the study: avoiding disasters, community resilience, and averting organisational risk. We evaluate these in light of their theoretical origin and recent application towards climate change adaptation. Our research suggest that the 'averting organisational risks' frame is by far the most commonly activated frame. Individuals working in the community services sector frequently referred to the 'community resilience' frame, while the 'avoiding disasters frame' was used in public and policy discourse to circumvent the arguments of those sceptical about the existence and causes of climate change. We suggest that, by incorporating frame reflexivity into existing adaptation planning processes, a more diverse range of policy options can be explored, delivering more effective adaptation policies.





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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

**Storper Michael**

**Governing the Large Metropolis**

**in Territory, Politics, Governance**, Volume 2, Issue 2 , 115-134

Metropolitan governance is shaped by the strong interdependencies within urban areas, combined with the fragmented geography and roles of the agencies that govern them. Fragmentation is not an accident; it responds to underlying differences in the preferences of constituencies, the scale of efficient provision of public goods and regulation, and the bundling of attributes of the city into jurisdictions. This is why governance moves forward in a haphazard way, through tinkering. The analytical framework for understanding metropolitan governance is as a large-scale unfolding principal-agent problem. There is no optimal 'solution' to this problem, whether from the standpoint of efficiency, satisfaction, or justice. This paper instead proposes creating a more explicit social choice process around the agencies and instruments of metropolitan governance.

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

**Murphy Peter, Greenhalgh Kirsten, Jones Martin**

**Housing and Council Tax Benefits Administration in England: A Long-Term Perspective on the Performance of the Local Government Delivery System**

**in Local Government Studies**, Volume 40, Issue 5 , 729-744

The Coalition government announced, in 2010, that between 2013 and the end of 2017 all existing claims to income-based welfare allowances, including housing benefit, would gradually move to the Universal Credit (DWP 2010). This article evaluates the performance of the Council Tax and Housing Benefits Administration Services under the current system for the delivery of these benefits since they were transferred fully to local authorities in 1993 up until December 2011. During this period the performance of local government has been influenced by four successive national delivery regimes, namely: Compulsory Competitive Tendering (CCT); Best Value; Comprehensive Performance Assessment (CPA) and Comprehensive Area Assessment (CAA). An earlier article (Murphy, P., Greenhalgh, K. and Jones, M., 2011. Comprehensive performance assessment and public services improvement in England – a case study of the benefits administration service in local government. *Local Government Studies*, 37 (6), pp. 579–599) examined the CPA period in detail and found a significant improvement in performance across all types of authorities in all parts of the country during this period. The current article complements this earlier analysis and provides a longer-term perspective on the performance of the benefits service between 1993 and December 2011. The findings of this article show that under CCT the performance of the system was poor, there were wide variations in individual local authority performance, with many acknowledged inadequacies in the system and unacceptably high levels of fraud. However, towards the end of CCT and in the subsequent Best Value period the antecedents of some of the tools and techniques subsequently used to drive improvement in the CPA era were either put in place or were being developed. The Best Value period itself did not show significant improvements in performance and it was not until many of the initiatives were refined, developed and applied within the CPA framework that sustained and significant improvements became evident. This overall improvement generally continued under the CAA although the previous trend of consistent reductions in the variation between authorities' performance had changed between 2009–2010 and 2011–2012. It is too early to judge





whether these latest trends will be maintained under the Coalition government's localism regime.

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

**BEDOYA RAMOS, Erika and GUZMAN LOPEZ, Samuel**

**INTEGRATION OF THE TERRITORY IN WEST CENTRAL AREA INTERINFLUENCE: A PROPOSAL UNDER REGIONALISATION**

in *Analisis politico* , vol.27 no.80 , 105-122

This paper presents the results of a research study, in which it is proposed land integration of several municipalities under RED scheme Microregional for sustainable development will, leading a form of regionalization adequate for managing local development in the territory of Central Western inter-influence justified in the process of territorial ordering and decentralization. This proposal was obtained, first from a general analysis of the region, and second after conducting a feasibility study to determine the key variables in the consolidation of a region and finally after a review and selected bibliography on the subject of planning in Colombia.

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

**Mazza Mauro**

**Il livello di governo locale "intermedio" nell'ordinamento ungherese**

in *Istituzioni del federalismo*, n. 3-4 , 879 - 906

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

**Smith Mark**

**Integrating Policies, Plans and Programmes in Local Government: An Exploration from a Spatial Planning Perspective**

in *Local Government Studies*, Volume 40, Issue 3 , 473-493

Local government bodies are increasingly attempting to integrate different functions and departments in the production of policies, plans and programmes. Despite this interest, a general lack of conceptualisation around integration currently exists, presenting difficulties for local government practitioners to pursue such integration. This article reports findings of an ESRC PhD case study into integration in local government, and presents a conceptualisation which seeks to resolve these outstanding issues surrounding integration. These findings are particularly apt given the ongoing changes to local government in England.



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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Xue Jin

**Is eco-village/urban village the future of a degrowth society? An urban planner's perspective**

in **Ecological Economics**, Volume 105, September , 130-138

In the degrowth literature, relocation is widely considered as a strategic approach to transition to a degrowth society, and eco-village/urban village is argued to be the spatial organization suitable for implementing localism. These debates on eco-village/urban village as a vision for long-term sustainability have profound implications for the spatial development of our society. This paper aims to challenge this proposition from an urban planner's perspective by dwelling on spatial implications and planning process. It is argued that spatial decentralization can lead to various social and environmental consequences contradicting the multi-goals of a degrowth society. Localizing and decentralizing decision making in the planning process does not necessarily lead to a just and sustainable society. Instead, it is of importance to have multi-scalar strategies in the planning context to pursue degrowth. The paper concludes by pointing out the complex relation between paradigmatic societal transformation and spatial development, and the significant role that urban planning can play in the transition to degrowth.

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Flavio Guella

**L'autonomia finanziaria del Local Government nel Regno Unito. Un'evoluzione dei modelli giuridici di controllo, standardizzazione e responsabilizzazione della spesa pubblica**

in **Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo**, no. 1 , 143-182

The article deals with the evolution of the tools of central direction and coordination of the UK Local Government's financial autonomy. In this regard, the features characterizing the different stages of legal regulation of local spending are highlighted focusing, in particular, on the one hand on the profiles that have implied a season of high jurisdictionalization of the conflicts between the levels of government, and - on the other hand - on legislative solutions organized to dilute the conflict. The analysis, which moves from the constitutional position of the Local Government (qualifying ultra vires doctrine as a defensive or limiting tool in relation to the local autonomy), remarks the contradictory consequences of the reform process, both on the institutional and on the performance levels. Specifically, analyzing case law and legislation (until Localism Act 2011), it emerges that the financial discipline has profoundly changed the role of Local Government in the overall system, eliminating tensions both vertically and horizontally but, in the meanwhile, placing the territorial level in a position of strong heterodetermination (either by the Government that by the private sector) over the course of its own functions.

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Orisel Hernández Aguilar

**La autonomía municipal en el constitucionalismo latinoamericano: realidad y perspectivas en el caso de Cuba**

in **Cuestiones constitucionales. Revista mexicana de derecho constitucional**, n. 30 , 91-122



The present work intends to value the regulation that, in the Cuban Constitution and in the ordinary legislation, it has been made of the municipal autonomy, taking like reference for it doctrinal approaches and the allusive norms to its present in the Latin American constitutions, in order to specify in what measure this belongs together with the accepted tendencies and to determine the main susceptible points of improvement. For it is appealed it to the use of the doctrinal juridical method in order to specify the content and reach of the main categories that are of constant it indexes in the same one; the method of analysis of documents like base for the study of the consulted doctrinal and legal sources; and the method compared to contrast our study object in diverse norms as means to price the development level reached by this.

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Wejs Anja, Harvold Kjell, Larsen Sanne Vammen, Saglie Inger-Lise

**Legitimacy building in weak institutional settings: climate change adaptation at local level in Denmark and Norway**

in **Environmental Politics**, Volume 23, Issue 3, May , 490-508

Local strategies for adaptation to climate change in Denmark and Norway are discussed. In both countries, the national impetus for local adaptation is weak; it is largely left to local actors to take the initiative. The dynamics of the different approaches to climate-change adaptation at the local level are illuminated. Using decision-making and learning theory, we present an analytical framework to examine four cases, two in Norway and two in Denmark, which represent two different responses, i.e. anticipatory actions and obligatory actions. We find that, by bringing in knowledge and resources and engaging in persuasive communication across sectors, the presence of institutional entrepreneurs in the adaptation process plays a key role in building legitimacy for anticipatory action in the municipal organisation.

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Leigh Ian

**Local Government and Political Constitutionalism**

in **Public law**, January , 43-55

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Jones Tricia ,Ormston Christianne

**Localism and Accountability in a Post-Collaborative Era: Where Does It Leave the Community Right to Challenge?**

in **Local Government Studies**, Volume 40, Issue 1 , 141-161

Since the establishment of subsidiarity in the early 1990s, the European-wide move to devolve governance has been interpreted by previous and present UK governments adopting differing ideological positions within a 'localism agenda'. Interpretations have changed the dynamics of the community right to challenge, as well as the structure and



mechanisms for community accountability. This article adopts the typology of forms of local governance developed by Lowndes and Sullivan (2008, How low can you go? Rationales and challenges for neighbourhood governance. Public Administration, 86 (1), 1–22) to explore the hypothesis that the localism agenda realigns the synergy between neighbourhood rationales; citizen engagement in service delivery and the opportunity for public scrutiny and accountability. It concludes that opportunities for communities to challenge service delivery and ensure increased accountability to the local level will be tempered by increased complexity and demands on local authorities to develop new relationships with both service users and providers.

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

**Carlos Bullejos Calvo**

**Los gobiernos locales a la luz de los Últimos pronunciamientos del Tribunal Constitucional**  
in *Revista de Derecho Constitucional Europeo* , no. 20

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

**Gaudreau Louis**

**L'action locale à l'ère de la «glocalisation». Les limites du développement territorial intégré**  
in *Nouvelles pratiques sociales*, Volume 26, numéro 1, automne 2013 , 165–181

Based on Henri Lefebvre's theory on the production of space, this article presents a critical reflexion on the concept of territory as it has been defined in recent research on community organization practices in Québec. The article argues that the tendency towards the « territorialization » of social action has to be understood in the context of the global transformations resulting from the transition to neoliberalism. Such a « local turn » has had the consequence of limiting communities in their capacity to regain control over their living conditions. In conclusion, the articles explores two possible alternatives to this problem.

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

**Las localidades como instituciones de gobierno democrático: Teoría y praxis.**

**María Helena Botero Ospina y Adriana María Serrano López**

in *Gestion y politica publica*, Volumen XXII, No. 2, , 401-456

[http://www.gestionypoliticapublica.cide.edu/num\\_antteriores/Vol.XXII\\_NoII/04%20Botero.pdf](http://www.gestionypoliticapublica.cide.edu/num_antteriores/Vol.XXII_NoII/04%20Botero.pdf)

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*



Portaluri Pier Luigi

**Note minime sulle città metropolitane nel d.d.l. Costituzionale as n. 1429 (Renzi- Boschi)**

in *Federalismi*, Anno XII - Nr 8

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Bukve Oddbjørn, Sax iHans Petter

**Parliamentarianism in Norwegian Regions: Majority Rule and Excluded Opposition**

in *Local Government Studies*, Volume 40, Issue 2, , 163-181

Our article investigates whether the change from the alderman model to parliamentary rule in Norwegian counties affects decision-making style, steering capacity, accountability and democracy. We also ask how the legitimacy of the political system is affected. Our findings indicate a more majoritarian style of decision-making. Influence is concentrated within the political majority, and particularly in the executive. Improved accountability is reported, but the factors behind this increase are difficult to determine. Regarding democracy and legitimacy, we could not measure any external effects of the reform. The politicians in opposition show a high degree of frustration, caused both by internal factors in the organisation of county politics and in constraints on county politics imposed at national level. In the long run this may lead to decreased legitimacy for the political system.

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Boogers Marcel

**Pulling the Strings: An Analysis of Informal Local Power Structures in Three Dutch Cities**

in *Local Government Studies*, Volume 40, Issue 3 , 339-355

The study of local power structures is highly relevant for a better understanding of local governance networks. Not only does it draw attention to the power dimension of local governance, it also brings to focus the individuals who play a role on and behind the scenes of governance networks. This article gives a comparative analysis of informal local power structures in three Dutch cities. Drawing on the classical reputational method of Hunter, it presents the 25 most influential persons of each city, their organisational backgrounds and influence resources. The results show that local power structures mainly consist of government executives (mayors, aldermen), entrepreneurs and directors of third sector organisations; local councillors and local civil servants are virtually absent on the lists of influential persons. Comparative analyses demonstrate that the composition of a local power structure is linked with the strategic policy objectives of the city. The article concludes with a brief summary of the findings and points to the value of local power studies for local governance research.



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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Guarneros-Meza Valeria , Downe James, Entwistle Tom, Martin Steve J.

**Putting the Citizen at the Centre? Assembling Local Government Policy in Wales**

in **Local Government Studies**, Volume 40, Issue 1 , 65-82

Since devolution in 1999, the Welsh Government has developed a distinctive approach to the management of local government policy. Alongside an emphasis on welfarism and partnership, local authorities have been exhorted to put the citizen at the centre of public service delivery. Drawing on the notion of assemblage, developed in the governmentality literature, this paper identifies two different rationalities running through Welsh Government policy documents. On the basis of a series of interviews with government officials and their counterparts in the Welsh Local Government Association we find evidence of important tensions in the Welsh approach. While the emphasis on the citizen has worked in building a 'political rationality', the evidence from our interviews suggests that it works less well as a 'government technology'.

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Perlman Bruce J.

**Refinancing State and Local Debt: Decreased Current Costs or Decreased Future Flexibility?**

in **State and Local Government Review**, Vol. 46, No. 1 , 46-51

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

John Peter

**The Great Survivor: The Persistence and Resilience of English Local Government**

in **Local Government Studies**, Volume 40, Issue 5 , 687-704

This article is about the persistence and resilience of the form of local government that emerged in England in the nineteenth century and took shape in the twentieth century. English local government has adapted to successive reorganisations and changes to its functions; it has survived centralisation, privatisation, the imposition of quangos, regional governance, elected mayors, performance management and latterly fiscal austerity by responding to opportunities and meeting the continual need for administrative tasks at the local level. The centralised structure to political management in English local government has generated a high level of organisational capacity and a pragmatic sensibility that ensures the institution remains in place even in unpropitious circumstances. Other local organisations,





such as voluntary sector bodies and quangos, have less capacity to compete and work to shorter timescales. Such resilience has come to the fore in the period of fiscal austerity since 2009 when local authorities have had to manage severe declines in their budgets whilst taking on additional functions, such as council tax benefit. The organisational capacity and pragmatism of English local government create path dependence as its very efficiency at managing services may have shut off options for democratic renewal and participation.

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Tom Entwistle, James Downe, Valeria Guarneros-Meza and Steve Martin

**The Multi-Level Governance of Wales: Layer Cake or Marble Cake?**

in *British Journal of Politics & International Relations*, Volume 16, Issue 2, 310–325

Since the United Kingdom began its devolution programme in 1999 governments operating at four different territorial scales—embracing the EU, the UK, the national and the local—have played a part in the governance of Wales. Multi-level governance of this type can be likened to a layer cake, in which each government operates in its own distinct jurisdiction, or to a marble cake in which governments have overlapping and interlaced responsibilities. Drawing on a survey that asked senior officers in Welsh local government to rate the impact of different levels of government, this article finds support for both interpretations of multi-level governance. Although largely discredited as a description of American federalism, the layer cake simile may have a new lease of life in the analysis of Europe's devolved nations and regions.

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Patel-Campillo Anouk, DeLessio-Parson Anne, Smith Stephen M.

**The Role of Institutional Sedimentation, Regulatory Ambiguity and Institutional Footholds in Shaping Alcohol Governance in California and Pennsylvania**

in *Territory, Politics, Governance*, Volume 2, Issue 2, 135-139

Change in the social organization of markets involves the state, economic actors, and civil society in a mutually conditioning and dynamic relation. While much is known about this relation, the processes and mechanisms used by economic actors to influence regulatory institutions to shape their economic spaces over time remain insufficiently specified. Based on a most-different case approach of wine in California and Pennsylvania across time, we explain why and how these states adopted very different regulatory frameworks for alcohol governance: a license and state control system, respectively. Our findings indicate that winemakers who created and effectively deployed 'institutional footholds' during periods of 'regulatory ambiguity' were better positioned to exert influence over regulatory outcomes. Here we define 'institutional footholds' as mechanisms used to create spaces of political traction within the state apparatus. A form of critical juncture, 'regulatory ambiguity' refers to moments of uncertainty that precede a shift in the existing norms and rules governing particular economic spaces. We find that over time, this mutually conditioning process generates what we term 'institutional sedimentation', where the rules governing particular economic spaces become part of more permanent institutional architectures. The results of a recent survey with Pennsylvania winemakers conducted by the authors serve to further underscore divergence in the micro-foundations of collectivities and their strategic actions.



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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Cresswell Colin , Moizer Jonathan, Lean Jonathan

**The Role of Organisational Culture in the Merger of English Local Authorities into a Single Unitary Authority in Local Government Studies**, Volume 40, Issue 3 , 356-379

Cornwall Council is a new 'unitary' local authority which was created following the merger of six district councils and one county council on 1 April 2009. A questionnaire survey based on specific 'dimensions' of organisational culture was circulated to staff prior to the merger date. Overall, the results indicated a generally congruent culture characterised by a strong team spirit and commitment to the workplace. A number of differences were observed between the cultural orientations of the seven councils, but there was only weak evidence of differences between tiers of management or professional groupings. The study suggests that the new organisation will have to find ways of 'unfreezing' staff from their established ways of thinking and working before changes can be properly embedded. It is recommended that the organisational change process shifts from a top-down 'planned' approach to a more 'emergent' approach to facilitate learning and organisational development.

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Kwon Sung-Wook, Feiock Richard C., Bae Jungah

**The Roles of Regional Organizations for Interlocal Resource Exchange Complement or Substitute? in American Review of Public Administration (The)**, May 2014; 44 (3) , 339-357

This article investigates competing visions of how regional organizations influence cooperation among individual local governments within a metropolitan area. As network brokers among local governments, regional organizations can reduce the transaction costs of self-governing solutions to regional problems through bargaining and contracting among local units, but their centralized activities might also crowd out interlocal exchanges. Florida Regional Planning Councils are examined to test competing hypotheses based on these two visions, identifying the influence of regional organizations' governance and activities on interlocal revenue transfers among municipal governments. Evidence that regional organizations can complement as well as substitute for interlocal cooperation is reported. In conclusion we discuss these findings in the context of vertical and horizontal federalism and theories of institutional collective action.

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Rey Pascal

**The local and the global: local power and globalisation**

**in International Social Science Journal** , Volume 61, Issue 202, December 2010 , 437-444

No abstract available



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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Salvati Luca

**Towards a Polycentric Region? The Socio-economic Trajectory of Rome, an 'Eternally Mediterranean' City in Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie (Journal of Economic & Social Geography)**, Volume 105, Issue 3, July, 268-284

The present study explores the long-term changes (1971–2001) in the socio-economic structure of a monocentric Mediterranean urban region (Rome's province, central Italy) undergoing moderately polycentric development. Descriptive and correlation statistics and a multiway factor analysis (MFA) have been used to analyse the spatio-temporal evolution of 24 socio-economic indicators made available at the urban district/municipal scale. The socio-economic disparities observed along the urban-rural gradient in 1971 decreased only moderately in 2001. The MFA clearly separates urban districts from suburban municipalities in both 1971 and 2001. Results indicate that exurban development has impacted only partly Rome's urban form which remained mainly compact and dense with persisting socio-economic gaps between urban and suburban areas. The paper discusses the partial failure of Rome's master plan to promote a really polycentric development and a new, more sustainable, urban form.

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Elling Richard, Krawczyk Kelly, Carr Jered

**What Should We Do? Public Attitudes about How Local Government Officials Should Confront Fiscal Stress in Local Government Studies**, Volume 40, Issue 3, 380-402

Despite strong scholarly interest in the topic of fiscal stress, little attention has been paid to understanding how the general public thinks local governments should respond to situations where declining revenues endanger service levels. This study reports findings from a survey of 660 residents undertaken between November 2006 and January 2007 in the US state of Michigan to examine their support for eight potential strategies to cope with fiscal stress in five different local government services. We find that the public has a surprisingly nuanced perspective about these strategies and on their use for different services. Our findings may provide local policymakers with some insights about how to respond to fiscal stress.

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

Marcinkiewicz Kamil, Jankowski Michael

**When There's No Easy Way Out: Electoral Law Reform and Ballot Position Effects in the 2011 Hamburg State Elections in German Politics**, Volume 23, Issue 1-2, 103-117

The new electoral law in the state of Hamburg, which was first used in the 2011 elections for the state parliament, abolished the optional overall list vote in the electoral districts and thus forced voters to cast preference votes for



individual candidates. Supporters of the new electoral law assume that voters will inform themselves better about the candidates. This assumption contrasts with the voters' tendency to choose their favourite option based on the little information which is provided on the ballot paper. We show that the new electoral law has missed its target and that voters rely heavily on the ballot paper cues, resulting in the replication of the behaviour pattern they were used to under the optional list vote and earlier under the closed list. Most importantly the ballot position has the largest effect on being elected to the parliament.

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

*Subsection 9. Local government(s)*

MacCallum Diana, Byrne Jason, Steele Wendy

**Whither justice? An analysis of local climate change responses from South East Queensland, Australia**  
in *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, Volume 32, Issue 1, February , 70-92

Climate change is a highly contested policy issue in Australia, generating fierce debate at every level of governance. In this paper we explore a crucial tension in both the policy and the public debate: a seeming lack of attention to social inclusion and broader equity implications. We pay special attention to the municipal scale, where concerns about social difference and democratic participation are often foregrounded in political discourse, using South East Queensland—a recognised climate change 'hotspot'—as a case study. Mobilising critical discourse analysis techniques, we interrogate three local government climate change response strategies, and place these in the context of transscalar discourse networks which appear to sustain a technocratic, 'ecological modernisation' approach to the issue. Finally, we suggest a broad strategy for reimagining this approach to embed a notion of climate justice in our policy thinking about climate change.

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**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

**La independencia de Escocia en la Unión Europea: los efectos de la secesión de territorios en la UE entre política y derecho**  
in *Teoría y realidad constitucional*, no. 33 , 69-97

This paper's aim is to analyze the effects the secession of territories in the Member States can have within the EU, regarding the hypothetical independence of Scotland in the case a majority of Scottish citizens would back that opinion in the referendum on September 18, 2014. Those who are promoting an independent Scotland are completely convinced that the territory will remain in the EU, as an independent Member State, and that it will reach this new status from within the EU. In their mind, that is an EU's «internal» matter, which doesn't need any special procedure, as far as it would be just little more than a formality. On the contrary, this paper analyzes the issues a proposal like this of Scotland encounter within the EU both in the fields of Law and Politics.

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

*Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization*

Trabucco Fabio Ratto

**'A Overview of the Current Situation of Regional Democracy in the Slovak Republic'**



in *European public Law*, Volume 20 (2014) / Issue 2 , 263–273

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***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, Marks Gary, Hooghe Liesbet

**A Comparative Measure of Decentralization for Southeast Asia**

in *Journal of East Asian Studies* , Volume 14, Issue 1 (January-April 2014) , 85-107

In this article we set out a fine-grained measure of the formal authority of intermediate subnational government for Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, South Korea, and Thailand that is designed to be a flexible tool in the hands of researchers and policymakers. It improves on prior measures by providing annual estimates across ten dimensions of regional authority; it disaggregates to the level of the individual region; and it examines individual regional tiers, asymmetric regions, and regions with special arrangements. We use the measure and its elements to summarize six decades of regional governance in Southeast Asia and conclude by noting how the Regional Authority index could further the dialogue between theory and empirics in the study of decentralization and democratization.

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

*Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization*

Benussi Silvia

**A historical study of gender and representation in the Regional Council of Sardinia (1949–2013)**

in *Parliaments, Estates & Representation*, Volume 34, Issue 1

This article provides an account of the access to the legislative assembly of the autonomous region of Sardinia, the Regional Council, since its establishment in 1949, in order to gain a better understanding of the lack of balance between men and women elected to the Regional Council. The article commences with an analysis of Sardinian electoral legislation since 1949; it gives an account of changes in equal opportunity provisions, which started in the 2000s. Furthermore a study is then presented of the asymmetry between men and women in participating in electoral contests as candidates in electoral constituencies. We then proceed to an analysis of the ratio of women candidates standing to those who were actually elected in electoral constituencies; this provides us with a good indication as to whether or not female candidates appeal to the electorate, but also whether the parties themselves provided the necessary support to bring about a solid result or whether women remained merely a symbolic presence in the list of candidates. This article then presents the analysis of the difference between the ratio of men and women candidates standing to those actually elected, to verify if men receive greater support from their parties and appeal more to the electorate. Finally, an account is given of differences in female candidacy among political parties, in order to verify which political party has always put forward a high percentage of female candidates over time.

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

*Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization*



Swianiewicz Pawel

**An Empirical Typology of Local Government Systems in Eastern Europe**

*in Local Government Studies*, Volume 40, Issue 2, , 292-311

The most widely used typologies of European local government systems are based on research conducted in the 1980s. The most popular are those of Page and Goldsmith (1987), distinguishing between Northern and Southern European systems, and Hesse and Sharpe (1991), distinguishing between Southern, Northern and Anglo-Saxon models. The rare attempts to include the Eastern part of the continent are far from comprehensive or satisfactory. They usually view the whole region as a distinct group, referring to its specific historical background and recent radical decentralisation (Bennett 1993, Heinelt and Hlepas 2006). Disappointingly, the same approach is presented in the most recent comprehensive analysis of European local government systems (Loughlin et al. 2010). This article tries to fill the gap produced by this simplification, by offering a comprehensive picture of the variation within the Eastern European region and suggesting a first attempt at a typology of around 20 countries of the region. The criteria for this typology refers to those used in earlier classifications of the Western European systems and include: (i) territorial organisation and tiers of elected local governments, (ii) scope of functions provided by local governments (functional decentralisation), (iii) financial autonomy, (iv) horizontal power relations within local government institutions (election systems and relationships between mayors and councils).

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

*Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization*

Hausing Kham Khan Suan

**Asymmetric Federalism and the Question of Democratic Justice in Northeast India**

*in India Review*, Volume 13, Issue 2 , 87-111

This article intends to fill a glaring void in the existing academic literature on the issues and challenges which stem not only from crafting, but also making asymmetric federalism work in northeast India. It examines the extent and limits to which asymmetric federalism—specifically under Article 371A of India's Constitution—not only negotiates Nagas' sovereignty claims over their land and resources and caters to the demands of democratic justice, but also the extent to which it consolidates India's state-nation and democracy building in its northeastern periphery. Contending that the extant asymmetric federal arrangement in India's polity stems from a centralist federal framework, the article makes a case for a more robust asymmetric federalism, which goes beyond this framework.

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

*Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization*

Keil Soeren

**Building a Federation within a Federation The Curious Case of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina**

*in Europe en formation (L')*, n. 369, 2013/3 , 114-125

Bosnia and Herzegovina remains one of the most unique federal systems in the world. Its federal structure was imposed during a peace conference in Dayton, Ohio in 1995. Since then, the federal system has become highly dependent on external intervention. Progress was only achieved because outsiders enforced reforms. This article looks specifically at





one of the two entities in Bosnia, namely the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which itself consist of ten cantons. It examines to what extent it is possible to talk about this curious construction having its own territorial (i.e. federal) identity. The paper concludes by highlighting how the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina reflects some of the fundamental problems of the Bosnian state, namely over-institutionalisation, ethnic rivalries and a lack of consensus on the nature and organisation of different territorial units within the country.

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

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**Bolgherini Silvia**

**Can Austerity Lead to Recentralisation? Italian Local Government during the Economic Crisis**

**in South European Society & Politics**, Volume 19, Issue 2 , 193-214

The relationship between the remarkable changes that have occurred at the local level and the overlapping crises affecting Italy in recent years has yet to be fully tackled by political scientists. This article aims to contribute to the debate by arguing that anti-crisis measures have also produced structural effects that may actually weaken Italian local autonomies, suggesting the existence of an ongoing recentralisation. Several major questions are addressed: is such a trend inversion (from decentralisation to recentralisation) really taking place? Which dimensions should be analysed to detect it? What outcomes and effects have these measures provoked in Italian local government?

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**150° senza unità**

**Centocinquant'anni senza autonomie**

**in Amministrare**, n. 1 (supplemento) , 251-267

No abstract available

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

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**Poupeau François-Mathieu**

**Central-Local Relations in French Energy Policy-Making: Towards a New Pattern of Territorial Governance**

**in European Environment/Environmental Policy and Governance**, Volume 24, Issue 3, Special Issue: Multi-level Governance and the Environment: Intergovernmental Relations and Innovation in Environmental Policy, May-June , 155-168

After a long period of centralization, local authorities have been taking a new place in the French energy sector. This revival began in the 1990s with the process of deregulation, which gave them new room for manoeuvre. This continued into the 2000s, when energy efficiency and climate change issues were set on the political agenda. This process led many practitioners and academic researchers to consider these two last decades as a turning point, which initiates a new model of governance, one that is far more decentralized than in the past. Here, we discuss this hypothesis and show that this recent 'activism' at local level associated with a change in State intervention has been leading to a new pattern of territorial governance in France that is not at odds with the past but rather is in continuity with it. Using the neo-institutional approach developed by James Mahoney and Kathleen Thelen, we focus on three main dimensions that



play a 'homeostatic' role: the production structure, ideas and institutional arrangements. This leads us to develop an interpretation of ongoing changes in terms of an 'aggiornamento' of the former pattern of governance, rather than any real breakdown.

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Kendhammer Brandon

**Citizenship, Federalism and Powersharing: Nigeria's Federal Character and the Challenges of Institutional Design**

*in Ethnopolitics*, Volume 13, Issue 4, 2014 , 396-417

If, as a number of recent proponents have argued, 'pluri-national' federalism holds great promise as a means of democratization and conflict resolution in deeply divided societies, why has it so rarely been tried in sub-Saharan Africa, home to arguably the world's most ethnically diverse nations? Using Nigeria—Africa's largest and oldest federal system—as a case study, it is argued that the legacy of late colonial, indirect rule institutions on citizenship and the politics of belonging pose a serious challenge for designing successful consociational powersharing arrangements. In particular, Nigeria's dependence on a primordial notion of ethnic citizenship undermines the ability of its federal institutions to mediate and cross-cut ethnic conflicts, a problem most clearly reflected in the functioning of the nation's most important official powersharing institution, the Federal Character Commission (FCC). Although the quota systems for governmental employment operated by the FCC are officially tied to Nigeria's 36 states, in both administrative law and practice they enforce a highly discriminatory 'indigeneity' system that privileges ethnic origins over federal citizenship.

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Valenzuela Jose Maria

**Climate Change Agenda at Subnational Level in Mexico: Policy coordination or policy competition?**

*in European Environment/Environmental Policy and Governance*, Volume 24, Issue 3, Special Issue: Multi-level Governance and the Environment: Intergovernmental Relations and Innovation in Environmental Policy, May-June , 188-203

The paper analyses the political challenges and opportunities of advancing the climate change agenda in a developing country under constraints and channels imposed by divided authority at the vertical level and political fragmentation within the state. The articles focuses on historical and political institutional arrangements to approach the current framework of climate change agenda-setting in Mexico, later analysing the potential changes to the outcomes due to the influence of an international climate change regime. On the one hand, the literature suggests that federalism poses serious limitations to government efficacy due to division of competences, and a similar argument is posed about presidentialism under a politically fragmented regime; on the second hand, transnationalism is depicted to enhance subnational state and non-state actor leadership roles in many areas, including economic and environmental policy setting. Evidence shows that federalism and the political fragmentation of the presidential regime in Mexico has prevented the federal government from taking assertive steps to influence subnational governments, while some of the heads of politically relevant subnational governments have assumed policy leadership roles, enabled by transnational networks and the Kyoto climate change regime. This balance may change according to the nature of the post-Kyoto regime, either strengthening the federal government if more responsibility on actions and disbursement is placed on



national governments; or enabling subnational government to foster their position, if decentralized and transnational networks are strengthened.

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Singh Satyajit

**Decentralizing Water Services in India: The Politics of Institutional Reforms**

in *Asian Survey* , Vol. 54, No. 4, July/August 2014 , 674-699

This paper examines decentralized reform initiatives in the Indian rural water sector from a policy perspective as well as from a political perspective focused on institutional design and implementation at the local level. It argues that normative economic prescriptions regarding decentralization are not very useful. The paper finds that the institutional architecture for decentralized reforms is highly contested and requires a better understanding of power and the role of micro-politics in shaping decentralization designs and outcomes. It also suggests that greater devolution in the water sector can lead to greater decentralization and democratization across sectors.

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Sharp Joanne, Cumbers Andy, Painter Joe, Wood Nichola

**Deciding whose future? Challenges and opportunities of the Scottish Independence Referendum 2014 for Scotland and Beyond**

in *Political Geography* , Volume 41, July , 32-42

Full text available at <http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0962629814000389>

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

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Bröchler Stephan, Lauth Hans-Joachim

**Die Lokalisierung von Schneisen im Dickicht – Konzeptionelle Grundlegungen und empirische Befunde informaler Governance**

in *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Politikwissenschaft* , Volume 8, Issue 1 Supplement, September 2014 , 1-33

Abstract

The article introduces the concepts and research strategies related to the topic of the special issue. In the conceptual part of the article the authors elaborate the underlying notion of governance. They then introduce the concept of 'informal governance' and relate it to research on formal and informal political institutions—with a particular focus on governing processes—from the perspective of system theory and action theory. The authors argue that formal and informal governing processes take place in an interactive process which (re)shapes the functional scope and scope of action of the institution of government.



In the second, empirical part the authors describe important empirical results of the contributions to the special issue. In their tentative comparative evaluation of the articles, they point out the diversity and relevance of informal governance in the following fields: (1) insights regarding the characteristics and extents of particular informal practices and rules in political decision-making processes; (2) indications of an adaptation of these practices and rules observed in international comparison or evidence of the development of specific different patterns; (3) evaluation of the compatibility of these practices and rules of informal governance with basic democratic principles; (4) assessment and strategic implementation of informal governance by political actors; (5) insights regarding the relevance of an increasing promulgation of politics by the media for informal governance.

In conclusion, the authors emphasize that reciprocity appears to be the common principle of informal governance despite the extensive diversity of the research results. This finding indicates the key role of experience-based trust in order for informal practices and institutions to develop and function.

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**Chemouni Benjamin**

**Explaining the design of the Rwandan decentralization: elite vulnerability and the territorial repartition of power** in *Journal of Eastern African Studies* , Volume 8, Issue 2, Special Issue: Rwanda under the RPF: Assessing twenty years of post-conflict governance , 246-262

Rwanda has made important progress since the start of the decentralization process in 2000. Local government enjoys an unprecedented range of competences and resources. With the exception of the provincial level, elections are generalized, something novel in the history of the traditionally centralized Rwanda. This, however, conflicts with widespread analysis that decentralization, instead of empowering the local level, has improved control from the centre through top-down policy-making and control of local governments and the population. This article aims to improve our understanding of the paradoxical nature of Rwandan decentralization. To do so, it first analyses the Rwandan decentralization process by disaggregating it into administrative, financial and political dimensions. This demonstrates that, in all three dimensions, decentralization is characterized by the heavy role of the centre, and the promotion of tightly monitored, technocratic and depoliticized local governments. The article then explains such design by focusing on the political elite's perception of its environment. It argues that the vulnerability collectively experienced by the political leadership, rooted in the experience of the genocide, its search for legitimacy, the volatile international environment, and the dependency on international aid, has spurred it to design local institutions in a way that promotes swift implementation of its development agenda and limits local political entrepreneurship and elite capture at local level.

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**Ishii Risako, Rohitarachoon Piyawadee, Hossain Farhad**

**HRM Reform in Decentralised Local Government: Empirical Perspectives on Recruitment and Selection in the Philippines and Thailand**

in *Asian Journal of Political Science*, Volume 21, Issue 3, 2013 , 249-267



Over the recent decades decentralisation has been an influential process for public sector reform. Like many countries in Southeast Asia, the Philippines and Thailand have experienced a transitional period of decentralisation since the 1990s, but its corresponding results are considered to be poor, allowing for an increase in corruption associated with local elites and other interested parties. This article addresses the problem by focusing on Human Resource Management (HRM), with an emphasis on recruitment and selection in decentralised local governments, as there exists limited research in this area. Despite similar outlook of decentralisation reforms in these countries, the comparative analysis will illustrate differences in HRM policy arrangements between the central and local government, which reflect on the roots and backgrounds of the reform initiatives in each country. Moreover, empirical case observations at the local level from four case cities will present positive HRM practices, as well as the negative ones. Such evidence cannot be explained by contemporary theories on decentralisation, most of which doubt feasibility of the reform in developing countries.

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**Bethany Lacina**

**How Governments Shape the Risk of Civil Violence: India's Federal Reorganization  
in *American Journal of Political Science*, Volume 58, Issue 3 , 720–738**

Governments are absent from empirical studies of civil violence, except as static sources of grievance. The influence that government policy accommodations and threats of repression have on internal violence is difficult to verify without a means to identify potential militancy that did not happen. I use a within-country research design to address this problem. During India's reorganization as a linguistic federation, every language group could have sought a state. I show that representation in the ruling party conditioned the likelihood of a violent statehood movement. Prostatehood groups that were politically advantaged over the interests opposed to them were peacefully accommodated. Statehood movements similar in political importance to their opponents used violence. Very politically disadvantaged groups refrained from mobilization, anticipating repression. These results call into question the search for a monotonic relationship between grievances and violence and the omission of domestic politics from prominent theories of civil conflict.

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**León Sandra**

**How does decentralization affect electoral competition of state-wide parties? Evidence from Spain  
in *Party Politics*, Volume 20, Number 3, May , 391-402**

The literature is still undecided on whether sub-state elections conform more to a national or regional logic of voting. In this article, I argue that the impact of national politics on regional elections is contingent upon the level of decentralization. I hypothesize that the greater the number of policy areas and resources in the hands of regional governments, the lesser the influence of national coat-tails on regional elections. Using the electoral results of the Spanish Socialist Party in national and regional elections from 1979 to 2009, the empirical analysis shows that regional



politicians' electoral performance is correlated to that of their national counterparts. However, this correlation has weakened as regional governments have gained greater decision-making and financing powers. This has been particularly evident in elections when the regional branch of the party rules a single-party government and competes against strong regionalist parties.

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Hernández Antonio Maria

**Informe sobre el federalismo argentino**

in *Cuaderno de federalismo*, vol. XXVI , 15-22

No abstract available

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

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Enric Fossas Espadaler

**Interpretar la política. Comentario a la STC 42/2014, de 25 de marzo, sobre la Declaración de soberanía y el derecho a decidir del pueblo de Cataluña**

in *Revista Espanola de Derecho Constitucional*, no. 101 , 273-300

No abstract available

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

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Dembinska Magdalena, Márac László, Tonk Márton

**Introduction to the special section: minority politics and the territoriality principle in Europe**

in *Nationalities Papers*, Volume 42, Issue 3, 2014 , 355-375

Abstract

Territorial arrangements for managing inter-ethnic relations within states are far from consensual. Although self-governance for minorities is commonly advocated, international documents are ambiguously formulated. Conflicting pairs of principles, territoriality vs. personality, and self-determination vs. territorial integrity, along with diverging state interests account for this gap. Together, the articles in this special section address the territoriality principle and its hardly operative practice on the ground, with particular attention to European cases. An additional theme reveals itself in the articles: the ambiguity of minority recognition politics. This introductory article briefly presents these two common themes, followed by an outline of three recent proposals discussed especially in Eastern Europe that seek to bypass the controversial territorial autonomy model: cultural rights in municipalities with a "substantial" proportion of minority members; the cultural autonomy model; and European regionalism and multi-level governance.

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Roberto Baratta

**L'appartenenza dell'UE alla Scozia in caso di secessione dal Regno Unito**

in *Diritto dell'Unione europea*, no. 1 , 73-80

No abstract available

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Alcubilla Enrique Arnaldo

**La respuesta del Tribunal Constitucional a la declaración soberanista**

in *Cuadernos de pensamiento político*, Número 43, Julio / Septiembre

No abstract available

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

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Carlo Iannello

**La réforme du titre V de la Constitution italienne douze ans après son entrée en vigueur**

in *Revue française de droit constitutionnel*, n. 96 , 879-892

Il y a douze ans le Parlement italien a réformé le titre V de la Constitution italienne. Cette réforme a bouleversé les pouvoirs locaux et régionaux, en produisant des changements profonds dans les relations État-Régions. Tout cela a entraîné un conflit – entre l'État et les Régions – d'une dimension incomparable avec celui de la période précédente, rendant très incertaine la délimitation des pouvoirs étatiques et régionaux.

Il semble intéressant de tracer un bilan, douze ans après l'entrée en vigueur de cette réforme, en cherchant à mettre en exergue les problèmes pratiques les plus importants qu'elle a provoqué ainsi que les solutions données par le juge constitutionnel.

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Keith Dixon

**Le pari risqué des nationalistes écossais : l'indépendance ou rien ?**

in *Politique Etrangère*, Vol. 78, n°4 hiver

Le nationalisme écossais a profité de l'impopularité de Margaret Thatcher puis, plus récemment, de Tony Blair pour se développer. En 2007, le Scottish National Party (SNP) remporte pour la première fois les élections au parlement écossais puis, quatre ans plus tard, il obtient la majorité absolue. Si le « oui » a peu de chances de l'emporter au référendum sur l'indépendance de septembre 2014, les nationalistes pensent tout de même pouvoir en profiter pour obtenir un transfert accru de pouvoirs.

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Barreyreb Nicolas

**Les échelles de la monnaie. Souveraineté monétaire et spatialisation de la politique américaine après la guerre de Sécession**

in *Annales: Histoire, Sciences Sociales*, 69e année, n. 2, juin , 439-467

Par sa victoire dans la guerre de Sécession, l'Union scelle l'affirmation de la souveraineté nationale des États-Unis. L'après-guerre est tout entier absorbé à en tirer les conséquences. C'est pourtant dans ce contexte que la politique monétaire devient un contentieux qui aboutira à une redéfinition de la souveraineté. Cet article explore comment la structure institutionnelle et le système politique permettent à la monnaie de devenir un enjeu spatialisé, opposant entre elles les grandes régions du pays, et comment ce phénomène, appelé sectionnalisme, aboutit à la confrontation de plusieurs conceptions de la souveraineté, mêlant légitimité politique et échelles spatiales, et une redéfinition du périmètre de celle-ci abandonnant la monnaie comme instrument du souverain à la fin du XIXe siècle.

With its victory in the Civil War, the Union affirmed the primacy of the national sovereignty of the United States. After the conflict, the country was absorbed by the consequences of this momentous event. Yet, even in this context, the monetary policies of the Government became contentious and led to the eventual redefinition of sovereignty. This article explores how the American institutional structure and political system allowed the money question to become a spatial issue, opposing the great sections of the country, and how this sectionalism triggered a confrontation between alternative understandings of what sovereignty entailed, both in political legitimacy and spatial scales. The eventual redefinition of its perimeter, at the end of the century, excluded the currency as an instrument of the sovereign.

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Lloyd-Jones Naomi

**Liberalism, Scottish Nationalism and the Home Rule Crisis, c.1886–93**

in *English Historical Review (The)*, Volume 129, Issue 538, June , 862-887

The present scholarly focus on Unionist-nationalism has obscured crucial features of late nineteenth-century Scottish political life. In a period of acute political crisis precipitated by the introduction of William Gladstone's first Irish Home Rule bill, there emerged a movement for the restoration of an Edinburgh parliament. Led by the Scottish Home Rule Association, campaigners promoted a fundamental reassessment of Scotland's post-1707 history, and argued that only a reinstated legislature could arrest a process of decay which they associated with the failures of a London-oriented Union. In setting out to demolish what we have come to understand as the Unionist-nationalist case, Home Rulers initially sought assistance from the Liberal party, which had been electorally dominant in Scotland since 1832. Their virulent attacks on the party, its organisational machinery and its leaders are far more illuminating for our understanding of how Liberalism operated after 1886 than has previously been understood.

<http://ehr.oxfordjournals.org/content/129/539/862.full>

<http://ehr.oxfordjournals.org/content/129/539/862.full.pdf+html>

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

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Qi Ye, Zhang Lingyun

**Local Environmental Enforcement Constrained by Central–Local Relations in China**

**in European Environment/Environmental Policy and Governance**, Volume 24, Issue 3, Special Issue: Multi-level Governance and the Environment: Intergovernmental Relations and Innovation in Environmental Policy, May-June , 216-232

Environmental pollution has become a major health concern and has escalated to a major political issue in China. It has been identified that enforcement of environmental regulation is the weakest link in environmental protection. Local government is often the focus of study because of its legal obligation for enforcement under national environmental law, and for its significance in the complex and intriguing central–local relations in the Chinese government system. We propose an interpretative framework to explain the local environmental enforcement dilemma in China, based on an institutional approach. Local governments tend to underperform. We argue that the overall national institutional environment that defines central–local relations in both political and financial terms is key for explaining why local governments fail to meet their obligations. Local governments tend to promote economic growth and maximize tax revenue, by attracting external investment and protecting polluting businesses, at the expense of environmental quality. Inadequate disclosure of environmental data and occasionally intentionally distorting information obstruct public participation and supervision – a key factor for ensuring the accountability of local enforcement. The policy implications of this analysis are that central government, in its capacity as the rule-maker, must take action to adjust the existing central–local relations with respect to the political promotion system and the tax-sharing mechanism. In addition, more stringent procedures and standards must be made by central government regarding the disclosure of environmental data to enable effective public participation.

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Carine David

**Lois du pays et question prioritaire de constitutionnalité. Vers un renforcement de l'Etat de droit en Nouvelle-Calédonie**

**in Revue française de droit constitutionnel**, n. 98 , 317-344

No abstract available

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

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Kuhlmann Sabine

**Multi-level Governance in Kontinentaleuropa: Mehrebenenverflechtung und institutionelle Reformfähigkeit im deutsch-französischen Vergleich**

**in Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Politikwissenschaft** , Volume 8, Issue 1 Supplement, September 2014 , 193-210

Abstract

Even though empirical studies on cooperative and informal actions of the state and administration agree in general, uncertainty remains with regard to the impact of informal exchange relationships and network-like cooperation on the



political and administrative ability to control and reform. In addition, it remains contentious whether the extent and the effects of cooperative state and administrative actions vary by country. The impact of varying organizational set-ups of the national administrations also remains disputed. The article therefore analyzes the informal relations of political control between the state and the local level with regard to their impact on institutions' ability to reform at the subnational level. The article conceptualizes the interaction between these levels as an instance of multilevel governance and elaborates in how far the countries differ with regard to their coordination of these multiple levels. The territorial and functional reform processes in Germany and France serve as empirical examples. Thanks to the prominently different design of the state-local relations in these countries, studying these two cases provides answers to the research question at hand.

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Lies Messely

**No region without individual catalysts? Exploring region formation processes in Flanders (Belgium) in *European Urban and Regional Studies*, vol. 21, no. 3, 318-330**

This paper focuses on the process of region formation and its interrelation with agency and regional identity. The region formation processes of two regions in Flanders (Belgium) were analysed, using a framework assessing the institutionalisation of regions. Based on semi-structured interviews and policy documents, the analysis confirmed the usefulness of the concept of institutionalisation to understand and visualise the evolution and ongoing dynamics of region formation processes. The analysis reveals the importance of the dynamic and interactive character of the different aspects of the framework of institutionalisation. The region formation processes in the two regions also indicate the importance of individual catalysts, people who stimulate synergies between the different aspects of the process, resulting in the (re)production of the region and its identity. Regional attachment or 'regional identity' was indispensable in the actions of these catalysts and the region formation processes.

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Tomsa Dirk

**Party System Fragmentation in Indonesia: The Subnational Dimension**

*in Journal of East Asian Studies*, Volume 14, Issue 2 (May-August 2014), 249-278

In this article I analyze the extent and causes of party system fragmentation in Indonesia's provincial and district parliaments. Focusing on the results of the first three post-Suharto elections in 1999, 2004, and 2009, I first highlight that local-level fragmentation is not only generally higher than national-level fragmentation but also that it has consistently increased over the three elections and that fragmentation has been particularly high in Eastern Indonesia. I then explain these three trends as a result of three main factors: First, electoral institutions applied between 1999 and 2009 facilitated fragmentation and poor party system institutionalization, mainly due to the introduction of an open list system in 2009 and the absence of a parliamentary threshold at the local level. Second, low levels of party institutionalization progressively individualized local party politics and made it normal for candidates to switch to smaller parties if it suited their interests, thereby exacerbating fragmentation. Third, electoral campaigning for local parliaments has been dominated by traditional methods based on personal relationships and networks rather than lavish public relations



campaigns with expensive TV ads, further reinforcing the effects of the first two factors.

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**Cecchetti Marcello**

**Per una riforma del sistema delle autonomie regionali prendendo le mosse dalla Relazione finale della Commissione per le riforme costituzionali**

in *Federalismi*, Anno XII - Nr 6

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

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**Cornell Agnes, D'Arcy Michelle**

**Plus ça change? County-level politics in Kenya after devolution**

in *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, Volume 8, Issue 1, Special Issue: Kenya's 2013 elections: The triumph of democracy? , 173-191

For the first time on 4 March 2013, Kenyans voted for county governors. Devolution has significantly changed fiscal and administrative organization, but has it led to changes in politics? Has it enabled the emergence of new elites, the entrenchment of old ones or rebalanced power between the counties and the centre? These issues are explored, by asking, first, whether gubernatorial candidates were 'insiders' who had held public office before, or 'outsiders', and whether they were locals or not; and second, how national forces impacted on the gubernatorial campaigns. These questions are answered using original primary data on four counties: Nakuru, Kiambu, Mombasa and Kilifi, and aggregated data from all 47 counties. We find that the majority of winning candidates were 'insiders' who won using existing patronage networks, suggesting that the gubernatorial elections led to the entrenchment of existing elites and patronage networks. However, the lack of involvement of national leaders in crucial party primaries allowed for the emergence of powerful local insiders who may challenge national elites going forward. Overall, the first chapter of devolution reflected existing political dynamics in Kenya more than it changed them, although challenges to the resilience of national elites are clear.

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**Ngar-yin Mah Daphne, Hills Peter R.**

**Policy Learning and Central–Local Relations: A Case Study of the Pricing Policies for Wind Energy in China (from 1994 to 2009)**

in *European Environment/Environmental Policy and Governance*, Volume 24, Issue 3, Special Issue: Multi-level Governance and the Environment: Intergovernmental Relations and Innovation in Environmental Policy, May-June , 216-232



This paper brings together the key concepts of policy learning and central–local relations to examine how the efficacy of sustainability policies can be improved, with a particular reference to pricing policies for wind energy in China. Based on our comparative case studies of three provinces, Guangdong, Shanghai and Xinjiang, we critically examine how central–local relations may facilitate or impede policy learning. Our analysis focuses on policy changes at the national level, including the move away from the tendering policy to a fixed-price policy in 2009, and the diversity of local policy responses, which include a local fixed-price policy in Guangdong, a two-tiered model in Shanghai and a de facto fixed-price policy in Xinjiang. We have three major key findings. First, we found that technical and conceptual forms of policy learning have taken place in China, but the progression towards the highest form of policy learning, social learning, is limited. Secondly, we found that the established fabric of central–local relations has created facilitating conditions for as well as limitations to the advancements towards social learning. A national policy framework, a multi-level governance system, institutional arrangements for knowledge creation and learning, and a more participatory form of governance for civil society are some of the facilitating conditions. However, over-centralization, the inertia against institutional changes and the failure to recognize the need for a more deliberative decision-making process are identified as key barriers.

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**Josep Maria Vilajosana**

**Principi democràtic i justificació constitucional del dret de decidir**

in *Revista d'Estudis Autònoms i Federals*, no. 19 , 178-210

En aquest treball l'autor defensa que el dret de decidir, entès com a la possibilitat de fer una consulta als catalans sobre el seu futur polític, no és contrari a la Constitució. La raó principal és que els principis d'indissolubilitat (art. 2.1) i de sobirania nacional (art. 1.2) han de ser ponderats adequadament amb els definitoris d'una democràcia liberal, tal com apareixen regulats bàsicament en els articles 1.1, 23.1, 9 i 10. Mitjançant aquesta ponderació es pot justificar: 1. Fer una consulta sobre la independència de Catalunya, atesa una interpretació evolutiva dels drets democràtics propis d'una concepció densa de la democràcia. 2. Fer-la entre els catalans, per tal d'evitar passar del principi de la majoria al domini de la majoria.

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

*Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization*

**José J. Jiménez Sánchez**

**Principio democrático y derecho a decidir**

in *Revista d'Estudis Autònoms i Federals*, no. 19 , 211-233

En aquestes pàgines es tracta de reflexionar sobre la connexió, a primera vista evident, entre el principi democràtic i el dret a decidir. Tanmateix, es posen de manifest algunes de les contradiccions en què cauen alguns dels seus valedors i es defensa, al contrari, la necessitat d'establir que la relació entre el principi de l'Estat de dret i el principi democràtic no pot ser de preeminència de cap d'ells sobre l'altre. La raó es troba en el fet que no es pot entendre el principi democràtic com la mera suma de les voluntats particulars d'una determinada col·lectivitat, sinó com a expressió de les condicions que assegurin la conformació d'una voluntat política racional. El principi democràtic només es pot comprendre així des d'una concepció normativa i no fàctica del poder sobirà.





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

*Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization*

**Macri Gennaro**

**Profili istituzionali del dibattito sulla città metropolitana**

in *Meridiana*, n° 80

Institutional outlines of the discussion about metropolitan authority

The article examines the institutional profiles of the debate concerning metropolitan authority, starting from the analysis of some relevant European experiences. The example of London shows the performance of a model which is based on the direct election and on the attribution of the most relevant functions to the mayor within a framework connoted by a strict control of the assembly and the citizens. The cases of Barcelona and Paris, which don't allow the direct election to the organs, show the importance of a construction of the model from the bottom and the utility of a process in which associations, citizens and preexisting local bodies participate. In Italy, the process passed through several never-effected laws now finds a first realization achievement with the «Delrio law», which establishes the constitution starting on 1 January 2015 of a metropolitan authority for each the main urban area of the State. The selected model doesn't admit direct election to the organs and fixes number, size and functions of the metropolitan authorities according to a uniform pattern imposed on every affected community. In this way, it combines the faults of a choice from the top with the ones of a non-representative system. The hope is that the process already began can obtain more successful and more democratic results in the future, borrowing the best from the experiences of other countries.

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

*Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization*

**Wolf Frieder, Pfohl Thomas**

**Protecting the population in a multilevel system: horizontal and vertical informal governance patterns in Germany**

in *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Politikwissenschaft* , Volume 8, Issue 1 Supplement, September 2014 , 259-285

Abstract

In Germany, the laender hold most of the powers relevant for protecting the population. After the end of the Cold War, they had realized a substantial peace dividend. Yet after 9/11, they have been confronted with a number of new (or newly realized) challenges, and a new governance pattern evolved that requires more intense co-operation between the laender and other levels of the political system. Furthermore, in the light of fiscal austerity and a certain euphoria for privatization, the private sector has become very much involved in formal and informal disaster management networks with state actors on all levels. Our paper traces this development in detail, explains its causes and gauges its impacts in terms of both effectiveness and democratic accountability. It is based on twenty expert interviews with state representatives on all levels of government as well as private actors representing different types of companies, and it especially focuses on the involvement of hospitals in emergency planning, electrical power network management (including reactions to blackouts), recent changes at firefighters' co-ordination centers, and, as a cross-cutting issue, the role of Information Technology (IT).



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

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Gentile Valentina

**Reconsidering Contested Secessions: Unfeasibility and Indeterminacy**

in *Filosofia e Questioni Pubbliche*, Nuova Serie Vol. 4, No. 1 (2014) , 35-49

The full text is free:

<http://fqp.luiss.it/category/numero/ns-vol-4-no-1-2014-%C2%A7-territory-belonging/>

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

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Thiel Andreas

**Rescaling of Resource Governance as Institutional Change: Explaining the Transformation of Water Governance in Southern Spain**

in *European Environment/Environmental Policy and Governance*, Volume 24, Issue 4, July/August , 289-306

This paper develops a conceptual framework highlighting the functional and constitutional (two-level) negotiation aspects of water governance rescaling, illustrated by the case of southern Spanish water governance reorganization for the Guadalquivir River Basin. The framework is derived from theories of institutional change and multi-level governance. A necessary precondition for rescaling is changes in actor-specific perceptions concerning how to best address priorities of water management through water governance. Predominant in rescaling is its coincidence with a contingent political majority of these actors enabling agreement on changes in governance conforming to existing constitutional rules for negotiation. Ultimately, in southern Spain, the constitutional setting prevented re-scaling. It had initially been promoted by regional actors benefitting from a contingent political majority at the federal as well as at the state level. The paper highlights that, in the context of transformations of European water governance, in Spain supranational policy-making is of low significance domestically.

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

*Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization*

Aroney Nicholas

**Reserved Matters, Legislative Purpose and the Referendum on Scottish Independence**

in *Public law*, July , 446-471

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization*

Del Gaizo Danilo

**Riforme costituzionali e riorganizzazione territoriale**



in *Federalismi*, Anno XII - Nr 15

No abstract available

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

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**De Donno Marzia**

**Riordino delle competenze e nuovo regime delle métropoles: prime prove per l'Acte III de la décentralisation**

in *Federalismi*, Anno XII - Nr 4

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

*Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization*

**Berg Dag-Erik**

**Scheduled Castes Policies in Interstate Perspective: Constitutional Power, Argumentative Practices, and Governance in India**

in *India Review*, Volume 13, Issue 3 , 235-250

The article discusses legal and administrative dimensions that are relevant for comparing development policies for the Scheduled Castes across Indian states. The policies for the Scheduled Castes are subject to more central control than several other policy domains. The article therefore highlights the logic in India's multilevel system of governance while specifying the constitutional meaning of the Scheduled Caste category, its related terms and discursive relevance. This provides a background to outline the relevant institutional dimensions at the center of India's political system and the level of the regional states. The article suggests that the Scheduled Castes Development Corporations provide a useful basis to develop interstate comparisons. However, the comparison of development policies for Scheduled Castes cannot be complete without acknowledging the extent to which policies are often a result of argumentative practices among Dalit movements and actors in context, since their demands may generate decisions or information about policies.

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

*Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization*

**Eickhoff Matthias**

**Schottland vor der Gretchenfrage**

in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, September, 2014 , 25-28

"Soll Schottland ein unabhängiges Land sein?" Über diese folgenreiche Frage wird am 18. September in einem historischen Referendum im Norden Großbritanniens abgestimmt. Damit steht nicht nur die Zukunft Schottlands zur



Wahl, zugleich fällt auch eine Richtungsentscheidung über den Fortbestand des Vereinigten Königreichs – mit erheblichen Auswirkungen auch für die EU.

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

*Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization*

Vasconcelos Rocha Carlos

**Significados y tendencias del federalismo y de las relaciones intergubernamentales en Brasil y en España**  
in *Foro Internacional*, Vol. LIV, núm. 1,

No abstract available

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

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Aranda José Tudela

**Small Worlds in the Spanish Autonomous State**  
in *Europe en formation (L')*, n. 369, 2013/3 , 138-150

The model of political decentralisation in Spain is facing new challenges in recent years. These challenges are the consequence of the economic crisis and its impact on territorial organization but also of the desire for independence of Catalonia manifested by certain remarkable Catalanian political parties. In this article is argued that to understand these two issues, it is necessary to give a brief description of the Spanish model of territorial organisation and its evolution. Throughout this description, challenges related to the economic crisis and, especially, the need to discern the causes of some specific problems are dealt with. The issue of Catalanian secession is also analyzed by emphasizing its complicity.

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

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Leonardo Álvarez Álvarez

**Soberanía y democracia en el discurso europeo del Tribunal Constitucional alemán : ¿una nueva defensa ad extra de la democracia?**  
in *Teoría y realidad constitucional*, no. 32 , 259-281

This paper analyzes the German Federal Constitutional Court case-law about the European integration process. Both concepts of sovereignty and democracy, base of its reasoning, have been constructed as related to a national legal system. Therefore, the nature, functions and limits of the EU has been determined by the BVerfG in relation to state categories. This paper tries to show how since Lisbon's ruling (2009), the bases for a definition of sovereignty and democracy from the point of view of the common constitutional tradition of Member States may have been established. That's to say, what modern Schools for Scientific Thought call *iuspublicum europaeum*. The German Federal Constitutional Court makes this methodological transformation returning to the material concept of democracy established during the 50's and 60's. If it was then used in order to construct a militant democracy *ad intra* against the enemies of democracy, it may be now used to the militant defense *ad extra* of democracy. The respect for German political identity imposed by Lisbon's ruling supports this idea.



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

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Woelk Jens

**South Tyrol is (not) Italy: A Special Case in a (De)federalizing system  
in Europe en formation (L')**, n. 369, 2013/3 , 126-137

South Tyrol enjoys the special status of an autonomous Region within Italy. In a comparative perspective, the South Tyrolean case is quite unique in terms of powers and guarantees as well as in its duration showing the effects of decades of working autonomy. This raises interesting questions regarding the sustainable and durable accommodation of conflicting interests, the relations with the Italian State and the influence of this autonomous system on Italy's federalizing process (which has entered a difficult period after the ambitious constitutional reforms of 2001). And vice-versa: what is the impact of the current crisis of Italy's political system on South Tyrol? The aim is to analyse the South Tyrolean situation as a case study within the larger Italian context.

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

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Agustín Ruiz Robledo

**Spanish Autonomous Communities and EU policies  
in Perspectives on federalism**, vol. 5, issue 2 , E29-E50

The European Union affects not only the competences of the Governments and Parliaments, but also of all public authorities, in particular the powers of sub-state entities of compound states, who saw how decisions that their governments could not adopt domestically nevertheless ended up being adopted in Europe. This affected the competences of these sub-state entities, which had no representation in Europe – or, to put it shortly, no voice and no vote. Or rather, in the expressive German phrase: the European Community had long practised Landesblindheit. This paper considers the evolving role of Spanish Autonomous Communities in shaping EU norms and policies. The presentation follows the classical model of distinguishing between the ascendant phase of European law and its descendant phase. Finally, it shall discuss the relationships that the Autonomous Communities have developed regarding the Union or any of its components and which can be grouped under the expressive name of “paradiplomacy” or inter-territorial cooperation.

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

*Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization*

Chandhoke Neera

**Talking Secession**

**in Filosofia e Questioni Pubbliche**, Nuova Serie Vol. 4, No. 1 (2014) , 51-71

The full text is free:

<http://fqp.luiss.it/category/numero/ns-vol-4-no-1-2014-%C2%A7-territory-belonging/>



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

*Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization*

**Madsen Kenneth D.**

**The Alignment of Local Borders**

**in Territory, Politics, Governance**, Volume 2, Issue 1 , 52-71

Even as diverse bordering processes have proliferated well beyond the edges of contemporary states, local understandings of international borders have aligned with national expectations. Historically borderland residents were often granted leeway in their cross-border activities and this provided an initial acceptance of the concept of national borders that continued even as boundaries became more rigid. Among the indigenous Tohono O'odham varying interpretations on the effective extent of the US–Mexico border co-existed for well over a century. Where the geopolitical border and the understanding of local communities differed, the latter was generally of greater importance in defining effective limits. National and international dynamics gradually reversed this, however, merging diverse border interpretations. External forces built upon local distinctions to achieve acceptance of the concept of a border among a group that initially had no vested interest in such a division and then narrowed that flexible interpretation to one more accommodating to national priorities premised on a strict linear conception of the extent of sovereignty. The coalescing of multiple layers of distinction in the vicinity of national boundaries sheds light on scale-based conflict over bordering and points to the overwhelming priority given to homogenizing forces and uniformity of control in the modern state.

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

*Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization*

**Buchanan Allen E.**

**The International Dimension of the Problem of Contested Secession**

**in Filosofia e Questioni Pubbliche**, Nuova Serie Vol. 4, No. 1 (2014) , 13-21

The full text is free:

<http://fqp.luiss.it/category/numero/ns-vol-4-no-1-2014-%C2%A7-territory-belonging/>

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

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**Chamon Merijn, Van der Loo Guillaume**

**The Temporal Paradox of Regions in the EU Seeking Independence: Contraction and Fragmentation versus Widening and Deepening?**

**in European law journal**, Volume 20, Issue 5 , 613–629

This article investigates the possibility of regional entities within EU Member States to become EU Member States in their own right following their secession from their mother state. International law does not automatically allow such regions to remain EU Member States since it refers this issue back to the constituent instruments of international organisations and a reading of both the EU Treaties and the ECJ's jurisprudence seems to preclude such a 'continued membership'. The article then further explores the legal issues which could arise during the accession process of the





newly independent state. After suggesting solutions to bridge the gap between its secession and its own EU membership, it is argued that the key challenge for such a region would be to ensure a smooth transition, without the loss of prerogatives under EU law, from being an EU region to an EU Member State proper.

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

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Joanie Willett and Arianna Giovannini

**The Uneven Path of UK Devolution: Top-Down vs. Bottom-Up Regionalism in England – Cornwall and the North-East Compared**

in *Political Studies*, Volume 62, Issue 2, 343–360

Within the context of the devolution process in England, Cornwall and the North-East stand out in contrasting comparison. The North-East was given the opportunity to vote for a regional assembly, which it rejected in 2004, while the strong popular movement for an assembly in Cornwall was ignored by central government. This is reflected in the literature on the English question and regionalism in the UK, which focuses on the example of the North-East, and largely overlooks the grassroots support in Cornwall and the opportunities for understanding regionalism that this could provide. In this article, we explore why this might be the case, developing a comparison between the two areas in the context of the campaigns for setting up directly elected assemblies. We look at the territorial status of the two areas, how the respective campaigns were organised, the types of group involved, the motives that were driving activists, and each region's political significance to Labour. We find central control of the political agenda to be a key issue behind the failure of English regionalism.

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Christmann Anna

**Von Government zu Governance? Acht europäische Metropolregionen im Vergleich**

in *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Politikwissenschaft*, Volume 8, Issue 1 Supplement, September 2014, 141-167

Abstract

The article starts out from the general assumption of a trend from government to governance and tests it by means of a comparative study of eight European metropolitan areas. Due to the continuous growth of the population, urban areas are turning into increasingly relevant actors in a globalized world. They have thus increasingly become the focal point of governance studies. In line with the new regionalism, governance studies also assume a trend toward network-oriented decision-making structures. However, the analysis shows that there is no clear trend. Rather, the regional political systems develop in a different manner depending on the context. According to the author, new forms of government or governance arise or existing structures are maintained depending on the geopolitical location and national system of government as well as on how compelling the problem is.

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Seifert Stefan ,Nieswand Maria

**What Drives Intermediate Local Governments' Spending Efficiency: The Case of French Départements**  
in *Local Government Studies*, Volume 40, Issue 4 , 766-790

The restructuring of the allocation of governmental competencies in France has increased the importance of subnational governments by transferring additional tasks. We analyse the efficiency of public spending on the intermediate government level for the 96 départements in metropolitan France in 2008. Spending efficiency is measured using Data Envelopment Analysis. Results indicate significant room for improvement and we detect an average spending inefficiency of 12%. To explain efficiency, a bootstrapped truncated regression is applied. The second-stage regression shows that efficiency is also determined by exogenous factors and identifies the distance to the national capital, inhabitants' income and the share of inhabitants older than 65 as significant determinants of efficiency.

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

*Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization*

Arden

**What is the Safeguard for Welsh Devolution**

in *Public law*, April , 189-207

No abstract available

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

*Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization*

van Laerhoven Frank

**When is Participatory Local Environmental Governance Likely to Emerge? A study of collective action in participatory municipal environmental councils in Brazil**

in *European Environment/Environmental Policy and Governance*, Volume 24, Issue 2, March-April , 77-93

Why is local environmental governance in Brazil shaped through the collective action of many, frequently interacting actors in some municipalities, whilst in others it does not take the form of deliberative and inclusive decision-making? I address this question by zooming in on Brazil's Conselhos Municipais de Meio Ambiente (participatory municipal environmental councils). Through multivariate logistical regression (n=5202), I show that a large business community, combined with 'small local government', adds significantly to the likelihood of finding participatory forms of solving environmental problems in a municipality, especially when communities have learned from prior experience with participatory policy-making in other areas. Through multivariate linear regression (n=1365), I establish that depth and breadth of participatory environmental governance processes is more likely to increase when, amongst other things, people have previous experience with other types of participatory council, and when there are fewer local government officials per capita.

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

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Fischlein Miriam, Feldpausch-Parker Andrea M., Peterson Tarla R., Stephens Jennie C., Wilson Elizabeth J.

**Which Way Does the Wind Blow? Analysing the State Context for Renewable Energy Deployment in the United States**

*in European Environment/Environmental Policy and Governance*, Volume 24, Issue 3, Special Issue: Multi-level Governance and the Environment: Intergovernmental Relations and Innovation in Environmental Policy, May-June , 169-187

Wind power is an important low-carbon technology and the most rapidly growing renewable energy technology in the US, but there is significant state-by-state variation in wind power distribution. This variation cannot be explained solely by wind resource patterns or US state policy and points to the importance of both local and central governance. We outline the national context for wind deployment in the US and then explore the sub-national, state-level factors shaping wind deployment patterns. We probe the socio-political context across four US states by integrating multiple research methods. Through comparative state-level analysis of the energy system, energy policy, public discourse as represented in the media and state-level, energy policy stakeholders' perceptions we examine variation in the context for wind deployment in Massachusetts, Minnesota, Montana and Texas. Our results demonstrate that different patterns of wind deployment and different debates about wind power have emerged in each locale. Participants across the different states appear to frame the risks and benefits of wind power in significantly different ways. We discuss the impact of risks and benefit frames on energy policy outcomes. The comparative assessment highlights the complex interplay between central and local governance and explores the significant socio-political variation between states. The study contributes to the understanding of energy technology deployment processes, decision-making and energy policy outcomes.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Kristen Evans, Laura Murphy, Wil de Jong

**Global versus local narratives of REDD: A case study from Peru's Amazon**

*in Environmental Science & Policy* , Vol. 35 , 98-108

This paper seeks to analyze local perspectives in Peruvian Amazon forest communities toward REDD and contrast those perspectives with current global and national REDD narratives. REDD is a global market-based approach to provide financial incentives for local actors to halt deforestation or to improve carbon stocks. To date, the REDD framework has not demonstrated that it is equipped to incorporate the diverse perspectives, potential interactions and uncertainties facing forest communities. We interviewed forest community members in the Amazonian state of Loreto, Peru, using "future scenarios" methods to elicit potential alternative narratives, both with and outside REDD. Indigenous voices reveal ambiguous attitudes toward REDD with regard to livelihoods, benefit distribution and the long-term impacts for communities and forests. They reveal considerable uncertainty about the future and lack of trust in governance regimes. Long-term community priorities were in generating work, providing educational opportunities for their children, and improving the quality of their forest. Conflict—within the community, with local loggers and with the recently established regional conservation area—was a prevalent theme. A REDD design that recognizes communities as active participants in global and national climate management and pays attention to local narratives will more likely generate the multiple benefits of healthy forests, strong communities and, ultimately, global climate change mitigation.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

deGuzman Margaret M.



**Harsh Justice for International Crimes?**

in *Yale Journal of International Law (The)*, Volume 39, Issue 1

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

**Bouyé Mathilde, Severino Jean-Michel**

**La couverture santé, un combat universel. Négociations cruciales aux Nations unies**

in *Monde Diplomatique (Le)*, Janvier

<http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/2014/01/BOUYE/50025>

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

**Sabine Reinecke, Till Pistorius, Michael Pregernig**

**UNFCCC and the REDD+ Partnership from a networked governance perspective**

in *Environmental Science & Policy*, Vol. 35, 30-39

The idea of establishing a financial mechanism to mitigate emissions from the forest sector in developing countries (REDD+) has received strong support, but the unsatisfactory progress of the post-Kyoto process jeopardizes its fate under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC). Despite the pending decision on an international regulatory framework for the mechanism, REDD+ projects and policies are already put in practice at all governance levels. In 2010, the interim REDD+ Partnership was established as a supplementary process to make further progress in this regard. With its focus on implementation it formally stands outside of the UNFCCC, but de facto it constitutes an alternative forum for relevant issues dealt with under the convention.

The relationship between the convention and the partnership is far from linear and appears at odds with classical concepts of 'regimes' in international relations theory. Notable parallels between the two processes and the observation that the partnership influences the negotiations under the convention, and vice versa, illustrate the mutual interactions of different modes of governance. Drawing from theories of global and multilevel governance, this paper takes a perspective of 'governance in networks' and uses the REDD+ Partnership as a case to further the understanding of global environmental politics as dynamic phenomena that span various political levels and tie various actors together in partly competitive, partly cooperative ways.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

**Ambach Philipp, Rackwitz Klaus U.**

**A Model Of International Judicial Administration? The Evolution Of Managerial Practices at the International Criminal Court**

in *Law and contemporary problems*, Volume 76, Numbers 3 & 4, 119-162



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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Philipp Kastner

**Armed Conflicts and Referrals to the International Criminal Court: From Measuring Impact to Emerging Legal Obligations**

in *Journal of International Criminal Justice*, vol. 12, no. 3 , 471-490

This article argues that referring situations to the Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court (ICC) with the expectation of generating immediate political effects on ongoing armed conflicts is conceptually flawed. The rationale behind the referrals of the situations in northern Uganda and Darfur illustrates that the common attribution of this capacity to the ICC and the dominant underlying notion of peace — as negative peace — have nurtured a persistent dichotomy between peace and justice. Moreover, by drawing on a socio-legal understanding of law, the article claims that instead of focusing on the assumed promise of international criminal justice institutions to generate specific and measurable political outcomes, it would be more constructive to shift our attention from an elusive outcome- to a process-based analysis, and to view the increasingly frequent involvement of these institutions, not only after a conflict has ended but while it is still ongoing, as an emerging and highly influential process-related commitment.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Berti Benedetta

**Balancing Justice, Stability and Legitimacy: Lebanon and the UN Special Tribunal – Understanding the Domestic Impact of International Criminal Justice**

in *Mediterranean Politics*, Volume 19, Issue 1 , 117-133

The article analyses the record of the United Nations Special Tribunal for Lebanon, focusing on its domestic impact as well as on the main obstacles the tribunal has faced since its establishment. The study looks at how the legitimacy problems of the STL have deeply affected the tribunal's capacity to deliver justice for the political assassination of Lebanese Prime Minister Rafic Hariri, as well as its potential to foster peace and stability within Lebanon. Analysing the shortcomings of the STL can highlight the inherent challenges international criminal tribunals face in ensuring that the 'Justice' delivered by the tribunal meets local perceptions of 'justice' as well as the community's need to preserve internal stability and foster reconciliation.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Weisbord Noah

**Bargaining Practices: Negotiating the Kampala Compromise for the International Criminal Court**

in *Law and contemporary problems*, Volume 76, Numbers 3 & 4 , 85-118



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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Spyros Blavoukos & Dimitris Bourantonis

**Calling the bluff of the Western powers in the United Nations disarmament negotiations, 1954–55**  
in *Cold War History*, Vol. 14, n°3 , 359-376

This article, based on British and American archival sources, examines the response of the Western powers (mainly the US and the UK) to the Soviet disarmament initiatives in 1954–55. We shed some light on the Western states' attitude to the UN disarmament negotiations of this period, arguing that the two sides never actually came close to a settlement, since at least the Western side was hesitant to commit to any actual measures of disarmament. This article challenges part of the Cold War historiography that has incorrectly portrayed this particular period as the most opportune time for achieving disarmament.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Daurer Veronika , Krever Richard

**Choosing between the UN and OECD Tax Policy Models: An African Case Study**  
in *African Journal of International and Comparative Law*, 22.1

No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Roele Isobel

**Disciplinary Power and the UN Security Council Counter Terrorism Committee**  
in *Journal of Conflict and Security Law*, Volume 19 Issue 1 , 49-84

The UN Security Council's Counter-Terrorism Committee (CTC) exercises soft rather than hard power to change states' behaviour through monitoring and capacity-building activities. Through the lens of Michel Foucault's disciplinary power, these activities are reconceived as practices of surveillance and correction that aim at the normalization of states according to model dictated by the efficacy of the collective security system. While the processes of normalization rely on the consent and cooperation of states, and therefore are difficult to characterize as repressive, they nevertheless involve complex power relations, which deserve the attention and scrutiny of international lawyers. The CTC has prided itself on its guiding principles of even-handedness, transparency and cooperation, but the disciplinary lens reveals practices of ranking, lack of accountability and a residual willingness to resort to coercion where the self-corrective ideal





fails that call into question the effectiveness of these principles in guiding the CTC's work.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Jundt Thomas

**Dueling Visions for the Postwar World: The UN and UNESCO 1949 Conferences on Resources and Nature, and the Origins of Environmentalism**

in *Journal of American History* , Volume 101, No. 1, June , 44-70

The article examines the 1949 United Nations Scientific Conference on the Conservation and Utilization of Resources held in Lake Success, New York. Concerned that the conference would promote only traditional notions of conservation focused on the wise use of natural resources and the preservation of natural spaces deemed aesthetically pleasing, one of the United Nations' own agencies, the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, held the concurrent International Technical Conference on the Protection of Nature designed to encourage broader ideals of environmentalism—focused on issues of ecology, pollution, and sustainability—that emerged after World War II.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Shiva Shankar Pandey, Geoff Cockfield, Tek Narayan Maraseni

**Dynamics of carbon and biodiversity under REDD+ regime: A case from Nepal**

in *Environmental Science & Policy* , Vol. 38 , 272-281

There are several pilot projects in developing countries for reducing emissions from deforestation and forest degradation, conserving forests, managing forests in a sustainable way and enhancing carbon stock in forests (REDD+). However, outcomes from these projects, which are crucial for making strategies and developing an appropriate incentive mechanism for REDD+ particularly in relation to impacts on biodiversity, are little researched. The overarching goal of this research is to assess carbon stock and species richness in pilot REDD+ projects in community forests. Forest inventories data for three consecutive years are analysed for projects in Nepal. This study found increases in carbon stocks in forests for all altitudes and canopy types. Forests with dense canopy cover have higher increments compared to sparse canopy. Similarly, forests of lower altitudes have higher carbon stock compared to higher altitudes. The increment is higher in the forests located in middle altitudes which had comparatively low carbon stocks. Regarding species richness, more species are recorded in initial years of the project than later. This indicates a possible reduction in species richness with increasing the carbon stock. There is a need for an incentive mechanism for maintaining species richness together with carbon stock and securing conservation and carbon benefits in REDD+ in community forestry.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Erika Romijn, John Herbert Ainembabazi, Arief Wijaya, Martin Herold, Arild Angelsen, Louis Verchot, Daniel Murdiyarso

**Exploring different forest definitions and their impact on developing REDD+ reference emission levels: A case**



**study for Indonesia**

in *Environmental Science & Policy* , Vol. 33 , 246-259

R2 of 0.81 vs. 0.52), with the natural forest definition giving the best prediction. Apart from historical deforestation and initial forest cover, gross domestic product and human population were important predictors of future deforestation in Indonesia. Degradation processes were less well modeled and predictions relied on estimates of historical degradation and forest cover.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

**Manuel Galvis Martínez**

**Forfeiture of Assets at the International Criminal Court: The Short Arm of International Criminal Justice**

in *Journal of International Criminal Justice*, vol. 12, no. 2 , 193-217

International criminal law seems unconcerned by the fact that individuals derive profit from the commission of those crimes it is designed to regulate. This article exposes the historical failure to utilize forfeiture of assets as a penalty, despite the proven profitability of certain international crimes. Additionally, it analyses the legal framework of forfeiture of assets at the International Criminal Court, revealing poor design and a set of excessive restrictions that produced what may be termed as an amputated penalty, which is unlikely to be used in future cases.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

**Simon Hentrei**

**Generalising the Principle of Complementarity: Framing International Judicial Authority**

in *Transnational Legal Theory*, vol. 4, issue 3 , 419-438

International courts exercise public authority. Their decisions affect individual and collective self-determination. Nowadays, international courts decide on criminal, constitutional and administrative matters, much in the same way as domestic courts. Possible tensions between international and domestic courts raise the question of how to frame international judicial authority vis-à-vis domestic courts in a way that contributes to the legitimacy of their decisions. To respond to these concerns, the article analyses the potential of a generalised principle of complementarity. The principle's underlying idea can be rooted back to several procedural and substantive manifestations of it in human rights courts and in international investment tribunals. It regulates the relationship between international and domestic courts in order to ensure individual legal protection and the balance of individual and collective interests. In accordance with the rationale of the Rome Statute, domestic courts are primary responsible in this regard; and only when they are unable or unwilling may international courts compensate domestic institutional deficiencies, safeguard subjective rights, ensure compliance with international law standards and strengthen domestic capacities. The function of the principle is twofold: (i) to structure the relationship between international and domestic courts—a relationship that is characterised by a division of labour, cooperation and mutual responsibility; and (ii) to normatively guide and evaluate the jurisprudence of international courts. In fulfilling these functions, the legitimating potential of complementarity can best be unfolded.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**



*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Katzenstein Suzanne

**In the Shadow of Crisis: The Creation of International Courts in the Twentieth Century**  
in *Harvard International Law Journal*, Volume 55, Issue 1

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Gordon Geoffrey

**Innate Cosmopolitan Dialectics at the ICJ: Changing Perceptions of International Community, the Role of the Court, and the Legacy of Judge Álvarez**  
in *Leiden Journal of International Law*, Volume 27 - Issue 02 , 309 - 330

Traditional conceptions of the international community have come under stress in a time of expanding international public order. Various initiatives purport to observe a reconceived international community from a variety of perspectives: transnational, administrative, pluralist, constitutional, etc. The perspectives on this changing dynamic evidenced by the International Court of Justice, however, have been largely neglected. But as the principal judicial institution tasked with representing the diversity of legal perspectives in the world, the Court represents an important forum by which to understand the changing appreciation of international community. While decisions of the Court have been restrained, an active discourse has been carried forward among individual judges. I look at part of that discourse, organized around one perspective, which I refer to as innate cosmopolitanism, introduced to the forum of the ICJ by the opinions of Judge Álvarez. The innate cosmopolitan perspective reflects an idea of the international community as an autonomous collectivity, enjoying a will, interests, or ends of its own, independent of constituent states. The application of that perspective under international law is put most to test in matters of international security, in particular where the interest in a discrete, global public order runs up against the right to self-defence vested in states. The innate cosmopolitan perspective has not, in these cases, achieved a controlling position – but, over time, it has been part of a dialectical process showing a change in the appreciation of international community before the Court, and a changing perception from the bench of the role of the Court in that community.

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*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Ortali Francesca, Griffo Giampiero, Capobianco Simonetta



**International cooperation and the inclusion of persons with disabilities: the Italian system**  
in *Modern Italy*, Volume 19, Issue 2 , 213-223

Two key themes emerging from recent studies on disability are the shift in the conception of persons with disabilities, expressed in the UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD), from objects to subjects of policies concerning them and the recognition of the close interconnections between disability and poverty. Both themes have clear implications for international development cooperation. It is essential that the high number of persons with disabilities in developing countries is recognised and that the programmes implemented by non-governmental organisations (NGOs), including those in emergencies and disasters, are made fully inclusive of them. Community-based rehabilitation (CBR) programmes are important in achieving inclusiveness and fulfilling the rights of persons with disabilities. Italian NGOs such as AIFO (Associazione Italiana Amici di Raoul Follereau) have played an important role in helping launch CBR, most notably in Mongolia. Two sets of research data published in 2008 have measured the impact of Italian action on disability in international development cooperation. The reports on the one hand reveal inadequate levels of funding in general, and funding by banks and private companies in particular, and insufficient involvement of disabled persons' organisations, but on the other suggest that Italy's domestic experience of advanced disability legislation can be productively applied in international contexts to include and empower persons with disabilities.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Kenneth A. Rodman

**Justice as a Dialogue Between Law and Politics: Embedding the International Criminal Court within Conflict Management and Peacebuilding**

in *Journal of International Criminal Justice*, vol. 12, no. 3 , 437-469

Despite legalist claims that it should be independent of politics, the International Criminal Court needs to operate within rather than above international strategies of conflict resolution. That is because of the challenges it confronts in the two kinds of relationships it has with states on whose territory it is investigating crimes — adversarial, where it examines official wrongdoing by an entrenched regime, and cooperative, when states refer situations on their territory. In the former, state cooperation is improbable and the prospects for prosecution depend on the willingness of external actors to deploy coercive political instruments to change the balance of forces against the government whose practices are being scrutinized. In the latter, criminal justice depends upon the cooperation of the referring state, which creates the risk that governments will use the Court to criminalize their enemies without improving their own human rights practices. In both situations, the Court is likely to confront a 'peace versus justice' dilemma in which insistence on prosecution could criminalize those whose cooperation is necessary for a political solution. Prosecutorial discretion should therefore be embedded in dialogue with both local and international stakeholders involved in conflict management and peacebuilding in order to maximize the prospects for accountability while minimizing the risks to human security.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Nkansah Lydia A.

**Justice within the Arrangement of the Special Court for Sierra Leone versus Local Perception of Justice: A Contradiction or Harmonious?**



in *African Journal of International and Comparative Law*, 22.1

No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Mueller Susanne D.

**Kenya and the International Criminal Court (ICC): politics, the election and the law**

in *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, Volume 8, Issue 1, Special Issue: Kenya's 2013 elections: The triumph of democracy? , 25-42

Kenya's 2013 election was supremely important, but for a reason not normally highlighted or discussed. Uhuru Kenyatta and William Ruto's run for president and deputy president as International Criminal Court (ICC) indictees was a key strategy to deflect the court and to insulate themselves from its power once they won the election. The paper maintains that the strategy entailed a set of delaying tactics and other pressures to ensure that the trials would not take place until after the election when their political power could be used to maximum effect to halt or delay them. However, unlike in 2007–08, the 2013 election did not result in mass violence. The Kenyatta–Ruto alliance united former ethnic antagonists in a defensive reaction to the ICC. The analysis has implications for theories seeking to explain why countries ratify and comply with treaties. It develops an alternative political economy argument to account for outliers like Kenya and has implications for international criminal justice and democracy in Kenya.

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*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Paoloni Lorenza

**La Fao e i farmers rights**

in *CNS Ecologia politica*, nuova serie, n. 3, marzo

Full text available at <http://www.ecologiapolitica.org/wordpress/?p=661>

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Anaïs Fléchet

**Le Conseil international de la musique et la politique musicale de l'Unesco (1945-1975)**

in *Relations internationales*, n°156 , 53-71

As a symbol of peace and universal harmony, music became part of Unesco's cultural programs at an early stage. Founded in 1949, the International Music Council (IMC) was the first step of an ambitious policy of support for contemporary creation, the development of artistic education and the promotion of musical diversity. Yet this new musical forum did not escape contemporary conflicts and was subject to strong tensions in the Cold War and decolonization contexts. This article represents the first attempt to examine the strategic objectives, main achievements and conceptions of music defended by the IMC, from its beginnings to the emblematic presidency of Yehudi Menuhin in the 1970s.



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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Sebastian Schindler

**Man versus State: Contested Agency in the United Nations**

*in Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, 43 (1) , 3-23

The research on international organisations (IOs) continues to be dominated by two distinctions: on the one hand, the distinction between rational choice and social construction; on the other hand, the distinction between IOs as arenas for states and IOs as actors in their own right. In this article I argue that these two distinctions structure not only our theoretical debates on IOs, but also what our theories aspire to explain: political conflicts in IOs. Through an in-depth study of two debates during a conflict in the world food organisations, I show how the distinctions were used to create lines of dispute. I conclude that research that itself establishes the distinctions on a theoretical basis is unable to grasp what conflict in IOs, since it fixes theoretically what is contested politically. What is called for is instead a practice-theoretical approach.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Hoover Joseph

**Moral Practices: Assigning Responsibility in the International Criminal Court**

*in Law and contemporary problems*, Volume 76, Numbers 3 & 4 , 263-286

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Hansel Mischa

**NGOs und die Vereinten Nationen – Eine Zwischenbilanz**

*in Zeitschrift für Politik*, Jahrgang 61, Heft 3, 2014

Abstract

NGOs and the United Nations – Achievements and Deficits

From the early 1990s until today efforts have been made to open up the United Nations system towards non-state actors. By this it was hoped for a ›democratization‹ of global governance from below. Also a greater participation of non-state actors was thought to improve the UN's capabilities for problem solving in numerous areas. This article sheds





light on contemporary participation opportunities for societal actors. In addition it questions the representativeness of those non-state actors being most active inside the UN's institutional framework.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Hansel Mischa

**NGOs und die Vereinten Nationen – Eine Zwischenbilanz**

in *Zeitschrift für Politik*, Jahrgang 61, Heft 3, 2014

Abstract

NGOs and the United Nations – Achievements and Deficits

From the early 1990s until today efforts have been made to open up the United Nations system towards non-state actors. By this it was hoped for a 'democratization' of global governance from below. Also a greater participation of non-state actors was thought to improve the UN's capabilities for problem solving in numerous areas. This article sheds light on contemporary participation opportunities for societal actors. In addition it questions the representativeness of those non-state actors being most active inside the UN's institutional framework.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Pheakkdey Nguon, Dominik Kulakowski

**Natural forest disturbances and the design of REDD+ initiatives**

in *Environmental Science & Policy*, Vol. 33, 332-345

Basing ecosystem management and conservation on the best available science is essential to meeting intended goals and minimizing surprises. To design effective, efficient, and equitable policies for the REDD+ initiatives, requires that drivers of deforestation and forest degradation are correctly identified, and that the ecological context of those drivers is correctly understood. Contemporary forest ecology and management are based on the recognition that forest ecosystems are dynamic, and that those dynamics are often driven by both anthropogenic- and naturally induced disturbances. Here we examine the degree to which the dynamic view of ecosystems is incorporated into the design of REDD+ initiatives. We conducted content analysis of the World Bank's Forest Carbon Partnership Facility's 36 REDD+ participating countries' Readiness Plan Idea Notes and/or Readiness Preparation Proposals. Across the 36 countries, drivers of deforestation and forest degradation could be grouped into categories of institutional policies, political-economic contexts and social settings. The result of our content analysis indicates that there is a lack of discussion of the dynamic character of ecosystems and of the potential influence of natural disturbances on the identified drivers of deforestation and forest degradation. We argue that REDD+ initiatives must take into account knowledge of natural disturbance regimes (including the size, frequency and severity of key disturbances) in their framing of the drivers of deforestation and forest degradation in order to better understand the ecological stage on which these projects will be implemented after the piloting phase. This paper proposes four approaches to integrate understanding of natural disturbances with the socio-political and economic drivers of deforestation and forest degradation within REDD+ participating countries.



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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Alexander Wills

**Old Crimes, New States and the Temporal Jurisdiction of the International Criminal Court**  
in *Journal of International Criminal Justice*, vol. 12, no. 3 , 407-435

This article addresses contentious questions about the International Criminal Court's temporal jurisdiction pursuant to a declaration by a state under Article 12(3) of the Rome Statute. In particular, it argues that such declarations can be effective retroactively; that — notwithstanding the express terms of Article 12(3) — states parties can make 12(3) declarations; and that newly-created states can give the Court jurisdiction over crimes committed even before their birth.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Pulau Batu Puteh, Middle Rocks and South Ledge

**Original Title in the Light of the ICJ Judgment on Sovereignty over Pedra Branca**  
in *Journal of the History of International Law*, Volume 15, Issue 2 , 151-171

No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Hönig Patrick

**Ostkongo oder Krieg ohne Ende?**  
in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, Februar, 2014 , 33-36

Gerade erst war Hoffnung auf Frieden im Osten der Demokratischen Republik Kongo aufgekeimt, da erlitt sie schon wieder einen Dämpfer. Noch im November 2013 feierte die Bevölkerung einen, wie es schien, historischen Sieg der kongolesischen Streitkräfte (FARDC) über die Bewegung 23. März (M23), jener Rebellen-Gruppe, die rund anderthalb Jahre lang große Gebiete in Nord-Kivu kontrolliert und kurzzeitig sogar Goma, das Wirtschaftszentrum des Ostkongo, eingenommen hatte.[1] Unterstützt von einer Eingreiftruppe der UN-Friedensmission im Kongo (MONUSCO), hatte die FARDC die Stellungen der M23 in der Provinz Nord-Kivu überrannt.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

van den Herik Larissa J.

**Peripheral Hegemony in the Quest to Ensure Security Council Accountability for its Individualized UN Sanctions Regimes**  
in *Journal of Conflict and Security Law*, Volume 19, Issue 3 , 427-449



A demand for strengthened Security Council accountability has been put forward quite vigorously in the context of individualized UN sanctions regimes. This accountability gap was effectively created when the heavily critiqued Security Council policy to impose comprehensive sanctions transmuted into designs of targeted sanctions regimes in the 1990s. The traditional procedures and accountability mechanisms that controlled the comprehensive sanctions against states were overall political and diplomatic in nature and not considered fit for the new sanctions paradigm which had the individual rather than the state as its core focus. The shift to targeted sanctions thus required fresh thinking about and new approaches to Security Council accountability. This article examines issues of Security Council accountability in relation to individualized UN sanctions regimes. It particularly assesses and appraises the role of external forces in bringing about change within the UN system, with a focus on the ECJ and its Kadi case. While acknowledging the multiple positive effects that the Kadi case has had in terms of triggering innovations at UN level, the article presents the argument that peripheral litigation may not always be sufficiently sensitive to intricacies and limits of a more global and centralized organization and it may not take full account of the systemic implications of its judgment beyond the concrete confines of the case that is being adjudicated. More concretely regarding the external effects of the Kadi II judgment, it is posited that the ECJ's principled, or perhaps hegemonic, approach and its non-negotiable commitment to high standards of judicial review might actually have negative repercussions for broader attempts to foster accountability processes across all UN sanctions regimes. By way of conclusion, some afterthoughts are offered regarding the focus that is needed in ongoing and future sanctions accountability discussions which go beyond Kadi and the 1267/1989 Al Qaeda counter-terrorism sanctions regime.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Huck-ju Kwon and Eunju Kim

**Poverty Reduction and Good Governance: Examining the Rationale of the Millennium Development Goals in Development and change**, Vol. 45, n°2 , 353-375

Whilst the deadline for achieving the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) looms large, the outcomes so far have been mixed. This article examines the policy logic that 'good governance' leads to poverty reduction, which has been adopted by international agencies in pursuit of the MDGs. This causal relationship is examined through an empirical panel-data estimation using Worldwide Governance Indicators and the poverty headcount ratio in ninety-eight countries. The empirical evidence does not support the hypothesis that good governance leads to poverty reduction. Good governance alleviates poverty only in middle-income countries, not in least developed ones. These findings point to the necessity to devise policies that address poverty directly, rather than through indirect instruments, and highlight the urgent need to address structural inequality in developing countries.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Laucci Cyril

**Quand le droit anglo-saxon s'impose  
in Monde Diplomatique (Le)**, Avril

<http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/2014/04/LAUCCI/50300>

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Sara Holmgren

**REDD+ in the making: Orders of knowledge in the climate–deforestation nexus**  
in *Environmental Science & Policy* , Vol. 33 , 369-377

In this paper REDD+ is understood as a global forest governance arrangement in the making. Through the sociology of knowledge approach to discourse (SKAD) the production of REDD+ discourse in four REDD+ programmes is explored by means of 14 documents. The programme texts are regarded as influential discursive practices performed by the programme hosts who draw on existing discourses and institutional–organisational infrastructures, while simultaneously producing subjects, objects and activities with different rights, responsibilities and values. The results demonstrate a process of discursive ordering of knowledge, forest use and forest dependence where the programme hosts form a common understanding of the interrelationships between climate mitigation, adaptation, poverty reduction, and tropical deforestation. As a consequence, the programmes bias action towards transformation of forest sectors as a step towards greening economies in tropical forested developing countries. The analysis demonstrates how the programme hosts produce a narrative where they themselves become key agents facilitating change, while forest dependent local communities are classified as subjects of necessary change. The focus on local dependent communities in effect obscures more distant causes that are not associated with local livelihoods. This narrative resembles the 1980s narrative on tropical deforestation, where farmers and slash and burn practices were considered the main cause of deforestation.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Constance L. McDermott

**REDDuced: From sustainability to legality to units of carbon—The search for common interests in international forest governance**  
in *Environmental Science & Policy* , Vol. 35 , 12-19

This paper examines the institutional history of international forest governance, from the emergence of global intergovernmental forestry forums, to non-state market-based certification schemes, to regional illegal logging initiatives, to Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Degradation and forest enhancement (REDD+) under the UNFCCC. It observes how the early initiatives were criticised for their failure to achieve coordinated and widespread action on forest conservation due to a lack of economic incentives and conflict over environmental and social priorities. This failure has been proceeded by a narrowing of core focus across each successive institution—from sustainability to legality to units of carbon—thereby transforming forest conservation into an increasingly legible and tradable commodity. Indeed, a wide range of environmental, economic and social actors appear to share the goal of making forest management more globally legible.

This narrowing of focus, however, has served to displace rather than resolve a large array of environmental and social conflicts. The issues have been displaced across both space and time, generating a growing plethora of institutions involved in defining REDD+ modalities and “safeguards”, including various UN bodies and programmes, international development banks, private certification schemes and national and subnational governments. Meanwhile there is little evidence of whether, where and how these efforts might affect forest change. In fact, the largest impact of REDD+ may ultimately be the production of information to facilitate exchange among states, investors and other actors rather than



achievement of shared global forest goals.

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Cesáreo Gutiérrez Espada and María José Cervell Hortal

**Sobre la propuesta francesa (2013) de reforma del derecho de veto en el Consejo de Seguridad**

in *Revista Espanola de Derecho Internacional*, vol. 66, n. 1 , 324-331

No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Cellamare Giovanni

**Sui rapporti tra NU e organizzazioni regionali per il mantenimento della pace in Africa**

in *Studi sull'integrazione europea*, anno IX, n. 1, gennaio-aprile , 35-56

No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Paes Wolf-Christian

**Südsudan: Die Tragödie als Chance?**

in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, Februar, 2014 , 29-32

Seit Mitte Dezember herrscht wieder Krieg im Südsudan – nur zweieinhalb Jahre nach Gründung des jungen Staates im Juli 2011. Nachdem es in der Hauptstadt Juba zunächst nur eine Auseinandersetzung zwischen Soldaten unterschiedlicher Volksgruppen gegeben hatte, griffen die Kämpfe innerhalb weniger Tage auf weite Landesteile über. Die südsudanesische Regierung um Präsident Salva Kiir wirft dem ehemaligen Vizepräsidenten Riek Machar vor, zusammen mit anderen Abtrünnigen aus dem Führungszirkel der Staatspartei SPLM (Sudan People's Liberation Movement) einen Militärputsch geplant zu haben. Eine Reihe von hochrangigen Politikern wurde verhaftet, Riek Machar selbst gelang die Flucht.

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Onderco Michal

**Tell Me What You Want'': Analyzing the Visegrád Countries' Votes in the UN General Assembly**

in *East European Politics and Societies*, vol. 28, n. 1, February , 63-83

This article sets out to study the voting pattern of the Visegrád countries in the United Nations General Assembly, since the beginning of their respective memberships, analyzing their voting affinity with the Soviet Union (Russia) and the United States. Somewhat predictably, Visegrád countries tended to be closer to the Soviet Union during the Cold War.



Surprisingly though, the pattern does not change drastically after the end of the Cold War, and Visegrád countries still tend to vote more closely with Russia than with the United States. Equally striking is the fact that Visegrád countries tend to vote almost identically, without any changes given domestic political changes. Pattern of higher agreement with Russia than with the United States can be seen also when inspecting the voting of all EU members. Such finding is relevant for the study of the geopolitical transformation of the Central European region, but also wider geopolitical dynamics in the UN General Assembly.

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*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Michal Onderco, Barbora Hola and Stijn Ruiters

**Testing Detachment of International Criminal Tribunals: Empirical Evidence from the ICTY in Transnational Legal Theory**, vol. 4, issue 3 , 396-418

International criminal tribunals (ICTs) constitute one of the primary examples of international institutions vested with undisputable international authority. The decisions of ICTs are final, binding on the parties to the proceedings and cannot be overturned politically. Given the proliferation of ICTs and their increased significance in current international politics, it is important to examine how international criminal judges exercise this authority. Is the exercise of such authority biased toward their homeland's political interests? This question is yet to be answered in both international criminal legal research and international relations research. Using non-hierarchical multi-level modelling, we examine the sentencing decision-making of judges at the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY). Our analysis indicates that judges act as independent actors, and are not biased in the exercise of their authority.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Alana Tiemessen

**The International Criminal Court and the politics of prosecutions in International Journal of Human Rights (The)**, vol. 18, issue 4-5 , 444-461

I assess the credibility of the International Criminal Court (ICC) as an impartial and independent institution by demonstrating how state behaviour towards the Court has politicised prosecutions. There are two mechanisms by which prosecutions have become politicised: the referrals of conflict situations to the ICC by political actors, i.e. States Parties to the Rome Statute and United Nations Security Council, and the prospect and degree of state cooperation with the Court. Consequently prosecutions have targeted only one side of the conflict and reflect the strategic political interests of the referring actors but promise a greater degree of state cooperation. The case studies selected here present variation in the nature of referrals and degree of cooperation, making for an instructive comparison and revealing an identifiable pattern of politicisation.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Eckstein Gabriel, Sindico Francesco

**The Law of Transboundary Aquifers: Many Ways of Going Forward, but Only One Way of Standing Still in Review of European Community & International Environmental Law**, Volume 23, Issue 1, Special Issue: International





Water Law, April , 32-42

The international community has been considering international legal norms and policies for the management of transboundary aquifers for more than ten years. In 2008, the International Law Commission provided a framework with the adoption of the Draft Articles on the Law of Transboundary Aquifers, which are now formally annexed to a United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) Resolution. Since 2008, the topic of the law of transboundary aquifers has thrice been placed on the agenda of the UNGA Sixth Committee with a specific mandate to discuss the future form of the Draft Articles. This article explores the options before the international community regarding the future form of the Draft Articles and considers the possible advantages and disadvantages of each option. The article also discusses the extent to which the actual form of the Draft Articles matters in itself, or whether their impact ultimately will depend on other factors

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*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Blumenau Bernhard

**The Other Battleground of the Cold War: The UN and the Struggle against International Terrorism in the 1970s**  
in *Journal of Cold War Studies*, Volume 16, Issue 1 - Winter , 61-84

The 1970s are often associated with East-West détente, talks about the limitation of nuclear and conventional forces, the emergence of the Third World as an increasingly important factor in international relations, and the subsequent erosion of détente and deepening of East-West hostility. However, the 1970s were also a high-water mark of international terrorism—particularly terrorism emanating from the Middle East—and this threat generated action on the part of the leading Western countries. The United Nations (UN) could have been an important forum in which to address this threat and develop responses, but the UN was paralyzed by the differences not only between the Western countries and the Soviet bloc but also between the West and the Third World. The definition of “terrorism” was a particular bone of contention. Nevertheless, despite this inauspicious environment, some achievements proved feasible because of a changing international context that was increasingly hostile to terrorism and the persistence and diplomatic skills of some Western countries, notably West Germany.

[http://www.mitpressjournals.org/doi/pdf/10.1162/JCWS\\_a\\_00431](http://www.mitpressjournals.org/doi/pdf/10.1162/JCWS_a_00431)

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Meierhenrich Jens

**The Practice Of International Law: A Theoretical Analysis**  
in *Law and contemporary problems*, Volume 76, Numbers 3 & 4 , 1-81



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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Abel S. Knottnerus

**The Security Council and the International Criminal Court: The Unsolved Puzzle of Article 16**  
in *Netherlands International Law Review*, vol. 61, issue 2 , 195-224

Article 16 is one of the most contested provisions of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court. It authorizes the Security Council to suspend the Court's investigations and prosecutions for a renewable period of twelve months, but does not define the circumstances under which the Council should issue a deferral. In 2013, Kenya and the African Union requested the Council to postpone the trials of President Kenyatta and Vice-President Ruto, but without success. Like with previous deferral requests, such as for President Al-Bashir, the international community turned out to have very different ideas about when Article 16 should be invoked. In light of the unsuccessful deferral requests of African states as well as the ongoing debate about the Court's complicated relationship with the Council, this paper examines the legal and political threshold of Article 16. The first part of the paper provides an overview of the conditions and consequences of a valid deferral, and discusses the four references that the Council has made to Article 16. The second part deconstructs the existing disagreement within the international community on when the Council should use its deferral powers.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Hurd Ian

**The UN Security Council and the International Rule of Law**  
in *Chinese Journal of International Politics (The)*, Volume 7 Issue 3 , 361-379

This article considers the relationship between international law and the UN Security Council. The practical power of the Council is constituted at the intersection of its legal framing, its political legitimacy, and the interests of powerful states. This sometimes means the Council has less power than is assigned to it by the UN Charter, but it often means that it has more. It is clear that the Council sits within the international legal system, the legal limits on its action are interpreted in light of prior Council practice, and thus the meaning of 'compliance' and 'violation' of the Charter changes over time. Some transgressions of the Charter are understood as informal amendments to it; others are seen as threats to international peace and security that impel enforcement action. This ambiguity in the law and practice of the United Nations is inherent in the idea of the 'international rule of law'. The Council straddles the unstable boundary between international law and politics, both undermining and reinforcing the distinction between them.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Young John W.

**The United Kingdom and the Negotiation of the 1969 New York Convention on Special Missions**  
in *International History Review (The)*, Volume 36, Issue 1 , 171-188

During 1968–9, members of the United Nations, meeting in the Legal Committee of the General Assembly, negotiated a



Convention on Special Missions, sometimes known as the New York Convention, setting out the privileges and immunities of ad hoc embassies between states. The negotiation was part of a process through which the UN sought to clarify the status and rights of official representatives, so that diplomacy could function with security and certainty. This article looks at the role of one leading power, the United Kingdom, in the talks. It explores how British interests were defined, the tactics used to secure them and how London came to terms with pressure from other states to redefine its approach. The focus is on the overall political thrust of the British negotiating position, as formulated mainly by the Foreign Office, rather than the detailed talks on such thorny issues as tax avoidance and diplomatic property. The article shows that, while London was keen to see a codification of diplomatic law, cold-war considerations made it less than enthusiastic about an upsurge in the number of special missions that the New York Convention might encourage.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Jan Willem den Besten, Bas Arts, Patrick Verkooijen

**The evolution of REDD+: An analysis of discursive-institutional dynamics**  
in *Environmental Science & Policy* , Vol. 35 , 40-48

Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation (REDD+) is a policy that developed under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) and is based on the idea that climate funds and carbon markets can be used to incentivise developing countries to reduce tropical deforestation. This paper analyses the development of REDD+ from 2004 to 2011 through Discursive Institutional Analysis (DIA). DIA seeks to analyse how new discourses become institutionalised in plans, regulations and guidelines, while including and excluding issues, (re)defining topics, and (re)shaping human interactions. The analysis of policy documents and 32 in depth interviews with actors involved in the climate negotiations illustrates how discursive and institutional dynamics influenced each other. Competing discourse coalitions struggled over the definition and scope of REDD+, the use of markets and funds, and the issue of social and environmental safeguards. The rapid development of the REDD+ discourse has nonetheless culminated in new institutional arrangements. The working of a 'discursive-institutional spiral' is revealed where discourse coalitions respond to the inclusion and exclusion of ideas in institutions and practices. The institutional contexts at the same time shape the boundaries within which actors can bring in new ideas and concepts.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Kiai Maina, Vize Jeff

**Three years after Tunisia: thoughts and perspectives on the rights to freedom of assembly and association**  
in *Journal of Global Ethics*, Volume 10, Issue 1, 2014 , 114-121

Abstract

Roughly three years after the creation of his mandate, United Nations Special Rapporteur Maina Kiai reflects on the global state of assembly and association rights. Although the mandate was created against the backdrop of shrinking space for civil society, a massive and growing global protest movement has grabbed most of the headlines since 2011. Kiai argues that the mandate has made a measurable impact – it has helped raise awareness of repressive NGO laws, provided technical assistance to governments to strengthen assembly and association rights and developed soft law. But perhaps, the most important work of the mandate has been its contribution to a better understanding of just how



important the rights to freedom of peaceful assembly and association are. Assembly and association rights are a powerful tool to promote dialog, pluralism, broadmindedness, tolerance and civic participation; they satisfy people's fundamental desire to take control of their own destinies. And if anything, the past few years have taught us that the worst turmoil comes when this desire is suppressed. When people are denied something so fundamental, rage inevitably follows. When people have no outlet for that rage, it can ultimately manifest itself as something much more chaotic than a street protest.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

**Ilgit Asli, Ozkececi-Taner Binnur**

**Turkey at the United Nations Security Council: 'Rhythmic Diplomacy' and a Quest for Global Influence in Mediterranean Politics**, Volume 19, Issue 2 , 183-202

An important component of Turkey's 'pivotal regional power' status was its non-permanent seat at the UN Security Council in 2009–11. By focusing on two cases – the 2010 flotilla incident and the Iranian nuclearization – this study examines (1) Turkey's regional and global leadership role at the UN Security Council and (2) how the 'rhythmic diplomacy' principle of Turkey's foreign policy is exercised internationally. This paper also demonstrates that Turkey's policy of cooperation with other pivotal states signals possible future alliances among rising middle powers that might challenge western preferences on important issues. This study is timely as Turkey is seeking, again, non-permanent membership in the Security Council for the 2015–16 term.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

**Prott Volker**

**Tying up the loose Ends of national Self-Determination: british, french and american Experts in Peace Planning, 1917-1919**

**in Historical Journal (The)**, Volume 57 - Issue 03 - september , 727-250

This article examines Allied peace planning during the latter stages of the First World War by comparing and connecting the British, French, and American expert groups. These academic experts were expected to apply the publicly announced programme of national self-determination to the local realities in Europe without losing sight of their governments' geopolitical directives. Contacts and exchanges between the three groups, largely neglected in the literature, played a crucial role in shaping the experts' work. At the same time, persisting national suspicion and the fragile institutional position of the experts prevented open debate on the precise meaning of national self-determination and thereby forestalled the development of a coherent Allied peace programme. This shortcoming would become a serious burden for the negotiations at the Paris Peace Conference and the early interwar period, in that it led to growing frustration and undermined Allied commitment to the Paris peace treaties.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

**Michelle Benson and Jacob D. Kathman**

**United Nations Bias and Force Commitments in Civil Conflicts**



in *Journal of Politics (The)*, Volume 76 - Issue 02 , 350-363

A sizeable literature has been devoted to determining the effectiveness of United Nations (UN) peacekeeping in ending civil wars. Much less work has attempted to improve our understanding of the force-level commitments made by the UN to ongoing conflicts. We systematically address the issue of UN force commitments to civil conflicts and their relation to conflict hostility. Specifically, we posit that UN force deployments are a product of UN Security Council (UNSC) bias in favor of or against individual conflict factions and the battlefield performance of those combatants. To test our arguments, we employ newly collected data on UNSC resolution bias, monthly peacekeeping personnel commitments, and dynamic monthly-conflict conditions for African civil conflicts over the 1991–2008 period. We find that bias in UNSC resolutions is an important determinant of UN troop-deployment levels when its preferred side is sustaining higher casualties. These findings have important implications for peacekeeping effectiveness.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Bello Akeem Olajide

**United Nations and African Union Conventions on Corruption and Anti-corruption Legislations in Nigeria: A Comparative Analysis**

in *African Journal of International and Comparative Law*, 22.2

No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Jacob D. Kathman

**United Nations peacekeeping personnel commitments, 1990–2011**

in *Conflict Management and Peace Science* , Vol. 30, n°5 , 532-549

This paper presents new data on personnel commitments to United Nations peacekeeping operations from 1990 to 2011. For every operation during this period, data on the number of deployed troops, police and military observers are coded at the monthly level. Additionally, the number of each personnel type contributed by every UN member state is recorded. These data offer opportunities for testing theories of peacekeeping and conflict processes and present research avenues for which data have hitherto not existed. Herein, I introduce the data and coding processes, present trends, illustrate prospects for research that could benefit from these data and provide an empirical application.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Angel Hsu, Ainsley Lloyd, John W. Emerson

**What progress have we made since Rio? Results from the 2012 Environmental Performance Index (EPI) and Pilot Trend EPI**

in *Environmental Science & Policy* , Vol. 33 , 171-185

This paper demonstrates how quantitative indicators and indices of environmental performance help gauge progress



toward global policy goals identified as priorities two decades ago. This study uses the most recent performance and trend data from the 2012 Environmental Performance Index (EPI) and Trend EPI to answer two main questions: What progress has been made on the environmental issues identified by high-level leaders at the Rio Earth Summit in 1992 and subsequently in the Millennium Development Goal 7 (MDG7)? What are some of the factors that can help to explain differences in performance on these issues? To answer these questions, this paper introduces pared-down versions of the 2012 EPI and Trend EPI indices to evaluate performance and progress over the last decade on the five policy categories related to objectives specified in MDG7: Water (Effects on Human Health), Biodiversity and Habitat, Forestry, Fisheries, and Climate Change and Energy. The results presented in this paper demonstrate that progress on the MDG7 environmental goals is uneven – by country, region, and issue. While income, social development, and institutional factors explain some of these differences, we suggest that variable global environmental performance can partly be attributed to challenges within the processes and institutions of the MDGs.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Loveday Hodson

**Women's Rights and the Periphery: CEDAW's Optional Protocol  
in *European Journal of International Law*, vol. 25, issue 2 , 561-578**

This article places the UN Women's Committee at its centre in order to consider the normative implications of having a space within the realm of international law that is headed by women decision-makers, whose remit is specifically gendered and whose task is to uphold the rights of women. It suggests that the Committee's importance has largely been overlooked, which is a considerable oversight. The Committee is uniquely positioned to contribute to the transformation of human rights norms, occupying, as it arguably does, positions simultaneously at the centre and at the periphery of international law. In particular, this article examines the jurisprudence that has emerged under the individual complaints procedure of the Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and questions how far the Committee has been able to develop women's rights in recent years into a body of law that departs from the normative and structural limitations of international human rights laws.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Tazzioli Martina

**'People not of our concern'**

in *Radical Philosophy*, Issue 184, Mar/Apr 2014 , 2-6

The full text is free:

<http://www.radicalphilosophy.com/commentary/people-not-of-our-concern>

'We stay here and we don't move.' This is the refrain in the Choucha refugee camp among those who have been stranded there, in the desert, since 2011. 'Rejected' and 'non-resettled refugees' are the categories through which these migrant stories have been sorted. They are also the terms that determine the UN Refugee Agency's (UNHCR) 'degree of concern'. According to UNHCR's commissioners, interviewed last year in Zarzis, rejected refugees 'are not people of our concern any more, so it's not our problem what they do with their lives. They are not vulnerable or at risk, it is their





life, we are not responsible for them and it's not our fault if they die going to Italy by boat.' For the same reason, they have also been omitted from the UNHCR's reports and statistics. Categorized as 'rejected refugees' and thus pushed beyond the scope of any humanitarian gaze, the people in Choucha are an invisible presence in Tunisian space...

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system*

Alain Karsenty, Aurélie Vogel, Frédéric Castell

**"Carbon rights", REDD+ and payments for environmental services**  
in *Environmental Science & Policy*, Vol. 35, 20-29

Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation (REDD+) has become a central dimension of the contemporary international forest regime. The mechanism seeks to reward actors for keeping or restoring forests as a means to reduce carbon emissions. Carbon rights, here understood as title to carbon credits, have an odd status in the REDD+ debate. They are closely associated with the belief that REDD+ will generate (economic) "rents" – i.e. revenues exceeding the full cost of the corresponding effort – which means framing the discussion in terms of entitlement to revenues beyond mere financial compensations. We suggest that, in an "ideal" REDD+ scheme, the possibility of obtaining rents in REDD+ would be very limited. In the real world, rent could be created by strategic behaviours by setting a reference emission level (what would occur under a business-as-usual scenario) and by possible acceptance, for political reasons, of inappropriate rules such as being remunerated for the full stock of carbon. The carbon rights rhetoric leads to rent-seeking since remunerations could be disconnected from the active contribution to the production of emission reductions, which is a public good by nature. Another interpretation of carbon rights is the right to benefit from the sale of carbon credits, a framework within which what is at stake is sharing the benefits deriving from the human production and the sale of these benefits, a traditional social issue. In this case, we argue, the concept of carbon rights is useless and even misleading. Compensating for easements would be a more appropriate framework for designing incentive schemes such as payments for environmental services (PES). Reforming land tenure codes to allow individuals, families and communities to claim property or collective tenure rights on the land and the trees is the issue that matters in order to start tackling fairness in REDD+ and PES initiatives.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations*

Toohey Lisa

**Accession as Dialogue: Epistemic Communities and the World Trade Organization**  
in *Leiden Journal of International Law*, Volume 27 - Issue 02, 397 - 418

Accession to the World Trade Organization (WTO) is viewed as a major step in the development of a state, and the commitments made by acceding states are often interpreted as a symbolic commitment to international economic and political community. However, as a subject of scholarship, WTO accession is under-theorized – there has been no sustained academic attempt to build a theory that accounts for the complexity of the accession process. Traditional, positivist approaches can point to increasingly onerous terms of accession, but fail to probe past Article XII's one-dimensional concept of 'the acceding state' negotiating with 'the WTO'. This perspective dislocates the accession process from the broader political, economic, and legal reforms that involve both state and non-state actors. This article examines the role of these actors as epistemic communities, and argues that these epistemic communities engage in a



series of dialogues about the nature of law and the legal system in the acceding state.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations*

Steta Annick

**Comment relancer l'Organisation mondiale du commerce ?**

in *Revue des deux mondes*, mars

L'accord signé à Bali, le 7 décembre 2013, par les représentants des 159 pays membres de l'Organisation mondiale du commerce (OMC), a sauvé le cycle de négociations entamé à Doha le 1er janvier 2002. Pendant plus de dix ans, le round de Doha est allé d'échec en échec: les discussions entre les parties prenantes ont achoppé sur de nombreux points, dont le refus des pays avancés de renoncer à subventionner leur agriculture. Afin d'augmenter les chances d'obtenir un accord lors de la conférence ministérielle de Bali, le directeur général de l'OMC, Roberto Azevêdo, a fait sortir les sujets les plus épineux du champ des négociations. Le « paquet de Bali » couvre -essentiellement des questions relatives à la « facilitation des échanges » : une série de simplifications, d'harmonisations et de standardisations des procédures douanières.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations*

Asensio Angel Miguel

**Desequilibrios territoriales y disparidades regionales en un contexto federal**

in *Cuaderno de federalismo*, vol. XXVI , 171-186

No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations*

Aaronson Susan Ariel, Abouharb M. Rodwan

**Does the WTO help member states improve governance?**

in *World Trade Review*, Volume 13 - Issue 03 - luglio 2014 , 547-582

On 16 December 2011, Russia gained the approval of 153 other member states to join the World Trade Organization (WTO). During its arduous eighteen-year accession, Russian officials reformed a wide range of laws and policies that could affect trade.<sup>1</sup> Russia made these changes because senior Russian officials believed that improved governance would pay off in greater foreign investment, and that investment in turn would stimulate economic growth.<sup>2</sup> President Vladimir Putin acknowledged 'countries compete in the attractiveness of their business climate ... quality of state institutions and effectiveness of the court and legal system'. Ivan Tchakarov, chief economist at the Russian brokerage



Renaissance Capital, asserted 'By becoming a WTO member, Russia will have to import ... rules and regulations that will address the very issues that foreign investors usually complain about, like corruption, the protection of minority shareholders, the independence of the judiciary

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations*

Bum Kim Jong

**Entrenchment of regionalism: WTO legality of MFN clauses in preferential trade agreements for goods and services**

in *World Trade Review*, Volume 13 - Issue 03 - luglio 2014 , 443-470

The most favoured nation (MFN) clauses in preferential trade agreements (PTAs) under GATT Article XXIV or under GATS Article V entrench the preferential trade relations between the PTA parties because the trade liberalization in future PTAs with third parties will be constrained by the existing PTA MFN clauses. Trade liberalization based on PTA MFN clauses cannot be considered part of the internal trade liberalization required by GATT Article XXIV:8 or GATS Article V:1. The exclusionary effects caused by trade liberalization through PTA MFN clauses increase the burden on trade with third parties. As a result, PTA MFN clauses do not meet the necessity test under the Appellate Body's decision in Turkey–Textiles, as reasonable alternatives to the PTA MFN clauses are available. For these reasons, PTA MFN clauses fail the requirements for legal defences under GATT Article XXIV or GATS Article V for their violations of the general MFN clauses under GATT Article I and GATS Article II. For those products or services subject to existing PTA MFN clauses, any preferential liberalization based on PTA MFN clauses should be accorded non-discriminatory to all WTO members in accordance with GATT Article I or GATS Article II.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations*

Malcolm Campbell-Verduyn & Tony Porter

**Experimentalism in European Union and global financial governance: interactions, contrasts, and implications**  
in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 21, Issue 3 2014 , 408-429

Evidence of substantial experimental governance has been found in a variety of areas of European Union (EU) governance. However the relationship between experimentalism in the EU and global governance remains unclear. Is experimentalist governance an advantage or a disadvantage for the EU in its interactions with global regulatory arrangements? This contribution examines the experimentalist character of EU financial governance and its interactions with the International Monetary Fund, the Basel Committee on Banking Supervision and the International Financial Reporting Standards governance institutions. Our analysis suggests that experimentalism provides advantages for the EU in areas of global governance that are themselves experimentalist. This argument challenges more conventional approaches that view bureaucratically centralized power as always necessary for the successful promotion of interests and attainment of influence at the global level. Since some governance problems require detailed harmonized rule implementation at single points in time, we also find that experimentalist variation occurs temporally as well as across locations or jurisdictions.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**



*Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations*

Carroll Peter

**Gaining Greater Access to Western European Decision-Makers: a Motive for Australian Membership of the OECD**

in *Australian Journal of Politics & History* , Volume 60, Issue 2, June , 229-240

In weighing Britain's decision to seek membership of the European Economic Community Australian scholars have focussed attention on its adverse impact on Anglo-Australian and EU-Australian relations, and the emphasis that Australia thereafter placed upon economic relations with Asia. This article identifies a consequence of Britain's decision which has largely escaped attention: the part it played in stimulating Australia's successful 1969 application for membership of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development. Although Australia's interest in the increased access to West European decision-makers that the OECD would provide dates to the latter 1940s and 1950s, the British application for membership of the EEC added particular weight to those arguing that Australia should seek OECD membership. It led to an extension of Australian activities in Western Europe which was not extinguished by the growing emphasis on relations with the Asian region.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations*

Chandran Nair

**If Asia Wants to Prosper, Don't Listen to the IMF**

in *New Perspectives Quarterly*, Vol. 31, Issue 2, April , 63-65

The great story of the last decade has been the “rise of the rest”—emerging economies such as China, Brazil, Turkey and India—to a position rivaling that of the established, advanced economies. As the aftershocks of the financial crisis of 2008–2009 continue to ripple through the global system, will the rising rest stay on track or be derailed? Some of the world's top economists examine this question in the following section.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations*

Loewen Howard

**Institutional Interplay between the Chiang Mai Initiative and the International Monetary Fund**

in *European Journal of East Asian Studies* , Volume 13, Issue 1, 2014 , 50 – 67

This paper argues that the emergence and implementation of an international institution can only be fully understood if it is seen as part of a larger regime complex. It analyses the establishment of the Chiang Mai Initiative (CMI), a regional financial arrangement in East Asia, by focusing on its interplay with the International Monetary Fund (IMF). It will be argued that four factors play a major role in the CMI's interactions within the financial regime complex: the lack of a clean slate, forum shopping, legal inconsistencies and the politics of implementation.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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Segura-SerranoAntonio

**International Economic Law at a Crossroads: Global Governance and Normative Coherence**  
in *Leiden Journal of International Law*, Volume 27 - Issue 03 , 677 - 700

International economic law (IEL) is now at a crossroads regarding the reconfiguration of the international economic order. Many scholars regard the multilateral trading system as a major legal achievement and agree that the World Trade Organization (WTO) has performed as expected with respect to the 2008 crisis. By contrast, the recent financial crisis has demonstrated the inability of the international financial architecture to ensure financial stability. However, this article will review the strength of the multilateral trading system and the challenges that it now faces regarding its main goal (the stability of trade relations). A material reform in the mode of a horizontal expansion in order to protect societal values other than trade liberalization seems to be needed if we want the WTO to be up to the tasks and demands flowing from global governance. Similarly, this article will analyse the current structure of the international financial system as well as the elements that would need to be changed in order to achieve the aim of financial stability. To accomplish that end, an institutional reform in the mode of a vertical expansion of IEL is proposed. Global governance and normative coherence have been used as the theoretical tools to unveil the similarities stemming from the functions performed and the need for transformation that both areas of IEL have in common. The reform proposals submitted for both areas of law would introduce a meaningful step from negative regulation towards a more positive approach to regulation.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations*

Hélène Ruiz Fabri

**Is There a Case – Legally and Politically – for Direct Effect of WTO Obligations?**

in *European Journal of International Law*, vol. 25, issue 1 , 151-173

WTO law does not require its direct effect in domestic legal orders. Whilst the stances taken in these are diverse, showing that direct effect is not denied on the whole to WTO law, all the major trading members of the WTO deny it. The fact that, in a case where a WTO member does not comply and is targeted by trade sanctions, the economic actors who in practice bear the burden of these sanctions are deprived of any recourse, may be considered unfair enough to question again the denial of direct effect. The analysis focuses notably on the EU where the debate has expanded more than anywhere else and concludes that direct effect should, even in the name of fairness or justice, be handled with caution.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations*

Kevin Young

**Losing abroad but winning at home: European financial industry groups in global financial governance since the crisis**



in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 21, Issue 3 2014 , 367-388

This contribution examines the role of European Union (EU) financial industry groups in global financial governance. I examine the extent to which EU-based financial industry groups are able to have their preferences met at different stages in the making of three different global banking regulatory policies which were part of the Basel III reforms. I find significant variation in their level of success – not across policies but across levels of governance. Specifically I find that the ability of these groups to affect either the global policy agenda or the specific content of new regulatory rules has been inconsistent and often quite weak, despite considerable structural power resources at their disposal and concerted advocacy campaigns. Where these groups have been more successful is in addressing the implementation phase, specifically EU-level implementation of these global regulatory policies. Such findings have implications not only for how we understand the power of EU financial industry groups in global governance generally, but also for more specific theoretical interventions on the role of market size, regulatory centralization and the structural power of firms.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations*

Maria Panezi

**Mapping the Territory: Contextual Jurisprudence, Legal Pluralism and WTO Law and Development**  
in *Transnational Legal Theory*, vol. 4, issue 4 , 574-606

In this article, I respond to Twining's lecture, 'Globalisation and Legal Scholarship'. Through an overview of the effect these changes had on the WTO I will describe how a lawyer or scholar of an 'established transnational field' experienced the phenomenon of globalisation. In the WTO, the question of meaningful integration of developing countries has been central to negotiations in the last two decades. After engaging in a mapping exercise with respect to development in WTO law, I will propose a method for Twining's 'systematic rethinkings' and 'review of the Western Canon': scholars and lawyers need to map their fields and the relevant debates in other disciplines. They should proceed to engage with the alternative rationalities of politics, history and economics that are relevant to their work. Engaging with cross-disciplinary debates has the potential to refine our legal arguments, expose hidden assumptions, reveal blind spots in legal theory and provide innovative solutions to legal problems.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations*

Arlo Poletti, Dirk De Bièvre

**On the effects of the design of international institutions. Judicialization and cooperation in the World Trade Organization**  
in *Rivista Italiana di Scienza Politica*, N.1 , 3-28

In the current multilateral trade regime, members often negotiate under the shadow of World Trade Organization (WTO) law. In this article, we develop a systematic explanation of how the legal vulnerability of members' domestic policies affects the prospects for cooperation in the trade regime. First, we show that contrary to conventional wisdom, increased enforcement does not necessarily make actors shy away from further cooperation. Legal vulnerability can ignite a positive dynamic of cooperation because it can increase the set of feasible agreements between WTO members. Subsequently, we examine how the nature of the issue at stake, that is, whether it can be easily disaggregated into negotiable units, crucially determines whether this positive dynamics of cooperation can take place. We illustrate the





cogency of the argument by way of four in-depth case studies, which illustrate how potential (or actual) defendants and potential (or actual) complainants in WTO disputes responded to the incentives brought about by legal vulnerability and negotiated during the Doha round.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations*

David G. Ortiz, Sergio Béjar

**Participation in IMF-sponsored economic programs and contentious collective action in Latin America, 1980–2007**

*in Conflict Management and Peace Science* , Vol. 30, n°5 , 492-515

This paper investigates the relationship between International Monetary Fund (IMF)-sponsored economic programs and contentious collective action in Latin America from 1980 to 2007, hypothesizing a positive relationship between participation in IMF programs and the likelihood of social protest. Specifically, we suggest that people in recipient countries protest the unpopular IMF mandates not only because of the negative effects that orthodox economic policies have on their livelihood, but mainly because they perceive a loss of legitimacy and question the sovereignty of their domestic governments. That is, deciding to participate in an IMF program can make governments more prone to being perceived as caving in to the pressures of international agents, increasing the likelihood of contentious collective action. Results from two-stage negative binomial selection models provide strong statistical support for our main hypothesis, remaining robust to different specifications of the second-stage equation and other procedures that correct for potential statistical problems.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations*

Hai T. H. Nguyen, Geoff Deverteuil, Neil Wrigley and Kanchana N. Ruwanpura

**Re-Regulation in the Post-WTO Period? A Case Study of Vietnam's Food Retailing Sector**

*in Growth and Change* , Vol. 45, n°2 , 377-396

Academic interest on domestic regulatory (and re-regulatory) impacts of retail foreign direct investment remains surprisingly under-researched, despite high-profile campaigns, particularly in Southeast Asia, to rein in the expansion of retail transnational corporations. This paper focuses on the trends of re-regulation of foreign retailers, particularly in the food sector, in Vietnam before and after the accession to the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 2007. The findings reveal a complex layering of regulation, some of it a holdover from the pre-2007 period and some of it occurring since WTO accession, in the form of the controversial Economic Needs Test.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations*

Joel Darmstadter

**Report on Reports: The World Development Report Over the Years**

*in Environment: Science and Policy for Sustainable Development* , May/June 2014

The release of its World Development Report 2014: Risk and Opportunity (with the additional subtitle Managing Risk for



Development) marks the 30th edition of an annual series launched by the World Bank in 1978. (Three of the 36 volumes covered a 2-year time span.) Over the years, with each edition devoted to a special developmental theme (augmented by a set of broad statistical data), the series has proved to be both widely used and, in many respects, deservedly useful. (A nontrivial virtue of the series is its complete online accessibility; go to <http://wdronline.worldbank.org/worldbank/a/browsebytitle>.) The highlighted annual themes have ranged across a diverse array of topics: health, jobs, gender equality, poverty, financial systems, and fertility, among numerous others. With explicit attention to overall environmental challenges in the 1992 World Development Report (hereafter WDR) and explicitly to climate in 2010, environmental aspects of development have begun receiving a respectable amount of exposure in the series. I'll turn to that next.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations*

Ying Liu

**The Applicability of Environmental Protection Exceptions to WTO-Plus Obligations: In View of the China – Raw Materials and China – Rare Earths Cases**

*in Leiden Journal of International Law*, Volume 27 - Issue 01 , 113-139

Recently, two disputes involving China's WTO-plus obligations have attracted great attention: China – Raw Materials and China – Rare Earths. In China – Raw Materials, China resorted to WTO environmental protection exceptions to justify its violation of the export duty elimination obligation outlined in paragraph 11.3 of the Protocol on the Accession of the People's Republic of China, which is clearly a WTO-plus obligation. However, China's recourse was rejected by the panel and then by the Appellate Body, as will probably happen in China – Rare Earths. This article looks into the interpretation and finding of the applicability matter in the DSB reports in China – Raw Materials and further discusses the general applicability issue of environmental protection exceptions to the violation of WTO-plus obligations. As rebuttal to the DSB reports, this article argues that omissions or silence in paragraph 11.3 do not necessarily mean rights waiver, especially when the right involved is the essential right to justify the violation pursuant to environmental protection exceptions provided in Article XX(b) and (g) of the GATT. Also, it is illogical to refer to GATT generally when the WTO-plus obligation in paragraph 11.3 does not have any corresponding rules in GATT. More generally, with consideration of the nature of the environmental protection exceptions in Article XX and the conclusion process of the Protocol, as well as with consideration of the sustainable development objective of the WTO and the politically sensitive matters concerned in China – Raw Materials, China should not be deprived of the right to defend its violation of the export duty obligation in China – Raw Materials. Although the discussion in this article is mainly based on China's WTO-plus obligations, its reasoning may also be extensively applied to that of other acceding members if suitable.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**



*Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations*

Abraham Newman & David Bach

**The European Union as hardening agent: soft law and the diffusion of global financial regulation**  
in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 21, Issue 3 2014 , 430-452

Soft law promulgated by transnational networks is one of the hallmarks of governance in global finance. Standard accounts alternatively view such governance as a fast and flexible solution to transnational problems or weakly institutionalized club standards epiphenomenal to great power interests. We argue that dominant perspectives' view of soft law is misguided, as soft law in global finance cannot be understood in isolation from domestic law. Viewing soft law through the prism of multilevel governance highlights the role European integration in particular plays in 'hardening' soft law provisions, thereby shaping the global diffusion of such standards. As soft law becomes embedded in domestic law, its certainty and durability are enhanced while at the same time its flexibility is reduced. Case studies of the diffusion of international accounting standards and close-out netting rules for over-the-counter derivatives provide empirical support for the importance of domestic law in the global diffusion of soft law.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations*

Joel Darmstadter

**The International Monetary Fund Confronts Global Energy Subsidies**  
in *Environment: Science and Policy for Sustainable Development* , November/December 2013

When was the last time your waiter's tip exceeded the cost of the meal? Such an improbable situation comes to mind as one contemplates the 10-cent-per-gallon cost of filling your car's gas tank in Venezuela—that is, a price less than the tip you may consider handing the service-station attendant. A world gasoline price averaging around \$2.50 per gallon (and three times as much in countries with high motor fuel taxes) gives you a sense of how the Venezuelan government's price control means forfeiting well over \$2 per gallon that could be used for economic development needs, including a long-neglected modernization of the country's oil industry itself.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations*

Yann Simo Regis

**The Law of International Responsibility: The Case of the WTO as a 'Lex Specialis' or the Fallacy of a 'Self-contained' Regime**  
in *African Journal of International and Comparative Law*, 22.2

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations*



Murphy Hannah

**The World Bank and core labour standards: Between flexibility and regulation**  
in *Review of International Political Economy*, Volume 21, Issue 2, 2014 , 399-431

Over the past decade, the World Bank has moved closer to accepting the International Labour Organization's (ILO's) core labour standards (CLS) and, in the process, sought to balance its promotion of labour market flexibility with a new focus on labour market regulation. The Bank's change of approach includes the 2009 decision to review and subsequently remove its labour market flexibility indicator (used to score the extent of labour market flexibility amongst its member-states) from its flagship publication, *Doing Business*. The aim of this article is to chart the softening of the Bank's emphasis on labour market flexibility and distil the contributing factors. With reference to the global financial crisis and the Bank's organizational characteristics, the article evaluates the work of international trade unions and the ILO as agenda-setters and compliance monitors and pro-labour industrialized states as 'insider advocates' in broadening the Bank's commitment to the CLS. The article demonstrates the influential nature of tacit coalitions between state and non-state actors representing a coalescence of normative values and economic interests. The Bank's changing approach to labour markets also contributes new evidence to the emerging, yet tentative, consensus that the neoliberal paradigm is undergoing a rebalancing, rather than an overhaul, in the post-crisis era.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations*

Konkel Rob

**The monetization of global poverty: the concept of poverty in World Bank history, 1944–90**  
in *Journal of Global History*, Volume 9 - Issue 02 - July , 276-300

This article traces the history of the concept of poverty within the institutional framework of the World Bank, from its inception to its establishment of the dollar-a-day global poverty threshold. The Bank's evolving conceptualization of poverty and how it related to the development process affected the policies that were advanced to boost the productivity of underdeveloped countries. Internal and external influences and constraints conditioned the Bank's approach to poverty and its alleviation from the beginning, when poverty was conceived as a political issue beyond the scope of the Bank's mandate. Separating the political implications of poverty alleviation from the Bank's development agenda was tenuous, and by the 1970s a universal, absolute concept of poverty became the focal point of Bank operations. The eventual monetization of global poverty reflected the increasingly technical nature of the Bank's development work and its need for a practical yardstick by which to measure the success of its anti-poverty policies.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations*

Jonathan Trejo-Mathys

**Towards a Critical Theory of the World Trade Organization: Thinking with Rawls beyond Rawls**  
in *Constellations*, Vol. 20, Issue 3, September , 459-482

No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**



*Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations*

Delimatsis Panagiotis

**Transparency in the WTO's Decision-Making**

in *Leiden Journal of International Law*, Volume 27 - Issue 03 , 701 - 726

In almost 20 years of existence, the World Trade Organization (WTO) has managed to be at the forefront of public discussions on international organizations (IOs). Transparency in the WTO decision-making has been on the agenda of the multilateral trading system for several years. Pressures from developing countries, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and the civil society in particular have led to significant improvements towards more openness and participation in the WTO decision-making. This article posits the WTO within the current debates about more institutional transparency in IOs. It discusses the current features of good governance in the WTO decision-making and the consensus rule in particular, in an attempt to identify the pros and cons of this voting tradition in a modern IO. It also discusses the recent selection of the new WTO Director-General. A central insight of the paper is that input and output transparency of the WTO could be further enhanced by increased, managed participation of NGOs. As the WTO is gradually becoming a genuine IO in terms of membership and gets involved in global discussions relating to finance, climate change, or poverty eradication, public scrutiny will only increase and thus improved governance is an irreversible process. However, divergences in the views of WTO Members as to the proper scope of WTO input and output transparency will most probably lead to extended negotiations. Some thoughts about the future prospects of and possible avenues for the WTO system are also identified.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations*

Koopmann Georg, Wittig Stephan

**Whither WTO — the multilateral trading system after Bali**

in *Intereconomics*, Volume 49, Issue 1, January 2014 , Pages 2-3

No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations*

Mark Halle

**World Trade: A new direction**

in *Development*, Vol. 56, n°2 , 185-189

Trade and trade policy will be able to play a positive role in the transition towards sustainable development only if they move out of the dominance of the neo-liberal ideology. This requires the transformation of the WTO from an agent of privilege and profit into a force for an equitable, peaceful, and resilient world

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations*

Lasconjarias Guillaume

**L'Otan, la Fias et le futur des opérations militaires en coalition**

in *Revue Défense Nationale*, n° 769, avril

En rappelant les étapes de la campagne afghane de l'Alliance atlantique qui y a engagé l'Otan pour conduire une coalition finalement infructueuse, l'auteur montre à la fois les limites des engagements opérationnels en coalition et celles d'une structure militaire alliée taillée dans un autre cadre et qui cherche à se perpétuer.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations*

Oxana PACHLOVSKA

**2014, morire per l'Europa**

in *Limes*, n.4

In Ucraina si consuma un nuovo capitolo del plurisecolare scontro tra mondo russo e Occidente. Jevromajdan è il grido d'aiuto di una società che rifiuta l'abbraccio mortale del revanscismo moscovita. Se Putin vince in Crimea, si rischia l'effetto domino.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations*

Daniela Sicurelli & Sergio Fabbrini

**An institutional approach to foreign policy-making: the EU, the USA and crisis management in Africa**

in *Journal of Transatlantic Studies*, Volume 12, Issue 1, 41-61

Since the end of the cold war, the USA and the European Union (EU) have developed different foreign and security policies towards Africa. The USA has prioritised the fight against terrorism, while the EU's foreign policy has been primarily driven by the goal of structural stability. The difference between the two approaches can be partially explained by pointing to the different power resources of the two actors. Nevertheless, these structural differences have not prevented variations in how the two actors have redefined their foreign policy approaches over time and opted for alternative policy instruments. Comparison between the US and EU interventions in Sudan and Somalia shows that domestic factors account for the differences and variations in their respective foreign policy frameworks. This article argues that these differences and variations make the distinction between a 'military America' and a 'civilian power Europe' more nuanced than depicted by the mainstream literature on transatlantic relations.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations*

Helena Carrapico

**Analysing the European Union's responses to organized crime through different securitization lenses**





in *European Security*, Volume 23, Issue 4 , 601-617

In the past 30 years, organized crime (OC) has shifted from being an issue of little, or no concern, to being considered one of the key security threats facing the European Union (EU), the economic and political fabric of its society and its citizens. The purpose of this article is to understand how OC has come to be understood as one of the major security threats in the EU, by applying different lenses of Securitization Theory (ST). More specifically, the research question guiding this article is whether applying different ST approaches can lead us to draw differing conclusions as to whether OC has been successfully securitized in the EU. Building on the recent literature that argues that this theoretical framework has branched out into different approaches, this article wishes to contrast two alternative views of how a security problem comes into being, in order to verify whether different approaches can lead to diverging conclusions regarding the same phenomenon. The purpose of this exercise is to contribute to the further development of ST by pointing out that the choice in approach bears direct consequences on reaching a conclusion regarding the successful character of a securitization process. Starting from a reflection on ST, the article proceeds with applying a “linguistic approach” to the case study, which it then contrasts with a “sociological approach”. The article proposes that although the application of a “linguistic approach” seems to indicate that OC has become securitized in the EU, it also overlooks a number of elements, which the “sociological approach” renders visible and which lead us to refute the initial conclusion.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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**MIGUEL FERNÁNDEZ-PALACIOS**

**Atalanta, primera operación naval de la UE**

in *Política Exterior*, n.160

La intensidad de las acciones de piratería frente a las costas de Somalia, una de las zonas estratégicas para el comercio mundial, la pesca y el tráfico de petróleo, llevó a la Unión Europea a poner en marcha en 2008 la primera operación naval en el marco de la PESD.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations*

**Nicole Koenig**

**Between conflict management and role conflict: the EU in the Libyan crisis**

in *European Security*, Volume 23, Issue 3 , 250-269

This paper assesses the role of the European Union in the Libyan crisis (2011) and critically considers the implications for its evolution as an international security actor. Employing role theory, the paper reviews the historical development of the Union's security actorness and sheds specific light on the balance between self-conception and external expectations in the case of the Libyan crisis. Its central argument is that, despite external expectations and European narratives of a ‘comprehensive power role’, the Libyan crisis showed that the Union still acts in line with its traditional role as a civilian power. The inability to go beyond civilian power stemmed from internal dissonance on a potential hard power role and a corresponding lack of material capabilities. The growing gap between expectations about comprehensive actorness on the one hand and performance on the other is likely to damage the Union's future credibility as an international security actor.



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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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Daniel Marcos

**Between the Atlantic and the Empire: NATO as a framework for Portuguese–American relations in early Cold War (1949-1957)**

in *Journal of Transatlantic Studies* , Volume 12, Issue 3 , 324-341

In April 1949, Portugal, an undemocratic and underdeveloped small country of Western Europe, became one of the 12 founding members of the Atlantic Alliance. The important geopolitical position of the Portuguese Atlantic islands was the main justification for the admission of this authoritarian regime in the Western Alliance. From this moment on, North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) served as a framework for the bilateral relationship between Portugal and the USA. The US interests were fully achieved after the Azores agreement of 1951, since it authorised Washington to use an airbase in the archipelago during peacetime. However, for Lisbon, NATO did not safeguard one of its most important objectives: the maintenance of its colonial empire. As the 1950s evolved, US presence in the Azores and Lisbon's resistance to decolonisation became increasingly interdependent. Portugal quickly understood that the Azores could be a trump card to obtain political leverage from the USA regarding Lisbon's colonial policy. This strategy led to the establishment of a *modus vivendi* in US–Portuguese relations that was based on a thin balance between the interests of both governments.

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Ba&#287;ba&#351;l&#305;o&#287;lu Arif

**Beyond Afghanistan NATO's partnership with Central Asia and South Caucasus: A tangled partnership?**

in *Journal of Eurasian Studies*, vol. 5, n. 1, January , 88-96

This article examines how the Alliance's partnership policy has changed in Central Asia and South Caucasus since the 1990s and aims to clarify to what extent NATO's new partnership policy can affect its relations with these countries. NATO–Russian relations and the Afghanistan operation are evaluated as the main drivers of this process. The target date of the withdrawal of the ISAF combat mission in December 2014, set at the Lisbon Summit 2010, as well as the shifting of the focus of long-term US foreign policy to the Asia-Pacific region and the US aim of balancing China's influence in this region increase the necessity for the Alliance to redefine its future policy towards Central Asia and South Caucasus. The article claims these developments have caused the need to treat Russia more as a partner than a potential competitor in constituting the policy towards Central Asia and South Caucasus. Furthermore the article claims there is no possibility for new Alliance expansion in this part of the world in the short to medium term.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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Sarah B. Snyder

**Beyond containment? The first Bush administration's sceptical approach to the CSCE**

in *Cold War History*, Vol. 13, n°4 , 463-484



This article analyses the first Bush administration's policy toward the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), finding that as with Soviet-American relations and US policy toward Eastern Europe, the administration diverged from the foreign policy of its predecessor. Whereas previously the CSCE had been a forum to encourage progress on human rights, promote reform in Eastern Europe, and encourage cooperation with the Soviet Union, under Bush it became a tool to manage the transformation of Europe and preserve the Atlantic alliance. This new approach was guided by uncertainty about the CSCE's usefulness as a multilateral forum, scepticism about Mikhail Gorbachev's reforms, and a preference for stability.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations*

ABDENUR, Adriana Erthal and SOUZA NETO, Danilo Marcondes de

**Brazil and the cooperation in defense: building a regional identity in the South Atlantic**  
in *Revista Brasileira de Política internacional* , vol.57 no.1 , 05-21

This article analyzes the cooperation that Brazil has been developing across the South Atlantic, showing that Brazil has adopted the role of region-builder, working to construct a South Atlantic identity while it secures for itself a position of preeminence. Such efforts begin to be contested by other actors from within and outside the region.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations*

Alan Collins

**Bringing communities back: Security communities and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations' plural turn**  
in *Cooperation and Conflict*, 49 (2) , 276-291

The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) is building a people-oriented community in Southeast Asia and it has all the hallmarks of a Deutschian security community, with its emphasis on people-to-people contact and the involvement of civil society organisations in the community's creation. In this article the argument is made that it is precisely the involvement of the masses that creates the peace inertia associated with security communities, and thus ASEAN's plural turn is an essential first step in making ASEAN's community a security community. Whether ASEAN can actually do this, and indeed whether the membership are united in this objective, is not the focus for this article. Instead, and contrary to the security community literature, which identifies ASEAN as a non-liberal security community and has emphasised the practice of self-restraint, this article argues that past ASEAN practice has prevented a security community forming in Southeast Asia, and using self-restraint as an explanation for why security communities create dependable expectations of peaceful change for members has resulted in the agency of 'community' being neglected. Hence, this article argues for the need to bring 'community' back.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations*

Alan Collins

**Bringing communities back: Security communities and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations' plural turn**  
in *Cooperation and Conflict*, 49 (2) , 276-291



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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations*

Marijn Hoijtink

**Capitalizing on emergence: The 'new' civil security market in Europe**

*in Security Dialogue*, 45 (5) , 458-475

In recent years, the European Union has supported the development of a new civil security market, capable of providing security technology for new and global security challenges. This article analyses the emerging growth market for civil security in relation to contemporary notions of potential crisis and emergency. Building on ongoing academic analysis of what Melinda Cooper has termed 'economies of emergence', the article points out how the figure of emergence generates investment in more flexible, adaptive and, so it is argued, potentially lucrative markets for civil security. Drawing on observations at a number of security trade shows and stakeholder workshops, the analysis demonstrates that 'civil' aspirations, concepts and technologies build on earlier formulations of military strategic discourse in the so-called Revolution in Military Affairs – though in complex and sometimes contradictory ways. More generally, the motivation behind the analysis is to investigate civil security and civil markets as performative enactments, and so to critically engage with the emergence of the civil security market as a priority in EU policymaking.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations*

Matthias Dembinski & Jutta Joachim

**Civil society and the European common security and defence policy**

*in European Security*, Volume 23, Issue 4 , 449-465

The involvement of civil society organizations (CSOs) is widely regarded by students of the EU's domestic policy fields as enhancing transparency and accountability and, more generally, the democratic quality of political processes. This article explores the contribution of CSOs to the EU's Common Security and Defence Policy and assesses whether a democracy-enhancing effect of their involvement can also be demonstrated for this policy field. We analyse the contribution of CSOs based on two common models of democracy: the intergovernmental and the supranational model of democracy. We find that CSOs are indeed quite actively involved in the EU's security policy. With regard to their democracy-enhancing effects, however, our findings are rather mixed. While the engagement of CSOs does provide a remedy for the democratic deficits associated with intergovernmental decision-making, these organizations do not fully



meet the demands posed by supranational governance.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations*

Chambers Paul

**Constitutional Change and Security Forces in Southeast Asia: Lessons from Thailand and Myanmar**

**in Contemporary Southeast Asia: A Journal of International and Strategic Affairs**, Volume 36, Number 1, April 2014 , 101-127

Achieving civilian control of security forces through constitutional reform processes has been a major challenge for young democracies or democratizing countries in Southeast Asia. In many cases, governments seeking to establish or consolidate civilian control have been faced with coups d'état or the threat of coups. The successful enshrinement of laws reining in security force adventurism has often accompanied compromises which at most provide militaries with considerable latitude in their areas of decision-making or at least protect soldiers from judicial prosecution. Ultimately, the constitutional incorporation of security forces into embedded political life is no easy task. This article examines two country cases of "defective" democracies. In each case, security forces have moved towards becoming more integrated under the constitutions of civilian-led regimes. This study poses four questions. First, how did the institutionalization of security forces under civilian-led constitutions occur? Second, how did these experiences vary? Third, to what extent do these security forces today possess differing degrees of enshrined powers? And fourth, based upon these experiences, how might civilian control be sustained over time? The article argues that constitutional change acceded to by security forces more often than not results from informal bargaining and concessions by civilians. However, the initial bargain can later [End Page 101] transform itself towards more or less security force interventionism depending upon three variables: the heritage of authoritarianism; the relative unity of civilians as opposed to the security forces; and threat environments.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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Raphael Bossong

**EU cooperation on terrorism prevention and violent radicalization: frustrated ambitions or new forms of EU security governance?**

**in Cambridge Review of International Affairs** , Volume 27, Issue 1 , 66-82

No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations*

Jörg Monar

**EU internal security governance: the case of counter-terrorism**

**in European Security**, Volume 23, Issue 2, , 195-209

There are clear indicators that in spite of the sensitivity of internal security in terms of essential state functions and national sovereignty an EU governance framework with specific characteristics has emerged in the counter-terrorism



field. Common threat assessments guide governance responses, and specific institutional structures, cooperation mechanisms, legal instruments, and forms of external action have been put into place to respond to the cross-border nature of the terrorist challenges. However, in line with the general subsidiary role only of the EU as provider of internal security in addition to the Member States, this governance framework remains based on the interaction and cooperation between national counter-terrorist systems and capabilities that remain largely under national control and still enjoy relatively wide margins of discretion in terms of priorities, legal framework, and organization. This analysis concludes that the EU's internal security governance – as evident from the counter-terrorism field – may be best characterized as an advanced institutionalized system of cooperation and coordination between national governance frameworks constructed around a core of common instruments and procedures with a cross-border reach.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations*

**MARK C. FISCHER**

**El desafío de Occidente en Ucrania y más allá**

in *Política Exterior*, n.160

Pese al desequilibrio en cuanto a activos económicos, militares y políticos en favor de EE UU y la UE, Rusia muestra una mayor capacidad de acción en lo que considera sus intereses estratégicos. ¿Qué instrumentos de la relación transatlántica podrían emplearse mejor?

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations*

**Mette Eilstrup-Sangiovanni**

**Europe's Defence Dilemma**

in *International Spectator (The)*, Vol. 49, No. 2

Fifteen years ago, the European Union (EU) launched a Common European Security and Defence Policy (CSDP). Since then, the CSDP has been the focus of a growing body of political and scholarly evaluations. While most commentators have acknowledged shortfalls in European military capabilities, many remain cautiously optimistic about the CSDP's future. This article uses economic alliance theory to explain why EU member states have failed, so far, to create a potent common defence policy and to evaluate the policy's future prospects. It demonstrates, through theoretical, case study-based and statistical analysis, that CSDP is more prone to collective action problems than relevant institutional alternatives, and concludes that the best option for Europeans is to refocus attention fully on cooperation within a NATO framework.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations*

**Bernard E. Brown**

**Europe—and NATO—Are Back**

in *American Foreign Policy Interests*, Volume 36, Issue 3 , 201-209

The Ukrainian crisis has focused attention on the European Union and NATO. Brussels and Moscow have become





powerful symbols of two different ways of politics and life. But the European defense structures built so laboriously over the past two decades have proved irrelevant. Meeting the new threat from the East requires a joint effort by Europeans and Americans—in large measure through NATO. Yet, Ukraine is not a full member of the Alliance, hence is not covered by the Article 5 security assurance. President Putin is intent on increasing Russian power in the world—by creating a Eurasian economic association that will rival the EU, by forming with the EU a pan-European security system to replace NATO, and ultimately by challenging and transforming the U.S.-centered international order. Europe, NATO, and geopolitics are back.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations*

Gorm Rye Olsen

**Fighting terrorism in Africa by proxy: the USA and the European Union in Somalia and Mali in *European Security*, Volume 23, Issue 3 , 290-306**

The French intervention in Mali in early 2013 emphasizes that the decision-makers in Paris, Brussels, and Washington considered the establishment of the radical Islamist regime in Northern Mali a threat to their security interests. The widespread instability including the rise of radical Islamist groups in Somalia was perceived as a threat to western interests. It is the core argument of the paper if western powers decide to provide security in Africa, they will be inclined to use proxy instead of deploying own troops. Security provision by proxy in African means that African troops are doing the actual fighting and peacekeeping on the ground while western powers basically pay the costs, the logistics, and the training of local African troops. The paper concludes that the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) in Somalia and The African-led International Support Mission to Mali (AFISMA) in Mali are proxies for the USA and the European Union.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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Isabelle Ioannides

**Inside-out and Outside-in: EU Security in the Neighbourhood in *International Spectator (The)*, Vol. 49, No. 1**

The EU has increasingly intensified the link between its internal and external security concerns and needs, particularly in relation to its neighbours (the Western Balkans and the southern Mediterranean). This adaptation at legal, institutional, strategic and operational levels has sought to improve the coherence and effectiveness of EU external action. Yet, for the Union to tackle ongoing and new challenges in the immediate neighbourhood with today's financial and political constraints, it must be resourceful. The EU should make 'smart' use of its tools and capitalise on existing assets (reinforce the comprehensive approach, strengthen broad-based dialogue on security in the EU members states, and build relations of trust with third countries) to ensure that reforms in the immediate neighbourhood are sustainable, also for the benefit of long-term EU interests.

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Alice Pannier & Olivier Schmitt



**Institutionalised cooperation and policy convergence in European defence: lessons from the relations between France, Germany and the UK**

in *European Security*, Volume 23, Issue 3 , 270-289

What are the prospects for trilateral concord among Britain, France and Germany in terms of defence policies? Would more institutionalised links among them lead to more convergence of their defence policies? To answer these interrogations, this article investigates the relation between policy convergence and institutionalised cooperation, in particular by studying whether and when one is a prerequisite to the other. First, this article examines the extent to which these countries' defence policies have converged since the end of the cold war based on several indicators: their attitudes towards international forums, their defence budgets, the structure of their armed forces and their willingness to use force. Second, we study each of the bilateral relations between the three states to qualitatively analyse their degree of institutionalisation and the convergence of their defence policies. This article concludes that contrary to the arguments of many discussions, think-tank reports and political actors, there is no evidence that institutionalised cooperation leads to policy convergence as far as defence is concerned.

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**Wolfgang Wagner & Cathleen Kantner**

**Introduction to the forum 'The EU's Common Security and Defence Policy and the challenge of democratic legitimacy beyond the nation-state'**

in *European Security*, Volume 23, Issue 4 , 383-387

The democratic control and legitimacy of the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) has received growing attention. However, thus far, studies have mostly focused on 'blue prints', i.e., the analysis of formal powers of formal institutions, especially the European Parliament. These studies leave two desiderata that the contributions to this forum aim at overcoming: Firstly, in-depth case studies are required on how formal institutions make actual use of their formal powers in CSDP. Secondly, an examination of the 'sociocultural infrastructure' in which formal institutions and decision-making processes are embedded is required. The contributions to this forum redress both deficits. First, the actual practices of parliamentary involvement in the case of the EU's first maritime mission 'Atalanta' are examined. Second, the most important dimensions of the 'sociocultural infrastructure' are empirically studied, namely public opinion, the public sphere and civil society.

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**Stephen Aris & Andreas Wenger**

**Introduction: 'Inside-out/outside-in': constructions and practices of security in regional organizations**

in *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* , Volume 27, Issue 2 , 289-294

No abstract available

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Michael Rühle

**NATO Enlargement and Russia: Discerning Fact from Fiction**  
in *American Foreign Policy Interests*, Volume 36, Issue 4 , 234-239

In justifying Russia's new assertiveness, Russian observers often stress the humiliation that their country has suffered because of the West's many broken promises, including the promise not to enlarge the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) beyond the borders of a reunified Germany. However, all available research on this subject indicates that no legally binding commitments on the West not to extend NATO beyond the borders of a reunified Germany have ever been made, nor has a concrete invitation ever been extended to Russia to join NATO. Moreover, the discussions at the time took place without the voices of the countries in Central and Eastern Europe, which were still members of the Soviet-dominated Warsaw Pact. The alleged Western promises about NATO enlargement thus remain a myth that distracts from the key issue of how to build durable relations between Russia and the West.

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Caja Schleich

**NATO and EU in conflict regulation: interlocking institutions and division of labour**  
in *Journal of Transatlantic Studies* , Volume 12, Issue 2 , 182-205

The article examines the development of the relationship and cooperation of the European Union (EU) and North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in conflict regulation. It states that over three phases these two institutions deepened their relationship in the aspect of an intensification of their cooperation, an adoption of specific functions and a de facto clearer division of labour in conflict regulation. It will analyse whether and to what degree this cooperation and a functional division of labour is based on the functional ascription by member states or more on the activities of the institutions themselves. This comparative study will thereby contribute to a necessary theory-based analysis of the relationship of these two major international security institutions and to a deeper analysis of the inter-institutional cooperation of EU and NATO. Furthermore, it will show the importance of a combined principal- (states) and agent- (institutions) centred approach towards the shaping and explaining of inter-institutional relationships as well as going beyond the simple principal-agent relationship and advancing to the principal-agent-agent relationship.

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Roberto Zadra

**NATO, Russia and Missile Defence**  
in *Survival*, Volume 56, Issue 4 , 51-61

Talks on NATO-Russia missile-defence cooperation were suspended in April during the crisis over Crimea. In retrospect, the window for a real breakthrough had closed some 18 months earlier.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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Reichborn-Kjennerud Erik



### **NATO's Problematic Partnerships in the MENA Region**

in *Mediterranean Quarterly*, Volume 25, Number 2, Spring , 6-32

This essay analyzes how the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) is likely to address the new security environment in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region. It investigates how factors internal and external to the alliance shape the possibilities and limits for its ambition to strengthen and develop its regional partnerships in order to enhance security and stability there. NATO's ambitions are likely to be hampered by competing priorities within the alliance, as the as the members are increasingly facing diverging interests and financial austerity as well as domestic political change and regional rivalries in the MENA region.

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### **Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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Marianne Riddervold

#### **New threats – different response: EU and NATO and Somali piracy**

in *European Security*, Volume 23, Issue 4 , 546-564

When the European Union (EU) launched its first military naval mission, EU NAVFOR Somalia, Atalanta, the states who are members of both the EU and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) made a political choice: to prioritize the EU over NATO in their multilateral military efforts to fight piracy and its consequences. Thereby, Atalanta challenges the conventional assumption that EU security cooperation will remain limited. It also challenges the widely held belief that the European states will chose to act through NATO if dealing multilaterally with international security issues. How can we explain this decision? This analysis suggests that it can be explained in two phases where different mechanisms were at work. In the first phase, which can be accounted for from a neo-realist perspective, France, who held the Presidency, used particular favorable geopolitical conditions to put an autonomous EU operation on the agenda. However, agreement on the EU option cannot be explained as a result of strategic bargaining. Instead, in a second phase and in line with an alternative hypothesis building on the theory of communicative action, the EU member states came to support the French suggestion due to legitimacy considerations regarding the legal framework of the two operations.

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FRANCISCO J. RUIZ GONZÁLEZ

#### **OTAN-UE: pasado complejo, futuro incierto**

in *Política Exterior*, n.158

El desarrollo de la imperfecta arquitectura de seguridad europea está marcado por encuentros y desencuentros entre EE UU y sus aliados en Europa. Ambos deben preservar, más que la OTAN, el vínculo transatlántico, superando modelos heredados de la guerra fría.

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### **Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations*

Robert Anne-Cécile



**Plus atlantiste que moi...**

in *Monde Diplomatique (Le)*, Avril

<http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/2014/04/ROBERT/50333>

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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Ruben Zaiotti

**Practical continentalism: North America, territorial security and the European model**

in *Journal of Transatlantic Studies* , Volume 12, Issue 1 , 90-103

The lack of formal regional security institutions and the persistence of national border controls seems to indicate that in North America, unlike Europe, a truly post-national approach to territorial security has failed to materialise. Recent policy experiments with territorial security in the USA, Canada and Mexico, however, are not as removed from their transatlantic counterparts as is often claimed. This paper contends that a kind of practical continentalism underlies the governance of territorial security on both sides of the Atlantic. This system of governance has not completely displaced the state-centric model upon which the modern approach to territorial security is based. It has, however, reformulated some of its core principles, resulting in a more complex and regionalised model of territorial security. To illustrate this argument, this paper first presents the key principles underlying the approach to territorial security that has emerged in North America after 9/11, highlighting the parallels with the European experience. It then considers some of this approach's most relevant policy applications and compares them to initiatives proposed on the other side of the Atlantic. This paper concludes by exploring possible future scenarios characterising relations between North America and Europe over territorial security, and, in particular, the prospect for further transatlantic convergence in this policy field.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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Matthias Dembinski & Berenike Schott

**Regional security arrangements as a filter for norm diffusion: the African Union, the European Union and the responsibility to protect**

in *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* , Volume 27, Issue 2 , 362-380

No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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Ghislain Duthéil de la Rochère, Jean-Michel Josselin & Yvon Rocaboy

**SDI, NATO, and the Social Composition Function**

in *Defence and Peace Economics*, Volume 25, Issue 2 , 85-95

The strategic defense initiative (SDI) intends to renew the leadership of the USA on the western alliance. The initiative takes place in a period when a summation technology prevails for the aggregation of contributions of NATO allies. We investigate if SDI induces a shift in Hirshleifer's social composition function. Panel data tests over the period 1970–1990



do not confirm any break toward a best-shot aggregator. SDI does not alter the core of deterrence. It is indeed a public good at the US level but not at the NATO level, where, it is one of the joint products of the alliance. We also investigate the lessons to be drawn for the current debates on ballistic defense.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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Colin M. Fleming & Carmen Gebhard

**Scotland, NATO, and transatlantic security**

in *European Security*, Volume 23, Issue 3, 307-325

This article explores the political and strategic implications of Scottish Independence for existing transatlantic security arrangements. It examines the potential institutional, legal and political obstacles Scotland might face during the transition to independence and discusses the specific challenges in the area of security and defence, including the nuclear issue and the question of what form an independent Scottish Defence Force (SDF) would need to take to allow and facilitate integration in transatlantic security structures. It argues that a number of strategic and political issues could be mitigated in the course of negotiations between Edinburgh and London. Moreover, Scotland's geostrategic position and political orientation make it an important prospective partner in international security cooperation across the Eastern Atlantic, High North and North Sea, which suggests that an advanced partnership with NATO, and eventually full membership, seems like an option that is both politically viable and more likely than any scenario that predicts seeing an independent Scotland (IS) outside these structures. This challenges some of the main strategic and security political arguments against independence and thus seeks to spark a debate about the realistic options for Scotland should it become independent after 2016.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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Stefan Elbe, Anne Roemer-Mahler, and Christopher Long

**Securing circulation pharmaceutically: Antiviral stockpiling and pandemic preparedness in the European Union**

in *Security Dialogue*, 45 (5), 440-457

Governments in Europe and around the world amassed vast pharmaceutical stockpiles in anticipation of a potentially catastrophic influenza pandemic. Yet the comparatively 'mild' course of the 2009 H1N1 pandemic provoked considerable public controversy around those stockpiles, leading to questions about their cost-benefit profile and the commercial interests allegedly shaping their creation, as well as around their scientific evidence base. So, how did governments come to view pharmaceutical stockpiling as such an indispensable element of pandemic preparedness planning? What are the underlying security rationalities that rapidly rendered antivirals such a desirable option for government planners? Drawing upon an in-depth reading of Foucault's notion of a 'crisis of circulation', this article argues that the rise of pharmaceutical stockpiling across Europe is integral to a governmental rationality of political rule that continuously seeks to anticipate myriad circulatory threats to the welfare of populations – including to their overall levels of health. Novel antiviral medications such as Tamiflu are such an attractive policy option because they could enable governments to rapidly modulate dangerous levels of (viral) circulation during a pandemic, albeit without disrupting all the other circulatory systems crucial for maintaining population welfare. Antiviral stockpiles, in other words, promise nothing less than a pharmaceutical securing of circulation itself.





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**James Sperling & Mark Webber**

**Security governance in Europe: a return to system**

**in *European Security*, Volume 23, Issue 2, , 126-144**

The security governance literature has developed in four waves: the first is dedicated to matters of definition; the second to conceptual debate; the third to matters of application in the European setting and the fourth to how well the concept works in extra-European regions and at the global level. For all this effort, security governance as a concept remains problematic: it still has some way to go before it obtains clear definitional precision, conceptual clarity and a secure standing as concept in Security Studies. We address some of the theoretical and methodological difficulties common to the literature and argue that security governance has become overly preoccupied with agency and has thereby neglected structure. It has, in other words, obtained an actor-centered focus and so tended to conflate security governance as an analytical category with the specific actions of security actors. It has thus moved forward little in its ability to determine how and why security actors behave in the aggregate and whether that behavior reflects wider systemic properties. We thus ask in a third section whether it is worth returning to systemic thinking on security governance especially in the European context where the concept has had its most sophisticated application.

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**Emil J. Kirchner & Roberto Dominguez**

**Security governance in a comparative regional perspective**

**in *European Security*, Volume 23, Issue 2, , 163-178**

This article aims to explore the relationship between domestic economic and political conditions and the performance of 14 regional organizations over a range of security provisions. It argues that the willingness of member states to increase the range of security provisions of a regional organization is influenced by the combination of high levels of economic and political development and low levels of dispersion among the members of a regional organization. In order to evaluate this assumption, two aspects of regional organizations are explored. The first is to examine the development of security governance provisions of 14 regional organizations as well as the levels of empowerment or autonomy of those organizations. The second is to analyze how six economic and political variables influence the range of security provisions and the degree of empowerment of regional organizations. The final part of the article examines how regional organizations play a significant role in stimulating and reproducing regional governance orders.

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**Antoine Rayroux**

**Speaking EU defence at home: Contentious discourses and constructive ambiguity**

**in *Cooperation and Conflict*, 49 (3) , 386-405**

Using discursive institutionalism as an analytical framework, this article addresses how national actors build, coordinate



and communicate discourses on EU defence policy (CSDP) at home. The empirical analysis is based on a comparative study of substantive and interactive discourses in France and Ireland, two contrasted cases. It demonstrates that France and Ireland frame and interpret elements of CSDP that best fit their needs, use them to promote their defence agenda in a legitimate and 'European' way and present CSDP as a natural continuation of their preferences. These defence agendas revolve around the preservation of France's exceptionalism and Ireland's neutrality. Discursive institutionalism, which methodologically sheds light on agents and institutional contexts, helps to understand the dynamics of constructive ambiguity, a discursive strategy often applied to CSDP and illustrated by these two cases.

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**Börzel Tanja, Van Hüllen Vera**

**State-Building and the European Union's Fight against Corruption in the Southern Caucasus: Why Legitimacy Matters**

in **Governance**, Volume 27, Issue 4, October , 613–634

This article asks under which conditions the state-building efforts of external actors in areas of limited statehood are likely to be effective. We argue that the legitimacy of the specific norms promoted by external actors among local actors is crucial for their success in strengthening state capacities. International efforts need to resonate with prevalent social norms. To substantiate this argument, we focus on the European Union's (EU) anticorruption programs and their implementation in one of the most corrupt regions in the world, the Southern Caucasus. We show that legitimacy can explain why the EU's fight against corruption helped reduce corruption in Georgia but not in Armenia. In both countries, political elites could selectively use anticorruption programs as an instrument against political opponents, using enhanced state capacities to stabilize the incumbent regime. Only in Georgia, however, was the fight against corruption facilitated by sustained domestic mobilization for anticorruption policies that added pressure on political elites "from below."

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**Bastian Giegerich & Christoph Schwegmann**

**Sustaining Europe's Security**

in **Survival**, Volume 56, Issue 4 , 39-50

Future generations should not be burdened with debt, but their security needs must also be met

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations*

**Didier Bigo**

**The (in)securitization practices of the three universes of EU border control: Military/Navy – border guards/police – database analysts**

in **Security Dialogue**, 45 (3) , 209-225



What practices of (in)securitization involve the notions of border and border control in the European Union? How do these practices operate? How are they assembled? In the resulting assemblage, is the notion of borders – understood as state borders – still relevant for the control of individuals and populations moving across the frontiers of the EU? Drawing on empirical observations and with a specific focus on how border control is translated into different social universes, this article seeks to show that practices of control are routinely embedded in a practical sense that informs what controlling borders does and means. This practical sense is itself informed by different professional habitus and work routines involving deterrence and the use of force, interrogation and detention, surveillance of populations on the move and the profiling of (un)trusted travellers. Its strength varies in relation to its shared dimension by most of the operators, and is adjusted to the materiality of borders as well as to the local contexts in which it is deployed. It activates, or does not activate, the maximal use of various control technologies (satellites, pre-registration and interoperable exchange of data between the state and private bureaucracies, biometrics identifiers, body-scanners). For understanding practices of (in)securitization, actual work routines and the specific professional ‘dispositions’ are therefore more important than any discourses actors may use to justify their activities.

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Claudio Catalano

**The EU set its priorities for 2014: key capabilities and African missions**

in *CeMiSS - Osservatorio Strategico e Quarterly*, N.1-2014 , 43-48

No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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Raphael Bossong

**The European Programme for the protection of critical infrastructures – meta-governing a new security problem?**

in *European Security*, Volume 23, Issue 2, , 210-226

Critical infrastructure protection (CIP) constitutes a paradigmatic as well as challenging case for EU security governance, which has received limited academic attention to date. This article draws on a heuristic framework to survey the EU's capacities to ‘meta-govern’, that is, to stimulate and steer governance efforts across multiple sectoral and political divides, in this complex issue area. The main part of the paper assesses the European Programme for Critical Infrastructure Protection (EPCIP), which comprises a variety of policy instruments and initiatives, on this basis. It is shown that the attempt of an authoritative regulation of European critical infrastructures has remained narrow and of questionable effectiveness. Scientific networks have developed more dynamically, while the participation of private companies and corresponding EU financial instruments are yet to show their potential. Finally, the EU's organizational capacity in CIP suffers from a lack of coordination structures in the European Commission, but also needs to take the scarcely known Joint Research Centre (JRC) into account. The conclusions highlight the barriers to comprehensive governance of as well as large research gaps on European critical infrastructure policies.

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*Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations*

SAINT-PIERRE, Héctor Luis and PALACIOS JUNIOR, Alberto Montoya Correa

**The South American Defense Council (SDC) confidence measures: a Defense expenditures analysis (2009-2012)**  
in *Revista Brasileira de Política internacional* , vol.57 no.1 , 22-39

We analyze the combined methodology developed by the South-American Defense Council (SDC) for assessing Defense expenditures. We examine its backgrounds, its limitations, its innovations and the profile of Defense budget expenditure. In this region, up to 60% of total Defense budget was allocated to personnel and their social security payroll; on the other hand, research and technology were allocated only 0.5%. From the results, we defend the modernization of both Armed Forces and Defense Ministries in South America, specially a sensible equalization of their expenditure by subject, as a requisite for increasing the sector's budget.

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*Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations*

Gunther Hellmann, Benjamin Herborth, Gabi Schlag and Christian Weber

**The West: a securitising community?**

in *Journal of International Relations and Development*, Volume 17, Issue 3 , 367–396

The primary objective of this article is to theorise transformations of Western order in a manner that does not presuppose a fixed understanding of 'the West' as a pre-constituted political space, ready-made and waiting for social scientific enquiry. We argue that the Copenhagen School's understanding of securitisation dynamics provides an adequate methodological starting point for such an endeavour. Rather than taking for granted the existence of a Western 'security community', we thus focus on the performative effects of a security semantics in which 'the West' figures as the threatened, yet notoriously vague referent object that has to be defended against alleged challenges. The empirical part of the article reconstructs such securitisation dynamics in three different fields: the implications of representing China's rise as a challenge to Western order, the effects of the transformation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) towards a global security actor, and the consequences of extraordinary renditions and practices of torture for the normative infrastructure of 'the West'. We conclude that Western securitisation dynamics can be understood as a discursive shift away from a legally enshrined culture of restraint and towards more assertive forms of self-authorisation.

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*Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations*

Benjamin Pohl

**To what ends? Governmental interests and European Union (non-) intervention in Chad and the Democratic Republic of Congo**

in *Cooperation and Conflict*, 49 (2) , 191-211

Since the EU's Common Security and Defence Policy framework became operational in 2003, the Union has undertaken more than 20 crisis management operations. The drivers behind this activity remain debated. This article proposes a fresh interpretation based on governmental interests as defined by domestic political risks and opportunities. It argues that EU governments have tailored Common Security and Defence Policy action so as to satisfy domestic audiences. By way of illustration, this article examines the most ambitious Common Security and Defence Policy operation to date, the



EU Force mission in Chad and the Central African Republic, as well as a deliberate non-intervention in a comparable case, in the eastern Democratic Republic of Congo in late 2008. By analysing the positions of the most relevant EU governments in each respective case, this article demonstrates how they corresponded to domestic political logic. Drawing on some 20 interviews with policy-makers, this article provides a theoretical account explaining the motives behind Common Security and Defence Policy decision-making rooted in original empirical evidence. The explanation for the haphazard pattern of Common Security and Defence Policy operations thus far can be found in the link between domestic politics and EU crisis management operations.

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Simon Koschut

**Transatlantic conflict management inside-out: the impact of domestic norms on regional security practices in Cambridge Review of International Affairs** , Volume 27, Issue 2 , 339-361

No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations*

Simon Koschut

**Transatlantic conflict management inside-out: the impact of domestic norms on regional security practices in Cambridge Review of International Affairs** , Volume 27, Issue 2 , 339-361

No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations*

Stéphanie von Hlatky

**Transatlantic cooperation, alliance politics and extended deterrence: European perceptions of nuclear weapons in European Security**, Volume 23, Issue 1 , 1-14

This article discusses the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) debate regarding American nonstrategic nuclear weapons (NSNW) in Europe, given the broad spectrum of views on nuclear issues when comparing individual member states. What is striking is the gap between public attitudes – which are broadly hostile to keeping NSNW in Europe – and elite opinion, which privileges the maintenance of NATO commitments to preserve alliance cohesion. To better understand this tension, this article dissects the elements of extended nuclear deterrence in Europe, addressing the difficulties associated with current nuclear-sharing arrangements. For some NATO states, the alliance's nuclear weapons are a political liability, since nuclear sharing clashes with international disarmament and nonproliferation commitments. For other NATO members, maintaining the status quo is preferable, as long as there is no alliance-wide consensus on the question of NSNW. These debates have been put to rest, for now, with NATO's Deterrence and Defense Posture Review, which reaffirmed the purpose of the alliance's nuclear weapons. However, these divisive debates point to more fundamental issues in alliance management, namely the credibility of American commitments, the sustainability of extended nuclear deterrence in Europe and the inevitable political tensions these questions provoke at



the domestic level for NATO allies.

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Nicolas Badalassi

**Un autre rideau de fer ? L'impact de la question chypriote sur le processus d'Helsinki**

in *Les Cahiers Irice*, n°10 , 137-149

La conférence sur la Sécurité et la Coopération en Europe (CSCE) qui, de novembre 1972 à août 1975, réunit l'ensemble des pays d'Europe, les États-Unis et le Canada à Helsinki et à Genève constitue, dans l'esprit des dirigeants soviétiques, l'aboutissement de vingt ans de négociations avec les Occidentaux dans le but de parvenir à la confirmation du statu quo politique et territorial en Europe....

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Xinbo Wu

**Agenda for a New Great Power Relationship**

in *Washington Quarterly (The)*, Volume 37, Number 1, Spring

<http://twq.elliott.gwu.edu/agenda-new-great-power-relationship>

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Popp Roland

**Introduction: Global Order, Cooperation between the Superpowers, and Alliance Politics in the Making of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Regime**

in *International History Review (The)*, Volume 36, Issue 2 , 195-209

No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Mickelson Karin

**The Maps of International Law: Perceptions of Nature in the Classification of Territory**

in *Leiden Journal of International Law*, Volume 27 - Issue 03 , 621 - 639

This article explores the understanding of nature reflected in the international legal classification of territory, as reflected in the doctrines of terra nullius, res communis, and the common heritage of mankind. It provides an overview and analysis of each of these concepts, noting the frequently problematic role they have played in legitimating the exercise of political and economic power. It then analyses the continuities and discontinuities between these categories. It argues that, despite surface changes, a narrow instrumental view of nature and the environment continues to be deeply





embedded in much of our current thinking about jurisdiction over territory, and can be seen as constituting one of the ongoing barriers to thinking about the environment in more innovative and sustainable ways.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Kotzur Markus

**'Constitutional Moments' in globaler Perspektive - eine völkerrechtliche Spurensuche**  
in *Jahrbuch des öffentlichen Rechts der Gegenwart*, Band 62, 2014

No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Cobble Dorothy Sue

**A Higher "Standard of Life" for the World: U.S. Labor Women's Reform Internationalism and the Legacies of 1919**

in *Journal of American History* , Volume 100, No. 4, March , 1052-1085

Worker and democracy movements surged around the world in 1919, as did hope for a more just international world order. Dorothy Sue Cobble recovers the surprisingly robust traditions of social justice internationalism among U.S. labor women in the aftermath of World War I. She chronicles the internationalist initiatives of the Women's Trade Union League of America, the largest U.S. working women's organization in this era, and uses U.S. and non-U.S. sources to compare the class and gender politics of U.S. and European women trade unionists. Her study challenges reigning scholarly tropes of American exceptionalism, expands understandings of U.S. internationalism in the World War I era, and reveals the significance of the 1919 moment for later transformations in global gender and economic policy.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Mccreary Tyler, Lamb Vanessa

**A Political Ecology of Sovereignty in Practice and on the Map: The Technicalities of Law, Participatory Mapping, and Environmental Governance**

in *Leiden Journal of International Law*, Volume 27 - Issue 03 , 595-619

This article examines the relationships between representations and operations of sovereignty in natural resource governance. We advance a 'political ecology of sovereignty', examining the participation of non-state actors in resource governance processes. We particularly argue that processes of integrating subaltern populations through mapping local ecological knowledge can modify effective governance practices while nonetheless reproducing the legibility of state sovereign authority and its territorial boundaries. Exploring the Enbridge Northern Gateway pipeline in Canada, we



suggest that state jurisdictional authority is secured through incorporating indigenous interests as a delimited geography of tradition. Examining the Hatgyi hydroelectric development along the Thai–Burmese border, we argue that the territorial boundaries of those nation-states are rearticulated through the governance of this transboundary development. Through these cases, we demonstrate how the insertion of local knowledge works not only to reconfigure effective governance processes but also to reinforce the effect of state sovereignty in new ways.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

**Burr William**

**A Scheme of ‘Control’: The United States and the Origins of the Nuclear Suppliers’ Group, 1974–1976**  
in *International History Review (The)*, Volume 36, Issue 2 , 252-276

India's nuclear test in May 1974 created a predicament for US nuclear diplomacy. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's immediate response was low-key, but he became worried about the spread of nuclear capabilities to the ‘next country’. Abandoning his previously dismissive stance toward the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), Kissinger concluded that Washington had to work with allies and even cold-war adversaries to check proliferation. He approved a number of initiatives, one of which was to co-ordinate the nuclear-export policies of major states, the United States, the Soviet Union, Canada, France, Japan, the United Kingdom, and West Germany. To make that possible, during 1974–5, Kissinger supported a complex diplomatic effort to create what became a major institution in the non-proliferation regime, the Nuclear Suppliers’ Group (NSG), and a set of guidelines for regulating the export of nuclear equipment, materials, and technology.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

**Pepper Angie**

**A feminist argument against statism: public and private in theories of global justice**  
in *Journal of Global Ethics*, Volume 10, Issue 1, 2014 , 56-70

Abstract

Cosmopolitanism and statism represent the two dominant liberal theoretical standpoints in the current debate on global distributive justice. In this paper, I will develop a feminist argument that recommends that statist approaches be rejected. This argument has its roots in the feminist critique of liberal theories of social justice. In *Justice, Gender, and the Family* Susan Moller Okin argues that many liberal egalitarian theories of justice are inadequate because they assume a strict division between public and private spheres. I will argue that this inadequacy is replicated in statist approaches to global justice. To demonstrate this, I will show how an analogue of Okin's critique of Rawls's *A Theory of Justice* can be extended to his *The Law of Peoples*. I will conclude that statist theories inevitably assume a strong divide between public and private spheres and that by doing so they allow for situations marked by gross injustice which anyone concerned with the welfare of the world's most vulnerable should find unacceptable.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Giordano Mark, Drieschova Alena, Duncan James A., Sayama Yoshiko, De Stefano Lucia, Wolf Aaron T.

**A review of the evolution and state of transboundary freshwater treaties**

in *International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics*, Volume 14, Issue 3, September , 245-264

Internationally shared basins supply 60 % of global freshwater supply, are home to about 1/3 of the world's population, and are focal points for interstate conflict and, as importantly, cooperation. To manage these waters, states have developed a large set of formal treaties, but until now these treaties have been difficult to access and systematically assess. This paper presents and makes publicly available the assembly and organization of the largest known collection of transboundary water agreements in existence. We apply for the first time a "lineage" concept to differentiate between independent agreements and groups of legally related texts, spatially reference the texts to a global basin database, and identify agreement purposes, goals and a variety of content areas. The 688 agreements identified were signed between 1820 and 2007 and constitute 250 independent treaties which apply to 113 basins. While the scope and content varies widely, these treaties nominally govern almost 70 % of the world's transboundary basin area. In terms of content, treaties have shifted from an earlier focus on regulation and development of water resources to the management of resources and the setting of frameworks for that management. While "traditional" issues such as hydropower, water allocation and irrigation are still important, the environment is now the most commonly mentioned issue in treaty texts. Treaties are also increasingly likely to include data and information sharing provisions, have conflict resolution mechanisms, and include mechanisms for participation beyond traditional nation-state actors. Generalizing, treaties have become more comprehensive over time, both in the issues they address and the tools they use to manage those issues cooperatively.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Igneski Violetta

**A sufficiently political orthodox conception of human rights**

in *Journal of Global Ethics*, Volume 10, Issue 2, 2014 , 167-182

Abstract

The traditional conception of human rights, or the orthodox conception (OC), has, over the last few years, been vigorously challenged by the political conception (PC) of human rights. I have two main aims in this paper: the first is to articulate and evaluate the main points of disagreement between the OC and the PC in order to provide a clearer picture of what is at stake in the debate. The second is to argue that the OC has the resources to respond to the PC's most challenging criticism; namely that it is not sufficiently political.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Biagini Bonizella, Bierbaum Rosina, Stults Missy, Dobardzic Saliha, McNeeley Shannon M.

**A typology of adaptation actions: A global look at climate adaptation actions financed through the Global Environment Facility**

in *Global Environmental Change*, Volume 25, March , 97-108



Climate change impacts threaten existing development efforts and achieving future sustainability goals. To build resilience and societal preparedness towards climate change, integration of adaptation into development is being increasingly emphasized. To date, much of the adaptation literature has been theoretical, reflecting the absence of empirical data from activities on the ground. However, the Funds established under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change and managed by the Global Environment Facility, the Least Developed Countries Fund, the Special Climate Change Fund and the Strategic Priority for Adaptation, have approved financing for 133 adaptation projects in 70 countries with sufficient documented experience to allow for initial categorization and evaluation. This article provides the first substantial compendium of adaptation actions identified through the allocation and disbursement of these Funds and organizes these actions into a generalized typology of adaptation activities. The information obtained sheds new insight into what adaptation is, in practice, and suggests some next steps to strengthen the empirical database. Ten types of overarching adaptation activities were identified through an analysis of 92 projects financed through these Funds. This paper analyzes these adaptation activities and compares them with theoretical constructs of adaptation typologies. We find that many of the early ideas and concepts advanced by theoreticians are consistent with results from the field. The adaptation categories that recur the most in Global Environment Facility projects are enabling and relatively inexpensive measures, such as those related to capacity building, policy reform, and planning and management. However, a rich panoply of technical actions ranging from information and communications technology, to early warning systems, to new or improved infrastructure, are also identified as common project goals. Future refinements of the costs of various adaptation actions, the mixture of technical and management options, and evaluating the efficacy of actions implemented, will be key to informing the future global adaptation agenda.

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### **Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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Hartzell-Nichols Lauren

#### **Adaptation As Precaution**

**in Environmental Values**, Volume 23, Number 2, Special Issue: Adapting to a Perilous Planet, April , 149-164

Precaution is usually associated with the intuition that it is better to be safe than sorry, and/or that it is sometimes necessary to act in advance of scientific certainty to prevent harmful outcomes. At this point, we cannot entirely prevent climate change, but we can affect how harmful such change is. Adaptation may therefore be understood as a precautionary measure against the damage due to climate change. 'The' precautionary principle alone is too vague to shape adaptation policy, but a limited catastrophic precautionary principle may productively guide adaptation policy makers. I argue in this paper that an explicit commitment to a precautionary approach based on the catastrophic precautionary principle could and should be made to strengthen the adaptation policies introduced at the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC).

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### **Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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Subramanian Narayan, Urpelainen Johannes

#### **Addressing cross-border environmental displacement: when can international treaties help?**

**in International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics**, Volume 14, Issue 1, March , 25-46

Environmental degradation is increasingly causing cross-border displacement of people, but countries have formed no treaties to facilitate collaboration on the issue. When is such collaboration feasible, and how should environmental



displacement treaties be designed? We present a game-theoretic analysis. In our model, countries first decide on ratifying a treaty, and doing so commits them to helping other countries that face cases of environmental degradation in the future. The equilibrium analysis suggests that treaty formation is easier under conditions of mutual vulnerability than if some countries are at a greater risk of environmental degradation than others. Our most important finding is that contrary to the received wisdom, treaties imposing stringent demands on countries are easier to form than treaties that are easy to comply with. We also examine the benefits of using displacement treaties to build capacity for cooperation. We illustrate the utility of the analysis with a discussion of the Kampala Convention on environmental displacement and consider the potential for future treaty formation in Sub-Saharan Africa and Oceania.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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**Sergey Salushev**

**Authenticity, Identity and Hegemony in the Context of Global Governance**

**in Perspectives on Global Development and Technology**, Vol. 13, n°1-2, 281-295

The narrative of authentic national identity, as being immutable, transcendent and endowed with sacrosanct qualities, has been inculcated into the public consciousness of every nation and constitutes an essential feature of one's self-awareness in relation to the outside world. This proclivity for national exclusivity impedes the collective advancement of global civil society and undermines the ongoing efforts at forging effective democratic institutions of global governance. Indeed, many societies blindly heed to the message of national exceptionalism and pledge allegiance to the integrity of their imagined community without critically scrutinizing their belief and understanding its consequences. First, in this article I argue that the notion of authentic national identity is fictitious because the concept of national identity is always fluid and constantly reconstructed. Second, the international community is functioning in the state of cognitive dissonance and therefore must recognize that in the era of globalization, nationalism has exhausted its social utility and is becoming increasingly detrimental to the welfare of global civil society.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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**Ditz Daryl, Tuncak Baskut**

**Bridging the Divide between Toxic Risks and Global Chemicals Governance**

**in Review of European Community & International Environmental Law**, Volume 23, Issue 2, Special Issue: International and European Chemicals Regulation, July, 181-194

Over the past four decades, a set of global environmental agreements has developed to address certain issues in chemicals management at the global level. In addition, the global community has proclaimed the goal of achieving the sound management of chemicals by 2020. Recognizing the need to implement existing agreements, this article examines the current cluster of global agreements for chemicals and waste, and their ability to achieve the sound management of chemicals in 2020 and beyond. The Basel, Minamata, Rotterdam and Stockholm Conventions, as well as the non-binding Strategic Approach to International Chemicals Management, are analyzed using core elements of environmental treaties, including principles and approaches of international environmental law. From this analysis, five challenges are identified: supporting implementation; ensuring adequate finance; filling global information gaps; expanding the narrow scope of current legally binding instruments; and avoiding the development of a 'treaty thicket' in the global governance of chemicals and waste.





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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Rieu-Clarke Alistair, Kinna Rémy

**Can Two Global UN Water Conventions Effectively Co-exist? Making the Case for a 'Package Approach' to Support Institutional Coordination**

*in Review of European Community & International Environmental Law*, Volume 23, Issue 1, Special Issue: International Water Law, April , 15-31

In the foreseeable future there will be two legal framework instruments covering transboundary water issues in force at the global level: the 1997 United Nations (UN) Watercourses Convention and the 1992 UN Economic Commission for Europe Water Convention. This development raises questions about the compatibility of both instruments, and how they might be implemented in a coordinated manner. A comparative analysis of the text of both instruments demonstrates that there are both similarities and differences between them, but that they are complementary. There is therefore significant benefit in promoting and implementing the conventions as a package. Three basic institutional options can be envisaged to support this 'package approach', each with their strengths and weaknesses. Ultimately, whichever option is chosen, the 'package approach' to the implementation of both conventions offers the best means by which to strengthen the law of international watercourses.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Kumi Emmanuel, Arhin Albert A., Yeboah Thomas

**Can post-2015 sustainable development goals survive neoliberalism? A critical examination of the sustainable development–neoliberalism nexus in developing countries**

*in Environmental & Resource Economics*, Volume 38, Number 2, October , 539-554

The Rio+20 summit of the United Nations in Brazil in 2012 committed governments to formulate a set of sustainable development goals (SDGs) that would be integrated into the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) following its expiration in 2015. This decision has pushed sustainable development agenda into the limelight of development once again. Meanwhile, we note that the development agenda of many developing countries has been dominated by neoliberal orientation driven by market reforms, social inequality, and a move towards enhancing the economic competitiveness of the supply side of the economy. In this paper, we discuss the relationship between neoliberal economic agenda and sustainable development. We do so by examining how neoliberal policies of privatisation, trade liberalisation and reduction in governments spending stand to affect the attainment of sustainable development ideals and their implications on the post-2015 Sustainable Development Goals. The paper then suggests that relying solely on the mechanisms of the market in governing and allocating environmental resources is necessarily insufficient and problematic and therefore calls for a new approach—one which goes beyond just recognising the interdependency among social, environmental and economic goals and places issues of equity and addressing unfavourable power relations at the centre of interventions aimed at achieving the ideals of sustainable development.

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Boff Leonardo

**Caos climatico: Madre Terra si libererà di noi?**

in *CNS Ecologia politica*, nuova serie, n. 2, gennaio

Full text available at <http://www.ecologiapolitica.org/wordpress/?p=439>

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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Corson Catherine, Campbell Lisa M., MacDonald Kenneth I.

**Capturing the Personal in Politics: Ethnographies of Global Environmental Governance**

in *Global Environmental Politics*, Volume 14, Issue 3, August , 21-40

In this article we elaborate on how we use collaborative event ethnography to study global environmental governance. We discuss how it builds on traditional forms of ethnography, as well as on approaches that use ethnography to study policy-making in multiple institutional and geographical sites. We argue that global environmental meetings and negotiations offer opportunities to study critical historical moments in the making of emergent regimes of global environmental governance, and that collaborative ethnography can capture the day-to-day practices that constitute policy paradigm shifts. In this method, the negotiations themselves are not the object of study, but rather how they reflect and transform relations of power in environmental governance. Finally, we propose a new approach to understanding and examining global environmental governance—one that views the ethnographic field as constituted by relationships across time and space that come together at sites such as meetings.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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Fisher Elisabeth

**Chemicals as Regulatory Objects**

in *Review of European Community & International Environmental Law*, Volume 23, Issue 2, Special Issue: International and European Chemicals Regulation, July , 163-171

This reflective article explores how different regulatory regimes concerned with the industrial use of chemicals conceptualize chemicals as regulatory objects in different ways. The United States Toxic Substances Control Act characterizes chemicals as risky objects, the European Union's REACH regime characterizes chemicals as market objects and the Californian Green Chemistry Initiative characterizes chemicals as scientific objects. The malleability of chemicals as regulatory objects has implications for debates about international chemicals regulation, including the need for a more nuanced debate and greater regulatory imagination.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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Shum Robert Y.

**China, the United States, bargaining, and climate change**

in *International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics*, Volume 14, Issue 1, March , 83-100



Knowing what is at stake in terms of likely damages from accumulating greenhouse gases, how can major emitters fail to reach agreement on limits? Bargaining analysis suggests that an uneven distribution of abatement costs over time may play a significant part. Using a stylized, complete-information model of the strategic space facing the two largest emitters of greenhouse gases, China and the United States, a simple numerical example reaches a strong and surprising conclusion: To be feasible under current technological and economic conditions, any international agreement on climate change will have to allocate a level of future emissions for carbon dioxide in China that is at least twice as large as the level for the United States, in order to account for the effects on Chinese interests from continued economic growth.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Ho-fung Hung

**China: Saviour or Challenger of the Dollar Hegemony?**

**in Development and change**, Vol. 44, n°6 , 1341-1361

Since the collapse of the Bretton Woods monetary order in 1971, the US dollar has successfully maintained its global hegemony despite the US's declining share in the global economy, thanks largely to the US's political-military supremacy. The recent rise of China poses a serious dilemma to the US. On the one hand, China's export-oriented development has provided the US with low-cost manufactured imports and cheap credit. On the other hand, the US's expanding current account deficit, largely attributable to China, has precipitated a crisis of confidence over the dollar's long-term viability. This dilemma explains the US's vacillation in its currency conflict with China over the last decade. China has also been caught in a dilemma. While keeping its currency cheap could help sustain its export competitiveness, it would deepen China's dependence on the US market and Treasury bonds as an outlet for its expanding current account surplus. On the other hand, while a RMB revaluation would facilitate China's long overdue economic rebalancing and reduce its dependence on the US, the resulting unravelling of the long-entrenched export-oriented growth could generate large-scale economic dislocation. No matter how this currency conflict is settled, its final resolution will determine the future of the dollar's global hegemony.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Light Andrew, Taraska Gwynne

**Climate Change, Adaptation, and Climate-Ready Development Assistance**

**in Environmental Values**, Volume 23, Number 2, Special Issue: Adapting to a Perilous Planet, April , 129-147

Traditional justifications for state-to-state development assistance include charity, basic rights and self-interest. Except in unusual cases such as war-reparations agreements, development assistance has typically been justified for reasons such as the above, without reference to any history of injury that holds between the states. We argue that climate change entails relationships of harm that can be cited to supplement and strengthen the traditional claims for development assistance. Finally, to demonstrate the utility of this analysis, we offer a brief application of our reasoning to the emerging conflict in the United Nations over the future post-2015 development agenda.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**



*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

**Grazia Cristina, Gusdorf François, Hammoudi Abdelhakim**

**Climate Change, Heterogeneities, and Stability of International Fiscal Harmonization  
in *Environmental & Resource Economics*, Volume 58, Issue 4, August , 579-603**

This paper analyzes the instability introduced into multilateral agreements by two types of heterogeneity: heterogeneity of countries (size and number of producing members) and heterogeneity of lobbies (asymmetric influence at the national versus the international level). The work extends theoretical prospective analyses on environmental taxation, as illustrated by the harmonization of fuel taxes. We show that the acceptability of the tax set at the multilateral level depends on the type of coalitions that participate in the multilateral negotiation (size and number of producing countries) and the asymmetry in the local (state-level) power of lobbies during negotiations.

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**Brunner Steffen, Enting Katrin**

**Climate finance: A transaction cost perspective on the structure of state-to-state transfers  
in *Global Environmental Change*, Volume 27, July , 138-143**

Direct transfers of climate finance from governments of developed countries to governments of developing countries are often perceived as risky due to information asymmetries, the infeasibility of perfect contract enforcement at the international level, and uncertain recipient capacities and respective outcomes. Donor governments usually try to minimize such risks by delegating the provision of climate finance to bilateral and multilateral organizations that implement and monitor projects in recipient countries. Such direct interventions generate an alternative set of transaction costs through the fragmentation of finance flows and proliferation of funding organizations that can put an additional burden on recipient institutions. Moreover, long delegation chains between initial donors and targeted beneficiaries trigger a cascade of principal-agent problems. The benefits of channelling climate finance through the international development cooperation system hence need to be weighed against the opportunity cost of this approach. The potential for such scrutiny is however constrained by a broken feedback loop between donor and recipient constituencies. Only if the extent to which transaction costs accrue and the reasons they do so become better understood, policy makers might be able to address them and chose the most cost-effective channel in each particular case.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

**Büscher Bram**

**Collaborative Event Ethnography: Between Structural Power and Empirical Nuance?  
in *Global Environmental Politics*, Volume 14, Issue 3, August , 132-138**

This forum reviews and comments on other papers in this special issue on CEE. While CEE is a promising and innovative methodology, it would be strengthened by thinking through and taking into account two important points: first, how CEE can help to understand structural power, particularly as it relates to the intersection between neoliberal capitalism and the environment; and second, how authors could “translate” nuanced CEE findings into a politics that confronts the structural power of neoliberal capitalism.



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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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**WILLIAM E. SCHEUERMAN**

**Cosmopolitanism and the world state**

**in Review of International Studies (The)**, Volume 40 - Issue 03 , 419-441

Political cosmopolitanism comes in many different shapes and sizes. Despite its intellectual diversity, cosmopolitanism typically agrees on one crucial matter: any prospective global democracy is best envisioned not in terms of a hierarchical world state, but instead as a multilayered system of global governance resting on an unprecedented dispersion of decision-making authority. In discarding traditional ideas of world government, cosmopolitans typically succumb to a series of mistakes. First, they presuppose unfairly dismissive accounts of world government. Second, they misleadingly contrast their own multilayered and (allegedly) institutionally novel vision to early modern (for example, Hobbesian) ideas of sovereignty, or to Max Weber's influential definition of the modern state. They thus obscure the fact that the modern state's diverse manifestations can only be partly grasped by ideal-types drawn from either Hobbes or Weber. Consequently, they depend on straw person accounts of the modern state. Third, envisioning their proposals as building on the familiar ideal of institutional checks and balances, they misconstrue the contribution that checks and balances can make to global-level democracy. Their hostility to statist ideas about global democracy notwithstanding, their proposals sometimes mimic core attributes of traditional statehood, and they tend inadvertently to 'bring the state back in' to global democracy.

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*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

**Turner James Morton**

**Counting Carbon: The Politics of Carbon Footprints and Climate Governance from the Individual to the Global in Global Environmental Politics**, Volume 14, Issue 1, February , 59-78

This article considers carbon footprints as a form of climate governance. Drawing on science studies to consider the contingent nature of calculative devices and governmentality studies to examine the intrinsic relationship between how problems are framed and remedied, this article advances two arguments. First, it argues that efforts to define and deploy carbon footprints contributed to a conceptual shift in emissions accounting, from a narrower metric focused on emissions from fossil fuel and electricity use—Carbon Footprint 1.0—to a more expansive metric that includes emissions embodied in consumption and trade—Carbon Footprint 2.0. Second, this article argues that these approaches to carbon footprints at the individual level have intersected with broader discussions about allocating emissions responsibilities and examining mitigation strategies at the national and international levels, offering alternative grounds for assigning responsibility for climate-change mitigation and expanding the range of policy options available for addressing emissions.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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**Grant Nicholas**

**Crossing the Black Atlantic The Global Antiapartheid Movement and the Racial Politics of the Cold War**



in **Radical History Review**, Volume 2014, Number 119, Spring

This article traces the travels of the American-based performers Canada Lee and Sidney Poitier to South Africa, alongside the experiences of the African National Congress activists Z. K. and Frieda Bokwe Matthews in the United States. As foreign black actors starring in the 1952 film version of *Cry, the Beloved Country*, Lee and Poitier found themselves caught up in a project that the National Party believed could be used to present the apartheid regime in a positive light. In New York City at the height of the Defiance Campaign, the Matthews were also exposed to the power of the state as both the US and South African governments attempted to prevent them from publicly criticizing apartheid. Engaging with recent scholarship on the racial politics of the Cold War, the article demonstrates how these prominent black individuals had to overcome major obstacles to make themselves heard on the global stage.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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Parodi Maxime

**De la monnaie cosmopolitique**

in *Revue de l'OFCE*, 2013/5 (N° 131) , 19-56

Une monnaie cosmopolitique est une monnaie unique à plusieurs nations et fondée explicitement sur une forme de co-souveraineté. Une telle monnaie n'est possible qu'en acceptant une politique monétaire et des politiques budgétaires et fiscales fondées sur des raisons partagées, où chacun est responsable des engagements monétaires qu'il prend et coresponsable de la capacité de chacun à mener une politique économique adéquate. Pour durer, cette monnaie exige une attention soutenue sur les divergences macroéconomiques entre les partenaires et les difficultés que rencontre chacun ; elle impose une concertation ouverte sur les raisons de ces divergences et de ces difficultés ; elle nécessite une force de propositions sur les remèdes possibles, à court, moyen et long terme ; enfin, elle exige la coopération volontaire de chacun, à condition toutefois d'en avoir la capacité.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Hausknot Daniel

**Decision, choice, solution: 'agentic deadlock' in environmental politics**

in *Environmental Politics*, Volume 23, Issue 3, May , 357-375

The combined challenges of climate change and resource depletion demand a rapid socioecological transition on a global scale. However, environmental politics in liberal democracies is caught in an 'agentic deadlock' inhibiting the implementation of effective transformative measures. I offer a conceptual framework for the analysis of this agentic deadlock and its structural root causes, building on the analytic distinction between three 'agentic operators' – decision, choice, and solution – which connects the analysis of agency with the analysis of structural constraints in liberal democracies, enabling us to understand better why agency channelled through the market or institutions of administrative rationality generates very different outcomes than agency channelled through institutions of collective decision making. While market (choice) and administrative rationality (solution) approaches are more in line with the specific needs of liberal-democratic regime stabilisation, decision-centred approaches have greater transformative potential. The powerful but potentially disruptive agentic operator 'decision' is systematically underemployed due to the system's prioritisation of internal integrity, while the operators 'choice' and 'solution' are overburdened with





transformative tasks they are ill-equipped to fulfil. This imbalance must be corrected if the transition towards sustainability is to be successful.

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*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Jürgen Rüländ and Karsten Bechle

**Defending state-centric regionalism through mimicry and localisation: regional parliamentary bodies in the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and Mercosur**

in *Journal of International Relations and Development*, Volume 17, Issue 1 , 61–88

The creation of parliamentary bodies for regional organisations such as Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) or Mercosur seems to be at odds with the intergovernmental logic on which these organisations rest. We approach this puzzle from the perspective of norm diffusion theory. In the article we argue that transnational legislative bodies in Southeast Asia and South America have been primarily established to retain the respective organisation's 'cognitive prior', which in both cases rests upon deeply entrenched corporatist norms and ideas. We test our theoretical claims by a comparative study on the emergence and evolution of the ASEAN Inter-Parliamentary Assembly and the Mercosur Parliament.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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Dave Sinardet and Peter Bursens

**Democratic legitimacy in multilevel political systems: The role of politicization at the polity-wide level in the EU and Belgium**

in *Acta Politica*, Volume 49, Issue 3 , 246-265

The debate on democratic legitimacy of multilevel political systems such as supranational organizations and federal states has not yet been conducted in a comprehensive way. While there is a fierce academic debate on the democratic deficit of the EU polity, the Belgian political system has hardly been analyzed from this perspective, although some of the characteristics that are considered as problematic in the case of the EU can also be found in Belgium. This article questions whether diagnosis and remedies with respect to the EU are indeed applicable to the Belgian system. We focus on the possibility of democratically legitimizing these multi-level polities through the politicization of the polity-wide level, discussing the strategy of electoral engineering and party system reform, as well as mass media and public sphere issues. While not neglecting crucial differences, we conclude that similarities are of such a nature that some proposals for the EU level can be theoretically transferred to the Belgian federation and can contribute to our understanding of the specific issues of democratic legitimacy that multi-level systems have to deal with.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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Betz Regina, Cludius Johanna, Twomey Paul

**Designing prediction markets for international negotiations: Lessons learnt from the Climate Summit in Copenhagen**

in *Global Environmental Change*, Volume 27, July , 106-119





This paper presents results from a field experiment of running a prediction market for international climate negotiations. We draw upon our experience of running the Copenhagen Prediction Market during the Copenhagen Climate Summit in December 2009. The Copenhagen Prediction Market consisted of 17 different markets, where participants could trade in shares predicting, amongst others, reduction targets for various countries, the long-term stabilisation goal or the level of funding from developed countries to developing nations for mitigation and adaptation actions. We show that this novel application of prediction markets to climate negotiations is distinct from more traditional applications and, in many ways, more challenging. We discuss our experiences in designing and setting up the market and interpreting its results. In particular, it is crucial to be able to define the outcome of a climate conference in the face of often ambiguous final communications in order to make the prediction market robust and to find benchmarks to compare prediction market performance against.

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*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Francesca Martines

**Direct Effect of International Agreements of the European Union  
in *European Journal of International Law*, vol. 25, issue 1 , 129-147**

The Van Gend en Loos (VGL) decision established the conceptual premises of a crucial issue to shape the relationships between the European Union and international law: the function of direct effect as a powerful instrument to guarantee that the rules of one system are complied with in another legal order. However, if compared with direct effect of EU legal rules, the issue of the effects of EU international agreements is made more complicated by the combination of the more traditional question of the self-executing character of international agreement provisions and the narrow meaning of direct effect. The former issue, strongly affected by the technique of incorporation and the rank of international law obligations within the incorporating legal order, goes to the heart of the constitutional architecture of the EU legal order where a balance is to be found between the obligation to comply with international law and the integrity of the EU legal order. The latter notion concerns instead the relationship between the private person and the legal rule and defines the special character of the EU which distinguishes it from international law. Since such a quality of EU rules cannot be automatically applied to international law rules incorporated in the EU legal order it must be verified case by case. This is the reason why, for the present author, the double test approach, first applied by the ECJ in VGL, is the right test to determine direct effect of EU international agreements, but cannot be applied to verify the self-executing effect of international law in the traditional (broader) meaning.

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*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Schulze Kai

**Do parties matter for international environmental cooperation? An analysis of environmental treaty participation  
by advanced industrialised democracies  
in *Environmental Politics*, Volume 23, Issue 1, February , 115-139**

The advancing internationalisation of environmental politics has triggered increasing interest in factors that lead countries to participate in international environmental agreements. But do partisan differences matter for such ratification decisions? An analysis of the ratification responses of 21 OECD countries toward 64 treaties shows that partisan environmentalism matters for ratification behaviour whereas left-right differences do not play a significant role. More



precisely, while the likelihood of ratification increases when overall government positions are more pro-environment, pro-environment veto players and environmental ministers are not found to play a role. These results hold against a number of controls and correcting for potential error in the measurement of party positions.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Houtart François

**Déclaration universelle du bien commun de l'humanité  
in Pensée (La), n° 377, 2014**

La simple régulation du système existant aujourd'hui ne suffit plus. Il s'agit de construire des alternatives, c'est-à-dire un nouveau paradigme de la vie collective sur la planète. L'auteur développe le concept de « déclaration universelle du bien commun de l'humanité » qui s'appuie sur le respect de la terre comme source de toute vie, le rejet de la domination du capital financier, la démocratisation des rapports sociaux et l'ouverture à toutes les cultures. Cette déclaration peut être une contribution aux luttes sociales.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Derkx Boudewijn, Glasbergen Pieter

**Elaborating global private meta-governance: An inventory in the realm of voluntary sustainability standards  
in Global Environmental Change, Volume 27, July , 41-50**

Voluntary sustainability standards and certification schemes are expanding in a variety of economic sectors. The relatively uncoordinated coexistence of multiple competing schemes has created a very fragmented governance system. One way to analytically approach the search for solutions to this fragmentation is grasped with the relatively new concept of meta-governance. Meta-governance as we understand it draws attention to the management of plurality with the aim to induce more coherence in the governance of an issue area. In political science, meta-governance has mainly been attributed to governmental authorities. However, over the past decade, a number of voluntary standards setters have – with or without the support of UN agencies – started to address the need for meta-governance as well. Their efforts generally entail the coming together of a number of frontrunner schemes and the organizations backing them to jointly address the challenges their self-created regulatory systems face and produce greater coherence among their efforts. This paper studies private meta-governance attempts in the fields of fair labor (JO-IN), sustainable tourism (GSTC), and organic agriculture (ITF), as well as a meta-governance initiative that aims to improve the credibility of private standards as governance mechanisms (ISEAL Alliance). Based on document analysis and interviews we analyze how these meta-governance initiatives have given shape to their aspirations, how successful their efforts have been in effecting change, and what determining factors are. From the empirical research, we distil some more general lessons and insights about the politics and practice of private meta-governance.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Mikko Huotari and Thilo Hanemann

**Emerging Powers and Change in the Global Financial Order**



in **Global Policy**, Volume 5, Issue 3 , 298–310

Emerging economies have become a major force in the world economy. This article examines the role of Brazil, Russia, India and China (BRIC) in global finance and compares their potential to challenge the parameters of international financial and monetary relations. Instead of focusing on changes inside the existing system of multilateral governance, our analysis stresses the need to consider a broader set of channels to develop and exert financial power. Our comparative assessment of BRIC economies' increasing autonomy, their strategic intentions, financial system capacity and the behavior of subnational 'power brokers' in global financial markets serves as a starting point to advance the debate over ongoing structural changes in the global financial order. We show how increasing autonomy and financial power have already led emerging markets to develop alternatives for crisis financing and development assistance. The prospects for deeper cooperation among BRIC economies however remain gloomy, as the already very diverse preferences with regard to global financial structures can be expected to further diverge.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Stadelmann Martin, Persson Åsa, Ratajczak-Juszko Izabela, Michaelowa Axel

**Equity and cost-effectiveness of multilateral adaptation finance: are they friends or foes?**

in **International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics**, Volume 14, Issue 2, May , 101-120

This paper analyzes potential criteria to allocate international funding for adaptation to climate change, as a response to one of the main governance challenges of international adaptation funding—the prioritization of project proposals given scarce funding. Based on the review of the equity and cost-effectiveness literature and relevant policy documents, we identify three potential indicators for equity (vulnerability level, poverty, equal funding per capita), and three indicators for cost-effectiveness (economic savings in absolute and relative terms, human lives saved). Applying these simple indicators to information provided in all 39 project documents considered by the Adaptation Fund Board (AFB) in 2011, we find that projects approved or endorsed by the AFB rank high according to one cost-effectiveness indicator (absolute economic savings), while they rather rank low according to all equity and further cost-effectiveness indicators.

Furthermore, we analyze whether equity and cost-effectiveness are two contradicting goals, or whether ways can be found to reconcile both goals in multilateral adaptation finance. We conclude from both the theory and the 39 analyzed project documents that a pure economic definition of cost-effectiveness tends to be in contradiction with equity but that trade-offs between equity and cost-effectiveness can be limited if relative economic savings or human live savings are used as indicator for cost-effectiveness.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Senghaas Dieter

**Europa, China, Arabellion: Die Zukunft der Zivilisierung**

in **Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik**, April, 2014 , 91-98

Nach dem NSA-Skandal – dem gezielten Abhören der deutschen Bevölkerung bis hin zur Bundeskanzlerin – ist der Riss durch den einstigen Westen kaum mehr zu übersehen. Während ganz offensichtlich die Vereinigten Staaten immer weniger Rücksicht auch auf ihre einstigen „Freunde“ nehmen, gehen die europäischen Verbündeten zunehmend auf Distanz zur letzten verbliebenen Supermacht. So haben Angela Merkel und die brasilianische Präsidentin Dilma



Rousseff nun eine gemeinsame UN-Resolution eingebracht, die unmissverständlich gegen das Verhalten der Vereinigten Staaten gerichtet ist – ein bis vor Kurzem unvorstellbarer Vorgang.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Hadden Jennifer

**Explaining Variation in Transnational Climate Change Activism: The Role of Inter-Movement Spillover in Global Environmental Politics**, Volume 14, Issue 2, May , 7-25

How can we explain variation in the volume and character of transnational collective action on climate change? This paper presents original qualitative and quantitative data to document how transnational activism on climate change has changed over time. The author draws attention to the role of transnational social movement spillover—a process by which ideas, activists, and tactics are diffused from one movement to another—in explaining this evolution. The article examines the spillover of the global justice movement to the climate justice movement from 2007 to 2009, linking this spillover to changes in the nature of activism. In contrast to previous approaches, this work shows that transnational social movement spillover can result in the expansion of contention without radicalizing those actors already involved. This case demonstrates the theoretical importance of the spillover process and offers lessons for future climate activism.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Niilo Kauppi and Mikael R. Madsen

**Fields of Global Governance: How Transnational Power Elites Can Make Global Governance Intelligible in International Political Sociology** , Volume 8, Issue 3 , 324–330

No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Cortina Adela

**Four tasks for forward-looking global ethics**  
in **Journal of Global Ethics**, Volume 10, Issue 1, 2014 , 30-37

Abstract

Our challenge for the twenty-first century consists in showing how to construct a global ethics and in trying to discover a rational foundation for it, which may be used as guidance for action and as a norm for the criticism of specific situations. I argue that four tasks must be accomplished to construct a global ethics: (1) Construct that global governance or that world government that makes cosmopolitan citizenship possible. (2) Foster the joint work of bioethics, economic and business ethics, and development ethics – areas of applied ethics, each one of which on its own has reached the global level. (3) Discover a rational basis for a global ethics, which has a universal normative force, but assumes cultural differences. (4) Develop and promote a dialogical ethics of cordial reason, which renders one capable of compassion and care.



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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Hjerpe Mattias, Buhr Katarina

**Frames of Climate Change in Side Events from Kyoto to Durban**

**in Global Environmental Politics**, Volume 14, Issue 2, May , 102-121

Addressing climate change is challenging because of its diverse meanings regarding the implications of science, values, risk, and governance. Climate change frames are central organizing ideas that allow us to identify why climate change is a problem of global concern, who is responsible, and the ways in which and by whom it should be governed. UN climate change conferences gather diverse actors for debating climate policy, allowing us to study the frames they represent and how they evolve. They examine the official side events at these conferences, considering the topics of all 2,214 side events from 1997 through 2011. The results show a prominence of the action and conformity frames, indicating that actors reluctant to change have not been engaged; a tendency to favor the social progress frame over the economic frame; that topical changes were not solely the result of new organizations being admitted; a rise in non-climatic issues indicating large potential for bandwagoning; and a symbiotic relationship between negotiations and side events.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Scott Deborah, Hitchner Sarah, Maclin Edward M., Dammert B. Juan Luis

**Fuel for the Fire: Biofuels and the Problem of Translation at the Tenth Conference of the Parties to the Convention on Biological Diversity**

**in Global Environmental Politics**, Volume 14, Issue 3, August , 84-101

At the 2010 negotiations of the Conference of the Parties (COP10) of the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD) for a decision on biofuels and bio-diversity, biofuels were portrayed as holding many different, conflicting characteristics. Using Callon's (1986) concept of translation, we find that the COP10 biofuel negotiations failed to advance beyond the first moment of translation, problematization, when actors are defined in relation to each other. We trace attempts by various actors to fix the identity of biofuels throughout the negotiations, using strategies such as rendering political issues "technical," relying on formal text to stabilize contested identities, and restricting the sources of knowledge relied upon. We suggest that the CBD parties experiment with new strategies, taking advantage of the COP's legal flexibility and the CBD's institutional history of engaging with the political nature of scientific knowledge.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Gaspar Des

**Future global ethics: environmental change, embedded ethics, evolving human identity**

**in Journal of Global Ethics**, Volume 10, Issue 2, 2014 , 135-145

Abstract

Work on global ethics looks at ethical connections on a global scale. It should link closely to environmental ethics,





recognizing that we live in unified social-ecological systems, and to development ethics, attending systematically to the lives and interests of contemporary and future poor, marginal and vulnerable persons and groups within these systems and to the effects on them of forces around the globe. Fulfilling these tasks requires awareness of work outside academic ethics alone, in other disciplines and across disciplines, in public debates and private agendas. A relevant ethics enterprise must engage in systematic description and understanding of the ethical stances that are expressed or hidden in the work of influential stakeholders and analysts, and seek to influence and participate, indeed embed itself, in the expressed and hidden choice-making involved in designing and conducting scientific research and in policy analysis and preparation; it will contribute in value-critical and interpretive policy analysis. It will explore how the allocation of attention and of concern in research and policy depend on perceptions of identity and of degrees of interconnection, and are influenced by the choice or avoidance of humanistic interpretive methodologies. The paper illustrates these themes with reference to the study of climate change.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Kirton John, Kulik Juli, Bracht Caroline

**Generating global health governance through BRICS summitry**

**in Contemporary Politics**, Volume 20, Issue 2, 2014 , 146-162

While global plurilateral summit institutions (PSIs) of the world's most powerful countries have long generated effective global health governance, the most recent summits of the Group of Eight (G8) and the Group of 20 (G20) have largely abandoned their earlier concern with health, especially outside its specialized food and nutrition link. However, since its start in 2009 in Yekaterinburg, Russia, the annual summit of Brazil, Russia, India, China and now South Africa (BRICS), a new PSI arising has substantially addressed health and started to lead in some ways. The BRICS summit-level health governance has been reinforced by the advent of a BRICS health ministers' forum, other health-related ministerial institutions (notably for agriculture and trade) and official and multi-stakeholder bodies. This article provides the first direct, disciplined empirical analysis of how and why the BRICS summit system has governed global health, based on the models developed for and applied to G8, G20 and United Nations summit governance.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Rosenboim Or

**Geopolitics and Global Democracy in Owen Lattimore's political thought**

**in International History Review (The)**, Volume 36, Issue 4 , 745-766

This article analyses the international thought of the US sinologist and political advisor Owen Lattimore (1900–89). A well-known expert on China and the Far East, Lattimore was a 'public intellectual' and advisor to Chiang Kai-shek and Franklin D. Roosevelt. In 1950, after Senator Joseph McCarthy accused him of Soviet espionage, Lattimore's reputation was irrevocably damaged and his political thought forgotten. By assessing his visions of global democracy and





geopolitics, this article claims Lattimore made insightful contributions to international thought. On the eve of the cold war, Lattimore's ideas of pluralistic democracy and tripolar world order offered an alternative vision of the post-war era, focusing on political participation and diversity. This article focuses on Lattimore's published writings in the 1940s, when, as political advisor and director of the Johns Hopkins' Page School of International Relations, he sought to shift international attention from Europe to the Far East as the potential birthplace of a new version of post-colonial democracy. A fervent anti-imperialist, Lattimore crafted new political space for global democracy in a post-imperial age. His thoughtful discussion of participation, co-operation, democracy, knowledge, and pluralism make his vision of world order an interesting contribution to international thought in the twentieth century.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Selin Henrik

**Global Environmental Law and Treaty-Making on Hazardous Substances: The Minamata Convention and Mercury Abatement**

in *Global Environmental Politics*, Volume 14, Issue 1, February , 1-19

In global environmental cooperation, legally binding agreements remain a customary way for states to set common goals and standards. This article analyzes the Minamata Convention on Mercury by addressing three questions: First, how did linkages to earlier agreements shape the negotiations? Second, what were the main legal and political issues during the negotiations? Third, what are the major issues moving forward with treaty implementation and mercury abatement? The analysis shows that the decision to start treaty negotiations was influenced by related policy developments on hazardous chemicals as well as differences in national interests. Five sets of issues dominated the negotiations: 1) supply and trade, 2) products and processes, 3) emissions and releases, 4) artisanal and small-scale gold mining, and 5) resources and compliance. The article concludes that future mercury abatement hinges on the parties' ability to move beyond the initial mandates, as the convention may affect decisions by a wide range of public, private, and civil society actors.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Weiss Thomas G. ,Wilkinson Rorden

**Global Governance al rescate: ¿salvando las relaciones internacionales?**

in *Foro Internacional*, Vol. LIV, núm. 1,

No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Matanock Aila M.

**Governance Delegation Agreements: Shared Sovereignty as a Substitute for Limited Statehood**

in *Governance*, Volume 27, Issue 4, October , 589–612

Governance delegation agreements—international treaties allowing external actors legal authority within host states for



fixed terms—succeed in simple and, under certain conditions, complex state-building tasks. These deals are well institutionalized and have input legitimacy because ratification requires sufficient domestic support from a ruling coalition. In order to obtain that input legitimacy, however, host states constrain external actors commensurate with their level of statehood: Stronger states delegate less legal authority. This article argues that these constraints, which produce joint rather than complete authority, require external actors to work within state structures rather than substituting for them, and thus make coordination of complex tasks more difficult. A quantitative overview of data on consent-based peacekeeping missions complements a qualitative analysis focused on comparative case studies in Melanesia and Central America to test the theory. The results support the theory and suggest that these deals hold promise particularly for accomplishing complex tasks in especially weak states.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Hakelberg Lukas

**Governance by Diffusion: Transnational Municipal Networks and the Spread of Local Climate Strategies in Europe**

*in Global Environmental Politics*, Volume 14, Issue 1, February , 107-129

Cities have become crucial actors for the global governance of climate change. Their increased activity in this field is reflected by the rising number of adoptions of local climate strategies in an original sample of 274 European cities from 1992 to 2009. Using event history analysis, I find that this spread is promoted by transnational municipal networks (TMNs) successfully deploying strategies for governance by diffusion, their impact exceeding that of most alternative explanatory factors cited in the literature. Given their capacity to foster the spread of climate policy innovations among cities, TMNs can thus be expected to play a decisive role in a climate governance system that is becoming increasingly fragmented, polycentric, and transnational.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Norichika Kanie, Peter M. Haas, Steinar Andresen, Graeme Auld, Benjamin Cashore, Pamela S. Chasek, Jose A. Puppim de Oliveira, Stefan Renckens, Olav Schram Stokke, Casey Stevens, Stacy D. VanDeveer and Masahiko Iguchi

**Green Pluralism: Lessons for Improved Environmental Governance in the 21st Century**

*in Environment: Science and Policy for Sustainable Development* , November/December 2013

In the last generation, the frequency and magnitude of environmental degradation has been unprecedented. Partly as a result, environmental problems are increasingly global in nature, even as many the effects of “traditional” environmental issues such as air and water pollution, and waste management, persist and worsen. The situation is so dire that many problems have already achieved, or are heading towards irreversible changes with negative consequences for a healthy planet.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*



Mert Ay&#351;em

**Hybrid governance mechanisms as political instruments: the case of sustainability partnerships**

**in International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics**, Volume 14, Issue 3, September , 225-244

Hybrid governance mechanisms have become one of the most preferred models of governance. Their influence and use have increased slowly but consistently since the end of the Cold War. This article investigates their political dimension, by way of studying United Nations' partnerships for sustainable development, registered with the commission on sustainable development (CSD). Around 350 sustainability partnerships that promise to solve environmental problems and achieve the MDGs are registered with the CSD. Since their endorsement at the 2002 Johannesburg Summit, various studies assessed their value for environmental governance often finding them ineffective or counter-productive. This article exposes a new set of influences that partnerships have on the practice and discourses of global environmental governance, by following the politics of their emergence, that of partnership building and registration, and their actualization: During their negotiation, various contestations emerged and influenced the resulting partnerships regime; this is studied through in-depth interviews. Secondly, this regime leaves many geographical and participatory lacunas with political effects, which are studied through a large-N database. Finally, the unintended consequences of partnership projects on their issue areas and the discursive changes they cause in environmental governance reveal an otherwise concealed political dimension: The introduction of controversial technologies into the UN platforms.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Templeton Jessica, Kohler Pia

**Implementation and Compliance under the Minamata Convention on Mercury**

**in Review of European Community & International Environmental Law**, Volume 23, Issue 2, Special Issue: International and European Chemicals Regulation, July , 211-220

What contributed to the consensus to establish an implementation and compliance mechanism during the negotiations of the 2013 Minamata Convention on Mercury? This outcome was inextricably linked to consensus on establishing a financial mechanism that was satisfactory to both developed and developing country parties. However, given the complex interlinkages between these issues, the history of discussions of compliance in closely related multilateral environmental agreements, and the wide range of interests and preferences among parties to the negotiations, the path to consensus was not clear until late in the negotiating process. While the compatibility between the proposed mechanism and States' interests was crucial to the outcome, the role of individuals in crafting the treaty text and facilitating negotiations was also essential. Thus, a complete analysis of the path to that agreement must consider the role of individual leaders in strategically guiding delegates to identify the points at which their interests converged.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Kent Avidan

**Implementing the principle of policy integration: institutional interplay and the role of international organizations**

**in International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics**, Volume 14, Issue 3, September , 203-224

The implementation of the sustainable development principle of integration implies that economic laws should not be



designed solely for the purpose of maximizing financial profits, but also with the object of improving human well-being, and addressing social and environmental concerns. International organizations, in which international treaties are being negotiated and created, will have to support this type of cross-disciplinary approach. International institutions, however, were not originally designed to cope with such a cross-disciplinary effort. Rather, most international institutions have emerged in line with the premise of 'functionalism', according to which their role is limited to supplying specialized services, usually as a solution for emerging needs and as a result of historical events. These specialized institutions have thus emerged with little coordination or common planning and have resulted in a global structure that has been referred to as an 'accident of history'. The role that international organizations should and do fulfil with respect to the implementation of the principle of integration is reviewed in this paper. This paper concentrates on trade and investment organizations (the World Trade Organization and the Energy Charter Treaty); it reviews the channels through which non-trade/investment considerations may, or may not, penetrate the decision-making processes of these organizations; the ways these International organizations engage with interdisciplinary issues and how the objectives of other institutions are reflected in their work.

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### **Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Patrick Taylor Smith

#### **Instrumentalism or Constitutivism: A Dilemma for Accounts of Transnational Political Authority in Transnational Legal Theory**, vol. 4, issue 3 , 374-395

This paper argues that discussions of transnational authority are hampered by an equivocation between two radically different kinds of authority, each possessing different normative logics. Instrumental authority, which treats political institutions as tools, is amenable to the disunited, pluralistic and highly contextualised nature of transnational governance. Furthermore, instrumental-transnational authority is compatible with the authority and sovereignty of states. Yet, instrumental authority is comparatively weak in terms of the political interventions it can justify. Constitutive authority, on the other hand, can justify much more intrusive and coercive political actions. Yet, I shall argue that only sovereign agents with unified legislative, judicial and executive powers can possess constitutive authority. I investigate different ways in which transnational institutions can be structured—from Slaughter's horizontal networks to Ruggie's substantive multilateralism—in order to illustrate a dilemma: transnational and global institutions can indeed possess authority, but it is of a kind that justifies a relatively narrow and weak set of political interventions.

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### **Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Clark Ian

#### **International Society and China: The Power of Norms and the Norms of Power in Chinese Journal of International Politics (The)**, Volume 7 Issue 3 , 315-340

The core suggestion of this article is that we make best sense of the concepts of power, legitimacy, and responsibility within a framework of international society. This framework is illustrated by, and applied to, the specific case of China's rise. In the light of its historical background, a rising China faces a major paradox. Seemingly, the prerequisite for it to exercise greater influence on the norms of international society is yet further assimilation into them: in order to become a respected norm maker, China must first be seen to be fully integrated as an appropriate norm taker. To be in a position to influence the norms of international society, China must seemingly firstly resolve any lingering ambiguities about its



membership. In short, should the debates about China's status be understood as an expression of the power of norms (where China is assessed relative to some universal standard of responsibility), or are they better viewed as the deployment of the norms of power in such a way as to impact its social distribution to China's disadvantage (by imposing the self-interested standards of the liberal states)?

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

McCaffrey Stephen

**International Water Cooperation in the 21st Century: Recent Developments in the Law of International Watercourses**

**in Review of European Community & International Environmental Law**, Volume 23, Issue 1, Special Issue: International Water Law, April , 4-14

This article surveys selected recent developments in the field of the law of international watercourses. One of the most significant developments concerns the Partial Award rendered by the Court of Arbitration in the Indus Waters Kishenganga Arbitration between Pakistan and India. While the questions presented to the Court concerned whether a dam being constructed by India was consistent with the 1960 Indus Waters Treaty, the Court interpreted the Treaty to find that India had environmental obligations regarding the operation of the dam. This award could well influence the positions of other governments as well as disputes between them. Another development of interest concerns the human right to water and its implementation. Perhaps paradoxically in view of their greater economic strength, opposition to the right has come most notably from developed countries. A third development concerns the law of transboundary aquifers. The draft articles on this subject prepared by the International Law Commission give prominence to the 'sovereignty of aquifer States' and overlap with the 1997 Watercourses Convention. They would thus require significant modification if the negotiation of a treaty were to be based upon them. Finally, two treaties on international watercourses are now open to all States in the world: the 1992 UNECE Water Convention and the 1997 UN International Watercourses Convention. While taking different approaches, these treaties are in fact mutually reinforcing. The growing disposition of States to govern their freshwater relations according to law shows that the International Year of Water Cooperation proclaimed by the UN General Assembly is not just a hollow slogan.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Rao Narasimha D.

**International and intranational equity in sharing climate change mitigation burdens**

**in International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics**, Volume 14, Issue 2, May , 129-146

Is inequality within countries relevant for global climate policy? Most burden-sharing proposals for climate mitigation treat states as homogenous agents, even those that aim to protect individual rights. This can lead to free riders in some large emerging economies and expose the poor to mitigation burdens in others. Proposals that incorporate an exemption for the poor can avoid these outcomes, but do not account for the role of internal policies on the poor's actual emissions and mitigation burdens. This will create moral hazards in the design of such agreements and risk the misallocation of mitigation costs when implemented. To ensure equitable outcomes at the individual level, international agreements would need to build in additional provisions to encourage benefiting states to reduce emissions and target exemptions to the poor. But such agreements will face political conflicts over sovereignty and the burdensomeness of





such provisions.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Rakhyun E. Kim, Mackey Brendan

**International environmental law as a complex adaptive system**

**in International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics**, Volume 14, Issue 1, March , 5-24

Complex adaptive systems are a special kind of self-organizing system with emergent properties and adaptive capacity in response to changing external conditions. In this article, we investigate the proposition that international environmental law, as a network of treaties and institutions, exhibits some key characteristics of a complex adaptive system. This proposition is premised on the scientific understanding that the Earth system displays properties of a complex adaptive system. If so, international environmental law, as a control system, may benefit from the insights gained and from being modelled in ways more appropriately aligned with the functioning of the Earth system itself. In this exploratory review, we found evidence suggesting that international environmental law is a complex system where treaties and institutions self-organize and exhibit emergent properties. Furthermore, we contend that international environmental law as a whole is adapting to exogenous changes through an institutional process akin to natural selection in biological evolution. However, the adequacy of the direction and rate of adaptation for the purpose of safeguarding the integrity of Earth's life-support system is questioned. This paper concludes with an emphasis on the need for system-level interventions to steer the direction of self-organization while maintaining institutional diversity. This recommendation stands in contrast to the reductionist approach to institutional fragmentation and aims at embracing the existing complexity in international environmental law.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Jeangène Vilmer Jean-Baptiste

**Introduction: Union africaine versus Cour pénale internationale : répondre aux objections et sortir de la crise**

**in Etudes Internationales**, Vol. 45, No. 1 , 5–26

La Cour pénale internationale (cpi) est la pièce maîtresse de l'univers des institutions de la justice pénale internationale, car elle est la première et la seule juridiction permanente et universelle. Établie le 17 juillet 1998 par la signature du Statut de Rome, entrée en vigueur le 1er juillet 2002, cette cour dont le mandat est de juger les personnes accusées des crimes internationaux les plus graves – crimes de génocide, crimes contre l'humanité et crimes de guerre – lie actuellement 122 États. [...]

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Michel Rosenfeld

**Is Global Constitutionalism Meaningful or Desirable?**

**in European Journal of International Law**, vol. 25, issue 1 , 177-199

Upon conceiving constitutionalism on the scale of the nation-state as transparent and unproblematic, one may think





global constitutionalism to be a mere utopia. On closer analysis, however, legitimation of nation-state constitutionalism turns out to be much more complex and contested than initially apparent, as becomes evident based on the contrast between liberal and illiberal constitutionalism. Upon the realization that nation-state liberal constitutionalism can only be legitimated counterfactually, the social contract metaphor emerges as a privileged heuristic tool in the quest for a proper balance between identity and difference. Four different theories offer plausible social contract justifications of nation-state liberal constitutionalism: a deontological theory, such as those of Rawls and Habermas, which privileges identity above difference; a critical theory that leads to relativism; a thick national identity based one that makes legitimacy purely contingent; and a dialectical one that portrays the social contract as permanently in the making without any definitive resolution. Endorsing this last theory, I argue that differences between national and transnational constitutionalism are of degree rather than of kind. Accordingly, it may be best to cast certain transnational regimes as constitutional rather than as administrative or international ones.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Lim Michelle

**Is Water Different from Biodiversity? Governance Criteria for the Effective Management of Transboundary Resources**

*in Review of European Community & International Environmental Law*, Volume 23, Issue 1, Special Issue: International Water Law, April , 96-110

Effective law for complex environmental issues requires a combination of sound policy, sophisticated doctrinal scholarship and effective institutional arrangements that suit the social and economic context. Together, these elements create the basis for good resource governance. This article sets out criteria that define an effective governance framework for transboundary resource management. To advance legal scholarship, access to such criteria can help frame comprehensive strategies for more effective environmental law. The article extends previously developed criteria for the effective transboundary conservation of terrestrial biodiversity to transboundary water resource governance. It discusses the relative ease with which each of the criteria can be fulfilled in the management of the different resources and identifies areas for cross-sectoral learning. The article suggests that the principles set out in the criteria can also guide the management of other shared resources.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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Niilo Kauppi

**Knowledge Warfare: Social Scientists as Operators of Global Governance in International Political Sociology** , Volume 8, Issue 3 , 330–332

No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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Ratier Patrick

**L'influence française dans les organisations internationales**



in *Revue Défense Nationale*, n° 770, mai

Le retour de la France dans le commandement intégré de l'Otan a souligné le besoin renforcé de coordonner tous les acteurs français insérés dans les organisations internationales. La France pourrait améliorer ses capacités d'influence par une approche globale décomplexée et une impulsion au niveau supérieur de l'État. La chaîne « influence » française reste à construire.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Shiva Vandana

**La carovana internazionale dei semi**

in *CNS Ecologia politica*, nuova serie, n. 4, giugno

Full text available at <http://www.ecologiapolitica.org/wordpress/?p=848>

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Amin Samir

**Le droit bafoué, la démocratie menacée**

in *Pensée (La)*, n° 377, 2014

Marché et démocratie ne sont pas complémentaires, mais antinomiques. La stratégie politique déployée par les monopoles financiarisés abolit le contraste droite/gauche qui donnait son sens à la démocratie. Elle lui substitue la recherche d'un prétendu consensus, négateur de la centralité des conflits d'intérêt de classes au profit de celle de l'affirmation d'« identités » communautaires. À l'échelle mondiale cette stratégie abolit la souveraineté des nations et récuse la volonté des peuples du Sud de s'ériger en acteurs dans la construction du monde. La réhabilitation du droit international, bafoué par la « communauté internationale » réduite aux puissances impérialistes majeures, est la condition incontournable de la construction d'un monde pluricentrique pacifié et d'avancées démocratiques.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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Vianès Emmanuel

**Le jus post bellum : rupture ou continuité?**

in *Etudes Internationales*, Vol. 44, No. 4 , 621-639

The treatment of the question of jus post bellum in academia is recent, as this concept has really emerged after the interventions in Kosovo (1999) and Iraq (2003). This is why the definition of this concept remains abstract. It is necessary to make conceptual and normative work to define the substance, and this can only be considered as a point of standing out morality and a supposed ancestral lineage with the classic founders of international law to lead to a positive legal policy analysis and a liberal doctrine to determine in what extent it can be applied in specific or general post-conflict situations.



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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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Aksoy Zuhre

**Local–Global Linkages in Environmental Governance: The Case of Crop Genetic Resources  
in Global Environmental Politics**, Volume 14, Issue 2, May , 26-44

The loss of biodiversity is a global environmental problem that poses important governance challenges. Effective governance of crop genetic resources as a component of biodiversity is essential, given that such resources are the building blocks of today's modern agriculture. This article examines the formal governance framework in place for crop genetic resources, as embodied in the Convention on Biological Diversity and the International Treaty on Plant Genetic Resources for Food and Agriculture, and compares this to alternative modes of governance proposed by peasants' organizations such as Via Campesina. The author argues that the existing formal governance framework falls short of providing an effective mechanism for the conservation of crop genetic resources. Alternative governance mechanisms may more effectively connect the local and the global in a way that recognizes the contributions of local communities to conserving genetic resources in centers of diversity, and re-embeds their control over agricultural production processes.

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Dahan Amy

**L'impasse de la gouvernance climatique globale depuis vingt ans. Pour un autre ordre de gouvernementalité  
in Critique Internationale**, N°62, Janvier-Mars , 21-37

Twenty Years of Global Climatic Governance Impasse : For Another Order of Governmentality

At once a scientific question and political problem, climate change has given rise to a complex system of arenas, institutions, experts and varied actors. They are all engaged in a process of world governance in the aim of finding solutions. That being the case, how is one to explain the fact that this process has achieved so little in the way of reducing greenhouse gas emissions ? In order to answer this question, I focus on the manner in which the framing of the climate problem has been conceived, understood and embodied in negotiations. I review several of its characteristic elements : the pollution paradigm, globalization, the top-down strategy of "burden sharing", market and compensation mechanisms, the specific interactions between science and politics, which entail various models of expertise and give rise to contradictory expectations, and, finally, the theme of adaptation, which has come to occupy an increasingly important place on the UN's governance agenda for reasons relating to reconfigurations of the geopolitics of climate. The failure of the Copenhagen Conference (2009), which was presented as a decisive moment for dealing with climate issues at a planetary level, challenges this framing, and calls for a rethinking of the order of governmentality of the climate problem. To that end, I put forward a few proposals and suggestions for future study

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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Jeannesson Stanislas

**Léon Bourgeois aux conférences de La Haye de 1899 et 1907 : solidarisme et démocratisation des relations internationales**



in *Histoire Economie et Société*, n° 2, juin , 107-120

Léon Bourgeois dirige la délégation française aux deux conférences de La Haye de 1899 et de 1907. C'est pour lui l'occasion de transposer des individus aux États les principaux éléments de sa philosophie solidariste, de jeter les bases d'une future société des nations et d'oeuvrer à la démocratisation des relations internationales. Il y parvient notamment en introduisant dans ces relations la notion de devoir, et donc d'obligation morale, et en faisant adopter en 1907 le principe de l'arbitrage obligatoire. Ces deux conférences multilatérales lui permettent également d'expérimenter, souvent dans l'improvisation, les pratiques nouvelles d'une diplomatie désormais mondialisée.

During the first and the second Hague conferences, in 1899 and 1907, Léon Bourgeois is at the head of the French delegation. He wants to apply to the States the main elements of his philosophy, the solidarisme, to lay the foundations of a future league of nations and to encourage the democratization of the international relations. He achieves his aim by introducing in these relations the notion of duty, and therefore of moral obligation, and by making adopt in 1907 the principle of the obligatory arbitration. These two multilateral conferences also allow him to experiment the new practices of globalized diplomacy.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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Weiss Thomas G.

**Military Humanitarianism: Syria Hasn't Killed It**

in *Washington Quarterly (The)*, Volume 37, Number 1, Spring

<http://twq.elliott.gwu.edu/military-humanitarianism-syria-hasn%E2%80%99t-killed-it>

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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Jean-Marc Coicaud and Ibrahim Tahri

**Nationally Based Data: Challenges for Global Governance (and Global Policy)**

in *Global Policy*, Volume 5, Issue 2 , 135–145

The current statistical picture of the world is probably the best it has ever been. But it also entails major limitations. In this article we show the limitations by focusing on three key areas: security, economy of development and the environment, and argue that they undermine the performance of global governance, and the possibility of global policy. In particular they do not allow taking the full measure and managing optimally the changes underway at the global level. To overcome this state of affairs, upgrading statistical capabilities is critical. To achieve this objective, the article suggests, among other ideas: adjusting and adapting the conceptualization, collection and implementation of statistical data to a world that is on its way to becoming global; improving the conditions of compilation of statistical data in developing countries; and investing in institution-building and innovation, in developed and developing countries, and in national and international organizations.

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Suiseeya Kimberly R. Marion

**Negotiating the Nagoya Protocol: Indigenous Demands for Justice**  
in *Global Environmental Politics*, Volume 14, Issue 3, August , 102-124

In October 2010, parties to the Convention on Biological Diversity adopted the Nagoya Protocol on Access to Genetic Resources and the Fair and Equitable Sharing of Benefits Arising from their Utilization. One impetus behind the Nagoya Protocol was the mandate to address the unjust impacts—such as the loss of access to resources, exploitation of traditional knowledge, and expropriation of rights to resources—of the global demand for genetic resources on indigenous peoples and local communities (ILCs). Using collaborative event ethnography, this article demonstrates the limited nature, scope, and engagement of the ILC justice discourse in the negotiations, despite the supposedly inclusive nature of the CBD. I attribute the constrained discourse in part to the existence of a justice metanorm as evidenced through the emergence of shared meanings and prescriptive status of justice instruments.

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Sabine Höhn

**New Start or False Start? The ICC and Electoral Violence in Kenya**  
in *Development and change*, Vol. 45, n°3 , 565-588

This article investigates how far the International Criminal Court (ICC) trial of post-election violence in Kenya represented a new start for Kenyan politics, for international criminal justice in Africa, and for the international response to democratic violence more broadly. For the first time an international criminal court investigated violence associated with the democratic process. The prosecution of instigators of violence was not only a demonstration of a far less patient international approach to a democratic process gone wrong; it also provided the internationally expected response to exceptional levels of violence in the face of domestic inaction. However, it is less clear whether the ICC case represents a new beginning for Kenya. It might be a new start for political accountability in the context of a weak domestic judiciary, but it cannot address the structural root causes of violence that require political reform rather than criminal prosecution.

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Justin Robertson

**On the National Production of Global Elites: The Rise of a French Trained Global Elite in Financial Derivatives**  
in *International Political Sociology* , Volume 8, Issue 3 , 275–292

A small but dominant group of global financial elites has been trained in France. These elites hold powerful positions in the global derivatives industry, most prominently in the field of equity derivatives. The specialized French role is both a cause and a consequence of the intensifying use of derivatives, one of the major developments in global financial capitalism. Equity derivatives have spread from France to Europe, and now to Asia, with London and Hong Kong serving as control centers. Three factors are key in explaining the French niche in global derivatives. First, particular characteristics of national systems, in this case highly advanced French mathematics education, can spawn market dominance in specific areas of the global economy. Second, French networks, founded on shared experiences in French schools and French banks, are both relatively closed and highly portable across national borders. Third, new actors in developed and developing regions of the global economy are driving demand for derivatives products that are



designed by French trained elites in French banks and especially in global banks. The global financial crisis has neither derailed the demand for derivatives nor, consequently, the role French engineering schools play in educating some of the top global financial practitioners.

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Goldin Ian, Lamy Pascal

**Overcoming Short-Termism: A Pathway for Global Progress  
in Washington Quarterly (The), Volume 37 , Number 2, Summer**

Preoccupied with the present, preparing for the future seems a luxury for today's governments, especially democracies. Why has gridlock prevailed where action is imperative? Five barriers explain why government organizations and global governance are failing.

<http://twq.elliott.gwu.edu/overcoming-short-termism-pathway-global-progress>

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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Karen Tucker

**Participation and Subjectification in Global Governance: NGOs, Acceptable Subjectivities and the WTO  
in Millennium: Journal of International Studies, 42 (2) , 376-396**

In this article, I examine the ways in which NGO participation in global governance both relies on and produces particular forms of NGO subjectivity. Focusing on NGO interaction with WTO policy-makers in relation to ongoing policy debates about trade, intellectual property law and the protection of 'traditional knowledge' and 'biodiversity', I explore the ways in which particular forms of subjectivity are elicited and rewarded from (would-be) NGO participants in dialogue, consultation and information-sharing with the WTO. I also consider the forms of NGO subjectivity that are treated as normal, credible and acceptable in this field of global governance, and those that are constructed as undesirable and unacceptable. In doing so, I illustrate some of the forms of inclusion and exclusion that underpin the contributions that NGOs make to policy-making on traditional knowledge and biodiversity in the WTO, disrupting and complicating ideas about the qualities that NGOs bring to global governance.

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Williams Paul D., Boutellis Arthur

**Partnership peacekeeping: Challenges and opportunities in the United Nations–African Union Relationship  
in African Affairs, Volume 113, Issue 451, April , 254-278**

The relationship between the United Nations (UN) and the African Union (AU) has at times been characterized by considerable conflict, mistrust, and tension, often hindering the predictability and conduct of effective peace operations. This article analyses the challenges facing UN–AU cooperation on peace and security issues and examines their partnerships in various peace operations. Specific attention is paid to the crucial cases of Somalia and Mali, which





exemplify some of the positive and negative aspects of this relationship. We argue that while great power politics and the international normative context have played important roles in structuring debates about peace operations in contemporary Africa, so too have two more bottom-up factors: the specific operational and financial challenges generated by the AU's big missions in Darfur, Somalia, and Mali, and the organizational cultures and bureaucratic constraints within which both institutions have had to work. Greater focus on these bottom-up factors could bring significant improvements to the decision-making processes in Addis Ababa and New York, to operational responses, and to the conduct of peace operations.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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**Ikeda Daisaku**

**Per un cambiamento globale. Costruire società resilienti e sostenibili**

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLVI, numero speciale n. 174, aprile-primavera , 408-455

No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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**Nasiritousi Naghmeh, Hjerpe Mattias, Buhr Katarina**

**Pluralising climate change solutions? Views held and voiced by participants at the international climate change negotiations**

in *Ecological Economics*, Volume 105, September , 177-184

Intergovernmental organisations have developed into important sites of normative contestation where increasingly non-state actors participate. A common puzzle is however whether engaged non-state actors represent already strong and established interests or if they also bring forth marginalised voices. This concern raises the pertinent question of what views non-state actors actually represent and if this adds to the perspectives voiced by state actors. This paper examines the views held and voiced by state and a range of non-state participants at the United Nation's climate change conferences. Specifically, questions on what types of climate change solutions are favoured and to what extent these solutions are discussed are addressed. Through statistical analyses of questionnaire data and a content analysis of abstracts of side-events to the conferences, we find that while non-state actors help in broadening the discursive space, some perspectives remain marginalised. We conclude that while non-state actors represent a pluralising force, greater non-state actor participation in intergovernmental organisations is on its own unlikely to lead to democratic global governance.

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**Kalaba Felix Kanungwe, Quinn Claire Helen, Dougill Andrew John**

**Policy coherence and interplay between Zambia's forest, energy, agricultural and climate change policies and multilateral environmental agreements**

in *International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics*, Volume 14, Issue 2, May , 181-198



There is increasing international demand by policymakers focussed on Reduction of Emissions from Deforestation and forest Degradation for developing countries to conserve forests in the face of pressure from agriculture and energy demands. Improving forest conservation efforts requires a better understanding of how policies influence forest resources management, hence a need for better analysis of policy coherence and interaction. This study employs a content analysis of national sectoral policies in agriculture, energy and forestry, and national programmes under United Nations Rio conventions in Zambia to examine coherence and interplay between international- and national-level policies. Results show positive horizontal interplay between energy and forestry policies, while conflicts were observed between the agricultural and forestry policies despite the potential of conservation farming to provide a mutually supportive link. Policy documents show inconsistencies between national sectoral policies and national statements to the Rio conventions. Additionally, although national statements to Rio conventions share common ground on measures to address deforestation, they seem to be poorly mainstreamed into national policies and broader development policies at national level. Findings have further revealed a lack of coherence between national commitments to Rio conventions and national forest legislation. The paper concludes that although developing countries, such as Zambia, are ratifying international environmental conventions, measures are often not drafted into national policies and linkages remain largely superficial.

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ANDREAS KLINKE

**Postnational discourse, deliberation, and participation toward global risk governance  
in Review of International Studies (The), Volume 40 - Issue 02 , 247-275**

An emerging task in world politics is to cope with human-induced global risks in domains such as environment, economy, security, and health. Current global governance institutions are largely incapable of tackling global risks and applying deductive policy models, which is why new modes of interaction may become essential. In this article I argue that through focused discourses, key peculiarities of global risks, namely complexity, scientific uncertainty and sociopolitical ambiguity, may be identified and understood. To this end, distinctively discursive and pragmatic learning processes can be developed. Different forms of deliberation and participation help develop processes that meet the challenges, problems, and conflicts that result from the key peculiarities of global risks. Hence, the article establishes a causal link between key peculiarities of global risks and postnational discourses. I discuss the varying forms of deliberation and participation (epistemic institutions, associational policy making, and transnational public deliberation and participation) of three discourses that produce institutional problem solving capacity in global risk governance. To this end, this article links theory and practice as well as normative conceptualisation and institutional feasibility.

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Arcioni Sandro

**Pour un observatoire mondial de contrôle et d'observation des cyberagressions  
in Revue Défense Nationale, n° 770, mai**

Dans sa double tradition de bons offices et d'entraide humanitaire, la Suisse pourrait établir un instrument d'observation et de contrôle des cyberagressions. Un tel observatoire de référence, placé en terrain neutre, permettrait aux États de les détecter, de les qualifier, de les dénoncer et de s'en prémunir.



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Reus-Smit Christian

**Power, Legitimacy, and Order**

**in Chinese Journal of International Politics (The)**, Volume 7 Issue 3 , 341-359

Legitimacy is not something distinct from power; it is one of the vital sources of power. And if power shapes the nature and development of international orders, then the politics of legitimacy features prominently in the construction, maintenance, and dissolution of such orders. This article begins by exploring the concepts of power and legitimacy, their theoretical interconnection, and the impact that crises of legitimacy have on the maintenance of political power. It then takes an empirical turn, examining, however briefly, two sites in which the politics of legitimacy had a profound effect on the development of the modern international order. The first concerns the globalization of the system of sovereign states, a four-century long process of imperial extension, crisis, and fragmentation into successor states, a process in which struggles over individual rights played a key role. The second concerns the definition and distribution of special responsibilities for managing functional challenges among states. In orders characterized by formal sovereign equality, on the one hand, and imbalances of material capabilities, on the other, a mechanism needs to be found for containing and harnessing power to meet the problems faced by the international community. Historically, this has been achieved through the allocation of special responsibilities to particular states, usually great powers. But if regimes of special responsibilities create patterns of more or less formal hierarchy among states, they are also sites of intense battles over legitimacy.

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Weisser Florian

**Practices, politics, performativities: Documents in the international negotiations on climate change**

**in Political Geography**, Volume 40, May , 46-55

This article challenges the predominant occupation with documents as text in international relations theory and critical geopolitics and advances a new understanding of documents. First, it unpacks the manifold practical and material entanglements of documents that are crucial for their production. Second, it discloses the political dimensions of routinised action and its supporting infrastructures by shedding light on the conflicting practices behind agreed documents. Third, it reconsiders the role of documents as neutral media in politics by paying tribute to the performative role they play in organisational action. By regarding documents as 'effects of organisational practice' and as having 'effects in organisational practice', the article grounds international politics at its site of production, points to the mundane practices and tacit politics of policy-making, and thus goes beyond explanations referring to realpolitik based on manifest interests or poststructuralist constructivism. The empirical background that illustrates the argument derives from the 2012 Doha Conference of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), with a special focus on the National Adaptation Plans. The paper concludes by arguing that documents are not only the necessary condition for international politics but might also inform a social ontology called 'documentality', as developed by the new realism philosopher, Maurizio Ferraris.

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Yuen Foong Khong

**Primacy or World Order? The United States and China's Rise—A Review Essay  
in *International Spectator (The)*, Vol. 48, No. 3 , 153–175**

How should the United States respond to China's rise? What are China's longterm strategic goals? What are the implications of U.S.-China strategic interactions for world order? Three recent works—Aaron Friedberg's *A Contest for Supremacy*, Hugh White's *The China Choice*, and Yan Xuetong's *Ancient Chinese Political Thought, Modern Chinese Power*—grapple with these questions in authoritative and revealing ways. This review essay examines the answers provided by these authors, with the aim of clarifying the different underlying assumptions that led them to their conclusions. Four themes are found to be especially pertinent. These are the assumptions the authors hold about the existing distribution of power, China's strategic objectives, the role of economic interdependence in Asia, and the relationship between democracy and political legitimacy. The way the authors parse these themes—which ones they bracket or admit into their analysis, and how they weigh and combine them—helps to reveal the underlying bases of their and, by implication, our policy preferences. The essay concludes by suggesting that contrary to the view of some, time has something to offer both sides. And if those opportunities are properly understood by the United States and China, the prospects for peaceful competition and coevolution improve.

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Campbell Lisa M., Hagerman Shannon M., Gray Noella J.

**Producing Targets for Conservation: Science and Politics at the Tenth Conference of the Parties to the  
Convention on Biological Diversity**

*in Global Environmental Politics*, Volume 14, Issue 3, August , 41-63

Biodiversity targets were prominent at the Tenth Conference of the Parties to the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD). Having failed to reach the CBD's 2010 target, delegates debated the nature of targets, details of specific targets, and how to avoid failure in 2020. As part of a group of seventeen researchers conducting a collaborative event ethnography at COP10, we draw on observations made during negotiations of the CBD Strategic Plan and at side events to analyze the production of the 2020 targets. Once adopted, targets become “naturalized,” detached from the negotiations that produced them. Drawing on insights from science and technology studies, we analyze the interaction of science and politics during negotiations and discuss what targets do within the CBD and the broader global conservation governance network.

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Gautier Lara, Harmer Andrew, Tediosi Fabrizio, Missoni Eduardo

**Reforming the World Health Organization: what influence do the BRICS wield?**

*in Contemporary Politics*, Volume 20, Issue 2, 2014 , 163-181

The World Health Organization (WHO) is currently undergoing fundamental reform that is intended to impact its programmes and priority setting and its financial and governing structures. Within the reform debates, new relations of



powers are emerging among traditional donors and emerging economies such as the 'BRICS': Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa. These five emerging economies have formally committed 'to strengthen and legitimise the WHO as the coordinating authority in global health' through the principle of multilateralism. In this paper, the results of a qualitative study – based on 21 key informant interviews – that seeks to better understand BRICS' engagement in this organisation and the extent to which their action enables these countries to influence the reform process were presented. The results show that individual BRICS countries found natural pairings with each other on both particular elements of the reform, notably governance and WHO financing, and specific health issues. While numerous examples of individual BRICS countries seeking to raise the profile of specific health issues were found, some evidence of a coordinated effort to influence reform as a bloc was also found. Although this was largely limited to rhetorical announcements of support in formal Declarations and Communiqués, it nevertheless articulates a vision of the WHO as an organisation with a broad mandate delivered with sufficient, predictable funding.

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**Bergkamp Lucas, Herbatschek Nicolas**

**Regulating Chemical Substances under REACH: The Choice between Authorization and Restriction and the Case of Dipolar Aprotic Solvents**

**in Review of European Community & International Environmental Law**, Volume 23, Issue 2, Special Issue: International and European Chemicals Regulation, July , 221-245

The REACH Regulation establishes several chemical regulatory regimes, which operate, by and large, as stand-alone, but ostensibly complementary programmes. The two key REACH programmes for direct 'command and control' regulation of chemical risk are 'restriction' and 'authorization'. In the case of substances of very high concern, both restriction and authorization are available as risk management measures. Because REACH fails to establish an independent, coherent and unbiased framework for chemical risk assessment and policy analysis of these alternative regulatory options, their deployment has been fraught with difficulties. This article reviews the REACH provisions governing the restriction and authorization programmes, and the differences, similarities and interrelations between them. In the second part, the problems arising in the application of the two regimes are illustrated with reference to the case of dipolar aprotic solvents. This case study demonstrates that the most appropriate regulatory instrument may be a regime other than REACH. The third part sets forth some recommendations to improve current practice and move towards a predictable, reasonable and balanced REACH application.

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**Brooks Thom**

**Remedial responsibilities beyond nations**

**in Journal of Global Ethics**, Volume 10, Issue 2, 2014 , 156-166

Abstract





David Miller's theory of nationalism and national responsibility offers the leading alternative 'anticosmopolitan' theory of global justice. His theory claims that 'nations' may be held responsible for the benefits and harms resulting from their collective decisions. Nations may be held remedially responsible to help nations in need even where the former lack causal or moral responsibility, for example. This article critically examines Miller's position that remedial responsibilities – the responsibilities of nations to remedy others in need – can and should only be satisfied by nations. I argue that the characteristics that define and justify a particular understanding of nationalism extend to further constructions of identity, such as religious affiliation and other connections. The problem with Miller's position is that it is overly narrow by focusing solely on our national identities as the characteristic most relevant for determining remedial responsibilities. It is possible and desirable to widen our focus, enriching our understanding of global justice and remedial responsibility. Moreover, this wider perspective is an extension, and not a break from, Miller's position. Our shared identities should have significance for considerations of global justice and they can help us to develop a more robust view of anticosmopolitanism.

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**Richard B. Stewart**

**Remedying Disregard in Global Regulatory Governance: Accountability, Participation, and Responsiveness**  
in *American journal of international law*, vol. 108, issue 2 , 211-270

This article has two related objectives. First, it examines, as a matter of positive analysis, the institutional mechanisms and structures of global regulatory decision making to explain how current global regulation and governance practices operate to create the problem of disregard. The analysis presents a new taxonomy of governance mechanisms, distinguishing three basic types—decision rules, accountability mechanisms, and other regard-promoting measures—that substantially determine whose interests and concerns are given regard by global decision makers. It also unpacks the concepts of accountability and participation, so widely and often indiscriminately invoked as cures for the ills of global governance, and clarifies their roles. Second, it diagnoses the normative failings of the existing governance structures and decisional mechanisms and argues that they should be reconfigured to enable the disregarded to secure greater regard for their interests and concerns and thereby promote a more just system of global regulatory governance. It presents several strategies for achieving this objective, focusing on redeployment and innovation in these three types of governance mechanisms.

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**Adrienne Hervé**

**Roles of brokerage networks in transnational advocacy networks**  
in *Environmental Politics*, Volume 23, Issue 3, May , 395-416

Transnational advocacy networks (TANs) with similar goals are linked to one another through brokerage networks. Analysis of a network of 10 TANs devoted to environmental issues and economic reform, and consisting of 436 advocacy organisations in 75 countries, revealed the existence of two subnetworks whose members served in several capacities as brokers: 12 advocacy organisations, which belonged to four or more TANs; eight advocacy organisations associated with the federation, Friends of the Earth, which belonged to three or more TANs. The activities of members





of these networks included participation in governance of TANs, development of long-term relationships with funders, and production of reports containing information and policy analysis. For less active organisations, members of these subnetworks provided information and, in some cases, access to funding.

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Neshkova Milena

**Salience and Complexity in Supranational Policymaking: The Case of Subnational Interests in Governance**, Volume 27, Issue 1, January , 9–36

This study examined whether Gormley's insights about the effects of public salience and technical complexity on the patterns of participation in the regulatory process have explanatory power in an international setting. Specifically, I tracked 60 legislative proposals initiated by the European Commission and estimated the change made by the supranational technocrats in response to the requests of subnational politicians. I found support for the theoretical propositions about the differentiated effect of salience and complexity on political and administrative actors. Consistent with the notion of bureaucratic expertise, the Commission is less responsive when the policy issues require expertise to be tackled efficiently. Although the European Union has been pursuing various mechanisms to democratize its policy process, the technical character of supranational regulation precludes the broader public and elected politicians from assuming a larger role and bureaucracy will continue to be a major player in the international arena.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Bi Jun, Young Oran R., Costanza Robert, Liu Lingxuan, Kasperson Roger, Qi Ye, Guttman Daniel, Jiang Kejun, Mazmanian Daniel, Zhang Shiqiu, Zhang Junjie, Osherenko Gail, Percival Robert, Zhang Bing, Wang Haikun, He Pan, Liu Miaomiao

**Same dream, different beds: Can America and China take effective steps to solve the climate problem? &#9734;** in *Global Environmental Change*, Volume 24, January , 2-4

Full text available at <http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0959378013002239>

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Kauffman Craig M., Martin Pamela L.

**Scaling up Buen Vivir: Globalizing Local Environmental Governance from Ecuador** in *Global Environmental Politics*, Volume 14, Issue 1, February , 40-58

How does the population of a small Ecuadorian province influence the development strategies pursued nationally and consequently push the global conversation toward an alternative model of sustainable development? This article explores watershed management reform in Tungurahua, Ecuador, to analyze how local communities challenged the dominant international model of sustainable development and—through a process of negotiation, learning, and network construction with international partners—produced an alternative model infused by indigenous norms of human



wellbeing, or *sumak kawsay*—*el buen vivir*. The institutionalization of these norms was a catalyst for the development of Ecuador's National Plan for Wellbeing (*Buen Vivir*) and Ecuador's quest to change the way the world thinks about development and sustainability. This case illuminates how local populations working with competing interpretations from international agendas construct new environmental governance regimes, and how the scaling up of these regimes carries local norms of environmental management to the global level.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Hayes Jarrod, Knox-Hayes Janelle

**Security in Climate Change Discourse: Analyzing the Divergence between US and EU Approaches to Policy in Global Environmental Politics**, Volume 14, Issue 2, May , 82-101

Why has Europe implemented a quite-proactive climate policy while the US has adopted a far less ambitious climate strategy? Does variation in security concerns or other factors better explain this difference in policy? Using a multimethod case study approach, the authors find that in the US, constructions of climate change as a security threat play an important role in developing public support. In Europe, leadership and opportunity discourses predominate. Other factors including centralization of governance, trust in the technocratic elite, and cultural norms contribute to the variation in policy construction.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

de Águeda Corneloup Inés, Mol Arthur P. J.

**Small island developing states and international climate change negotiations: the power of moral “leadership” in International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics**, Volume 14, Issue 3, September , 281-297

Being at the frontline of climate change, small island developing states (SIDS) hold a serious stake in climate negotiations. However, these countries usually are marginalized in the international political arena, due to their lack of structural power. This paper explores the strategic influence of SIDS and its representative organization, the Alliance of Small Island States, in the negotiations leading to the Copenhagen summit of December 2009. Using the concepts of leadership and discourses, the position, strategies, and impact of SIDS are analyzed on negotiation processes and their final outcome, focusing on three core demands of small island countries at Copenhagen: a temperature rise limit of 1.5 °C above preindustrial levels, funding for adaptation, and a legally binding outcome. Results reveal that SIDS practiced entrepreneurial, intellectual, and environmental leadership strategies and especially made use of moral claims in the debate. Given their near absence of structural power, they managed to secure a surprisingly large part of “their” agenda and interests in the final Copenhagen Accord, especially through (discourse) coalitions with various other state and non-state stakeholders.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Shockley Kenneth, Light Andrew

**Sourcing Stability in a Time of Climate Change**

**in Environmental Values**, Volume 23, Number 2, Special Issue: Adapting to a Perilous Planet, April , 199-217



Anthropogenic climate change poses a direct and imminent threat to the stability of modern society. Recent reports of the probable consequences of climate change paint a grim picture; they describe a world environmentally much less stable than the world to which we have become accustomed. As we begin to adapt to our changing climate, we will need to identify new sources for the stability necessary for a flourishing society. I suggest that this stability should come from the ideals of the good life we seek to promote when we focus on capabilities, on the substantial freedoms humans need to flourish. These ideals serve as a stable foundation for well-being in a time of great environmental and social instability; they should serve as guides for our policies, practices and institutions. I conclude by appealing to capabilities as a means of integrating well-being into our adaptation strategies, and show how doing so may well provide a way of formulating a powerful moral justification for adaptation strategies appropriate for both the developed and the developing world.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Genovese Federica

**States' interests at international climate negotiations: new measures of bargaining positions**

**in *Environmental Politics***, Volume 23, Issue 4, July , 610-631

To advance empirical research on international environmental institutions, new data on national positions at the international climate change negotiations are introduced. The observations cover more than 90 countries at two historical moments of climate change decision making: the pre-Kyoto Protocol enforcement (2001–2004) and the post-Kyoto Protocol (2008–2011) meetings. Data were collected from different types of written text. Coding entailed a qualitative (dictionary-based) content analysis and a quantitative text analysis. By systematically exploring these new data, I offer a 'map' of national preferences at the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC). I also propose a discussion of the dimensions of conflict and policy competition over 10 years of climate negotiations.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Campbell Lisa M., Corson Catherine, Gray Noella J., MacDonald Kenneth I., Brosius J. Peter

**Studying Global Environmental Meetings to Understand Global Environmental Governance: Collaborative Event Ethnography at the Tenth Conference of the Parties to the Convention on Biological Diversity**

**in *Global Environmental Politics***, Volume 14, Issue 3, August , 1-20

This special issue introduces readers to collaborative event ethnography (CEE), a method developed to support the ethnographic study of large global environmental meetings. CEE was applied by a group of seventeen researchers at the Tenth Conference of the Parties (COP10) to the Convention of Biological Diversity (CBD) to study the politics of biodiversity conservation. In this introduction, we describe our interests in global environmental meetings as sites where the politics of biodiversity conservation can be observed and as windows into broader governance networks. We specify the types of politics we attend to when observing such meetings and then describe the CBD, its COP, challenges meetings pose for ethnographic researchers, how CEE responds to these challenges generally, and the specifics of our research practices at COP10. Following a summary of the contributed papers, we conclude by reflecting on the evolution of CEE over time.



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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

**Mark Levene and Daniele Conversi**

**Subsistence societies, globalisation, climate change and genocide: discourses of vulnerability and resilience**  
in *International Journal of Human Rights (The)*, vol. 18, issue 3 , 281-297

Climate change impacts will change world politics and society. Drawing primarily on Martin Shaw's Theory of the Global State – as will be shown, a singularly relevant framework – this article tentatively explores the future structure of world politics and global society in the era of climate change. Climate change impacts will restructure how politics is performed and how social relations develop over the coming decades. Climate-driven conflict and genocide make such change more probable. It is proposed that through humanity's efforts to grapple with the complex challenges climate change will bring, cooperation, interconnection and ultimately integration will be extended significantly between states and societies, not least within the hybrid form of the global Western state itself (see below for definition). The classic formulation of a world government with global juridical powers is unlikely to materialise, because of the all too apparent, near universal attachment to 'national' sovereignty, but the enlargement and deepening of the already historic levels of cooperation seen in the operation of existing regimes of governance, in particular, even greater integration of the core Western state seems likely. In addition, the developing sense of human society on a worldwide scale – a key element of globality which underpins the global Western state's development – is bound, given climate change impacts, to intensify, further consolidate this unique state form. The article makes the case for this relationship between climate change impacts and social and political change by arguing that climate impacts will come increasingly to be understood as violations of human rights, particularly in contexts of war and genocide. The developing trend towards humanitarian response (including intervention) will, in more frequent and intense climate crises, re-crystallise the Western state into ever greater action in response to the above, simultaneously structuring change within it. Ultimately, society based on more fully global characteristics and even more tightly bound governance structures are more likely to address effectively the perils of climate change.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

**Peiry Katharina Kummer**

**The Chemicals and Waste Regime as a Basis for a Comprehensive International Framework on Sustainable Management of Potentially Hazardous Materials?**

in *Review of European Community & International Environmental Law*, Volume 23, Issue 2, Special Issue: International and European Chemicals Regulation, July , 172-180

Since the 1980s, the international legal framework governing the management of chemicals and wastes has developed in an ad hoc and piecemeal fashion. As the international community became aware of a problem, the response was to negotiate a treaty to address it. The 2013 Minamata Convention is the latest example. The result is an international legal framework that addresses some substances and some aspects of their management, leaving others unregulated. In today's globalized world, there is a need for a coherent and comprehensive legal framework that reflects the 'life cycle' or 'circular economy' approach to materials management. Taking into account previous efforts, including the 2006 Strategic Approach to Chemicals Management and the synergies process of the Basel, Rotterdam and Stockholm Conventions, and considering the approach adopted by the Minamata Convention to regulate the upstream as well as



the downstream aspects of the substances it addresses, this article explores ways to achieve a comprehensive and coherent global legal framework on the management of potentially hazardous materials, concluding that the current chemicals and waste regime can serve as a basis for such a framework.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Henrik Enroth

**The Concept of Authority Transnationalised**

*in Transnational Legal Theory*, vol. 4, issue 3 , 336-353

This article asks what happens to our understanding of the global and of ourselves as political and legal subjects when the concept of authority travels from a national to a transnational context. The article argues that the concept of authority has been able to travel in this fashion by way of figures of speech and thought drawn from the national context. It is also argued that in order to fully understand this process, we need to remind ourselves of connotations that the concept of authority carried prior to its uptake in the national context. The article concludes that whereas the concept of authority today allows us to think, speak and act as if we are still, in the transnational context, political and legal subjects in the same sense as in the modern nation-state, this usage may gloss over normatively consequential differences between these contexts as to the nature of authority.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

André Nollkaemper

**The Duality of Direct Effect of International Law**

*in European Journal of International Law*, vol. 25, issue 1 , 105-125

This article assesses how, 50 years after the ECJ delivered its judgment in *Van Gend en Loos* (VGL), the doctrine of direct effect of international law has fared outside the European Union. While obviously the core of VGL (that is, that it is EU law, not national law, which requires direct effect) is not replicated anywhere else in the world, the courts of a considerable number of states have been able to give direct effect to international law. Against the background of an exceedingly heterogeneous practice, this article argues that the concept of direct effect is characterized by a fundamental duality. Direct effect may function as a powerful sword that courts can use to pierce the boundary of the national legal order and protect individual rights where national law falls short. But more often than not, the conditions of direct effect legitimize the non-application of international law and shield the national legal order from international law. International law provides support for both functions. But above all, it defers the choice between these functions to national courts. The practice of direct effect of international law exposes how national courts play a critical political function at the intersection of legal orders.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Risse Mathias

**The Human Right to Water and Common Ownership of the Earth**

*in Journal of Political Philosophy*, Volume 22, Issue 2, June 2014 , 178-203





No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Flikschuh Katrin

**The Idea of Philosophical Fieldwork: Global Justice, Moral Ignorance, and Intellectual Attitudes**  
in *Journal of Political Philosophy*, Volume 22, Issue 1, March 2014 , 1–26

The full text is free:

<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/jopp.12006/abstract>

This article is about the idea of philosophical fieldwork as a possible corrective to our current state of ignorance regarding the thoughts and views of distant others in the context of global normative theorising. By 'philosophical fieldwork' I mean a type of conceptual discovery — philosophical as non-empirical fieldwork. By 'distant others' I do not mean the 'global poor' but our academic peers who work within moral and political contexts distinct from ours and whom we tend not to consult in our global theorising: distant intellectually as much as geographically...

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Eriksen Henrik Hallgrim, Perrez Franz Xaver

**The Minamata Convention: A Comprehensive Response to a Global Problem**  
in *Review of European Community & International Environmental Law*, Volume 23, Issue 2, Special Issue: International and European Chemicals Regulation, July , 195-210

This article gives an overview of the negotiation history and the main elements of the Minamata Convention. It starts with a short description of the global risks posed by mercury and the findings of the global assessment of 2002 that led to the proposal by Norway and Switzerland in 2003 to develop a legally binding instrument on mercury. It then discusses the international process that led to the adoption of a mandate to negotiate such an instrument in 2009, followed by a summary of the negotiation process. The article next offers an overview of the key provisions of the Convention and provides an analysis of the main factors behind the outcome. It also analyzes particular difficulties of the negotiations connected to the concerns of specific countries. The article concludes by highlighting reasons why the negotiations were so successful.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Moynihan Ruby, Magsig Bjørn-Oliver

**The Rising Role of Regional Approaches in International Water Law: Lessons from the UNECE Water Regime and Himalayan Asia for Strengthening Transboundary Water Cooperation**  
in *Review of European Community & International Environmental Law*, Volume 23, Issue 1, Special Issue: International Water Law, April , 43-58





The contribution of regional approaches to the international law of transboundary watercourses is currently being investigated with elevated interest. The United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (UNECE) area and Himalayan Asia are two key focus regions for testing new legal approaches and enhancing understanding of how existing regional regimes function and contribute to the development of international water law. The UNECE Water Convention, together with an entourage of hard and soft water instruments, appears to be the most sophisticated legal regime addressing freshwater cooperation. Within Himalayan Asia, where the water crisis is augmenting the already tense political situation, the current state of affairs for implementing a more progressive regional approach is examined. Studying the structurally different and challenging Himalayan context furthers our understanding of hurdles regarding the transferability of regional concepts. This article identifies gaps in our current perception of the role for regional approaches in international water law and outlines pathways for addressing them.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Kuroda Haruhiko

**The Role of Asia in a Globalized Era**

*in Asia Pacific Review*, Volume 20, Issue 2, 2013 , 101-115

This article first reviews the past 25 years, during which the international political situation as well as international economics and finance underwent major structural changes. It then focuses on Asia, which has recorded remarkable growth and strengthened its financial architecture since the Asian currency crisis. Issues facing Asia are detailed, together with recommendations for Asia's participation in a new international economic order.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Birgit Peters and Johan Karlsson Schaffer

**The Turn to Authority beyond States**

*in Transnational Legal Theory*, vol. 4, issue 3 , 315-335

The concept of authority has become increasingly palatable to scholars in law, political science and philosophy when describing, explaining and assessing global governance. While many now seem to agree that applying authority to transnational relations opens fruitful arenas for legal, empirical and normative research, they rely on partly incompatible notions of authority, how it emerges out of and affects the social relations between key actors, and how it relates to legitimacy. In this paper, we introduce this special issue on transnational authority. We discuss why international authority has become a central concern in international studies and compare key contemporary conceptions of international authority, highlighting their strengths and weaknesses. We also present the different contributions to this issue, which further seek to clarify the concept and its application in law, political science and political theory, theoretically or empirically, assessing arenas where authority is or is not legitimately exercised and developing legal conceptions, which might be utilised to constrain the use of authority in international relations.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Swango Dane



## **The United States and the Role of Nuclear Co-operation and Assistance in the Design of the Non-Proliferation Treaty**

in *International History Review (The)*, Volume 36, Issue 2 , 210-229

This article examines the perspective of the United States on the role nuclear co-operation and assistance played in the development of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). Many scholars and policy-makers believe the NPT codified a basic bargain. The United States and its nuclear-armed partners would provide civil nuclear assistance to other countries in exchange for adherence to the treaty. The United States consented to the insertion of an amendment into the treaty promoting civil nuclear co-operation and assistance. This revision created less of an incentive for participation than is commonly assumed. The treaty did not bar nuclear assistance to states that refused to adhere, and US officials indicated they would continue nuclear co-operation with states unlikely to join. The United States was not very committed to trading civil nuclear assistance for non-proliferation commitments, calling into question the idea that the NPT represented a bargain.

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### **Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Michael Zürn

#### **The politicization of world politics and its effects: Eight propositions**

in *European Political Science* , Volume 6 - Issue 01 , 47-71

World politics is no longer a matter of executive multilateralism and technocratic expert decisions. What we see instead is the politicization of international institutions – a twofold process of growing resistance to and the more intensive utilization of these institutions. After providing evidence for this claim, this article develops propositions on the effects of politicization of world politics on the quality of decision making and the content of policies on both the international and national level. On the one hand, the politicization of international institutions arguably heralds a reflexive stage of global governance. The increased participation of societal actors leads to a new mode of decision making in world politics, which includes a notion of global common goods in conjunction with elements of public deliberation. By the same token, increased politicization of international institutions contradicts lamentations about the hollowing-out of national democracies and shows that political participation is in fact partly emigrating to the international level. While politicization has the inherent potential for initiating the democratization of international institutions and making new types of global policies possible, there are on the other hand several dangers associated to this process. First, it may perpetuate existing inequalities between North and South in terms of representation on the global level. Second, the politicization of world politics puts pressure on national democracy, since it moves attention away from national political matters and skews national policies towards universalist positions. Moreover, it arguably provokes the constitution of a new political cleavage, cosmopolitanism vs. communitarianism, which may possibly restructure politics in the 21st century to a large extent. These propositions on the effects of politicization will be developed with the help of empirical illustrations. However, they will not be systematically tested – the purpose of this contribution is to elaborate the analytical potential of a new concept and identify broad trends.

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### **Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Eungkyoon Lee, Chan Su Jung, Myung-Kyoon Lee

#### **The potential role of boundary organizations in the climate regime**



in **Environmental Science & Policy** , Vol. 36 , 24-36

Ostrom's notion of polycentricity deepens our understanding of why collaborative networks can work better in coping with global environmental change than a monolithic system. While subscribing to her theory, we note that Ostrom's own work on climate change does not address explicitly issues of the advent of collaborative networks and extant power disparity prevalent in the international polity. The research presented here seeks to address the aforementioned concerns by employing the concept of boundary organizations as key to initiating and operating climate change networks among weak states. In so doing, we extend the applicability of Ostrom's approach into the arena of international environmental collaboration. Specifically, the research focuses on the activities undertaken by the UNEP Risø Center, which we identify as a boundary organization vital to the clean development mechanism. A case study reveals that boundary organizations can be a promising tool for organizing less developed countries to enter into small-scale multilateral collaboration by linking knowledge to action. A broad implication of the research for coping with collective action and global environmental challenges is the advantage of having a competent mediator that can offset the weak bargaining position of the less advantaged and provide leverage to level the playing field.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Nielsen Tobias Dan

**The role of discourses in governing forests to combat climate change**

in **International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics**, Volume 14, Issue 3, September , 265-280

Reducing emissions from forest degradation and deforestation, conserving and enhancing forest carbon stocks, and sustainably managing forests (REDD+) has emerged as one of the most anticipated climate change mitigation tools. This paper aims to understand and identify the underlying discourses that have dominated the emergence of REDD+, by identifying the key story lines in the policy and academic debates on REDD+. As such, this paper takes a step away from the "fine-tuning" of policy recommendations and instead studies REDD+ from a more theoretical approach with the intent to provide a critical analysis of the ideational structures that shape the policies that have emerged around REDD+. The analysis shows that ecological modernization and its accompanying story lines constitute a dominant notion of REDD+ as being able to manage the complexities of forest in a synergetic way, combining cost-efficient and effective mitigation with sustainable development. The paper also identifies the critical counter discourse of civic environmentalism, which criticizes this notion of REDD+ and instead promotes issues such as equity, the importance of local knowledge, and the participatory process. It argues that reducing deforestation involves trade-offs between economic, ecological, and social dimensions, also arguing that REDD+ fits overwhelmingly with the interest of the global North

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Anguelovski Isabelle, Martínez Alier Joan

**The 'Environmentalism of the Poor' revisited: Territory and place in disconnected glocal struggles**

in **Ecological Economics**, Volume 102, June , 167-176

In 2002, the year it was published, *The Environmentalism of the Poor* was one of the first books examining in a multidisciplinary perspective three parallel environmental movements around the world. Eleven years later, we



re-examine these movements – the Cult of Wilderness, the Gospel of Eco-Efficiency and the Mantra of Environmental Justice, – focusing on the increased visibility of struggles representing Environmental Justice and The Environmentalism of the Poor. Even if they are often disconnected from an organizational standpoint, global manifestations of resistance have emerged since the 1990s. Today, environmental movements assert common values related to place, identity, and culture. Activists' concepts such as ecological debt, environmental justice, environmental liabilities, land grabbing, environmental gentrification, corporate accountability, climate justice, food sovereignty, or economic degrowth are the keywords of the networks of the global Environmental Justice movement. At the same time, such concepts support the rural and urban movements that remake place for marginalized groups, re-assert traditional practices, and protect territory from contamination, land appropriation, and real estate speculation. Some possibilities exist for cooperation between Environmental Justice and the other varieties of environmentalism. Here, comparative research can help unravel the use of valuation languages different from “green” economic growth or sustainable development.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

**Downie Christian**

**Transnational actors in environmental politics: strategies and influence in long negotiations**

**in Environmental Politics**, Volume 23, Issue 3, May , 376-394

For scholars of global environmental politics, transnational actors are a central focus, and many ascribe significant influence to them. However, it is not always clear how their influence is felt or what strategies are most effective. Most studies that do consider these issues focus on the influence of either environmental non-governmental organisations (NGOs) or business groups on one international outcome. Very few studies analyse these actors together. This limits the generalisability of conclusions. Remarkably, almost none of this work has considered the influence of these actors and the strategies they could employ in prolonged environmental negotiations that last many years or decades. Drawing on a rich empirical data set from the international climate negotiations, both are addressed. How the influence of transnational environmental NGOs and business groups is felt in long negotiations is considered, and three strategies are identified that these actors can use to influence not only state behaviour but each other as well.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

**Tim Bartley**

**Transnational governance and the re-centered state: Sustainability or legality?**

**in Regulation & Governance**, Volume 8, Issue 1 , 93–109

After two decades in which transnational governance of production processes has typically meant voluntary subscription to privately developed standards, some transnational rulemaking projects are promoting mandatory compliance with law. The emerging timber legality regime is one example of this, and scholars' efforts to theorize this regime have produced provocative new analyses of interactions between public and private standards. Recent analyses, including those in this issue, predict that the new legality regime will bolster voluntary initiatives that certify sustainable forests. Based on research in Indonesia and China, I argue that this prediction is questionable and that the rise of the timber legality regime could constrict, rather than expand the space for global private authority. Further, I argue that it would not be entirely a bad thing if the legality regime overtook sustainability certification. Behind these specific arguments are general perspectives on how domestic circumstances shape transnational business governance and on the role of



states in pluralistic fields of governance – both issues that are obscured by more architectural approaches.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Alston Charlotte

**Transnational solidarities and the politics of the left, 1890–1990 – introduction**

in *European Review of History - Revue Européenne d'Histoire*, Volume 21, Issue 4 , 447-450

The ten articles in this special issue of the *European Review of History—Revue européenne d'histoire* explore the operation of transnational solidarity movements from the late nineteenth to the late twentieth century. This introduction highlights the endurance of methods and strategies across this period, even while the contexts for transnational activism changed. It points to the opportunities presented by expressions of transnational solidarity, but also their inherent limitations.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Paul E. Hubble

**U.S. Agency Independence and the Global Democracy Deficit**

in *New York University Law Review* , vol. 88, issue 5 , 1802-1838

Critics have accused transnational regulatory networks (TRNs) such as the Basel Committee on Banking Supervision of being undemocratic, but they rarely step back and ask if democracy is the right criterion for evaluating regulatory networks. Such critics often point to the seemingly robust checks of domestic administrative law and argue that similar mechanisms should constrain TRNs. However, the Federal Reserve Board of Governors, a significant banking regulator in the United States, is not democratic. Using the Federal Reserve Board as a case study, this Note challenges critics' claims that there is such a wide gulf between domestic and global procedures.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Diakite Kalilou

**Une ONG humanitaire sur tous les fronts de la solidarité. Action internationale contre la faim, 1979-1989.**

in *Bulletin de l'Institut Pierre Renouvin*, n. 39, printemps , 103-112

<http://www.cairn.info/revue-bulletin-de-l-institut-pierre-renouvin-2014-1-page-103.htm>

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

CAROLINE FEHL

**Unequal power and the institutional design of global governance: the case of arms control**

in *Review of International Studies (The)*, Volume 40 - Issue 03 , 505-531





IR scholars have recently paid increasing attention to unequal institutional orders in world politics, arguing that global governance institutions are deeply shaped by power inequalities among states. Yet, the literature still suffers from conceptual limitations and from a shortage of empirical work. The article addresses these shortcomings through a study of the historical evolution of global arms control institutions since 1945. It shows that in this important policy area, the global institutional order has not been marked by a recent trend toward deeper inequality, as many writings on unequal institutions suggest. Instead, the analysis reveals a pattern of institutional mutation whereby specific forms of institutional inequality are recurrently replaced and supplemented by new forms. This process, the article argues, is driven by states' efforts to adapt the regime to a changing material and normative environment within the constraints of past institutional legacies.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Häberle Peter

**Universaler Konstitutionalismus aus nationalen und völkerrechtlichen Teilverfassungen - sieben Thesen in Jahrbuch des öffentlichen Rechts der Gegenwart**, Band 62, 2014

No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Meltz Renaud

**Vers une diplomatie des peuples ? L'opinion publique et les crises franco-anglaises des années 1840 in Histoire Economie et Société**, n° 2, juin , 58-78

Un premier système médiatique s'organise à partir des années 1830, en Europe occidentale, autour de la presse écrite. La politique étrangère y tient une place primordiale. L'opinion, nouvelle actrice des relations internationales, revendique la publicité de la diplomatie et s'érige en instance de jugement. Cette opinion se fait entendre, sous différentes formes sociales, pour réclamer une politique étrangère morale, face à un État libéral qui se cantonne à la sphère de ses intérêts. Cette exigence d'une politique bonne et, partant, universelle, favorise l'émergence d'une opinion publique internationale, partageant des valeurs. Naturellement, cette OPI demeure à la mesure de l'étroit espace public européen. Le propos de cet article est de montrer que, contre le sentiment et les discours des décideurs, l'affirmation de l'opinion publique dans les affaires internationales a produit des effets principalement iréniques. La meilleure connaissance réciproque a permis d'appivoiser la culture médiatique adverse serait-ce dans l'affrontement verbal. En défendant la paix entre nations civilisées d'égale dignité, contre le bellicisme d'État, les opinions publiques françaises et anglaises ont même participé à l'invention de la notion d'arbitrage : le tribunal informel de l'opinion a préfiguré, en somme, la judiciarisation de la société internationale. L'opinion publique a également revendiqué une démocratisation de chaque État, et de leurs relations, au bénéfice de la paix. L'appel à une diplomatie des peuples, affilié aux projets de paix hérités de Kant, dépassait-il la notion d'opinion en proclamant le refus des peuples d'être opposés entre eux, posture consubstantielle au refus d'être privé, pour chacun d'entre eux, de la maîtrise des questions de politique étrangère.

A first media system gets organized from the 1930's, in the Western Europe, around the written press. The foreign policy has an essential place in it, allowing the public opinion to seize international affairs. This new actor of the international





relations claims the advertising of the foreign policy and establish itself as a judgment authority; indeed, it considers itself the main moral resource of the country and its power's founding principle. This opinion makes it heard to claim a moral foreign policy, in front of a liberal state whose main interests are its own. This demand of a good and universal policy promotes the emergence of an international public opinion, sharing values. This initiation stays in the tight European public space. The aim of this article is to show that, against the decision-maker's feeling, the assertion of the public opinion in international affairs has mainly generated peace effects. The best mutual knowledge has allowed taming the opposite media culture. Fighting for peace between civilized nations of equal dignity, against the State warmongering, the French and English public opinion have participated to the invention of the mediation concept : as a matter of fact, the informal tribunal of the opinion prefigured the judicialization of the international society. The public opinion has also claimed a democratization of each state, and of their relations, for peace. In this way, the call to a diplomacy of the peoples, affiliated to the peace project inherited from Kant, has been exceeding the notion of an opinion proclaiming the refusal of the people to be opposed between them, consubstantial place to the refusal to be private, for all of them, of the command of the foreign policy questions.

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### **Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Dobransky Steve

#### **Violators amongst Us: International Regimes and the Role of Compliance, a Case Study on Official Development Assistance**

*in Politics & Policy*, Volume 42, Issue 4, august , 593-634

This article extensively reviews and evaluates international regime theory and the importance of noncompliance. It uses international foreign aid, specifically official development assistance (ODA), to test regime theory and compliance levels. Many scholars have argued that states tend to comply fully with regime tenets based upon rationality, common values, and other reasons. The ODA case study presents a strong argument against past claims, as it demonstrates that regimes can have large-scale violations from the beginning and over the long term. This study measures the limits and effectiveness of regime theory and develops a more comprehensive and current perspective. I propose a new definition of international regimes and offer a concise description of the purposes and characteristics of regimes. This is the first major study emphasizing noncompliance as a key theoretical and real-world issue. It hopes to encourage the continued search to improve understanding of international regimes and their operations.

Este artículo analiza y evalúa la teoría de regímenes y la importancia del incumplimiento. Utiliza la llamada Asistencia Oficial para el Desarrollo [AOD], una modalidad de ayuda externa para probar la teoría de regímenes y los distintos niveles de cumplimiento. Muchos expertos han argumentado que los estados tienden a cumplir plenamente con las bases del régimen basados en la racionalidad, valores comunes, y otras razones. El estudio de caso de AOD presenta una fuerte defensa contra reclamos del pasado, demostrando que de entrada, los regímenes pueden sufrir violaciones en gran escala en el largo plazo. Este estudio mide los límites y la eficacia de la teoría de los regímenes en términos de la AOD y desarrolla una perspectiva de regímenes más abarcante y actualizada. Propone una nueva definición de regímenes internacionales—la primera intentada en 30 años—y ofrece una descripción concisa de los propósitos y características de los regímenes. Este es el primer estudio mayor de que enfatiza el incumplimiento como un asunto teórico y empírico clave. Espero así impulsar la búsqueda continua para mejorar el entendimiento de los regímenes internacionales y sus operaciones.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Ehs Tamara

**Welt ohne Gericht. Die stets vertagte Völkerrechtsrevolution**

in **Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik**, April, 2014 , 65-72

Ob der aktuelle Konflikt um die Krim oder der Völkermord in Ruanda vor 20 Jahren oder die unzähligen Kriege seit 1989: Alle diese Ereignisse zeigen, wie wenig von einer echten Völker-Rechtsgemeinschaft bis heute die Rede sein kann. Zwar gibt es seit 2002 einen Internationalen Strafgerichtshof (IStGH) in Den Haag. Er aber versinnbildlicht vor allem eines – wie die internationalen Beziehungen dem demokratischen Anspruch einer Weltgemeinschaft als *civitas maxima* zuwiderlaufen. Denn seine Praxis konstituiert eine „selektive internationale Gerechtigkeitssphäre“, die mit echter Gerechtigkeit zwischen gleichberechtigten Staaten wenig zu tun hat.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Duffy Rosaleen

**What Does Collaborative Event Ethnography Tell Us About Global Environmental Governance?**

in **Global Environmental Politics**, Volume 14, Issue 3, August , 125-131

This forum places CEE at COP10 in the context of wider theoretical debates about global environmental governance. This special issue enhances our understanding of governance by examining how ideas travel and develop at meetings before they become the official documents and announcements that are the more common foci of such papers. The articles in this issue of GEP open up the 'black box' of decision-making and allow us to gain a better understanding of global environmental governance, in theory and in practice. These articles are firmly in line with International Political Economy approaches, allowing us to reflect on how regulations can mirror and deepen existing global inequalities, revealing the continuing power of epistemic communities, and demonstrating the important role of ideas. The special issue allows us insight into how global conventions work, how alliances are formed, how particular ideas emerge, and crucially, how alternatives are rendered silent and invisible.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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Christine Bell

**What We Talk About When We Talk About International Constitutional Law**

in **Transnational Legal Theory**, vol. 5, issue 2 , 241-284

Everyone is talking about international constitutional law: but several different conversations seem to be going on. A first conversation concerns how international law is developing its own constitution, and a second how domestic constitutional law is internationalising under supranational and transnational pressures. This article adds a third conversation concerning how international law regulates the framing of new or revised polities and their constitutional orders, which has largely been an outlier due to its lack of clear disciplinary frame as either international law or constitutional law. The article explores whether these different conversations, often assumed to be part of a common field of study, in fact talk to each other. Are they one or many? In conclusion it is suggested that the 'lonely third' conversation makes explicit a converging consensus across all three conversations, revolving around the idea that



constitutional orders in either the domestic or international domain are shaped and made normative by the dialectical interaction between them. This converging consensus not only links all three conversations, but stands to re-work our conception of constitutional foundations in more traditional settled domestic contexts.

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*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Challies Edward, Newig Jens, Lenschow Andrea

**What role for social–ecological systems research in governing global teleconnections?**

in *Global Environmental Change*, Volume 27, July , 32-40

The paper considers the extent to which social–ecological systems research might contribute to an improved understanding of the social and environmental impacts of teleconnections inherent in economic globalisation. Recognising the importance and specificity of regional interconnections, wherein actions in certain parts of the world impact quite specifically on the sustainability of certain other spatially distant places and systems, the paper reflects on the social and environmental implications of increasingly interconnected agri-food systems and intersecting global commodity chains. Key elements of social–ecological systems approaches, which have purported relevance to research on globalisation, are critically examined, and aspects of social–ecological systems thinking that pose challenges for its application in this context are considered. Wider implications and limitations of social–ecological systems approaches to research and practice in (global) governance for sustainability are discussed. The general conclusion is that social–ecological systems research may offer insights into the governance of social and environmental impacts of agri-food systems and other complex systems at certain scales. However, the formal utility of concepts like resilience, vulnerability and adaptability becomes considerably less clear as research turns to analyses of larger, complex, globally teleconnected systems, where the main contribution of such concepts may lie in their metaphorical appeal to important aspects of interconnectivity and interdependence.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Brohé Arnaud

**Whither the CDM? Investment outcomes and future prospects**

in *Environment, Development and Sustainability*, Volume 16, Issue 2, April , 305-322

Following an abrupt fall in carbon credit prices, 2012 has witnessed a disinterest on behalf of investors in the Clean Development Mechanism (CDM). In this paper, we aim to take a step back and provide an assessment of the CDM through a careful analysis of 6 instrument evaluation criteria. Our study indicates that, despite the important number of projects developed under the CDM, the initial ambition of a scheme that would contribute to sustainable development in developing countries has not materialised. Moreover, the environmental integrity of numerous projects is seriously questioned. Given the interaction of the mechanism with other national policies, notably in the renewable sector, the search of carbon reduction opportunities does not lead to cost-effective abatements. If the CDM governance does not score really well in terms of predictability, the mechanism's transparency is an example for the development of future climate and development policies at a multilateral level. Finally, the lack of consideration for the demand side of the offset mechanism seriously jeopardises the persistence of this instrument. Therefore, we recommend that any CDM reform considers the demand side, for instance through the setting of a guaranteed minimum price coupled with an obligation of repurchase. One cannot expect progress in host countries if new sources of demand for carbon credits are



not rapidly created in developed countries.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Tan Kok-Chor

**Why global justice matters**

in *Journal of Global Ethics*, Volume 10, Issue 2, 2014 , 128-134

Abstract

Why does global justice as a philosophical inquiry matter? We know that the world is plainly unjust in many ways and we know that something ought to be done about this without, it seems, the need of a theory of global justice. Accordingly, philosophical inquiry into global justice comes across to some as an intellectual luxury that seems disconnected from the real world. I want to suggest, however, that philosophical inquiry into global justice is necessary if we want to address the problems of humanity. First, in some cases, a theory of global justice is needed for identifying what counts as legitimate problems of justice. Second, even in obvious cases of injustices, such as the fact of preventable extreme poverty to which we know we have an obligation to respond, we cannot know the content and the limits of these obligations and who the primary bearers of these obligations are without some theoretical guidance. However, I acknowledge that philosophical inquiry on global justice risks becoming a philosophical parlor game if it loses sight of the real-world problems that motivate the inquiry in the first place. If global justice is to provide the tools for addressing the problems of humanity, it must remain a problems-driven enterprise.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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Tusan Michelle

**“Crimes against Humanity”: Human Rights, the British Empire, and the Origins of the Response to the Armenian Genocide**

in *American Historical Review*, Volume 119, Issue 1, february , 47-77

In early 1919, British Solicitor General Sir Ernest Pollock faced the monumental question of how to prosecute those responsible for “crimes against humanity” committed against minority Christians in the Ottoman Empire during World War I. “I think that a British Empire war tribunal should do it,” he argued to fellow Allied jurists.<sup>1</sup> Although the notion of international justice was not new, initiating war crimes tribunals for perpetrators of wartime civilian massacres as a prosecutable offense had no precedent.

Attempts to bring Turkish war criminals to justice for what would come to be known as the Armenian Genocide had their roots in imperial politics and humanitarian intervention. Starting in the second half of the nineteenth century, Britain considered it an imperial responsibility to enforce what we now understand as a universal standard of human rights. The response to the massacres of Ottoman Christian minorities in the late nineteenth century and the 1915 genocide in Armenia can be situated in the infrastructure and ideological commitments of the British Empire. Contemporary reactions to, and the subsequent politicization of, the Armenian question were part of an imperial framework that eventually undermined attempts to document, prosecute, and memorialize the genocide.



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81-123

**“The policy of social democracy is self-consciously internationalist”: The German Social Democratic Party’s Internationalism after 1945**

in *Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 86, No. 1, March , Imlay Talbot C.

No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy*

Weyl Roland

**«Gouvernance mondiale»? Danger!**

in *Pensée (La)*, n° 377, 2014

L’alternative est aujourd’hui posée entre la verticalité d’une gouvernance mondiale sur les peuples et l’horizontalité d’une mondialisation internationale de concertation entre peuples souverains et égaux. La Charte des Nations unies fonde l’ONU comme lieu où les peuples « unissent leurs efforts ». Mais la domination des puissances financières sur les États en font des instruments de récupération de l’ONU comme instrument de gouvernance. La seule solution en est le combat des peuples pour imposer le respect de la Charte. Plusieurs exemples montrent que cela est possible. Mais cela renvoie au problème de l’information et donc des médias et de l’importance du combat d’idées.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Veca Salvatore

**Bobbio e la sinistra che s’interrogava sulla globalizzazione**

in *Reset*, Numero 148, Gennaio

No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Grömling Michael

**“A supply-side explanation for current account imbalances”**

in *Intereconomics*, Volume 49, Issue 1, January 2014 , Pages 30-35

Advanced economies with relatively high manufacturing shares tend to have current account surpluses. One reason for this is the dominant role played by transactions involving manufactured goods in world trade. An additional factor is that the catching-up process in emerging and developing economies has been accompanied by a marked boom in investment. Countries with relatively large manufacturing sectors specialising in capital equipment are correspondingly



better placed to achieve trade surpluses.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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Siebold Angela

**1989 – eine Zäsur von globaler Reichweite?**

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 24-26, 2014

The full text is free:

<http://www.bpb.de/apuz/185590/aufbruch-89>

Als Schlussakt des Kalten Krieges gilt das Jahr 1989: Der Runde Tisch in Polen, die "samtene Revolution" in der Tschechoslowakei, der Fall der Berliner Mauer und der Sturz des rumänischen Diktators Nicolae Ceaușescu sind nur einige Hinweise auf eine dichte Zeit des Wandels. Zur "Zäsur 1989" werden auch die Reformen unter Michail Gorbatschow, die deutsche Einheit sowie das Ende der Sowjetunion 1991 gezählt. Im Zentrum der 1989er Jahre[1] steht also zunächst eine kurze Zäsur, die den Zeitraum von 1989 bis 1991 zum Schwerpunkt hat...

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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Mayer Andreas

**40 Jahre globaler Ressourcenverbrauch: Ein Überblick aktueller Debatten**

in *Oesterreichische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft*, Heft 1/2014, 55-71

40 years of global resource use. A review of current debates

The full text is free:

<http://www.oezp.at/getMagazine.php?id=78>

40 years ago the well known "Limits to Growth: A report to the Club of Rome" has been published. The following article provides an overview on various aspects of global resource use since 1972. Changes in the global division of labour, and a more difficult resource extraction are current developments that will exert more pressure on sources and sinks of global social metabolism, leading to higher resource prices and slowing down economic growth. Results of the original models indicate, that the standard run scenario shows most similarities with real world developments since 1972. This scenario leads to a breakdown of the industrial system, and a subsequent collapse of the global population in the middle of the 21st -century. This overview shows that previous efforts of a rerouting of global resource use towards sustainability were hardly successful and therefore asks for more appropriate political measures.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Paul James & Manfred B. Steger

**A Genealogy of 'Globalization': The Career of a Concept**

in *Globalizations*, Volume 11, Issue 4, 417-434





'Globalization' is an extraordinary concept. It is a complicated concept that burst upon the world relatively recently, but soon became a household concern. It is a concept that was rarely used until the 1990s, but processes of globalization had been happening for centuries. This article follows the genealogy of the concept from its unlikely beginnings in the 1930s–1950s to the heated scholarly debates across the end of the twentieth century to the present. Before it became a buzz word, the concept of 'globalization' began to be used in the most unlikely fields: in education to describe the global life of the mind; in international relations to describe the extension of the European Common Market; and in journalism to describe how the 'American Negro and his problem are taking on a global significance'. The article begins to answer the question 'Through what lineages and processes did the concept of globalization become so important?' Drawing on textual research and interviews with key originating figures in the field of global studies, the article attempts to get past the usual anecdotes about the formation and etymology of the concept that center on alleged inventors of the term or references to first use of 'globalization' various dictionaries. The article tracks the careers of major scholars in relation to the career of the concept.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Habermas Jürgen

**A Political Constitution for the Pluralist World Society?**

in *Journal of Chinese Philosophy*, Volume 40, Issue Supplement S1, December 2013, 226–238

Abstract

The chances of the project of a "cosmopolitan order" being successful are not worse now than they were in 1945 or in 1989–1990. This does not mean that the chances are good, but we should not lose sight of the scale of things. The Kantian project first became part of the political agenda with the League of Nations, in other words after more than 200 years; and the idea of a cosmopolitan order first received a lasting embodiment with the foundation of the United Nations (UN). This process points toward a continuation of the Kantian project. We can still take our cue from Kant's idea of a cosmopolitan condition if we simply construe it in sufficiently abstract terms. I wish to show first of all why I consider the Kantian alternative between a world of republic and a league of nations to be incomplete (section I) and will then go on to outline how we can reconceptualize the Kantian project under contemporary conditions (section II). And I shall close by addressing an actual challenge to which that project might well offer the most promising response (section III).

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Taylor Peter J.

**A Research Odyssey: from Interlocking Network Model to Extraordinary Cities**

in *Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie (Journal of Economic & Social Geography)*, Volume 105, Issue 4, Special Issue: The interlocking network model for studying urban networks, September, 387-397

The paper charts a personal research journey that begins with the specification of the interlocking network model for cities and concludes with interpretation of cities as truly extraordinary. Three products of this model are discussed. First, this very specific model has generated a mini-literature on cities in globalisation and this is briefly outlined. Second, the model has been interpreted as a generic description of inter-city relations – central flow theory – and this is illustrated



using historical examples. Third, there is a discussion of criticisms of the model and the relevance of green networks of extraordinary cities for thinking about the future of humanity.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

**Chinn Menzie D., Eichengreen Barry, Ito Hiro**

**A forensic analysis of global imbalances**

in **Oxford Economic Papers**, Volume 66 Issue 2 April 2014 , 465-490

We investigate whether the determinants of current account balances changed in the run-up to the 2009 financial crisis. Although changes in the budget balance appear to be an important factor for advanced current account deficit countries such as the USA, the effect of the 'saving glut variables', that is financial development and openness and legal development, has been relatively stable for emerging market countries, suggesting that those factors cannot explain the bulk of current account movements in recent years. We also find a structural break in current account behavior in 2006–8, in emerging market economies in particular, and attribute the anomalous behavior of precrisis current account balances to financial exuberance as opposed to the nature of the fiscal and monetary policy stance. Our projections suggest that absent drastic policy changes, the imbalances of the USA and China are unlikely to disappear.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

**Zhang Cathy**

**An information-based theory of international currency**

in **Journal of International Economics**, Volume 93, Issue 2, July 2014 , 286-301

This paper develops an information-based theory of international currency based on search frictions, private trading histories, and imperfect recognizability of assets. Using an open-economy search model with multiple competing currencies, the value of each currency is determined without requiring agents to use a particular currency to purchase a country's goods. Strategic complementarities in portfolio choices and information acquisition decisions generate multiple equilibria with different types of payment arrangements. While some inflation can benefit the country issuing an international currency, the threat of losing international status puts an inflation discipline on the issuing country. When monetary authorities interact in a simple policy game, the temptation to inflate can lead optimal policy to deviate from the Friedman rule. The calibrated model can produce a welfare cost of losing international status for the issuing country larger than previous findings, though estimates depend critically on inflation rates and information costs.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

**Ang Ien**

**Au-delà de l'unité dans la diversité: cosmopolitiser les identités dans un monde en globalisation**

in **Diogène - Diogenes**, n° 237, 2012/1

No abstract available



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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Massarrat Mohssen

**Chaos und Hegemonie. Wie der US-Dollar-Imperialismus die Welt dominiert**

in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, Mai, 2014 , 93-100

Ungeachtet der krisenhaften Lage in vielen Regionen der Welt bleibt die hegemoniale Stellung der USA unangetastet. Den Grund dafür sieht Mohssen Massarrat, Professor em. für Wirtschaft und Politik, in der unangefochtenen Rolle des US-Dollars als globaler Leitwährung – über die nicht zuletzt auch der Handel mit Öl, dem Treibstoff der Weltwirtschaft, abgewickelt wird. Seine These: Um die Macht des Dollars und damit die Hegemonie der USA zu verteidigen, setzen diese speziell im Nahen und Mittleren Osten auf eine Strategie der gezielten Destabilisierung.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Planel Niels

**Cioyens de la civilisation-monde**

in *Revue des deux mondes*, Février

<http://www.revuedesdeuxmondes.fr/archive/article.php?code=72447&show=picture>

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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Liu Xingjian, Derudder Ben, Witlox Frank, Hoyler Michael

**Cities As Networks within Networks of Cities: The Evolution of the City/Firm-Duality in the World City Network, 2000–2010**

in *Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie (Journal of Economic & Social Geography)* , Volume 105, Issue 4, Special Issue: The interlocking network model for studying urban networks, September , 465-482

We explore the temporal evolution of cities and firms (i.e. both modes) in a two-mode intercity corporate network formed by 50 leading advanced producer service firms across 154 cities for the years 2000 and 2010. Drawing upon one-mode network projection and three network centralities, we assess the shifting positions of individual cities and firms in the one-mode intercity and interfirm networks. Major findings include: (1) the intercity network is more stable and hierarchical than the interfirm network; (2) brokerage functions, as captured by betweenness centrality, remain highly uneven for both cities and firms. For example, New York and London's distinct positions as the world's leading producer service centres remain intact; and (3) regional and sectoral tendencies are evident in terms of growth rates of centralities.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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Barattieri Alessandro



### **Comparative advantage, service trade, and global imbalances**

in *Journal of International Economics*, Volume 92, Issue 1, January 2014 , 1-13

The large current account deficit of the U.S. is the result of a large deficit in the goods balance and a modest surplus in the service balance. The opposite is true for Japan, Germany, and China. Moreover, I document the emergence from the mid-nineties of a strong negative relation between specialization in the export of services and the current account balances of a large sample of OECD and developing countries. Starting from these new stylized facts, I propose in this paper a service hypothesis for global imbalances, a new explanation based on the interplay between the U.S. comparative advantage in services and the asymmetric trade liberalization process in goods trade versus service trade that took place starting in the mid-nineties. First, I use a structural gravity model to show that service trade liberalization lagged behind goods trade liberalization, and I quantify the extent of this asymmetry. Second, I show that a simple two-period model can rationalize the emergence of current account deficits in the presence of such asymmetric liberalization. The key inter-temporal mechanism is the asymmetric timing of trade policies, which affects saving decisions. Finally, I explore the quantitative relevance of this explanation for global imbalances. I introduce trade costs in an otherwise standard 2-sector 2-country international real business cycle model. When fed with the asymmetric trade liberalization path found in the data, the model generates a trade deficit of about 5% of GDP. I conclude that the service hypothesis for global imbalances is quantitatively relevant.

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### **Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

McArthur Neil

#### **Cosmopolitanism and Hume's general point of view**

in *European Journal of Political Theory*, Vol. 13, No. 3 , July 2014 , 321-340

Abstract

Hume's writings, taken as a whole, address a dazzlingly broad range of topics. I argue that they do so as part of a coherent and interesting philosophical programme. While Hume's doctrine of the general point of view provides an attractive way of understanding the process of moral judgement, it raises the threat of parochialism – that is, it potentially makes us prey to the limitations and prejudices of our society. I show that Hume endorses what I call “engaged cosmopolitanism”, which provides the resources to explain how we can, under certain circumstances, escape such parochialism. Engaged cosmopolitanism is the product of a particular sort of society – one that is open and commercial, and that governed by a system of equitable laws. Like Mandeville, Hume rejects the suspicion of commerce and “luxury” that was prevalent during his time. But he provides supporters of commercial society with a justification that does not, in contrast to Mandeville's writings, abandon notions of morality altogether. On the contrary, he makes commerce a precondition to a society's moral development. And he further links this development to a certain type of liberal political institutions, thus giving such institutions a moral basis.

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### **Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Carlier Louise

#### **Cosmopolitanism: from urban experience to politics**



in *International Social Science Journal* , Volume 61, Issue 202, December 2010 , 445–456

No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Inglis David

**Cosmopolitans and cosmopolitanism: Between and beyond sociology and political philosophy**

in *Journal of Sociology* , Volume 50, No. 2, June 2014 , 99-114

Abstract

There has been an explosion of interest in recent years in cosmopolitanism, as both political philosophy and object of sociological investigation. In the empirical sociological literature, there is a strong tendency to present Western cosmopolitan thought as purely theoretical in nature, devoid of empirical referents and underpinnings. This article re-narrates the history of cosmopolitan thinking – stretching from ancient Greece and Rome through Kantian philosophy to the time of Durkheim – to demonstrate that this is a caricature, and that there are important empirical and sociological elements in cosmopolitan thought. This fact must be acknowledged in future cosmopolitanism studies, so that political philosophy and sociological analysis are no longer seen to stand in unhelpful opposition to each other, and such that broader, unproductive divisions between the empirical and normative domains are transcended.

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*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Wright Christopher, Nybergab Daniel

**Creative self-destruction: corporate responses to climate change as political myths**

in *Environmental Politics* , Volume 23, Issue 2, March , 205-223

Despite the dire implications of anthropogenic climate change, societies have failed to take comprehensive action to reduce greenhouse gas emissions. A major reason for the lack of social and political engagement on this issue is the way in which political myths function to overcome the contradiction of environmental degradation and endless economic growth. Through a qualitative analysis of Australian business responses to climate change, we outline how the myths of corporate environmentalism, corporate citizenship, and corporate omnipotence absorb and adapt the critique of corporate capitalism while enabling ever more imaginative ways of exploiting nature – a process of ‘creative self-destruction’. Rather than seeking to falsify these myths, we explore how they are supported and what they seek to achieve – the work of myths. Revealing the nature of current political myths in relation to climate change is, we argue, a necessary first step to constructing alternative imaginaries.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Benhabib Seyla

**Defending a cosmopolitanism without illusions. Reply to my critics**



in *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, Volume 17, Issue 6, 2014 , 697-715

Abstract

This essay engages with several critiques of my project a 'cosmopolitanism without illusions.' Who is the subject of rights? What are the objects of rights? Is there a distinction between human and moral rights? Furthermore, what is prior in this cosmopolitan account: democracy or human rights? Do democratic iterations exhaust the meaning of principles of rights? Finally, does the 'scarf affair' really signify the return of 'political theology' or have not such disputes always accompanied secularization and modernity? I argue that moral rights comprise more than human rights and that non-human beings such as animals can have moral rights claims against us. Democratic iterations and rights complement one another; neither is prior and that although debates about religion and secularization have been endemic to modernity, the return of references to Carl Schmitt's 'political theology' is rather new.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Höhler Sabine

**Die Weltmeere**

in *Geschichte und Gesellschaft*, Heft 2014 / 40,3 , 437-451

No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Ang len, Albert Nicole G.

**Dépasser l'unité dans la diversité : pour des identités cosmopolites**

in *Diogenè - Diogenes*, n° 237, 2012/1 , 12-27

No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Baier Scott L., Bergstrand Jeffrey H., Mariutto Ronald

**Economic Determinants of Free Trade Agreements Revisited: Distinguishing Sources of Interdependence**

in *Review of International Economics*, Volume 22, Issue 1, February 2014 , 31-58

One of the most notable international economic events since 1990 has been the enormous increase in the number of free trade agreements (FTAs). While Baier and Bergstrand were the first to show empirically the impact of a country-pair's economic characteristics on the likelihood of the pair having an FTA, the literature has been extended to demonstrate the importance empirically of FTA "interdependence"—the effect of other FTAs on the probability of a pair having an FTA. In the context of the Baier–Bergstrand framework, this paper delves deeper into the sources of interdependence—an "own-FTA" effect and a "cross-FTA" effect. The authors argue that the own-FTA effect (the impact on the net welfare gains of an FTA between two countries owing to either already having other FTAs) likely dwarfs the





cross-FTA effect (the impact on the net welfare gains of an FTA between the pair owing to other FTAs existing in the rest of the world, or ROW). Augmenting a parsimonious logit model with simple “multilateral FTA” and “ROW FTA” terms to differentiate the own and cross effects empirically, it is shown that the marginal impact on the probability of a country-pair having an agreement of either country having one more FTA with a third country is 50 times that of one more FTA between another pair in ROW. The results suggest that “domino (own-FTA) effects” have far exceeded “competitive liberalization (cross-FTA) effects” in the proliferation of FTAs.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

**Baier Scott L., Bergstrand Jeffrey H., Feng Michael**

**Economic integration agreements and the margins of international trade**  
in **Journal of International Economics**, Volume 93, Issue 2, July 2014 , 339-350

One of the main policy sources of trade–cost changes is the formation of an economic integration agreement (EIA), which potentially affects an importing country's welfare. This paper: (i) provides the first evidence using gravity equations of both intensive and extensive (goods) margins being affected by EIAs employing a panel data set with a large number of country pairs, product categories, and EIAs from 1962 to 2000; (ii) provides the first evidence of the differential (partial) effects of various “types” of EIAs on these intensive and extensive margins of trade; and (iii) finds a novel differential “timing” of the two margins' (partial) effects with intensive-margin effects occurring sooner than extensive-margin effects, consistent with recent theoretical predictions. The results are robust to correcting for potential sample-selection, firm-heterogeneity, and reverse causality biases.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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**Uekötter Frank**

**Ein Haus auf schwankendem Boden: Überlegungen zur Begriffsgeschichte der Nachhaltigkeit**  
in **Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte**, Band 31-32, 2014

The full text is free:

<http://www.bpb.de/apuz/188661/ein-haus-auf-schwankendem-boden-begriffsgeschichte>

Wohl jeder, der sich mit Nachhaltigkeit beschäftigt, kennt jenen Moment der Verzweiflung, in dem man das Wort am liebsten in den Orkus wünschen würde. Was das Goethe-Zitat für den Bildungsbürger des 19. Jahrhunderts war, das ist die Nachhaltigkeit für den umweltbewussten Deutschen von heute: ein wohlklingender Referenzpunkt ohne tiefere Bedeutung. Selbst die Luftfahrt postuliert bei passender Gelegenheit "nachhaltiges Fliegen". Und wenn man vom Architekten Bjarke Ingels und seinem "Manifest für hedonistische Nachhaltigkeit" liest, möchte man das Kapitel am liebsten schließen. Zur Nachhaltigkeit ist, so scheint es, alles Sinnvolle gesagt und auch ein guter Teil des Sinnlosen. Der Rekurs auf die Geschichte wirkt vor einem solchen Hintergrund wie der Wunsch nach einem terminologischen Defibrillator. Vielleicht kommt man ja wieder auf sicheren Grund, wenn man sich in die Begriffsgeschichte vertieft? Gibt es eine zentrale Aussage, die durch inflationären Gebrauch verblasst ist und nur darauf wartet, von historisch versierter Werte in ihrem Wesenskern wieder freigelegt zu werden? Nichts wäre schließlich kurzfristiger, als einen Begriff nur deshalb abzulehnen, weil er in den alltäglichen Sprachgebrauch eingegangen ist. Popularität führt bei politischen



Begriffen nahezu zwangsläufig zu Unschärfen und Trivialisierungen, und Nachhaltigkeit ist gewiss nicht das einzige Wort in unserer politisch-sozialen Sprache, das bisweilen wie eine ausgelutschte Begriffshülse wirkt; man denke nur an die soziale Marktwirtschaft. Und wäre tatsächlich etwas gewonnen, wenn man sich stattdessen einen neuen Leitbegriff zurechtschneidert? Man kann die aktuelle Debatte über das "Anthropozän" auch als einen Praxistest betrachten, ob man mit neuem Vokabular tatsächlich weiterkommt...

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Kehrt Christian, Torma Franziska

**Einführung: Lebensraum Meer. Globales Umweltwissen und Ressourcenfragen in den 1960er und 1970er Jahren**

in *Geschichte und Gesellschaft*, Heft 2014 / 40,3 , 313-322

No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Thomas Martin, Thompson Andrew

**Empire and Globalisation: from 'High Imperialism' to Decolonisation**

in *International History Review (The)*, Volume 36, Issue 1 , 142-170

Reviewing the expansion and ultimate demise of the British and French empires, this article takes a long view of globalisation as an integral part of Europe's recent imperial past. The authors' argument is that these empires were not simply a global phenomenon. Rather, the processes that built and destroyed them were more actively 'globalising'. In this context, they argue that the rise and fall of the two pre-eminent overseas empires had several globalising effects. These globalising effects include distinct patterns of migration and communication, critical shifts in the movement of goods and capital, new forms of transnational connection, changing conceptualisations of community and individual rights, and discrete forms of violence and conflict that outlasted the 'formal' end of empires.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Millet Lauriane

**Esprit japonais et prémices du multiculturalismeLe Japon au sein de l'Organisation de coopération intellectuelle dans l'entre-deux-guerres**

in *Bulletin de l'Institut Pierre Renouvin*, n. 39, printemps , 79-90

<http://www.cairn.info/revue-bulletin-de-l-institut-pierre-renouvin-2014-1-page-79.htm>

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Kloet Jeroen de



## **Europe as façade**

in *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, Vol. 17, No. 1, February 2014 , 58-74

### Abstract

In China, numerous buildings employ an overtly baroque style, alluding to a hyper-Europe. In the context of an intensification of nationalistic Chinese sentiments that help maintain the Chinese nation-state, Europe remains an important constitutive outside. What cultural translations from Europe to China are at stake here, when Europe is turned into a façade? Inspired by the work of Rey Chow and Michel Foucault, this article reads these façades as constitutive mirrors, both heterotopian and utopian, that open up possibilities to rethink the notion of culture and its geopolitical manifestations. To analyse the imagination of Europe in such models, websites of real estate developers are analysed, showing how for them, Europe is a fantasy to capitalise on, signifying craftsmanship and a pastoral and rich and full life. In contrast, the artwork *Mirage City* by Amsterdam-based artist Meiya Lin questions the presence and perpetual multiplication of a hyper-Europe in today's China. In the final part of this article the author reflects upon the ways in which the presence of Europe in China interpellates him.

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### **Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

#### *Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

**Musil Robert**

#### **European Global Cities in the Recent Economic Crisis**

in *Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie (Journal of Economic & Social Geography)* , Volume 105, Issue 4, Special Issue: The interlocking network model for studying urban networks, September , 492-503

Macroeconomic imbalances are a substantial characteristic of the recent economic crisis in Europe. As several authors emphasise the impact of the state, public institutions and territorial structures on the world city, the impact of the crisis on the economic performance of global cities becomes a crucial question. After discussing the theoretical aspects of the state – global city linkages and discussing two fields of influence on the global city formation, the empirical section analyses the deviation of national and regional growth performance to estimate the decoupling of European global cities from the national economies. The results show that the correlation between European global cities and the national scale also depends on the form of capitalism and the territorial organisation of statehood.

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### **Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

#### *Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

**Ponte Stefano, Sturgeon Timothy**

#### **Explaining governance in global value chains: A modular theory-building effort**

in *Review of International Political Economy* , Volume 21, Issue 1, 2014 , 195-223

In this article, we review the evolution and current status of global value chain (GVC) governance theory and take some initial steps toward a broader theory of governance through an exercise in 'modular theory-building'. We focus on two GVC governance theories to which we previously contributed: a theory of linking and a theory of conventions. The modular framework we propose is built on three scalar dimensions: (1) a micro level – determinants and dynamics of exchange at individual value chain nodes; (2) a meso level – how and to what extent these linkage characteristics



'travel' upstream and downstream in the value chain; and (3) a macro level – looking at 'overall' GVC governance. Given space limitations, we focus only on the issue of 'polarity' in governance at the macro level, distinguishing between unipolar, bipolar and multipolar governance forms. While we leave a more ambitious analysis of how overall GVC governance is mutually constituted by micro/meso factors and broader institutional, regulatory and societal processes to future work, we provide an initial framework to which this work could be linked. Our ultimate purpose is to spur future efforts that seek to use and refine additional theories, to connect theories together better or in different modular configurations, and to incorporate elements at the macro level that reflect the changing constellation of key actors in GVC governance – the increasing influence of, for example, NGOs, taste and standard makers, and social movements in GVC governance.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Hassner Pierre

**Feu (sur) l'ordre international?**

in *Esprit*, Août/septembre 2014 , 58-70

Faire régler l'ordre par la loi, par l'empire ou par l'équilibre semble aujourd'hui compliqué, tant les acteurs sont hétérogènes au niveau international. Malgré cela, cependant, on assiste à une recrudescence des nationalismes et des conflits régionaux. Retour au xxe siècle ? Sans doute que non, mais reste que la paix et la sécurité mondiales ne semblent pas à l'ordre du jour.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Azzimonti Marina, de Francisco Eva, Quadrini Vincenzo

**Financial Globalization, Inequality, and the Rising Public Debt**

in *American Economic Review*, Vol. 104 No. 8, August 2014 , 2267-2302

During the last three decades government debt has increased in most developed countries. During the same period we have also observed a significant liberalization of international financial markets. We propose a multi-country model with incomplete markets and show that governments may choose higher levels of debt when financial markets become internationally integrated. We also show that public debt increases with the volatility of uninsurable income (idiosyncratic risk). To the extent that the increase in income inequality observed in some industrialized countries has been associated with higher idiosyncratic risk, the paper suggests another potential mechanism for the rise in public debt.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Davis J. Scott

**Financial integration and international business cycle co-movement**

in *Journal of Monetary Economics*, Volume 64, May 2014 , 99-111

International business cycle transmission through integrated financial markets occurs through wealth and balance sheet effects. Balance sheet effects lead to business cycle convergence, but wealth effects lead to divergence. This paper



shows empirically that debt market integration has a positive effect on co-movement, implying that balance sheet effects are the main conduit for international transmission through integrated debt markets. Equity market integration has a negative effect, implying that wealth effects are the main channel for international transmission through integrated equity markets. Distinguishing between wealth and balance sheet effects resolves some key discrepancies between empirical and theoretical findings in international macroeconomics.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Fieldman Glenn

**Financialisation and ecological modernisation**

in **Environmental Politics**, Volume 23, Issue 2, March , 224-242

Ecological modernisation (EM) scholarship has suggested that different national-level socio-economic institutions may provide more or less supportive environments for EM. Here, the varieties of capitalism (VoC) analysis is extended, but with an emphasis on corporate governance as the central institutional complex that characterises VoC. The liberalisation of international and domestic finance (securitised capital) in the 1970s inaugurated transformative processes in all capitalist countries. This occurred first in the liberal United States and UK, but is now proceeding in the 'stakeholder corporate governance' countries that provided the most supportive institutional context for EM. The reorientation of productive corporations towards financial market performance in the United States and UK has adversely affected their innovative capacity, helping to explain these countries' relatively laggard EM performance.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Drydyk Jay

**Foundational issues: how must global ethics be global?**

in **Journal of Global Ethics**, Volume 10, Issue 1, 2014 , 16-25

Abstract

Over the past 20 years, global ethics has come to be conceived in different ways. Two main tendencies can be distinguished. One asks from whence global ethics comes and defines 'global ethics' as arising from globalization. The other tendency is to ask whither global ethics must go and thus defines 'global ethics' as a destination, namely arriving at a comprehensive global ethic. I will note some types of discussion that may have been wrongly excluded from the scope of global ethics by one or the other. In addition, I take notice of recent debates and concerns about risks that global ethics may become a neo-colonial activity. These concerns raise a further conceptual question. Should 'global ethics' be defined in a normative fashion, so as to exclude neo-colonial approaches that may be damaging to the credibility of global ethics? In response to these alternatives – whence vs. whither, descriptive vs. normative – I will propose a middle way. I begin by defining 'global problems' as those that will cause harm in the absence of cross-border cooperation. In a descriptive sense, any ethical statements about global problems should be included within the scope of global ethics. On the other hand, I will propose a more specific normative conception of the central task of global ethics: seeking reasonable and responsible agreement on global problems, agreement based on possibly diverse moral grounds.



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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Romi Mukherjee S.

**Fragments and fissures: towards a political anthropology of the global**

in *International Social Science Journal* , Volume 61, Issue 202, December 2010 , 339–350

No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Gozdecka Dorota A., Ercan Selen A., Kmak Magdalena

**From multiculturalism to post-multiculturalism: Trends and paradoxes**

in *Journal of Sociology* , Volume 50, No. 1, March 2014 , 51-64

Abstract

In recent years, multiculturalism has been declared a failure both in Europe and the Anglophone West. This diagnosis went hand in hand with an excessive focus on gendered cultural practices in culturally diverse societies, such as forced marriages or 'honour killings'; the raise of anti-immigration political movements and the adoption of stricter legal rules in the areas of immigration and citizenship. This article aims to capture the legal, social and political responses to 'failed' multiculturalism under the banner of post-multiculturalism. In doing so, it identifies the major shifts that characterises post-multiculturalism and discusses their implications particularly for the citizens of Europe and various 'others'. A close analysis of the recent shifts in the areas of rights, migration law and policy debates in various culturally diverse societies reveal that post-multiculturalism reinforces rather than counteracts the problematic features of multiculturalism. Drawing on the insights suggested by the literature on neo-liberal governmentality, the article points out the paradoxes of post-multiculturalism and their implications for culturally different Others.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Westlund Hans, Li Yuheng

**From urban-rural to global dependencies**

in *International Journal of Global Environmental Issues*, Volume 13, No. 2-3-4 Special Issue on Cities as Sustainable Wealth Creators , 141-149

Against the background of global urban knowledge economy, this paper discusses some of the challenges that sustainable urban life is facing in the global knowledge economy of the 21st century. The paper makes an overview of the fundamental change in urban-rural relations, urban and rural demographics, the concepts of place surplus and place attractiveness, agglomeration and the new economic geography, global threats to long-term urban sustainability and finally the needs of policy visions and strategies for sustainable urban life across the world.





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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

**Dower Nigel**

**Global ethics: dimensions and prospects**

in **Journal of Global Ethics**, Volume 10, Issue 1, 2014 , 8-15

Abstract

Global ethics is an emerging discipline which has not yet reached maturity. The main tasks before it to gain maturity are: first, to achieve a greater integration of various domains of enquiry all of which are concerned with global normative issues. At a general level this includes integrating global ethics with cosmopolitanism, global justice and human right discourse. At the level of areas of concern, there needs to be greater integration of various areas such as development, trade, environment and climate change. And it must grapple with the question of diversity within universality: how far can diversity of practices be accommodated within a culturally sensitive universal framework? Second, there is the question of finding a shared normative framework with respect to the diverse worldviews that may lie behind this: what degree and kind of convergence/consensus are worth working for? Third, there is the task of creating the conditions for its own wider acceptance, which should include taking the idea of global citizenship seriously.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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**Mahutga Matthew C.**

**Global models of networked organization, the positional power of nations and economic development**

in **Review of International Political Economy**, Volume 21, Issue 1, 2014 , 157-194

Interdisciplinary literature on global commodity chains (GCCs)/global value chains (GVCs) and global production networks (GPNs) contends that inter-firm power differentials within globally networked forms of economic organization have implications for the developmental trajectories of nation-states. In this article, I advance these literatures in three ways. First, I bridge the two approaches by elaborating an exchange-theoretic conceptualization of inter-firm power that is latent in the two literatures. This conceptualization focuses narrowly on the determinants of inter-firm power asymmetries and is useful for explaining why actual production networks vary in terms of the relative power of buyers and producers. Second, I develop an empirical framework to advance basic research on the link between globally networked forms of economic organization and national economic development. In particular, I derive cross-nationally and temporally comparable country-level measurements of the average bargaining power of a country's resident firms using industry-specific international exchange (trade) networks. I demonstrate the validity of these indices through a historical analysis of trade networks in the transport equipment and garment industries and by analysing cross-national variations in wages in the two industries. Finally, I conclude by charting a parallel path for GCC/GVC and GPN research that implicates global models of network organization in macro-comparative analyses of economic development.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

**Helms Ludger**



**Global political leadership in the twenty-first century: problems and prospects**

in *Contemporary Politics*, Volume 20, Issue 3, 2014 , 261-277

While issues of political leadership have recently powerfully reclaimed ground in international political science, global political leadership has remained strikingly understudied. This article starts with a reconstruction of the diffusive leadership debate in international relations and eventually arrives at the fundamental distinction between structural leadership, relating to the material power capabilities of an actor, and behavioural leadership which refers to the concrete actions of a possible leader. It then inquires what collective actors – from major states via international organizations to transnational movements – could possibly exert global political leadership (structural, behavioural, or both). Overall, the major states would appear to hold the most favourable position, though their relative superiority in terms of material capabilities alone does not turn them into genuine leaders. The most radical visions, such as global leadership by transnational networks of civil society, are also the most vulnerable empirically. Given their explicit focus on ‘real change’, they correspond however more closely to established notions of genuine leadership than the order- and stability-oriented agendas of most other players.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Neilson Jeffrey, Pritchard Bill, Wai-chung Yeung Henry

**Global value chains and global production networks in the changing international political economy: An introduction**

in *Review of International Political Economy*, Volume 21, Issue 1, 2014 , 1-8

No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Gereffi Gary

**Global value chains in a post-Washington Consensus world**

in *Review of International Political Economy*, Volume 21, Issue 1, 2014 , 9-37

Contemporary globalization has been marked by significant shifts in the organization and governance of global industries. In the 1970s and 1980s, one such shift was characterized by the emergence of buyer-driven and producer-driven commodity chains. In the early 2000s, a more differentiated typology of governance structures was introduced, which focused on new types of coordination in global value chains (GVCs). Today the organization of the global economy is entering another phase, with transformations that are reshaping the governance structures of both GVCs and global capitalism at various levels: (1) the end of the Washington Consensus and the rise of contending centers of economic and political power; (2) a combination of geographic consolidation and value chain concentration in the global supply base, which, in some cases, is shifting bargaining power from lead firms in GVCs to large suppliers in developing economies; (3) new patterns of strategic coordination among value chain actors; (4) a shift in the end markets of many GVCs accelerated by the economic crisis of 2008–09, which is redefining regional geographies of investment and trade; and (5) a diffusion of the GVC approach to major international donor agencies, which is prompting a reformulation of established development paradigms.



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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Mesinovic Sven Asim

**Globale Güter und territoriale Ansprüche**

in *Geschichte und Gesellschaft*, Heft 2014 / 40,3 , 382-402

No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Tausch Arno

**Globalisation and development: the relevance of classical “dependency” theory for the world today**

in *International Social Science Journal* , Volume 61, Issue 202, December 2010 , 467–488

No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Lawrence A. Herzog

**Globalisation, Place and Twenty-First-Century International Border Regions: An Introduction to the Special Issue**

in *Global Society*, Volume 28, Issue 4 , 391-397

No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Pakulski Jan, Markowski Stefan

**Globalisation, immigration and multiculturalism – the European and Australian experiences**

in *Journal of Sociology*, Volume 50, No. 1, March 2014 , 3-9

The full text is free:

<http://jos.sagepub.com/content/50/1.toc>

Migration and multiculturalism – the latter defined generically as a strategy for ‘managing ethnic diversity’ see Pakulski in this volume)1 – are closely related. Mass migrations inevitably raise issues of social and political ‘management’ of ethno-cultural relations, and this very ‘management’ becomes problematic when mass migrations intensify and/or significantly alter the established ethnic composition (as well as the socio-cultural status quo that accompanies it). Sudden surges of migration have regularly occurred in Europe and Australia throughout the last two centuries. The latest such wave started in the 1990s, triggering a destabilising backlash in Europe; Australia was left largely immune to



the 'shock of immigration', except for the intensified debate about 'boat people'.

This is just one reason among many to devote this Special Issue to a comparison of the Australian and European experiences of recent mass migrations and the increasingly strained strategies for managing them...

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Barbalet Jack

**Globalization and cosmopolitanism: Continuity and disjuncture, contemporary and historical**  
in *Journal of Sociology*, Volume 50, No. 2, June 2014 , 199-212

Abstract

Globalization and cosmopolitanism are treated differently in various literatures. The relations of each to the political state and migration, in terms of mobilities and enclavement, are also variably treated in different sources. The article shows that these concerns are not confined to early 21st-century developments but drew attention in accounts of globalization in 17th- and 18th-century social economies.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Jeffrey Henderson, Richard P. Appelbaum and Suet Ying Ho

**Globalization with Chinese Characteristics: Externalization, Dynamics and Transformations**  
in *Development and change*, Vol. 44, n°6 , 1221-1253

This article introduces a special issue on globalization 'with Chinese characteristics', but also makes its own contribution to the debates. It does so by focusing on the implications of China's rise for the nature and consequences of globalization as a distinct formation. It argues that globalization needs to be understood, in part, as the externalization of particular national forms of capitalism in particular historical periods. In this context, it explores the Chinese form in some detail, arguing that this form is likely to provide much of the initial character of a new, emergent version of globalization now in train. The ways China (and other 'rising powers') are beginning to impact other parts of the developing world presages the need for a new approach to the analysis of 'development'. This article is critical of traditional discourses, and argues that innovation around the concept of 'transformation', including a focus on 'conjunctures of critical transformation', may lead to more appropriate and adequate analyses of development and open up those analyses more effectively to 'non-Western' voices. The authors discuss the 'vectors' by which China's externalization is transforming the developing world. They mobilize arguments from the other articles in the special issue, in order both to introduce their contributions to the relevant debates and to use their arguments as materials for the particular contribution this article provides.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Pazit Ben-Nun Bloom, Gizem Arikan and Udi Sommer

**Globalization, Threat and Religious Freedom**

**in Political Studies**, Volume 62, Issue 2 , 273–291

While arguably central to the human experience, religion is a largely understudied component of social life and of politics. The comparative literature on religion and politics is limited in scope, and offers mostly descriptions of trends. We know, for example, that restrictions on freedom of religion are on the rise worldwide. In our theoretical framework, the recently higher universal levels of globalization combine with other sources of threat to account for the trend away from religious freedom. As threat to the majority religion increases, due to globalization and an increasing number of minority religions, freedom of religion is on the decline. Data for two decades from 147 nations are used to test hypotheses. Time-series cross-sectional and mediation models estimated at different levels of analysis with data from two independent sources confirm that threat systematically accounts for changes in religious freedom, with globalization playing a key role.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Marian Negoita

**Globalization, state, and innovation: An appraisal of networked industrial policy**

**in Regulation & Governance**, Volume 8, Issue 3 , 371–393

One of the most pressing questions in comparative social science is whether, and to what extent, the rapid advance of globalization has negatively affected states' capacity to initiate successful economic and social policies. This paper puts forward the notion that states continue to be relevant because they have the potential to build and sustain networks of production and learning, which are sorely needed in the current era of globalization when productive arrangements are dominated by decentralized production networks. The paper argues that government efforts aimed at building and sustaining such networks, labeled as "networked industrial policy," have become predominant. The study features a series of fixed-effects time series cross-section (TSCS) regressions linking innovation performance to several networked industrial policies in 17 countries from western and central Europe. The study finds that several of the policies have a robust effect on innovation performance and technology competitiveness, even after controls are included. These findings constitute considerable support for the notion of networked industrial policy. However, the results of the present study must be treated less as a definitive answer to the research question and more as a first step in an ongoing research process.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Souleimanov Emil A.

**Globalizing Jihad? North Caucasians in the Syrian Civil War**

**in Middle East Policy**, Volume 21, Issue 3, Fall , 154-162

No abstract available



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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Wai-chung Yeung Henry

**Governing the market in a globalizing era: Developmental states, global production networks and inter-firm dynamics in East Asia**

in *Review of International Political Economy*, Volume 21, Issue 1, 2014 , 70-101

This paper focuses on the changing governance of economic development in a globalizing era in relation to the dynamics of global value chains and global production networks. Based on recent development in such East Asian economies as South Korea, Taiwan and Singapore, I examine how, since the 1990s, the embedded relation between one variant of state institutions, known as the developmental state, and national firms, well integrated into global chains and networks spanning different territories and regions, has evolved. Because of the deepening strategic coupling of these national firms with lead firms in global industries, the developmental state's attempt to govern the market and to steer industrial transformation through direct policy interventions has become increasingly difficult and problematic. Through this process of strategic coupling, national firms have been gradually disembedded from state apparatuses and re-embedded in different global production networks that are governed by competitive inter-firm dynamics. While the state in these East Asian economies has actively repositioned its role in this changing governance, it can no longer be conceived as the dominant actor in steering domestic firms and industrial transformation. The developmental trajectory of these national economies becomes equally, if not more, dependent on the successful articulation of their domestic firms in global production networks spearheaded by lead firms. In short, inter-firm dynamics in global production networks tend to trump state-led initiatives as one of the most critical conditions for economic development. This paper theorizes further this significant role of global value chains and global production networks in the changing international political economy of development.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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Metz Thaddeus

**Harmonizing global ethics in the future: a proposal to add south and east to west**

in *Journal of Global Ethics*, Volume 10, Issue 2, 2014 , 146-155

Abstract

This article considers how global ethical matters might be approached differently in the English-speaking literature if values salient in sub-Saharan Africa and East Asia were taken seriously. Specifically, after pointing out how indigenous values in both of these major parts of the world tend to prescribe honouring harmonious relationships, the article brings out what such an approach to morality entails for political power, foreign relations and criminal justice. For each major issue, it suggests that harmony likely has implications that differ from approaches that currently dominate Western thought, namely those of utility, autonomy and capability. Lacking the space to systematically defend harmony as a fundamental value, it nonetheless urges theorists not to neglect it in future work.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**





*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Teney Celine, Helbling Marc

**How Denationalization Divides Elites and Citizens**

in *Zeitschrift für Soziologie*, Jahrgang 43, Heft 4, 2014 , 258–271

The full text is free:

<http://www.zfs-online.org/index.php/zfs/issue/current/>

Based on a unique survey among members of top level elites in eleven fields of activity in Germany, we investigate (1) elite-mass opinion incongruence and (2) the polarization of elites' positions on four contested denationalization issues. Our results show that the elite-mass attitudinal gap is significant for items directly tapping support for the further opening up of national borders, even when controlling for education, age, gender, place of residence, and political orientation. By contrast, elites across different fields of activity hold rather consensual positions on the issues of denationalization explored in the survey. Transnational networking and transnational mobility are not significantly associated with attitudes toward these issues. Elites with a strong supranational identity are significantly more strongly in favor of opening up borders to immigrants and increasing aid to developing countries.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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Teney Celine, Helbling Marc

**How Denationalization Divides Elites and Citizens - Online Appendix**

in *Zeitschrift für Soziologie*, Jahrgang 43, Heft 4, 2014 , I-III

The full text is free:

<http://www.zfs-online.org/index.php/zfs/article/view/3172/2709>

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Valentini Laura

**Human rights and discourse theory: some critical remarks**

in *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, Volume 17, Issue 6, 2014 , 674-680

Abstract

In this short piece, I suggest that Seyla Benhabib's discourse-theoretic account of human rights succeeds in avoiding the charge of anti-parochialism only at the cost of failing to provide concrete and plausible enough guidance in identifying the holders, duty-bearers, and objects of human rights. I then conclude with a few reflections on what type of guidance may be plausibly expected from a discourse-theoretic approach.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Himmich Bensalem

**Humaniser la mondialisation, est-ce encore possible?**

in *Diogenè - Diogenes*, n° 241, 2013/1 , 22-34

Why didn't you tell us ? Sa Majesté Elisabeth ii. Les phénomènes de crise doivent leur objectivité au fait qu'ils naissent de problèmes de régulation restés sans solution. Jürgen Habermas. Dans la question posée en exergue par la reine d'Angleterre, to tell (retenue royale et flegme britannique obligent) est un euphémisme. Il interpelle les économistes et financiers quant au fait que, en ce qui concerne...

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Dallmayr Fred R., Delbaere-Garant Jeanne

**Humaniser l'humanité. La signification universelle des sciences humaines**

in *Diogenè - Diogenes*, n° 237, 2012/1 , 37-51

No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Stédile João Pedro

**Il mondo non è un supermercato**

in *CNS Ecologia politica*, nuova serie, n. 2, gennaio

Full text available at <http://www.ecologiapolitica.org/wordpress/?p=431>

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Hoffer Frank

**Inequality and Post-neoliberal Globalisation**

in *Social Europe Journal*, Volume 8, Issue 1, Summer/Autumn 2014 , 23-26

The full text is free:

<http://www.social-europe.eu/pdf-editions/>

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Evans Martin D.D., Hnatkovska Viktoria V.

**International capital flows, returns and world financial integration**



in *Journal of International Economics*, Volume 92, Issue 1, January 2014 , 14-33

International capital flows have increased dramatically since the 1980s, with much of the increase being due to trade in equity and bond markets. Such developments are often attributed to the increased integration of world financial markets. We present a model that allows us to examine how greater integration in world financial markets affects the behavior of international capital flows and financial returns. Our model predicts that international capital flows are large (in absolute value) and very volatile during the early stages of financial integration when international asset trading is concentrated in bonds. As integration progresses and households gain access to world equity markets, the size and volatility of international bond flows decline. This is the natural outcome of greater risk sharing facilitated by increased integration. This pattern is consistent with declining volatility observed during 1975–2007 period in the G-7 countries. We also find that the equilibrium flows in bonds and stocks predicted by the model are larger than their empirical counterparts, and are largely driven by variations in equity risk premia. The model also predicts that volatility of equity and bond returns decline with integration, again consistent with the data for G-7 economies.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Royuela Vicente, Castells-Quintana David

**International migrations and urbanisation: 1960-2010**

in *International Journal of Global Environmental Issues*, Volume 13, No. 2-3-4 Special Issue on Cities as Sustainable Wealth Creators , 150-169

International migrations and urbanisation rates have seen a large increase in the last decades. Here we analyse the relationships between migrations and urbanisation by using a panel of ca 200 countries over the period 1960-2010. We describe the main global stylised facts on urbanisation and international migrations focusing on differences in these across world regions. We found that while there was a positive association between immigration and urbanisation, particularly in small and medium-sized cities, the association between emigration and urbanisation in developing countries was inverse. Both associations have become stronger over the few past decades, and our results highlight that international migration is an increasingly relevant and complementary dimension of the traditional rural-urban reallocation of workers which takes place during economic development.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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Derudder Ben, Parnreiter Christof

**Introduction: The Interlocking Network Model for Studying Urban Networks: Outline, Potential, Critiques, and Ways Forward**

in *Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie (Journal of Economic & Social Geography)* , Volume 105, Issue 4, Special Issue: The interlocking network model for studying urban networks, September , 373-386

The paper begins with an introduction into the interlocking network model (INM) initially specified by Peter Taylor in the context of the Globalization and World Cities (GaWC) research network. For that purpose, the intellectual background, purpose, key principles and subsequent applications of the INM are presented. Since the overall purpose of the Special Issue is to take research inspired by the INM further, this paper gives, second, an overview of some of the main critiques raised against the INM. Third, the relevance of the different papers of the Special Issue is framed within these critiques.



The papers in the Special Issue can be divided in two groups: while the first set discusses the measurement framework, the second focuses on the conceptual remit of the INM.

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McCaffrey, Stephen C.

**Keynote: Sustainability and Sovereignty in the 21st Century**  
in *Denver Journal of international law and policy*, Vol. 41, No. 4

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Guéhenno Jean-Marie

**La crise du multilatéralisme**

in *Esprit*, Août/septembre 2014 , 49-57

L'ordre multinational mis en place après la Seconde Guerre mondiale reposait sur la distinction claire entre la compétence nationale et les affaires internationales. Aujourd'hui, avec la transformation des équilibres mondiaux et la réduction du pouvoir des États, comment imaginer un avenir au multilatéralisme?

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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Gnesotto Nicole

**La mondialisation politique n'existe pas**

in *Esprit*, Août/septembre 2014 , 32-38

En économie aujourd'hui, la mondialisation est une réalité qui, si elle n'abolit pas toutes les différences, crée néanmoins une relative impression d'homogénéité. Il n'en va pas de même dans le domaine stratégique et politique, où la mondialisation semble au contraire exacerber les différences, et le « doux commerce » ne semble guère agir sur les conflits...

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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Araud Gérard

**Le monde à la recherche d'un ordre**

in *Esprit*, Août/septembre 2014 , 39-48

La puissance reste au cœur des relations internationales, ce que l'Union européenne a bien du mal à comprendre. Les



États ne sont pas les seuls acteurs dans ce domaine ; ils demeurent centraux, mais, pour reconstruire un ordre, il faut aussi savoir s'appuyer, par exemple, sur les sociétés civiles qui émergent et font entendre leurs revendications.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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Eve Darian-Smith

**Locating a Global Perspective**

in *Transnational Legal Theory*, vol. 4, issue 4, 524-526

William Twining's Montesquieu Lecture 'Globalisation and Legal Scholarship' is a must read for anyone seeking to understand the relations between law and globalisation which includes, among other things, a need to overcome ethnocentric biases in modern western law. In my commentary I push his analysis further by suggesting that all legal processes, even those that seem ostensibly domestic and contained within local or national jurisdictions, can be considered to have global implications. In contrast to Twining's definition of what makes something global, I argue that it is not a matter of spatial scale or geopolitical reach that makes any law or legal process 'global'. Global doesn't just mean big. Putting it another way, what makes a law 'global' is the perspective one brings to the questions one asks about all legal phenomena.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Mabana Kahiudi C.

**Léopold Sédar Senghor et la civilisation de l'universel**

in *Diogenes - Diogenes*, n° 235-236, 2011/3-4, 3-13

No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

George Susan

**Macht ohne Rechenschaft: Der globale Lobbyismus**

in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, Juni, 2014, 83-92

Es gibt Formen der Macht, die keinerlei Rechenschaftspflicht unterliegen, über deren Aktivitäten niemandem Bericht erstattet werden muss und die schwer zu durchschauen sind. Aus diesem Grund fällt es ebenso schwer, ihnen entgegenzuwirken. Weil diese illegitime Macht oft unterschwellig daherkommt, ist sie schwer zu greifen. Sie heißt nicht „Macht“, resultiert nicht aus förmlichen Beschlüssen und wird von denen, die sich ihr – wissentlich oder nicht – unterwerfen, häufig gar nicht als Unterdrückung wahrgenommen. Die illegitime Macht, von der ich hier spreche, meint nicht Tyrannen, Diktaturen, autoritäre Einparteiensysteme, afrikanische Statthalter oder dergleichen.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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Coe Neil M.

**Missing links: Logistics, governance and upgrading in a shifting global economy**  
in *Review of International Political Economy*, Volume 21, Issue 1, 2014 , 224-256

This article seeks to argue that logistics services, and the independent logistics industry in particular, should be afforded much more attention within political economy approaches to the global economy. Widespread outsourcing processes and the increased sophistication of logistics provisions mean that the industry has arguably evolved beyond being a mere service input to occupying an integral and strategic role within many global industries. It is, therefore, intimately connected to debates about shifting governance regimes and upgrading dynamics within those industries. Conceptualising logistics from a global production network (GPN) perspective offers the potential for revealing both (1) the contribution of logistics providers to value and upgrading dynamics in client sectors and (2) the ways in which the logistics industry itself can be thought of as a multi-actor value-generation network with its own strategic and upgrading dynamics. The article distils the key contributions and limitations of prevailing business studies approaches to logistics, before charting a four-pronged research agenda that foregrounds the political economy of logistics provisions within the global economy. The analysis concludes by thinking about the implications of on-going post-crisis restructuring within the world economy for the proposed research agenda on logistics and GPNs.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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Juris Jeffrey S., Bushell Erica G., Doran Meghan, Judge J. Matthew, Lubitow Amy, Maccormack Bryan, Prener Christopher  
**Movement Building and the United States Social Forum**  
in *Social Movement Studies*, Volume 13, Issue 3, 2014 , 328-348

Abstract

Despite the growing academic literature on the World Social Forum process, few scholars have attempted to systematically analyze the social, cultural, and political impact of the forums. This has to do in part with the inherent difficulties of assessing movement consequences, which is particularly complicated for an activity geared toward creating 'open spaces.' This article presents an analytic framework for evaluating the impact of the social forums through an analysis of the 2010 United States Social Forum (USSF) in Detroit from the perspective of a local Boston-based delegation called the Boston Freedom Rides. We then use that framework to consider the impact of the 2010 USSF, bridging the academic literature on movement outcomes with activist perspectives. We make two related claims. First, the social forums, and the USSF in particular, should be viewed and their impact assessed in light of their generativity as 'movement-building machines': infrastructures designed for the production of social capital, networks, solidarities, meanings, frames, identities, knowledges, strategies, skills, and repertoires. Second, with respect to the Freedom Rides, the 2010 USSF contributed to movement building on multiple levels, but more so within rather than across movement sectors. Our goal is less to make a definitive argument about the impact of the 2010 USSF than to provide a helpful way of thinking about movement building as a social movement outcome, which can be applied and refined through further comparative and longitudinal research. We thus favor breadth over depth in outlining a broad framework for future inquiry.

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Burger Martijn J., Meijers Evert J., van Oort Frank G.

**Multiple Perspectives on Functional Coherence: Heterogeneity and Multiplexity in the Randstad**  
in *Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie (Journal of Economic & Social Geography)* , Volume 105,  
Issue 4, Special Issue: The interlocking network model for studying urban networks, September , 444-464

Measuring functional coherence in metropolitan regions, in particular polycentric ones, requires taking the issues of multiplexity and individual level heterogeneity more explicitly into account, as the spatial organisation of functional linkages is not necessarily identical. Based on the analysis of one type of functional linkage a region can appear to be integrated, but loosely connected based on another. We demonstrate the occurrence of multiplexity for the polycentric Dutch Randstad region, and focus particularly on the presence of individual level heterogeneity. Commuting patterns in the Randstad are strongly related to socio-demographic variables and firm characteristics largely determine the scale of buyer-supplier relationships. We present studies into functional coherence in the Randstad, and assess whether methods, including the interlocking network model, are sufficiently capable of accounting for multiplexity and individual level heterogeneity.

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Erben Friedrun, Haan Gerhard de

**Nachhaltigkeit und politische Bildung**

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 31-32, 2014

The full text is free:

<http://www.bpb.de/apuz/188665/nachhaltigkeit-und-politische-bildung>

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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Kukovetz Brigitte

**Nationalstaatliche Legitimation von Zwangsmaßnahmen oder ein Menschenrecht auf Migration? Argumente zur Rechtfertigung oder Ablehnung von Abschiebungen**

in *Oesterreichische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft* , Heft 2/2014 , 187-204

National legitimations of enforcement measures or a human right to migration? Arguments for or against deportations

The full text is free: <http://www.oezp.at/getMagazine.php>

Deportation is based on the concept of national sovereignty and implies enforcement by the state. Therefore, does the rejection of deportations challenge the nation state? This article is the result of a qualitative study that analyses argumentations of actors involved in the deportation process. The contribution discusses to what extent argumentations for and against deportations refer to existing normative guidelines of social order. The findings show that arguments both for and against deportations are strongly relying upon the nation state. The actors refer to aspects of the rule of



law, integration, economic equilibrium, delinquency, humanitarianism and human rights. The only identifiable exception in the rejection of de-portations based on the claim for a human right to migration.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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**Parnreiter Christof**

**Network or Hierarchical Relations? A Plea for Redirecting Attention to the Control Functions of Global Cities in Territory, Politics, Governance**, Volume 2, Issue 2, 398-411

The paper discusses in a personal appreciation of the literature whether the 'interlocking world city network model' (IWCNM) has contributed to overcoming the evidential crisis of world or global city research. After a brief summary of the main arguments made by John Friedmann and Saskia Sassen, the paper deduces methodological implications that follow from their economic-geographical conceptualisation of global cities. In the third and fourth sections of the paper I recapitulate the rationale(s) given by Peter Taylor for the IWCNM and assess the model's contribution to empirically corroborating the global city concept. The paper's main claim is that the IWCNM bypasses the theoretical core of the global city paradigm, for which reason an evidential crisis continues to undermine the strength of the global city argument. Accordingly, in the last section of the paper a research strategy is proposed that is apt to take global city studies a step forward.

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*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

**Drekonja-Kornat Gerhard**

**Panama: Der Kanal als Zukunftsversprechen**

in **Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik**, Mai, 2014, 31-34

Das Jahr 2014 ist für Panama gleich in zweierlei Hinsicht bedeutend: Zum einen wird am 4. Mai ein neuer Präsident gewählt. Zum anderen jährt sich die Einweihung des Panamakanals zum 100. Mal: Am 15. August 1914 passierte die „Ancón“ als erstes Schiff den interozeanischen Wasserweg. Über ein Jahrhundert lang prägte der Kanal das Schicksal des Landes – und auch heute noch bildet er die Pulsschlagader der panamaischen Wirtschaft.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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**Schneider Gerald**

**Peace through globalization and capitalism? Prospects of two liberal propositions**

in **Journal of Peace Research**, Volume 51, Number 2, March, 173-183

The security externalities of globalization and capitalism continue to play an influential role in peace research. Typical contributions to these interrelated areas of scientific inquiry address the hope that the external openness (commercial liberalism) and the internal freedom of an economy (capitalist peace) pacify interstate as well as intrastate relations. I claim, despite the empirical support both theses have received, that they face considerable analytical hurdles. Commercial liberalism has, on a theoretical level, not yet moved much beyond the opportunity cost arguments that enlightenment philosophers first advanced more than 200 years ago. The capitalist peace research program similarly



does not offer clear micro-level mechanisms explaining why the interactions between economic agents and political decisionmakers should be more peaceful in capitalist than in state-dominated economies. Drawing on the political economy literature, I argue that economic liberalism should distinguish between level- and change-effects of both globalization and capitalism and that thinking in analogies between domestic and interstate peace has prevented the field from making analytical headway. Both literatures will only profit from the advent of 'big data' in the case that the field addresses the theoretical challenges upfront.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Laïdi Zaki

**Position – Un traité transatlantique, pour quoi faire?**

in *Esprit*, Mai 2014 , 11-14

Les États-Unis et l'Europe sont engagés dans une négociation majeure en vue de conclure un partenariat sur le commerce et l'investissement (Ttip en anglais), négociation qui renvoie à des enjeux aussi bien géopolitiques, économiques que de souveraineté. Trop souvent, les affaires commerciales sont perçues comme éloignées des grandes questions stratégiques. Mais il n'en est rien. Les grands arrangements...

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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Cheng Chung-Ying

**Preface: Chinese Philosophy as World Philosophy: Humanity and Creativity**

in *Journal of Chinese Philosophy*, Volume 40, Issue 3-4, September-December 2013 , 365–370

No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Jarrige François

**Pris dans l'engrenage? Les mondes du travail face à l'accélération au xixe siècle**

in *Ecologie et politique*, n. 48, Résister à l'ère du temps accéléré. Totalitarisme vert, écoféminisme , 23-35

In the nineteenth century, industrialization, the incessant search for higher productivity and the adoption of a general regime of competition imposed an imperative of speeding up labor. The speed of machines and the intensification of production, constantly praised by engineers and sought by employers, made the workplace increasingly hazardous and caused recurrent complaints from workers. In this paper, the author examines the beginnings of the process of industrial acceleration and the multiple protests, resistances and forms of autonomy that accompanied and shaped it before the advent of Taylorism and its new logic of automation and control.

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Masolo D.A.

**Re-charting global ethics**

in **Journal of Global Ethics**, Volume 10, Issue 1, 2014 , 38-44

Abstract

Migrations driven by ethnic, religious, and other forms of social conflict have been common in the past quarter-century, and have in Africa led many to seek refuge and to expect hospitality abroad. This leads to a concern for pluralist ethics, for many receiving refuge abroad expect that they will be able to live by their thoughts and beliefs, creating enclaves of cultural difference. But difference exists in all communities: cultural homogeneity does not exist except in the conservative imagination. Nevertheless, a sameness – the sameness of the value of every person – remains within this plurality. The sameness is conceived in distinct ways in the Natural Law tradition that yields liberalism, in the Golden Rule, in Kant's categorical imperative, and in the Luo culture of Eastern Africa. The Luo precept *Luoro remb dhano* ('restraint from letting human blood') is compared with these other ethical cosmopolitan wellsprings in this essay.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Kilburn Whitt H.

**Religion and foundations of American public opinion towards global climate change**

in **Environmental Politics**, Volume 23, Issue 3, May , 473-489

The religious foundations of American opinion towards climate change are analysed by means of a panel survey of voting-age citizens, interviewed in February and October 2008. It shows that religion's influence is multifaceted. Biblically literalist beliefs and to a lesser extent attendance at religious services, but not nominal religious affiliations, led Americans to view climate change as mostly natural and to express less concern over its consequences. Yet evangelical Protestants reporting frequent service attendance were distinctively more concerned about the effects of climate change.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Uhrqvist Ola, Lövbrand Eva

**Rendering global change problematic: the constitutive effects of Earth System research in the IGBP and the IHDP**

in **Environmental Politics**, Volume 23, Issue 2, March , 339-356

Efforts to predict the future habitability of Earth are examined in three interrelated IGBP and IHDP projects: Global Change and Terrestrial Ecosystems (GCTE), Land Use and Land Cover Change (LUCC), and the Global Land Project (GLP). Drawing upon project documentation and research plans from 1986 to 2012, and 10 interviews with researchers involved in project design and implementation, we trace how these projects have represented the problem of global change in the modelling of ecosystem and land-use dynamics. The imagining of global change was recalibrated as project participants brought more aspects of natural and human life into their computations. A top-down gaze informed by atmospheric physics and predictable cause–effect relationships gave way to a more complex Anthropocene imaginary dominated by non-linearity and less predictable thresholds and pathways. Given intrinsic links between ways



of representing and knowing a phenomenon and ways of acting upon it so as to transform it, qualitative change in how the Earth System is 'rendered problematic' may imply changes for the practices of environmental science and governance.

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*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

**Jacobs Wouter**

**Rotterdam and Amsterdam as Trading Places? In Search of the Economic-Geographical Nexus between Global Commodity Chains and World Cities**

in *Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie (Journal of Economic & Social Geography)* , Volume 105, Issue 4, Special Issue: The interlocking network model for studying urban networks, September , 483-491

This Windows on the Netherlands addresses the economic geography of commodity trade by providing insights from two Dutch port cities: Rotterdam and Amsterdam. It is argued that commodity traders provide an empirical site for uncovering the missing links between research on world cities on the one hand, and global commodity chains on the other. Commodity trading is compelling as it is linked both with the financial sector (financing and paper trade) and with the production and distribution of commodities (storage and transportation). However, these two activities do not necessarily need to be in geographical proximity. Rotterdam and Amsterdam handle large volumes of commodities flowing through their ports, but the trading desks of the large commodity houses handle the trade transactions. There is a strong presence of the world's largest commodity traders in the Netherlands, which include not only the port-based physical-operational functions but also the trading desks, treasuries and holding companies. The paper concludes with an overview of avenues for further research.

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*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

**Mallet Jean-Claude**

**Réflexions sur l'évolution stratégique mondiale. Entretien**

in *Esprit*, Août/septembre 2014 , 18-31

La crise européenne, le repli américain et la montée en puissance de l'Asie remettent fondamentalement en cause l'ordre international. Après une période (1991-2013) d'interventionnisme militaire d'une part, d'affirmation du droit international comme composante de la régulation mondiale de l'autre, comment envisager les évolutions stratégiques et militaires dans un monde mouvant ?

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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**Bauchmüller Michael**

**Schönen Gruß aus der Zukunft**

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 31-32, 2014

The full text is free:



<http://www.bpb.de/apuz/188657/schoenen-gruss-aus-der-zukunft>

Von Kaiser Maximilian II. ist eine hübsche Geschichte überliefert, sie spielt in Italien. Auf einer Reise begegnet der Kaiser einem Bauern, der Dattelbäume pflanzt. Er findet das ungewöhnlich, schließlich hat der Bauer selbst gar nichts davon: Junge Dattelbäume tragen erst nach Jahrzehnten Früchte. "Männlein, was machst du?", fragt er verwundert. "Ich thue es", so antwortet der Bauer, "Gott und denen Nachkömlingen zu gefallen". Der Kaiser ist beeindruckt, er dankt es mit 100 Talern. Ein gutes Werk zum Gefallen der Nachkommen: So einfach ist Nachhaltigkeit zu Zeiten des Heiligen Römischen Reiches, im 16. Jahrhundert. Die Zukunft lässt schön grüßen – und sei es mit den Dattelbäumen der Ahnen...

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Zeng Minhao

**Subaltern cosmopolitanism: concept and approaches**

in *Sociological Review*, Volume 62, Issue 1, February 2014, 137–148

Abstract

‘Cosmopolitanism is back’, proclaimed David Harvey presciently in 2000 (Harvey, 2000: 529). In the face of injustice, inequality and violence emerging from globalization processes, the last decade has witnessed a cascading interest in the vision of a world community in which sameness and difference are harmoniously dealt with. Across the humanities and social sciences, there have emerged multiple ways of understanding what exactly cosmopolitanism means for research. To push this concept to greater rigour, scholars have tried to demarcate its conceptual boundaries by underlining its conjunctural nature (Werbner, 2006). Thus we have such notions as rooted cosmopolitanism, working-class cosmopolitanism, discrepant cosmopolitanism, ethnic cosmopolitanism, and vernacular cosmopolitanism. Of all these conjunctural terms, subaltern cosmopolitanism has gained noteworthy attention of late. In one of her articles published in 2010 about the old baggage and missing luggage of cosmopolitan theory, for example, Glick Schiller claims that the possibilities of strengthening cosmopolitan theory lie in ‘a further development of a subaltern cosmopolitanism’ (2010: 414). In this Viewpoint, I will first present an overview of how subaltern cosmopolitanism has been deployed by scholars, and then evaluate its particular purchase in cosmopolitan studies, and finally suggest fortifying the critical sinew of this concept by drawing on conversations about other weighty issues that concern the humanities and social sciences of today.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Linder Wolf

**Swiss Legislation in the Era of Globalisation: A Quantitative Assessment of Federal Legislation (1983-2007)**

in *Swiss Political Science Review - Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft - Revue suisse de science politique*, Volume 20, Issue 2, June 2014, 223–231

No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Dietsch Peter, Rixen Thomas

**Tax Competition and Global Background Justice**

in *Journal of Political Philosophy*, Volume 22, Issue 2, June 2014 , 150-177

No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Marco Antonsich

**Territorial attachment in the age of globalization: The case of Western Europe**

in *European Urban and Regional Studies*, vol. 21, no. 2 , 206-221

The age of globalization has often been associated with de-/re-territorialization processes. The increasing integration of markets and the appearance of new modes of economic production and capital accumulation on the one hand, and the transformation of forms of political governance on the other, have led to the emergence of new territorial actors at the supra-national and sub-national scales. While these economic and political de-/re-territorialization processes have been studied at length, relatively little attention has been paid to the transformation of the territorial identities associated with these spaces. The aim of the present study is twofold. First, it aims to understand whether territorial identities are experiencing a similar re-scaling along with modes of economic production and forms of political governance. Second, it explores which factors today explain the attachment of people to their territories. A descriptive analysis of Eurobarometer survey data for Western Europe reveals no signs of a re-scaling of territorial identities, pointing to a sort of inertia of these identities in relation to the changing of political and economic structures. A statistical model on four scales of territorial attachment (local, regional, national and European) shows the complexity of its formation, as both personal compositional and regional contextual factors should be taken into account.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Ni Peimin

**The Changing Status of Chinese Philosophy**

in *Journal of Chinese Philosophy*, Volume 40, Issue 3-4, September-December 2013 , 583–600

Abstract

The article tries to stress the historical nature of the issue about the “legitimacy of Chinese philosophy.” It argues that we are facing an era in which the question will no longer be whether the thoughts of traditional Chinese masters can be comfortably adopted by a foreign “family”; instead, it will be whether we can make the marriage of Chinese traditional thoughts and Western philosophy a constructive process through which philosophy, whether Chinese or Western, can be rejuvenated with renewed legitimacy under the title originally coined by the Greeks, namely the love of wisdom.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Lawrence A. Herzog & Christophe Sohn

**The Cross-Border Metropolis in a Global Age: A Conceptual Model and Empirical Evidence from the US–Mexico and European Border Regions**

in *Global Society*, Volume 28, Issue 4 , 441-461

No abstract available

**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Lesińska Magdalena

**The European backlash against immigration and multiculturalism**

in *Journal of Sociology*, Volume 50, No. 1, March 2014 , 37-50

Abstract

Europe forms an interesting laboratory for studying political reactions to mass immigration and integration of ethnic minorities during times of political turbulence and economic crisis. Political leaders of mainstream parties, under pressure from critics of intensified immigration and now from the social effects of the Great Recession, act reactively and defensively. They respond to a political backlash against immigration and to concerns about unemployment and job security by criticizing (mainly illegal) immigrants for welfare parasitism, reluctance to integrate and even criminality. Such criticism generates a climate of suspicion and hostility towards immigrants and legitimizes policies that restrict immigration and immigrant rights. The leaders also describe 'multiculturalism' – portrayed as uncritical acceptance of cultural diversity – as a failure, and suggest more 'realistic' (read: less tolerant, more assimilationist) policy strategies.

**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Rajen Harshe

**The Limits of Globalisation: Unveiling Resilience and the Primacy of the Nation State in World Politics**

in *India Quarterly*, vol. 70, no. 1 , 47-58

Globalisation as a phenomenon has subsumed several multi-layered and complex social processes that have been simultaneously at work, especially, after the end of the Cold War in 1991. While analysing the bilateral as well as multilateral interactions among the contemporary nation states, in the context of globalisation, this article sheds light on the existential stresses and strains that contemporary nation states, developed as well as developing, have been constrained to encounter owing to the rise of transnational actors as well as sub-national/secessionist forces. In the process, it revisits concepts such as capitalism, the nation state, hegemony, in Gramscian sense and imperialism while recasting them under changing circumstances of world politics. It argues that, despite diverse existential challenges, the nation state has proved remarkably resilient. It continues to survive as the primary de jure anchor/actor that provides



major communication channels to work out projects of cooperation/coalitions, including alliances and treaties. Hence, it is the most reliable entity towards management and even resolution of issues of global concerns as also intra- and inter-state conflicts in contemporary world politics.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Elif Shafak

**The Urgency of a Cosmopolitan Ideal as Nationalism Surges  
in *New Perspectives Quarterly*, Vol. 31, Issue 2, April, 17-21**

As the world shifts from American-led Globalization 1.0 to 2.0—an interdependence of plural identities where no one country or group of nations is at the helm—a vacuum is forming. The intellectual hegemony of Western ideas of development and society no longer prevail, but new models are yet to be found.

In the wake of this vacuum, we are witnessing, as Pankaj Mishra writes, worldwide “mutinies” against the old order along with a surge of nationalism and xenophobia that is looking to imagined organic unities of the past, as Elif Shafak writes. What fresh, non-global ideologies might emerge? Or might a new hybrid cosmopolitan path that doesn't erase plural identities, but erases boundaries that close off instead of open up, create new opportunities for a peaceful and richer global civilization?

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Wills Joe

**The World Turned Upside Down? Neo-Liberalism, Socioeconomic Rights, and Hegemony  
in *Leiden Journal of International Law*, Volume 27 - Issue 01, 11-35**

This article draws upon a neo-Gramscian analysis of world order to critically assess the relationship between neo-liberal globalization and socioeconomic rights. It argues that, notwithstanding the well-documented discursive tensions that appear to exist between neo-liberalism and socioeconomic rights, the latter have been reconceptualized in a manner that is congruent with the hegemonic framework of the former in a number of international institutional settings. This has been achieved in part through three discursive framing devices which will be termed ‘socioeconomic rights as aspirations’, ‘socioeconomic rights as compensation’, and ‘socioeconomic rights as market outcomes’. The article will conclude by arguing that, despite such appropriation, there are still fruitful possibilities for counterhegemonic articulations of socioeconomic rights to contest neo-liberal globalization.



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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

**Duarte Rosa, Pinilla Vicente, Serrano Ana**

**The effect of globalisation on water consumption: A case study of the Spanish virtual water trade, 1849–1935**  
in **Ecological Economics**, Volume 100, April , 96-105

This paper aims to analyse the impact on water consumption of trade expansion in the first era of globalisation. To that end, we have chosen the case of Spain, a semi-arid country with significant cyclical water shortages. More specifically, we are interested in answering the following questions. What volume of water was required for exports of agricultural and food products? How did this variable evolve over time? Which factors drove this evolution? In short, we wish to understand the impact on water resources of Spain's entry into world agriculture and food markets. Firstly, we examine virtual water trade flows in the long run. Secondly, we attempt to disentangle certain major driving forces underlying these trajectories. In order to establish the role played by trade in the final net balance of water, a Decomposition Analysis (DA) is applied. Our findings show the great pressures that the first globalisation imposed on not only domestic but also foreign water resources. Trade volumes as well as trade patterns were essential factors driving rising virtual water flows, while yield improvements contributed smoothly to moderation in the expansion of water flows.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

**Tomalty Jesse**

**The force of the claimability objection to the human right to subsistence**  
in **Canadian Journal of Philosophy**, Volume 44, Issue 1, 2014 , 1-17

Abstract

The claimability objection rejects the inclusion of a right to subsistence among human rights because the duties thought to correlate with this right are undirected, and thus it is not claimable. This objection is open to two replies: One denies that claimability is an existence condition on rights. The second suggests that the human right to subsistence actually is claimable. I argue that although neither reply succeeds on the conventional interpretation of the human right to subsistence, an alternative 'practical' interpretation provides a viable approach to vindicating this right.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

**Steiner André**

**The globalisation process and the Eastern bloc countries in the 1970s and 1980s**  
in **European History Quarterly**, Volume 44, No. 2, April , 165-181

This article examines the position of the Eastern Bloc countries in the economic globalisation which spread in the last third of the twentieth century. The main emphasis is on the German Democratic Republic (East Germany). Therefore two significant dimensions of economic globalisation have been selected: trade and capital-market transactions. The first



part of this paper provides an outline of globalisation processes and their causes during the 1970s and 1980s. The second part deals with the role of Eastern bloc countries in globalisation trends, including an examination of the motivations and intentions behind their foreign-trade operations. This becomes the basis to explore the attitude of Eastern bloc countries to the institutions of globalisation (the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade [GATT], the International Monetary Fund [IMF] and the World Bank). As it turns out, it seems questionable whether the Eastern bloc countries had ever been able actively to determine the conditions of globalisation. They probably only had an influence as their very existence presented a line of demarcation to the global world: because of their own policies and because of the defence reactions of the West.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Shafir Nir

**The international congress as scientific and diplomatic technology: global intellectual exchange in the International Prison Congress, 1860–90**

in *Journal of Global History*, Volume 9 - Issue 01 - March , 72-93

In the 1870s, the American prison reformer E. C. Wines attempted to bring together representatives from every country and colony in the world to discuss the administration and reform of the prison, under the auspices of the International Prison Congress. This article tackles the challenge by exploring how the international congress operated as both a social scientific technology and a diplomatic forum that emerged from this short-lived world of amateur social science and diplomacy. It argues that the exigencies of the international congress as a social scientific space forced it to take on diplomatic and political functions that both imprinted a logic of comparability onto the burgeoning international diplomatic system and also caused the eventual exclusion of non-European polities from the congresses. It engages with recent scholarship in history of science specifically to understand the international congress as a technology that mediated intellectual exchange and scientific communication. By examining the challenges posed by the inclusion of non-Western polities in such communication, it attempts to reveal the multiple global histories of the social sciences in the late nineteenth century.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Delanty Gerard

**The prospects of cosmopolitanism and the possibility of global justice**

in *Journal of Sociology*, Volume 50, No. 2, June 2014 , 213-228

Abstract

The article explores the considerations that are at stake in assessing the prospects of cosmopolitanism today. It is argued that there is scope for fruitful dialogue between sociology and political science around the question of how a normative idea, such as global justice, becomes an empirical phenomenon. The idea of global justice should be placed in the context of the broader framework of cosmopolitanism. Rather than focus only on the normative project, attention needs to be given to the process by which cosmopolitanism emerges. Cosmopolitanism, in this view, involves socio-cognitive shifts for critical publics in ways in seeing the world. It is such changes in cognitive capacities and in individual and societal learning that often make possible the articulation of new normative principles or their application



in domains where they previously did not apply.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Barry Christian

**The regulation of harm in international trade: a critique of James's Collective Due Care principle**  
in **Canadian Journal of Philosophy**, Volume 44, Issue 2, 2014 , 255-263

Abstract

In his important recent book, Aaron James has defended a principle – Collective Due Care – for determining when a form of economic integration is morally objectionable because it causes unjustified harm (including unemployment, wage suppression and diminished working conditions). This essay argues that Collective Due Care would yield implausible judgements about trade practices and would be too indeterminate to play the practical role for which it is intended.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Chow Yiu Fai, Kloet Jeroen de

**The spectre of Europe: Knowledge, cultural studies and the 'rise of Asia'**  
in **European Journal of Cultural Studies**, Vol. 17, No. 1, February 2014 , 3-15

Abstract

This introduction starts with an exploration of the ambiguity of the idea of Europe. In particular, two tropes – Europe-as-theory and Europe-as-power – continue to haunt knowledge production and cultural studies in Asia. How to proceed? What should cultural studies do if it is to embrace this historical conjuncture of shifting modes of knowledge and power production, how to deal with its Anglocentrism and Eurocentrism? While this special issue allies itself with attempts to unsettle Eurocentrism in knowledge production, it is not making any plea for regionally-rooted practices or theories. It argues for better understanding, dialogue and cross-fertilisation between cultural studies and area studies. The former needs the latter's sensibility to spatial and cultural context as much as the latter needs the former's theorisations. This introduction is an opening. It opens up not only to the ensuing articles but, more importantly, an occasion for the inevitable encounter argued for in this special issue.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Hutchings Kimberly

**Thinking ethically about the global in 'Global Ethics'**  
in **Journal of Global Ethics**, Volume 10, Issue 1, 2014 , 26-29

Abstract





In what follows, I claim that the 'global' in 'Global Ethics' needs also to be thought about in a different way, not as the scope or object of ethical judgement but in relation to the worlds reproduced by the practice of ethical judgement itself. In summary, ethical reflection on the meaning of the 'global' in the practice of Global Ethics as a field of academic inquiry is what is required if the future of Global Ethics is to be something other than Ethics or Applied Ethics as traditionally conducted.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

**Pezzey John C.V., Burke Paul J.**

**Towards a more inclusive and precautionary indicator of global sustainability  
in *Ecological Economics*, Volume 106, October , 141-154**

We construct a hybrid, economic indicator of the sustainability of global well-being, which is more inclusive than existing indicators and incorporates an environmentally pessimistic, physical constraint on global warming. Our methodology extends the World Bank's Adjusted Net Saving (ANS) indicator to include the cost of population growth, the benefit of technical progress, and a much higher, precautionary cost of current CO<sub>2</sub> emissions. Future warming damage is so highly unknowable that valuing emissions directly is rather arbitrary, so we use a novel, inductive approach: we modify damage and climate parameters in the deterministic DICE climate-economy model so it becomes economically optimal to control emissions in a way likely to limit warming to an agreed target, here 2 °C. If future emissions are optimally controlled, our ANS then suggests that current global well-being is sustainable. But if emissions remain uncontrolled, our base-case ANS is negative now and our corresponding, modified DICE model has an unsustainable development path, with well-being peaking in 2065. Current ANS on an uncontrolled path may thus be a useful heuristic indicator of future unsustainability. Our inductive method might allow ANS to include other very hard-to-value, environmental threats to global sustainability, like biodiversity loss and nitrogen pollution.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

**Ramose Mogobe Bernard**

**Transcender le cosmopolitisme**

**in *Diogenes - Diogenes*, n° 235-236, 2011/3-4 , 36-43**

No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

**White Jonathan**

**Transnational partisanship: idea and practice**

**in *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, Volume 17, Issue 3, 2014 , 377-400**

That parties might successfully organize transnationally is an idea often met with scepticism. This article argues that while certain favourable conditions are indeed absent in the transnational domain, this implies not that partisanship is



impossible but that it is likely to be marked by certain traits. Specifically, it will tend to be episodic, structured as a low-density network and delocalized in its ideational content. These tendencies affect the normative expectations one can attach to it. Transnational partisanship should be valued as a transitional phenomenon, e.g. as a pathway to transnational democracy, more than as a desirable thing in itself.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

**Eickmeier Sandra, Gambacorta Leonardo, Hofmann Boris**

**Understanding global liquidity**

in *European Economic Review*, Volume 68, May 2014 , 1-18

We explore the concept of global liquidity based on a factor model estimated using a large set of financial and macroeconomic variables from 24 advanced and emerging market economies. We measure global liquidity conditions based on the common global factors in the dynamics of liquidity indicators. By imposing theoretically motivated sign restrictions on factor loadings, we achieve a structural identification of the factors. The results suggest that global liquidity conditions are largely driven by three common factors and can therefore not be summarised by a single indicator. These three factors can be identified as global monetary policy, global credit supply and global credit demand.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

**Tienhaara Kyla**

**Varieties of green capitalism: economy and environment in the wake of the global financial crisis**

in *Environmental Politics*, Volume 23, Issue 2, March , 187-204

In the wake of the global financial crisis, interest in the relationship between the economy and the environment substantially increased. Several proposals emerged between 2008 and 2012 for the creation of a 'Green New Deal', 'Green Stimulus', and a 'Green Economy'. These proposals are often conflated with one another under the rubric of 'green capitalism', but there are important distinctions to be made between them. Each suggests a different role for the state in regulating the market and the financial sector (i.e. they suggest different models of capitalism). The proposals can also be distinguished by the positions taken on ecological modernisation (i.e. they put forward different models of 'greenness'). Recognition that there are varieties of green capitalism being mooted increases the opportunities for more targeted critiques of each model and enables a more constructive debate about the options for creating sustainable economies in the developed world.

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*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

**Bojanowski Axel**

**Verwirrende Werbefloskel**

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 31-32, 2014

The full text is free:



[http://manager.federalism-bulletin.eu/Bollettino/index.php?PAGE=Bollettino/Bollettino2\\_Details&MODE=NW](http://manager.federalism-bulletin.eu/Bollettino/index.php?PAGE=Bollettino/Bollettino2_Details&MODE=NW)

Der Gemüseladen am Ende meiner Straße hatte keine Bananen mehr. "Habt Ihr keine Bananen mehr?", fragte ich den Verkäufer. "Doch, da hinten liegen noch welche." Er wies auf einen Strauch schwarzer Stummel. "Die sind aber doch etwas, naja, überreif", sagte ich. "Die sind bio", entgegnete der Verkäufer prompt. Kurz blickten wir uns an, dann lachten wir laut. Der Spaß ist, dass man in unserem sich fortschrittlich gebenden Stadtteil mit dem Präfix "Bio" fast alles verkaufen kann.

Ähnlich verhält es sich mit dem Begriff "Nachhaltigkeit" in der öffentlichen Debatte. Das einst erhabene Carlowitz-Wort hat sich zu einer Werbefloskel gewandelt. Sie gehört zur PR-Strategie zahlreicher Unternehmen, denen greenwashing vorgeworfen wird. Ich verwende den Begriff deshalb in meinen journalistischen Berichten allenfalls in Zitaten. Denn welche Information erhalten Leser, wenn Wissenschaftler eine "nachhaltige Entwicklung" fordern, oder Politiker "mehr Nachhaltigkeit" versprechen? Keine. Jeder versteht etwas anderes unter Nachhaltigkeit...

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## **Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

### *Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Pufé Iris

#### **Was ist Nachhaltigkeit? Dimensionen und Chancen in Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte**, Band 31-32, 2014

The full text is free:

<http://www.bpb.de/apuz/188663/was-ist-nachhaltigkeit-dimensionen-und-chancen>

Unsere Wirtschaftsweise verändert sich gerade grundlegend. Gier war noch nie gut, und auch Geiz ist längst nicht mehr geil. Insbesondere vor dem Hintergrund von Finanz-, Euro- und Weltwirtschaftskrise scheint die Ausgangsposition für einen tief greifenden Wandel, was dessen gesellschaftliche Akzeptanz angeht, besser denn je. Der Wandel bereits in vollem Gange und in vielen Bereichen sichtbar: Ob Elektromobilität, energetische Gebäudesanierung, vegetarische oder vegane Ernährung, Fair-Trade-Produkte, menschenwürdige Arbeitsbedingungen, Kooperationen mit Hilfsorganisationen, Frauenquote oder Energiewende – alles soll "nachhaltig" sein.

Der Wunsch nach mehr Nachhaltigkeit bringt dabei nicht nur Veränderungen mit sich, sondern fügt Entscheidungen – strategisch wie operativ, wirtschaftlich wie politisch – eine zusätzliche Portion Komplexität hinzu. Das wiederum liegt an der Natur vielschichtiger Systeme, wie unsere gegenwärtige Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft es sind. Offenheit, Unsicherheiten, Unstetigkeiten, Verzögerungen, Rückkopplungen, nichtlineare und dynamische Interaktionen sind die Treiber. Sie erschweren selbst fähigen Steuermännern und -frauen entschlossenes Handeln. Hinzu kommt, dass die Auseinandersetzung mit dem Leitbild einer nachhaltigen Entwicklung von einem grundlegenden Dilemma geprägt ist: Während das Thema ob seiner positiven Aufladung mit Werten wie Umweltschutz, Gesundheitsfürsorge oder globaler Gerechtigkeit auf Akzeptanz stößt, kollidieren die Interessen, sobald es an Schlussfolgerungen für das eigene Handeln geht.

Ein einheitliches Verständnis von Nachhaltigkeit, ihrem Wesen und ihrem Nutzen, fehlt bis heute. Ohne ein grundlegendes, gemeinsames Verständnis des Nachhaltigkeitskonzeptes aber ist der Wandel unmöglich zu bewältigen. Nachhaltigkeit ist in dieser Hinsicht wie Autofahren: Niemand muss die Funktionsweise eines Ottomotors kennen, um sicher am Straßenverkehr teilzunehmen, aber jeder sollte zumindest davon ausgehen können, dass alle Beteiligten die wichtigsten Regeln beherrschen. In diesem Beitrag geht es genau um diese Regeln, in Form von Definitionen, Modellen, Prinzipien, Strategien...



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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

**Meckled-Garcia Saladin**

**What comes first, democracy or human rights?**

**in *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, Volume 17, Issue 6, 2014 , 681-688**

Abstract

Minimalists about human rights hold that a state can have political legitimacy if it protects a basic list of rights and democratic rights do not have to be on that list. In this paper, I consider two arguments from Benhabib against the minimalist view. The first is that a political community cannot be said to have self-determination, which minimalists take to be the value at the heart of legitimacy, without democracy. The second is that even the human rights protections minimalists take to legitimize institutions cannot be had without democracy. These rights can only be adequately interpreted and specified for any social context if the interpretations and specifications result from democratic processes. Here, I bring out some important problems with these arguments and so conclude that they do not represent a robust case for rejecting minimalism.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

**Peer Zumbansen**

**Why Global Law is Transnational: Remarks on the Symposium around William Twining's Montesquieu Lecture**

**in *Transnational Legal Theory*, vol. 4, issue 4 , 463-475**

No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

**Watson Allan, Beaverstock Jonathan V.**

**World City Network Research at a Theoretical Impasse: On the Need to Re-Establish Qualitative Approaches to Understanding Agency in World City Networks**

**in *Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie (Journal of Economic & Social Geography)*, Volume 105, Issue 4, Special Issue: The interlocking network model for studying urban networks, September , 412-426**

From the late 1990s, the establishment of a new relational 'turn' in the study of world city connectedness in globalisation has run parallel to the wider relational turn occurring in economic geography. Early work, built firmly upon a qualitative approach to the collection and analyses of new intercity datasets, considered cities as being constituted by their relations with other cities. Subsequent research, however, would take a strong quantitative turn, best demonstrated through the articulation of the inter-locking world city network (ILWCN) 'model' for measuring relations between cities. In this paper, we develop a critique of research based around the ILWCN model, arguing that this 'top down' quantitative approach has now reached a theoretical impasse. To address this impasse, we argue for a move away from structural approaches in which the firm is the main unit of analysis, towards qualitative approaches in which individual agency and



practice are afforded greater importance.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Camps Enriqueta, Engerman Stanley L.

**World Population Growth: The Force of Recent Historical Trends**

in *Journal of Interdisciplinary History (The)*, Volume 44, Issue 4, Spring , 509-526

The explosion of the world's population at the end of the twentieth century was largely the result of a dramatic rise in life expectancy, attributable to scientific advances, innovations in communications technology, and economic growth. High fertility, however, which might be linked with increases in population, is not always a propitious sign. Despite a global tendency toward convergence in demographic trends, high fertility in parts of Africa and Asia—as driven by such exogenous variables as infant mortality, women's education, and racial identity—militates against the improvement in living standards generally enjoyed in the more economically developed countries.

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Pankaj Mishra

**Worldwide Mutinies Against Globalization**

in *New Perspectives Quarterly*, Vol. 31, Issue 2, April , 9-16

As the world shifts from American-led Globalization 1.0 to 2.0—an interdependence of plural identities where no one country or group of nations is at the helm—a vacuum is forming. The intellectual hegemony of Western ideas of development and society no longer prevail, but new models are yet to be found.

In the wake of this vacuum, we are witnessing, as Pankaj Mishra writes, worldwide “mutinies” against the old order along with a surge of nationalism and xenophobia that is looking to imagined organic unities of the past, as Elif Shafak writes. What fresh, non-global ideologies might emerge? Or might a new hybrid cosmopolitan path that doesn't erase plural identities, but erases boundaries that close off instead of open up, create new opportunities for a peaceful and richer global civilization?

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

*Subsection 5. The Globalization process*

Kim Uchang, Klein-Lataud Christine

**Éthique universelle et mondialisation**

in *Diogenes - Diogenes*, n° 237, 2012/1 , 52-74

No abstract available

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**Section B) Global governance and international organizations**

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Wissen Markus

**Ökologische Krise und 'große Transformation'**

in *Oesterreichische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft* , Heft 1/2014 , 49-54

The full text is free:

<http://www.oezp.at/getMagazine.php?id=78>

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes*

Stubbs Richard

**ASEAN's leadership in East Asian region-building: strength in weakness**

in *Pacific Review (The)* , Volume 27, Issue 4, 2014 , 523-541

Despite none of its members being a major economic or military power, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) has played a leading role in building East Asia's regional institutions. In exploring this apparent puzzle, the analysis reviews the literature on state leadership at the regional and international level, asks why the region's major powers ceded leadership on the question of regional institution building to ASEAN, and assesses the consequences for East Asia's regional architecture of ASEAN's leadership role in institution-building. The conclusion is that leadership at the state level entails a state, or a group of states, proposing, executing and getting others to agree on a course of action to deal with a specific problem or challenge. The analysis also underscores the point that, while ASEAN has been the leader in East Asian institution-building, the Association and its members should not automatically be expected to play a leadership role on all issues preoccupying the region.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes*

Dressel Björn, Bünte Marco

**Constitutional Politics in Southeast Asia: From Contestation to Constitutionalism?**

in *Contemporary Southeast Asia: A Journal of International and Strategic Affairs*, Volume 36, Number 1, April 2014 , 1-22

Over the last twenty-five years the constitutional landscape of Southeast Asia has changed tremendously. As in the rest of the world, states in the region are dramatically altering their constitutions, often putting in place institutional safeguards for individual rights, such as constitutional courts and human rights commissions. Yet despite the numerous formal changes, actual constitutional practice in the region has been highly uneven. Four areas are particularly contested: constitutional drafting

and design; individual and religious rights; the role of the military in constitutional politics; and the rule of law, courts and justice. How states in Southeast Asia resolve unfolding conflicts in these four areas will be critical to how constitutionalism evolves in the region.

Replacing traditional legal scholarship with a new perspective on how constitutional politics are contested in the region, this article seeks to advance the scholarly debate by delving deeply into the dynamics that underpin unfolding constitutionalism trajectories and assessing

whether countries in the region are actually deepening constitutional practice in a Western liberal sense or whether the





model that seems to be emerging is quite different.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes*

Jonathan B. Slapin & Julia Gray

**Depth, ambition and width in regional economic organizations**

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 21, Issue 5 2014 , 730-745

Many have argued that international agreements face a trade-off between width and depth: that is, that having more members (and greater diversity among those members) tends to lead to lower levels of co-operation within an organization. Recent theoretical literature has called into question the nature of this trade-off, and has even questioned its existence. In this contribution, we seek to uncover the empirical relationship between width and depth using a cross-sectional dataset on regional economic organizations (REOs). We use expert survey data to capture information on key dimensions that taps into the depth of co-operation. We demonstrate that there is no empirical relationship between the number of members in an organization and the depth of co-operation. However, organizations with more members tend to have more ambitious goals and broader scope. This may contribute to the perception of a depth and breadth tradeoff.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes*

Székely István Gergő, Horváth István

**Diversity recognition and minority representation in Central and Southeast Europe: a comparative analysis**

in *Nationalities Papers*, Volume 42, Issue 3, 2014 , 426-448

Abstract

The need to handle ethnocultural diversity and the external pressures of Euro-Atlantic integration have led to the development of complex minority rights regimes in Central and Southeast European states. The aim of this paper is to perform a comparative analysis of the political representation dimension of these regimes, and to investigate how the regulations in this domain are related to the more general attitude of states toward diversity recognition and registration. For this purpose, we classify the states according to a series of variables concerning the manner in which ethnocultural diversity is recognized and portrayed, as well as the regulations concerning the representation of minorities, and identify patterns of their incidence. The formal-legal analysis of the constitutions, minority protection laws and of the electoral legislation of the included countries reveals a clear connection between the general attitude of the state toward diversity and the incidence of autonomies, and a less unequivocal, yet strong relationship in the case of minority representation in the national polity.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes*

Hagström Linus, Jerdén Björn

**East Asia's Power Shift: The Flaws and Hazards of the Debate and How to Avoid Them**

in *Asian Perspective*, Volume 38, Issue 3 , 337-362



The widespread debate on an East Asian power shift is generally based on the crude notion that power and capability are interchangeable. We critique this view and offer the alternative that power is the capacity of actors and discourses to produce effects— what we call relational and productive power, respectively. We also engage in a reflexive exercise by addressing the productive power of the power-shift debate itself, and emphasize the danger that this debate might enable the kind of realpolitik that it forebodes.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes*

Rattanasevee Pattharapong

**Leadership in ASEAN: The Role of Indonesia Reconsidered**

in *Asian Journal of Political Science*, Volume 22, Issue 2, 2014 , 113-127

This paper examines the complexity and multidimensional features of leadership and provides understanding of leadership in ASEAN integration. It highlights the significant roles of leadership in the integrating Southeast Asia and contradicts its common belief of invisible leadership. It highlights the role and the importance of Indonesia in the development of ASEAN as a main factor that can determine ASEAN's survival and success. Moreover, it insists that ASEAN is literally subject to structural powers, derived from material and resource capacity, in which leadership is highly attached to a leader's charisma. Finally, the paper proposes that the benevolent roles of Indonesia with strong emphasis on soft power are a key element of success.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes*

Chelan Li Linda

**Multiple Trajectories and “Good Governance” in Asia: An Introduction**

in *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, Volume 44, Issue 2, 2014 , 187-203

Conventional wisdom in the international aid community has been that governance systems and practices in developing countries require reform in order for aid catering to economic development or poverty alleviation to be successful. Despite criticisms, the good governance agenda has remained unscathed in international development policy until the recent economic crisis in the advanced economies. This feature section of this issue provides in-depth analysis of the nuances at the critical linkage between institutional reforms and development, based on empirical case studies of the logic of governance reforms in the Asian context. This introductory essay surveys the intellectual background of discussion over the concepts of governance, good governance and development, and the linkage between governance reforms as process and development as outcome. It highlights the significance of discussing Asian reform experiences for the ongoing reflection over the global institutional agenda. The message is not that we do not need governance reforms, or that international learning is impossible or counterproductive. Reform efforts in developing and advanced economies will benefit, however, from a better understanding of the linkage between reforms and the diverse historical conditions they are embedded in.



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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes*

**Beeson Mark, Stone Diane**

**Patterns of leadership in the Asia-Pacific: a symposium**  
in *Pacific Review (The)* , Volume 27, Issue 4, 2014 , 505-522

Leadership at the regional level has come under the spotlight not only in the post-Cold War context, but also more recently following the global financial crisis. Yet, leadership by states within region-building and regional associations as leaders vis-à-vis other regions or powers remains relatively new territory for analysis and consideration, even though the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) has attracted both admirers and sceptics. This introductory essay is intended to achieve two principal objectives regarding this symposium addressing Asia-Pacific regional leadership. First, we seek to put the 'Asia-Pacific' in historical context and identify some of the forces that have not only shaped but also hindered its realization. Recognizing China's historical role and contemporary rise is important to understand the parameters within which ASEAN and its member states seek to define particular visions of regional identity and enact collective enterprises. The other key background consideration when thinking about contemporary leadership in the Asia-Pacific is that the United States is seemingly in decline. The Asia-Pacific's two most consequential powers – the United States and China – are pervasive considerations for any regional organization that aims to lead and promote cooperation to solve collective action problems.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes*

**Lee Sheryn, Milner Anthony**

**Practical vs. identity regionalism: Australia's APC initiative, a case study**  
in *Contemporary Politics*, Volume 20, Issue 2, 2014 , 209-228

On 4 June 2008 Australian Prime Minister Kevin Rudd announced his 'vision for an Asia Pacific community' (APC). Though failing to win support among Asian countries, the initiative offers a useful case study. This article does not focus on the motives and interests of the various governments responding to the proposal but rather on the different (and sometimes conflicting) understandings of regionalism that underpinned those responses. In its diplomatic advocacy of the APC, the Australian government stressed 'practical regionalism' – emphasizing the capacity of such a new 'community' to deal with security, economic, environmental and other challenges faced in recent times in the Asia-Pacific region. The Australian campaign gave little attention, however, to the influence of cognitive and emotive factors in community planning: it neglected 'identity' regionalism. In particular, it did not seem to take seriously the possible role of non-Western perspectives in shaping the development of post-colonial inter-state relations. Through the investigation of key Asian-language terms – relating to the English terms for 'region' and 'community' – this article seeks to demonstrate the importance of the identity dimension in both policy development and academic analysis. It argues for an analytic and diplomatic skillset that goes beyond the disciplines of international relations and economics and draws upon expertise in linguistics and regional political cultures.



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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes*

Sebastian Krapohl, Katharina L. Meissner and Johannes Muntschick

**Regional Powers as Leaders or Rambos? The Ambivalent Behaviour of Brazil and South Africa in Regional Economic Integration**

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 52, Issue 4, July 2014 , 879-895

The behaviour of regional powers towards their own regions is often volatile in the developing world, which leads to unstable integration processes. This article argues that this volatility is due to limited intra-regional gains from regional integration in developing regions, which implies that the behaviour of regional powers is constrained by extra-regional economic interests. When regional integration is not in conflict with extra-regional interests, regional powers provide regional leadership. However, when extra-regional interests are in conflict with regional integration, regional powers become regional Rambos. This argument is illustrated with the two examples of Brazil's behaviour in Mercosur and South Africa's behaviour in SADC. Both regional powers provided leadership during some periods of the regional integration processes, but became Rambos when important extra-regional interests were at stake. This damaged regional integration processes in South America and Southern Africa considerably.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes*

Joren Jacobsa, Krisztina Varró

**Rethinking cross-border Euregionalism as self-organising system**

in *Space and Polity*, Volume 18, Number 1 / April , 1-16

Studies of cross-border regions in the European Union have struggled conceptually with an apparent ambiguity of Euregionalism: namely that cross-border regions seem to be the manifestations of reterritorialising state governance on the one hand, but have clearly failed to substantially challenge the Westphalian state territorial system on the other. The aim of the present paper is to develop a conceptual framework that helps us understand this paradoxical nature of cross-border regions. To this end, we draw on the systems theory of Niklas Luhmann and the semiotics of Charles Sanders Peirce, and propose to regard Euregionalism (and regionalisms more generally) as a self-organising system. Self-organisation entails the process in which self-referential communication, rather than a set of actors, employs spatial concepts, such as the region, to enable system-specific entanglements with physical space, either short-lived or enduring, and possibly – but not necessarily – involving governance.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes*

Dixit Kanak Mani

**SEMANTICS TO COMMERCE: THE MAKING OF SOUTHASIA**

in *Asian Affairs*, Volume 45, Issue 1, 2014 , 55-64



With Partition and the rise of various different nationalisms there came the need to find a new name for what used to be called "British India". A framework for co-operation between the new countries was also needed. Initially regionalism was fashionable. But the regional organisation, SAARC, embodied cooperation between all the nation-states of the region, a veritable lowest common denominator rather than an additional layer of an inclusive regional identity for all the citizenry. The increasing use of "Southasia" is based on a recognition that even though India looms large, the region contains other countries with sizeable populations in a global context. But flesh must be put on the bones of the concept. The key is sub-regional commercial cooperation between viable units. There are many opportunities for cross-border economic activity, but what is needed is a porous border like the India/Nepal border, not a militarised border like the India /Pakistan border. Connectivity and bilateral free trade agreements will bring results and the Indian state of Punjab and the Pakistani province of Punjab are perhaps best placed to give an example of cooperation.

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### ***Section C) Regional integration processes***

#### *Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes*

Chan Steve

#### **So What About a Power Shift? Caveat Emptor**

**in Asian Perspective**, Volume 38, Issue 3 , 363-385

In this article I consider the general idea of power shifts, with specific reference to the discourse on "China's rise." I raise theoretical and policy concerns about the nature, sources, and consequences of China's reemergence as a regional power, and call attention to some analytic tendencies and implicit assumptions featured in this discourse.

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### ***Section C) Regional integration processes***

#### *Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes*

Higdem Ulla

#### **The co-creation of regional futures: Facilitating action research in regional foresight**

**in Futures**, Volume 57 , 41-50

This article presents the interconnected phases of a regional-foresight process in an AR perspective within the context of a complex regional dynamic of actors with distinct local and regional political presences. The analysis is based on a Norwegian case of AR on regional foresight. The article reflects upon and develops the concept of action research (AR) as it relates to regional-foresight practices in connection with regional planning strategies (policies), according to Norway's new Planning and Building Act (PBA, 2008). Both AR and regional foresight are broad terms within a number of domains, and several contributions have sought to show how these are interlinked Ramos (2006). The focus is on how AR and action researchers both contribute to the co-creation of regional and sub-regional formulation of planning by regional-foresight processes, which are driven by decision-making regional bodies. This article contributes to the understanding of how an AR strategy of 'strategic facilitation' may improve the overall foresight capacity of all regional actors, both in concert and as single stakeholders. Also it furthers the understanding of how an AR approach may assist in transforming the foresight practices and the strategic decision-making into a more transparent process.

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### ***Section C) Regional integration processes***

#### *Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes*

Caballero-Anthony Mely



**Understanding ASEAN's centrality: bases and prospects in an evolving regional architecture**  
in *Pacific Review (The)* , Volume 27, Issue 4, 2014 , 563-584

There have been a number of articles about ASEAN's centrality in the regional security architecture of Asia. Yet, the notion of centrality remains undefined and under-operationalised. Implicit in the discourses of centrality is the idea of ASEAN's leadership, which in turn raises questions about ASEAN's ability to do so, given its limited capacity. This article defines ASEAN's centrality from the perspective of social network approach and argues that ASEAN's structural position in the density of networks that it has established and those that it has linkages with explains ASEAN's centrality. Despite its lack of material power, ASEAN has been able to claim centrality because of its position as a node in a cluster of networks, and this condition of 'high betweenness' allows ASEAN to exercise influence in regional processes with the tacit acceptance of major powers. However, while centrality may have been achieved, maintaining centrality in a rapidly changing regional environment compels ASEAN to address challenges to its centrality. This would necessarily include its ability to maintain consensus, carry out collective action and achieve its stated goals.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes*

Croissant Aurel

**Ways of Constitution-Making in Southeast Asia: Actors, Interests, Dynamics**

in *Contemporary Southeast Asia: A Journal of International and Strategic Affairs*, Volume 36, Number 1, April 2014 , 23-50

This article analyses eleven cases of constitution-making in eight Southeast Asian countries since 1986. It investigates design choices and actors' interests, the link between the form of the political regime and the extent to which process designs matter for the legitimacy of the constitutional orders in the region. In doing so, the article demonstrates that the link between the form of the political regime and the extent to which constitution-making is inclusive or participatory is less clear-cut. While we would expect better opportunities for public participation and broader inclusion of extra-parliamentary actors in constitution-making in democratic environments, the empirical evidence is mixed. If and how this matters for public support for a constitution and the social acceptance for the constitutional order is not clear. In fact, the Southeast Asian experience seems to indicate that procedural legitimacy is less relevant for the acceptance of a constitution than the legitimacy that derives from the "day-to-day plebiscite" by citizens and elites.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes*

Van Langenhove Luk

**What is a region? Towards a statehood theory of regions**

in *Contemporary Politics*, Volume 19, Issue 4, 2013 , 474-490

This article presents the outline of a statehood theory of regions with the aim of contributing to a better understanding of what regions are, how they function and how they emerge. First, a definition of region is introduced that starts from the use of the concept of region in everyday language. It is argued that 'region' is a discursive tool used to refer to governance units that are not states but have some statehood properties. Second, a comparative framework is developed that allows to present theories of regions in a systematic way. Third, this framework is used to outline a





general theory of regions at the supra-national, sub-national or cross-border level. This theory can be labelled as a 'statehood theory of regions' as it underlines the statehood properties of regions as well as the complex relationships between states and regions. According to this theory, regions are in a double relation to states: they are to some extent supportive to the state(s) that created them, and they have a tendency to gain autonomy from their creators. The whole paper can also be regarded as an exercise in interdisciplinarity as it brings in perspectives from psychology and personality theory in order to transpose the Hobbesian metaphor of states acting as persons to the understanding of regions.

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### **Section C) Regional integration processes**

#### *Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes*

**Carrapatoso Astrid**

#### **Zivilgesellschaft als Legitimationsquelle in der asiatisch-europäischen Umwelt- und Klimakooperation in Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft**, Heft 4, 2013

The role of civil society in Asia-Europe environmental and climate cooperation – a source of legitimacy or irritation?

Since the foundation of ASEM in 1996, civil society participation has been heavily discussed among both member states and civil society actors themselves, thereby also touching the question of legitimacy in interregional relations. Cultural differences between European and Asian states led to the creation of the Asia-Europe Foundation (ASEF) as the socio-cultural pillar of the ASEM process. Civil society participation was finally decoupled from the official political dialogue by integrating civil society into ASEF activities. The question remains to what extent this participation contributes to the legitimacy of the ASEM process. On the one hand, the activities of the Asia-Europe Environment Forum (ENVforum), for example, which involves civil society actors, has already impacted on ASEM summits and generally promotes knowledge and information transfer. On the other hand, the participating civil society actors are rather apolitical and applying criteria for assessing legitimacy shows very mixed results.

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### **Section C) Regional integration processes**

#### *Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East*

**Mbengue Makane Moïse**

#### **A Model for African Shared Water Resources: The Senegal River Legal System**

**in Review of European Community & International Environmental Law**, Volume 23, Issue 1, Special Issue: International Water Law, April, 59-66

Twenty-five years ago, the late B.A. Godana stressed that despite the gap between, on the one hand, the vast number of African international drainage basins and their potential for socio-economic development of the States and, on the other hand, the dearth of international regulations governing water resources, it was noteworthy that the achievements in terms of cooperation were impressive. More than any other African river, the Senegal has been characterized and governed by the most progressive and articulated legal regime. The leitmotif since the inception of this legal regime has been to engage in an experiment that not only follows the most advanced concepts of integrated water resources management, but may also offer lessons in cooperation at the global level. Therefore, the legal architecture to foster cooperation over the management of the Senegal has influenced the development of the law of international watercourses in Africa.



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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East*

Karen J. Alter, Laurence R. Helfer and Jacqueline R. McAllister

**A New International Human Rights Court for West Africa: The ECOWAS Community Court of Justice**  
in *American journal of international law*, vol. 107, issue 4 , 737-779

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East*

Merran Hulse

**Actorness beyond the European Union: Comparing the International Trade Actorness of SADC and ECOWAS**  
in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 52, Issue 3, May 2014 , 547-565

Actorness is no longer the preserve of the European Union. Due to their participation in interregional relations, other regional organizations are developing and institutionalizing the requirements of international actorness, but insofar as a comparative framework for systematically comparing and contrasting actorness across different organizations is lacking, it is difficult to predict the likely outcomes of such relations. Taking a comparative regionalisms approach, this article develops a comparative and generalizable framework of actorness. Adding to the extremely limited literature on non-EU actorness, the model is tested in an analysis of the actorness of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in the field of international trade negotiations. Despite SADC's stronger identity and presence, it is ECOWAS – having more effective decision-making and better capabilities – that possesses greater actorness – a fact likely to impact on inter-regional outcomes.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East*

Frans Viljoen and Adem Kassie Abebe

**Amicus Curiae Participation Before Regional Human Rights Bodies in Africa**  
in *Journal of African Law*, vol. 58, issue 1 , 22-44

A solid stream of cases have been submitted to the quasi-judicial and judicial treaty monitoring bodies making up the African regional human rights system, namely the African Commission, the African Children's Rights Committee and the African Human Rights Court, and also to sub-regional courts in Africa. Allowing amicus curiae briefs to supplement the parties' pleadings can enhance the soundness of the factual and legal findings of these bodies, especially given their institutional and practical constraints. Thus far, the use of amicus curiae interventions before the African regional human rights bodies has been negligible. In order to ensure greater participation by amici, this article suggests that the possibility of amicus intervention should be unequivocally provided for under each of the applicable legal regimes, that the grounds for accepting or rejecting interventions should be clearly articulated, and that access to information about pending cases should be provided routinely.



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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East*

Mzukisi Qobo and Dimpho Motsamai

**Developmental State Construction and Strategic Regionalism: The Continental Reach of South Africa's Development Finance Institutions**

in *Global Policy*, Volume 5, Issue 3, 353–359

South African development finance institutions (DFIs) have extensive portfolios of projects they finance, with a remit that reaches beyond the domestic scene. Indeed, these DFIs are a product of history and have evolved to correspond to the country's postapartheid dispensation. In the past, South African DFIs were used to reinforce the political ideology of apartheid and its policy of separate development. Postapartheid DFI mandates have however changed significantly. They are not just instruments of the state's developmental agenda at the domestic level, but those also active in the region. We characterise this interlinkage of domestic developmentalism and regional orientation as strategic regionalism. The major focus of this article is to survey the role of South African DFIs in the African continent while also critically reviewing their relationship with the state's developmental paradigm and regional strategy.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East*

Grigoriadis Ioannis N.

**Energy Discoveries in the Eastern Mediterranean: Conflict or Cooperation?**

in *Middle East Policy*, Volume 21, Issue 3, Fall, 124-133

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East*

Gibb Richard, Treasure Karen

**From Colonial Administration to Development Funding: Characterisations of SACU as a Governance Mechanism**

in *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Volume 40, Issue 4, 819-838

Throughout its 100-year history, the Southern African Customs Union (SACU) has evolved, being utilised as a mechanism of control by Britain and South Africa during the colonial and apartheid eras, respectively. More recently, SACU has undergone a process of increased democratisation and neo-liberal prioritisation reflecting Africa's desire to engage and compete more effectively in the world economy. Current pressures to reformulate SACU, focused on renegotiating the institutional infrastructure and the all-important Revenue Distribution Formula (RDF), reflect a subtle but significant potential change in the governance framework mediating relations between member states: Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia and Swaziland (BLNS), and South Africa. This paper explores the nature and context of proposed changes, specifically considering levels of governance affected through past and current SACU Agreements between South Africa and the BLNS states. In particular, the paper explores the implications of replacing elements of the RDF with a proposed 'development fund'. This discussion takes as its point of departure wider literatures of power relations



created and maintained by development funding. It is argued that possibilities for intervention in the domestic affairs of the BLNS states are only increased by the move to an administered development fund, despite rhetoric that this will give increased potential for regional development.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East*

**Peter Anyang' Nyong'o**

**Governance in Africa: Challenges for the next 50 years**

in **Development**, Vol. 56, n°3 , 308-314

This essay traces the evolving visions of African governance, from the dawn of independence to present times, and maps out the interlocking arenas where struggles for democracy, human rights, and development are taking place. These range from global struggles over neo-liberalism, to continent-wide engagement over Pan-Africanism and good governance, to national movements to protect electoral democracy and rule of law, to sub-national activism around local democracy, subsidiarity, and people's rights.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East*

**Nzewi Ogochukwu**

**Influence and Legitimacy in African Regional Parliamentary Assemblies: The Case of the Pan-African Parliament's Search for Legislative Powers**

in **Journal of Asian and African Studies** , Vol. 49, No. 4 , 488-507

This article examines non-legislative avenues for parliamentary influence and legitimacy in the Pan-African Parliament (PAP). It argues for an incremental approach to increasing the powers of the PAP. To make this case, the paper first expounds on the composite nature of regional parliaments, showing the convergence of complex political and institutional issues that make Regional Parliamentary Assemblies unique parliamentary entities. Given the unsuccessful attempt by the PAP to increase its legislative powers through an amendment of its protocol, the aim is to make an alternative argument for legislative powers by locating the legal and institutional legitimacy and influence drivers for the PAP.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East*

**Dazi-Héni Fatiha**

**Les diplomaties des monarchies du Conseil de coopération du Golfe dans la crise syrienne**

in **Confluences Méditerranée**, n. 89 , 81-93

Cette contribution a pour objectif d'éclairer les modalités d'engagement des diplomaties du Golfe dans la crise syrienne et d'évaluer les stratégies utilisées dans le contexte d'une puissance globale américaine qui rechigne à intervenir en Syrie. Le Golfe s'est illustré par l'engagement très actif des diplomaties saoudienne et qatarie sur la crise syrienne. Alors que leur objectif commun est de combattre le régime syrien, les deux monarchies vont y contribuer par



leurs rivalités, en divisant et semant la confusion parmi les opposants et les combattants syriens sur le terrain. Les Emirats arabes unis de leur côté, très anxieux sur l'après-Bachar et la montée en puissance du djihadisme vont concentrer leurs efforts sur le soutien logistique et humanitaire des populations syriennes réfugiées dans les pays voisins. Le Koweït, dont le gouvernement campe sur une position plutôt réservée, deviendra la base arrière régionale des financements privés qui vont affluer pour soutenir les djihadistes en Syrie. Oman et Bahreïn restent plutôt en retrait, le premier car il a pour tradition de refuser de s'ingérer dans les affaires internes, le second du fait de son alignement sur les positions saoudiennes.

La confusion et les rivalités entre pays du Golfe qui ont pris l'ascendant en matière de soutien à la rébellion syrienne vont contraindre le royaume saoudien à changer de stratégie, en concertation avec Washington, et à opter pour une option sécuritaire visant à fragiliser les combattants djihadistes et à renforcer et restructurer l'Armée syrienne libre. L'éviction de Bandar ben Sultan en est la plus claire illustration. Le Qatar est quant à lui plus marginalisé.

Plan de l'article

Des engagements divers et variés en provenance du Golfe sur la crise syrienne

La position saoudienne

Les positions du Qatar et ses divergences avec Ryad

La réorientation de la stratégie de Riyad obtient les faveurs de Washington

Les financements privés du Golfe avivent soupçons et confusion

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### **Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East*

Cerra Valerie, Chaman Saxena Sweta

#### **Out-of-Sample Performance of the Macroeconomic Balance Approach to the Real Exchange Rate in Sub-Saharan Africa**

in *Journal of African Economies*, Volume 23 Issue 3 June 2014 , 346-360

This paper tests the performance of the macroeconomic balance (MB) approach (or fundamental equilibrium exchange rate approach) in predicting future movements of real exchange rates (RERs) and current accounts. The analysis is conducted for countries in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA). Econometric evidence shows that a random walk beats current account and RER misalignments from the MB approach in out-of-sample forecasting accuracy. However, the MB approach helps to predict the direction of change of these variables.

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### **Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East*

Roberts David

#### **Qatar and the Muslim Brotherhood: Pragmatism or Preference?**

in *Middle East Policy*, Volume 21, Issue 3, Fall , 84-94

No abstract available

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### **Section C) Regional integration processes**



*Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East*

**Asongu Simplice A.**

**REER Imbalances and Macroeconomic Adjustments in the Proposed West African Monetary Union in South African Journal of Economics (The)**, Volume 82, Issue 2, June 2014 , 276–289

With the spectre of the euro crisis hunting embryonic monetary unions, we use a dynamic model of a small open economy to analyse real effective exchange rate (REER) imbalances and examine whether the movements in the aggregate real exchange rates are consistent with the underlying macroeconomic fundamentals in the proposed West African Monetary Union (WAMU). Using both country-oriented and WAMU panel-based specifications, we show that the long-run behaviour of the REERs can be explained by fluctuations in the terms of trade, productivity, investment, debt and openness. While there is still significant evidence of cross-country differences in the relationship between underlying macroeconomic fundamentals and corresponding REERs, the embryonic WAMU has a stable error correction mechanism, with four of the five cointegration relations having signs that are consistent with the predictions from economic theory. Policy implications are discussed, and the conclusions of the analysis are a valuable contribution to the scholarly and policy debate over whether the creation of a sustainable monetary union should precede convergence in macroeconomic fundamentals that determine REER adjustments.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East*

**Ibrahim Farah, Hawa Noor, Charles Kisame and Khadija Hussein**

**Security, Governance and Regional Integration: Issues in today's Africa in Development**, Vol. 56, n°3 , 321-327

In this article, the authors argue that in order for Africa to attain her full development potential, it is necessary that the region's leaders take questions of regional integration and security much more seriously, placing them at the forefront of their agendas. The role of aid dependence is also challenged and the new flirtation with China, particularly given the current non-critical embrace of Chinese support, is also seen negatively. The authors stress the need for African leaders to foster accountability and become accountable themselves – both to their citizens and to the international community. Whether or not this can be achieved depends on whether the leadership can adopt a self-critical analysis of the continent's problems and begin to revise the current negative narratives about the continent.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East*

**Souaré Issaka K. S**

**The African Union as a norm entrepreneur on military coups d'état in Africa (1952–2012): an empirical assessment**

**in Journal of Modern African Studies** , Volume 52 - Issue 01 - March , 69-94

Between 1952 and 2012, there were a total of 88 successful military coups in Africa. Of those, 63 occurred prior to 1990, and 10 cases since the adoption, by the defunct Organization of African Unity (OAU), of the Lomé Declaration in July 2000, banning military coups and adopting sanctions against regimes born out of this. The article shows that the African Union (AU) has followed in the footsteps of the OAU in this regard. Assisted by some African regional organisations and international partners, the combined effect of this policy of the AU – assisted by other factors – has been a significant





reduction in the occurrence of this phenomenon. While not constituting a funeral arrangement for military coups in the immediate future, these developments – if they were to continue – may indeed make this eventuality achievable in the long run. But the article also reveals some challenges the AU is facing in ensuring this.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East*

DeWet Erika

**The Evolving Role of ECOWAS and the SADC in Peace Operations: A Challenge to the Primacy of the United Nations Security Council in Matters of Peace and Security?**

*in Leiden Journal of International Law*, Volume 27 - Issue 02 , 353 - 369

This article examines the evolution of military operations by the Economic Community of Western African States (ECOWAS) and the South African Development Community (SADC) over the last three decades. By looking at constitutional (treaty) developments and organizational practice, it questions whether these sub-regional organizations have displaced the primacy of the United Nations (UNSC) in matters pertaining to international peace and security, as foreseen in Articles 24(1) and 103 of the Charter (the UN Charter). The relevance of this question is underscored by the fact that ECOWAS and SADC have engaged in various peace operations since the 1990s. The article concludes that, since all the interventions under discussion were underpinned by the consent of the recognized government, it would be premature to suggest that the practice of African sub-regional organizations amounts to the emergence of a new customary right to engage in 'first-instance enforcement action'.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East*

Al Shayji Abdullah K.

**The GCC-U.S. Relationship: A GCC Perspective**

*in Middle East Policy*, Volume 21, Issue 3, Fall , 60-70



No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East*

Hansungule Michelo, Jegede Ademola Oluborode

**The Impact of Climate Change on Indigenous Peoples' Land Tenure and Use**

in *International Journal on Minority and Groups Rights*, Volume 21, Issue 2 , 256-291

In Africa, owing to a lifestyle that is culturally and collectively dependent on land and its natural resources, indigenous peoples are adversely affected by climate change. This is despite the fact that they contribute least to its cause. While this situation requires the protection of indigenous peoples' land tenure and use, this is generally not yet the reality in the domestic laws of states in Africa. Premised on four propositions, this article makes a case for a regional policy to safeguard indigenous peoples' land tenure and use in the light of climate change challenge in Africa. In the main, the propositions are: the indigenous peoples have a distinctive perception of land tenure and use relevant for adaptation and mitigation purposes; the land tenure and use is adversely affected by climate change; there is weak protection of indigenous peoples' land tenure and use under the national and international climate change response frameworks, particularly the National Adaptation Programmes Plan of Action (napa) documentation as well as land-related Clean Development Mechanism (cdm) and redd+ mitigation initiatives; and there are emerging regional activities with the potential to crystallise into a statement of policy. The proposed policy which should embody detailed normative and institutional safeguards on land tenure and use, the article recommends, can be initiated by the African Ministerial Conference on the Environment (amcen) and the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights (African Commission) for the protection of indigenous peoples facing the adverse impact of climate change in Africa.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East*

Dirioz Ali Oguz, Reimold Benjamin A.

**The Strategic Context of the UAE's Nuclear Project: A Model for the Region?**

in *Middle East Policy*, Volume 21, Issue 3, Fall , 71-83

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East*

Elvy Stacy-Ann

**Theories of State Compliance with International Law: Assessing the African Union's Ability to Ensure State Compliance with the African Charter and Constitutive Act**

in *Georgia Journal of International and Comparative Law* , Volume 41, Number 1

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**



*Subsection 3. Cooperations and integration in Central and North America*

Tarlock A. Dan

**Mexico and the United States Assume a Legal Duty to Provide Colorado River Delta Restoration Flows: An Important International Environmental and Water Law Precedent**

in *Review of European Community & International Environmental Law*, Volume 23, Issue 1, Special Issue: International Water Law, April , 76-87

In 2012, Mexico and the United States interpreted a treaty allocating the use of the Colorado River to protect a stressed delta in Mexico by establishing a pilot programme delivering a base flow to the Delta. Minute 319 is a possible first step toward a permanent adaptive management regime for the Delta because it sets three important international water and environmental law precedents. First, it is a de facto implementation of the ecosystem conservation mandates of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Non-navigational Uses of International Watercourses. Second, Minute 319 is equally recognition of the emerging duty of riparian States to cooperate in the long-term management of shared rivers. Third, although Minute 319 was the product of sovereign-to-sovereign negotiations, it was made possible by nongovernmental organizations (NGOs). It thus illustrates the important role that NGOs can play in the implementation of international environmental and water law.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 3. Cooperations and integration in Central and North America*

Ketterer Tobias D., Bernhofen Daniel, Milner Chris

**Preferences, rent destruction and multilateral liberalization: The building block effect of CUSFTA**

in *Journal of International Economics*, Volume 92, Issue 1, January 2014 , 63-77

If a free trade agreement (FTA) is characterized by the exchange of market access with a large and competitive trading partner, the agreement can cause a leakage of protectionist benefits to domestic industry from lobbying against external tariff cuts. This rent destruction effect of an FTA can free policy makers to be more aggressive in multilateral tariff cuts. We argue that the Canadian–US free trade agreement (CUSFTA) provides an ideal policy experiment to link this mechanism to the data. Exploring the determinants of Canada's tariff cuts at the 8-digit HS product level, we find that CUSFTA acted as an additional driver of Canadian multilateral tariff reductions during the Uruguay Round.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America*

Mariano Turzi

**Asia y la ¿(des)integración latinoamericana?**

in *Nueva Sociedad*, n. 250

What are the impacts of the ascent of emerging Asia on the process of Latin American integration? Is it moving towards a fracture in the process of regional Latin American integration, or are new spaces of cooperation and coordination opening up? To what extent are divergences being created and what are possible areas of convergence? A review of the supposed antinomy that exists between Mercosur and the Pacific Alliance, an analysis of the political economy on three levels (international, regional, and domestic), and Asian visions of the region could help respond to these questions.



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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America*

Luis L. Schenoni

**Brasil en América del Sur. La lógica de la unipolaridad regional  
in Nueva Sociedad, n. 250**

In the 21st century, Brazil has moved from indifference to stardom, and from there to disappointment, but the cycles of euphoria and disenchantment have hidden the basics: the country has not grown significantly versus the world, but versus the rest of South America. Therefore it is important to analyze the South American giant's ascent as a move from historic Argentine-Brazilian bipolarity to its current primacy. With the focus on this process, the article unravels the logic behind Brazil's relations with its neighbors during three decades of regional unipolarity.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America*

Francesco Davide RAGNO

**Buenos Aires cerca Brasilia e non la trova  
in Limes, n.6**

Ambizioni geopolitiche e dimensioni economico-demografiche disparate impediscono un vero dialogo fra Argentina e Brasile. Due modi diversi di pensare il Mercosur e il rapporto con gli Usa. Il peso del debito argentino e della crisi del chavismo.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America*

Juan Manuel Acuña

**Democracia y derechos en el sistema interamericano de derechos humanos  
in Cuestiones constitucionales. Revista mexicana de derecho constitucional, n. 30 , 3-23**

The old discussion about relations between constitution and democracy or majority rule and rights currently holds in modern constitutional democracies. This Issue has begun discussing a new scenario; the Inter American system of human rights. The inter American court of human rights in resolving several cases, has established the relationship between democracy and rights and thus has managed a series of principles for the design of constitutional democracies in the hemisphere. The cases referred to amnesty laws and their in conventionality have enable to the inter American High Court set standards about the limits that majorities must respect about how to deal with crimes against humanity in the process of democratic transitions. In this paper we propose to clarify the Inter American doctrine on the relationship between democracy and rights and consequently, the basic guidelines that democracies in the area should continue to establish a real constitutional democracy.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America*



Pablo Policzer and Antonio Franceschet

**Democratizing Constitutions: The Promotion of International Democracy after the 2009 Honduran Coup in Global Policy**, Volume 5, Issue 2 , 201–211

The 2009 Honduran constitutional crisis – in which a sitting president was removed from power and the country by military force – shows that, when it comes to the promotion of democracy, constitutions need to shift to the centre of debate and diplomatic practice in the Organization of American States (OAS). The undemocratic features of member states' actual constitutions cannot simply be ignored until there is a coup d'état. Although it is understandable that the first phase of OAS democracy promotion – undertaken as authoritarian regimes in the region waned – focused on preventing coups and the violent usurpation of democracy, the next phase ought to focus on ensuring that actual constitutions are aligned with, and supportive of, democracy.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America*

Sánchez-Martín Miguel Eduardo, Arce Rafael de, Escribano Gonzalo

**Do changes in the rules of the game affect FDI flows in Latin America? A look at the macroeconomic, institutional and regional integration determinants of FDI**

in *European Journal of Political Economy*, Volume 34, June 2014 , 279-299

This paper aims to identify the main determinants of FDI in Latin America during the period 1990–2010. Evidence points to positive influences on FDI inflows of trade openness, maintaining low short-term debt levels and presenting a balance of payment deficit, government stability and low expropriation risk. Countries such as Argentina, Bolivia, Ecuador and Venezuela, in which the investment framework has become relatively less stable over the last decade, are finding it more difficult to attract foreign investors. From a risk-management perspective, both public solutions (such as sovereign guarantees) and private institutions have important roles to play in reducing the uncertainty involved in foreign investment decisions. Another result is that the DR CAFTA agreement does not seem to have played a significant role in the recent increase in investment directed towards Central America.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America*

Stédile João Pedro

**E la Terra tremerà!**

in *CNS Ecologia politica*, nuova serie, n. 3, marzo

Full text available at <http://www.ecologiapolitica.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2014/03/Stedile-La-terra-tremerà.pdf>

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America*

Vasel Johann Justus

**Innovationsimpulse des interamerikanischen Menschenrechtsgerichtshofes**

in *Jahrbuch des öffentlichen Rechts der Gegenwart*, Band 62, 2014



No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America*

**Di Ruzza Marco**

**La cooperazione regionale in America Latina. Le analogie con l'integrazione europea**

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLVI, numero speciale n. 174, aprile-primavera , 389-403

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America*

**Galantucci Robert**

**Policy space and regional predilections: Partisanship and trade agreements in Latin America**

in *Review of International Political Economy*, Volume 21, Issue 3, 2014 , 710-734

Several prominent political economy models of trade policy, at first glance, seem to suggest that leftist governments in Latin America have strong incentives to sign preferential trade agreements (PTAs). The Heckscher–Ohlin model, for instance, predicts that the ideological left in the developing world will favour trade liberalization. Other research, specifically on trade agreements, suggests that leftist governments sign such treaties to credibly signal a commitment to sound economic policies. In light of these predictions, it is perhaps surprising that many left-wing Latin American governments have been especially averse to signing PTAs. In this article, I provide an explanation for the partisan left's disposition toward trade agreements. First, I identify the ways in which PTAs can be difficult to reconcile with hardline or populist left-wing governance. Second, I explore the conditions under which left governments are most inclined to sign trade agreements. I anticipate that regional commonalities and shared partisanship increase the prospects for cooperation. A statistical analysis of PTA signing in 18 Latin American countries, as well as a more in-depth treatment of several cases, yields results consistent with my expectations. These findings have implications for the literature on the political economy of trade agreements as well as the scholarship on globalization in the Latin American context.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America*

**Claudio Lara C., Consuelo Silva F.**

**Profundizar la integración financiera regional. Dilemas y desafíos actuales**

in *Nueva Sociedad*, n. 250

The persistence of the deep global economic and financial crisis makes it necessary and urgent to tackle the subject of regional financial integration, especially on two great axes: the first, clarifying the real nature of the international financial architecture and its limits, as well as its influence in the gestation and spread of the crisis; the second, one of the critical aspects to tackle on a regional scale: the expansion of the credits to people and to institutional investors. Interest and the demands of users of banking and financial systems for a fairer deal and greater transparency and regulation must be incorporated into the agenda of the new regional financial governance.





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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America*

Sergio García Ramírez and Julieta Morales Sánchez

**Recepción de la jurisprudencia interamericana sobre derechos humanos: libertad de expresión, jurisdicción militar y control de convencionalidad**

in *Cuestiones constitucionales. Revista mexicana de derecho constitucional*, n. 29 , 163-218

The international legal framework established in treaties and conventions enters the national sphere through the different ways, as mentioned in this article: constitutionally, legally, jurisprudentially, politically and culturally. This article mainly refers to its admission through jurisprudence. Nowadays, Inter-American Court of Human Rights jurisprudence has attained increased visibility and importance in Mexico. This phenomenon represents a leading hypothesis on internal admission of the international human rights framework, especially the American Convention on Human Rights or Pact of San Jose.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America*

BLANCO ALVARADO, Carolina.

**SOME PROPOSALS ABOUT THE CRISIS OF LEGITIMATE ANDEAN COMMUNITY.**

in *Análisis político* , vol.26 no.78 , 141-155

Globalization has expanded the scope of responsibility of civil society, which is why it is considered necessary to provide a greater degree of citizen participation in all decision-making levels. It is in this connection that under the Andean integration process is of interest to analyze the legitimacy. This document is an approach to the legitimacy of the Andean integration process. For this purpose ,it is considered evidence that the process legitimacy crisis , which is why we try to offer some proposals for resolving the crisis in which referenced the Andean Parliament has to function role. This document is the result of an exploratory and descriptive on the ground that its purpose was to examine a little-studied and intended to specify the main properties that guide the legitimacy of the Andean integration process

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America*

Ana María Vara

**Un discurso latinoamericano y latinoamericanista sobre los recursos naturales en el "caso papeleras"**

in *Iberoamericana. America Latina – España – Portugal*, Vol. 13, Número 52 , 7-26

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

Zhida Chen

**ASEAN and Its Problematic Treaty-Making Practice: Can International Organizations Conclude Treaties “on**



### **Behalf of” Their Member States?**

in *Asian Journal of International Law*, vol. 4, issue 2 , 391-419

The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) has, on various occasions, concluded treaties on behalf of its Member States. This raises some interesting questions: is ASEAN entitled to enter into treaties on behalf of its Member States; and if so, what should be the status of ASEAN and its Member States vis-à-vis the other party to the treaty? The issue is not one of whether the ASEAN Member States have consented to such a practice—it must be assumed that they have. Instead, the real issue is whether such treaty-making practice can and should be valid under international law, even if the Member States have consented for ASEAN to conclude these treaties on their behalf. This paper will argue that, under international law, ASEAN is entitled to conclude treaties on behalf of its Member States.

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### **Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

Gerard Kelly

#### **ASEAN and civil society activities in ‘created spaces’: the limits of liberty**

in *Pacific Review (The)* , Volume 27, Issue 2, 2014 , 265-287

The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) has recently made numerous commitments to engage civil society organizations (CSOs) in its governance practices. However, the opportunities created offer limited means for CSOs to contest policy as a result of strict controls over who can participate and the forms of participation permitted. Activists have consequently pursued their agendas outside of spaces sanctioned by ASEAN through ‘created spaces,’ such as conferences organized parallel to official summits. However, this form of political participation has limited potential to influence official processes because despite its independence, these activities are still structured in relation to ASEAN practices. The ineffectual nature of CSO advocacy despite ASEAN’s people-orientated shift has been documented, however explanations for this trend remain limited. This article applies the modes of political participation framework that acknowledges the role of intergovernmental organizations in structuring spaces for civil society participation and, in doing so, shaping the contribution that CSOs can make. Through an examination of the regulations and practices that govern CSO participation in both ASEAN-sanctioned and independent spaces, it argues that spaces for CSO participation are structured to prevent CSOs from contesting policy, suggesting that ASEAN’s shift to widen participation is directed towards legitimating its reform agenda. Hence, ASEAN’s claim of becoming ‘people oriented’ must be considered in recognition of the limiting effect its engagement practices have on CSOs’ ability to advance alternative agendas.

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### **Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

Oba Mie

#### **ASEAN and the Creation of a Regional Community**

in *Asia Pacific Review*, Volume 21, Issue 1, 2014 , 63-78

After the ASEAN Concord II called for the building of an ASEAN Community in 2003, the creation of an ASEAN



Community became a concrete part of the political agenda for the nations of Southeast Asia, and an ASEAN Community is scheduled to be created in 2015. However, it will all be for naught if the ASEAN Community that is established does not truly contribute to the stability and prosperity of the region. From this point of view, the article will attempt to evaluate the development of an ASEAN community concept and efforts to create it. To clarify the ideal of a true community, this article will take up Karl Deutsch's concept of "pluralistic security communities" and reconsider what a community requires. The article will state that the efforts to create an ASEAN Community should not be underestimated, and the blueprints for the creation of the ASEAN Community outline the formation of a true regional community. It will, however, conclude that in reality there exist factors within the ASEAN region that may shake the development of an ASEAN Community. It has to be said that the fostering of a sense of community at the level of ordinary people, as well as the creation of a community in which fundamental values and norms are shared, are distant propositions.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

Serri Niccolò

**ASEAN: la sfida dell'integrazione**

in *Aspenia*, n. 63, gennaio

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

Kennedy Peter

**Asia-Pacific Integration: The Economic and Security Dimensions**

in *New Zealand International Review*, March 2014

On 13 November Victoria University's Centre for Strategic Studies and the NZIIA combined to host the Asia-Pacific Integration Symposium. This all day symposium was supported by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, the New Zealand Defence Force, the Ministry of Defence and the Asia New Zealand Foundation and looked at the dramatic reshaping of the international economic order against the process of strategic rebalancing occurring in the Asia region. It asked the question: are these two processes compatible, complementary, or on a collision course? In his introductory comments Sir Douglas Kidd, president, NZIIA, suggested that the government could perform better in informing New Zealanders about developments like the Trans-Pacific Partnership. FFe turned then to John Hayes, chair of Parliament's Foreign Affairs Defence and Trade Select Committee, to give the opening address. ...

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

Amy Nethery & Carly Gordyn

**Australia-Indonesia cooperation on asylum-seekers: a case of 'incentivised policy transfer'**



in *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Volume 68, Issue 2 , 177-193

Australia and Indonesia have engaged in cooperation on asylum policy since the late 1990s, bilaterally on immigration detention and people-smuggling agreements, and multilaterally through the Bali Process. Seen from a global perspective, this form of cooperation is one of many such bilateral and multilateral agreements that stymie the ability of asylum-seekers to gain effective and durable protection. This article argues that policy transfer theory can explain how these agreements are achieved, their political implications, and their outcome for the refugee regime and the asylum-seekers reliant on the regime for protection. In the case study of Australia and Indonesia, the authors argue that the cooperation is best understood as a form of 'incentivised policy transfer', whereby Australia has provided substantial financial and diplomatic incentives to Indonesia to adopt policies consistent with Australia's own. The implications for asylum-seekers in the Asia-Pacific region are substantial, and include an increase in the use of immigration detention in Indonesia and the introduction of border security measures that restrict the ability of asylum-seekers to reach territory where they may claim protection under the Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

Sampa Kundu

**BIMSTEC at 17: An Assessment of its Potential**

in *India Quarterly*, vol. 70, no. 3 , 207-224

Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation, the inter-regional mechanism which was initiated primarily as a combination of India's Look East Policy and Thailand's Look West Policy, need to be reviewed in terms of achievements and difficulties faced so far as it has already completed first 16 years of existence. This article aims to identify its shortfalls and positive aspects in order to understand its potential, if there are any.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

Jürgen Rüländ

**Constructing Regionalism Domestically: Local Actors and Foreign Policymaking in Newly Democratized Indonesia**

in *Foreign Policy Analysis*, Volume 10, Issue 2 , 181–201

There is a dearth of studies exploring the construction of ideas on regionalism outside Europe. This article seeks to make a contribution to close this gap. It examines the construction of ideas on regionalism in Indonesia, the largest member country of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). Theoretically, the paper draws from Acharya's concept of "constitutive localization" which it develops further. It offers an alternative explanation to studies which argue that as a result of mimetic behavior, social learning, and cost-benefit calculations, regional organizations across the world become increasingly similar. While this may be the case in terms of rhetoric and organizational structure, it is not necessarily the case at a normative level. The Indonesian case shows that even though foreign policy stakeholders have increasingly championed European ideas of regional integration after the Asian Financial Crisis of 1997/1998, they have skillfully amalgamated them with older local worldviews through framing, grafting, and pruning. European ideas of regional integration thereby served to modernize and relegitimize a foreign policy agenda which seeks to establish Indonesia as a regional leader with ambitions to play a major role in global politics.



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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

Dinoj Kumar Upadhyay

**Coping with Climate Change: India–EU Cooperation on Renewable Energy and Clean Technology in India Quarterly**, vol. 70, no. 3 , 241-256

Promotion of renewable energy and application of clean technology are essential for limiting emissions of GHG and facilitating environmentally compatible development. Although India and the European Union (EU) recognise their vulnerability to climate change, they differ on their 'normative claims' of the global climate change regime. India and the EU do not agree on emission cut targets. They can cooperate in multiple ways in the areas of clean technologies, renewable energy, research and development and sharing knowledge for sustainable development planning, etc. India has adopted a comprehensive National Action Plan on Climate Change (NAPCC), which comprises of both mitigation and adaptation measures to climate change. The implementation of the NPACC would be crucial in shaping a policy for inclusive and sustainable development. Hence, cooperation between India and the EU can take place in areas of the NAPCC that would help not only in coping with climate change, but also in enhancing India's economic relations as well as development partnership with the EU.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

Ryu Yongwook, Ortuoste Maria

**Democratization, regional integration, and human rights: the case of the ASEAN intergovernmental commission on human rights**

**in Pacific Review (The)** , Volume 27, Issue 3, 2014 , 357-382

The establishment of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations' (ASEAN) Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights (AICHR) is extremely puzzling, because many ASEAN members have never been strong supporters of human rights, nor have they been advocates for intervening in the name of human rights. Why did ASEAN members, then, agree to establish the AICHR? We argue that the AICHR is the result of two factors: democratization in key regional countries and the intensifying effort of regional integration in the form of the ASEAN Community project. The former factor engendered key agents for pro-human rights initiatives and set the direction of human rights development within ASEAN. The latter factor weakened the old norms of the ASEAN Way and engendered new regional norms such as good governance and accountability, which were conducive to the development of human rights. It also provided persuasive power based on a shared sense of collective purpose in eliciting agreement from the authoritarian members for the AICHR. We support our argument with the analysis of all ASEAN vision statements and its ministerial meeting statements from 1967 to 2010 as well as our own interviews. The analysis shows that the emergence of new regional norms was closely associated with the development of the ASEAN Community project, and this normative change resulted in a different view of human rights, whose promotion would positively affect regional integration and stability. Our argument suggests a different perspective of a regional human rights mechanism essentially as a regional body reflecting regional norms and values.



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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

Hayakawa Kazunobu, Kim Hansung, Hyun-Hoon Lee

**Determinants on utilization of the Korea–ASEAN free trade agreement: margin effect, scale effect, and ROO effect**

in *World Trade Review*, Volume 13 - Issue 03 - luglio 2014 , 499-515

In this paper we empirically examine the determinants on utilization of the Korea–ASEAN Free Trade Agreement (KAFTA) by employing a database provided by the Korea Customs and Trade Development Institute. We find that, although three effects, namely preferential margin (margin effect), rules of origin restrictiveness (ROO effect), and average export volume (scale effect), contribute to determining the utilization of the FTA, the scale effect has the greatest impact. Our results suggest that, since firms with relatively small volumes of trade are usually small and medium-size enterprises (SMEs), policy assistance for reducing administrative costs should be geared toward SMEs. Our results further indicate that policymakers should also try to negotiate more extensive tariff reductions on products not only where MFN rates are high but also where shipments are large.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

Vinokurov Evgeny, Libman Alexander

**Do economic crises impede or advance regional economic integration in the post-Soviet space?**

in *Post communist economies*, Volume 26, Issue 3, 2014 , 341-358

This article investigates the effect of economic crises on the development of post-Soviet regional integration, focusing on Russia–Kazakhstan relations and particularly the case of the Belarus, Russia and Kazakhstan customs union. While the literature often argues that crises are accompanied by growing protectionism, we observe a substantially more complex relation. We find that crises as a rule result in an increase in integration rhetoric and can also result in an increase in actual economic and institutional integration. However, the actual integration effort goes up only when a crisis has followed a prolonged period of economic growth, i.e. the countries have accumulated sufficient reserves. At the same time, the existing ties must be strong, with no viable alternative available to the policy makers. Otherwise there is too strong an incentive to use protectionist measures to compensate for the decrease in budgetary revenue.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

Menon Jayant, Hill Hal

**Does East Asia Have a Working Financial Safety Net?**

in *Asian Economic Journal*, Volume 28, Issue 1, March 2014 , 1-17

Financial safety nets in Asia have come a long way since the Asian financial crisis (AFC) of 1997/1998. With Asian countries not wanting to rely solely on the IMF again, the Chiang Mai Initiative (CMI) was created in 2000. When the CMI also proved inadequate following the global financial crisis, it was first multilateralized (CMIM), and then doubled in size to US\$240bn, while the IMF de-linked portion was increased to 30 percent of the available country quotas. A





surveillance unit, the ASEAN+3 Macroeconomic Research Office, was set up in 2001. These are impressive developments, but are they enough to make the CMIM workable? Without clear and rapid-response procedures to handle a fast-developing financial emergency, we argue that it is unlikely that the CMIM will be used even as a complement to the IMF. To serve as a stand-alone option, however, its size or the IMF de-linked portion of funds needs to be further increased, as does its membership, to add diversity. Only if the ASEAN+3 Macroeconomic Research Office can develop into an independent and credible surveillance authority would it then perhaps be in a position to lead the next rescue.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

**IL HYUN CHO and SEO-HYUN PARK**

**Domestic legitimacy politics and varieties of regionalism in East Asia**  
**in Review of International Studies (The)**, Volume 40 - Issue 03 , 583-606

What drives East Asian regionalism? The rise of China and the perceived decline in the influence of the United States have sparked debates about the future of the regional order, including the yet-unresolved question of whose leadership is likely to be more stable and accepted as legitimate by other regional actors. What is puzzling, however, is that persistent demands for the formation of a coherent and uniquely East Asian regional institution have come not from China or the US, as is the focus of existing studies, but rather Japan and South Korea. In this article, we propose an alternative framework that conceptualises the varieties of East Asian regionalism, emphasising the multiple pivots and variegated levels of politics involved in efforts toward regional cooperation. We find that competing proposals for East Asian regionalism since the 1990s are not determined by structural pressures or the convergence of interests but rather result from domestic legitimacy politics. Japanese and Korean leaders have, at different time periods, proposed their own alternative region-making initiatives appealing to domestically contested views on how best to seek autonomy from the region's Great Powers as a way to enhance their political standing domestically and regionally.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

**Alexander Lukin**

**Eurasian Integration and the Clash of Values**  
**in Survival**, Volume 56, Issue 3 , 43-60

Putin has now established an independent power centre in Eurasia. Although economic considerations are important, they are also secondary to a set of values differing from those preached by the West.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

**Singh Sandeep**

**From a Sub-Continental Power to an Asia-Pacific Player: India's Changing Identity**  
**in India Review**, Volume 13, Issue 3 , 187-211

This article aims to argue that identity is an important variable in determining the motivational disposition of the Indian



state's external security behavior. It offers a constructivist explanation to India's increasing engagement with the Asia-Pacific region and argues that India's deepening engagement with the region is a reflection of its desire to craft a new external identity for itself – the identity of an “Asia-Pacific player.” The desire for an “Asia-Pacific identity” is in part precipitated by Indian political elite's perception of a crisis in India's external identity immediately after the end of the Cold War, along with its intuitive desire for recognition within the international system. This ongoing identity shift offers to explain many visible changes in India's post-Cold War foreign security behavior.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

Gerard Kelly

**From the ASEAN People's Assembly to the ASEAN Civil Society Conference: the boundaries of civil society advocacy**

*in Canadian Public Policy* , Volume 40 Number 3 , 411-426

Civil society organisations (CSOs) have asserted their claim for participation in regional governance in Southeast Asia through multiple forums held since the late-1990s. The two most enduring are the ASEAN People's Assembly (APA), organised by ASEAN-ISIS and held seven times from 2000 to 2009, and the ASEAN Civil Society Conference (ACSC), organised by the Solidarity for Asian People's Advocacy network and held nine times from 2005 to the present. Through comparative analysis of the boundaries of CSO participation in these two events, this article explains why the APA was superseded by the ACSC, and it highlights states' growing intrusions into the ACSC. It argues that states' expanding repertoire of tactics to direct the ACSC has seen the structure of CSO participation in this event recast, challenging the view of the ACSC as an independent space for advocacy and indicating the hollowness of ASEAN's commitments to creating a 'people-oriented' Association.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

Jho Whasun Chae Soo

**Hegemonic Disputes and the Limits of the ASEAN Regional Forum**

*in Pacific Focus*, Volume 29, Issue 2 , 237–259

lthough the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) has made significant progress providing confidence-building mechanisms, it remains inconsistent in moving towards a shared goal of collective defense arrangements and this raises the issue of the ARF's overall efficacy in the region. This article analyzes the reasons for the inconsistent efficacy of the ARF in improving territorial conflicts. Based upon realists' insights, this article analyzes how the role of the ARF in resolving the South China Sea disputes has changed periodically based on participation of the United States and China, which have exercised their expansionary or conservative interest goals in the region. This article pays close attention to the way in which the respective national interests of the United States and China have changed chronologically and how these adopted strategies have affected their rival's participation strategies and the ARF's role. This article argues that the ARF's ability to resolve problems has fluctuated noticeably according to the changes in the nature and level of powerful states' hegemonic interests.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**



*Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

Rory Medcalf

**In defence of the Indo-Pacific: Australia's new strategic map**

in *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Volume 68, Issue 4 , 470-483

The 2013 Australian Defence White Paper categorically termed Australia's zone of strategic interest the Indo-Pacific, the first time any government has defined its region this way. This raises questions about what the Indo-Pacific means, whether it is a coherent strategic system, the provenance of the concept and its implications for Asian security as well as Australian policy. Indo-Pacific Asia can best be understood as an expansive definition of a maritime super-region centred on South-East Asia, arising principally from the emergence of China and India as outward-looking trading states and strategic actors. It is a strategic system insofar as it involves the intersecting interests of key powers such as China, India and the USA, although the Indo-Pacific subregions will retain their own dynamics too. It suits Australia's two-ocean geography and expanding links with Asia, including India. The concept is, however, not limited to an Australian perspective and increasingly reflects US, Indian, Japanese and Indonesian ways of seeing the region. It also reflects China's expanding interests in the Indian Ocean, suggesting that the Chinese debate may shift towards partial acceptance of Indo-Pacific constructs alongside Asia-Pacific and East Asian ones, despite suspicions about its association with the US rebalance to Asia. Questions about Australia's ability to implement an effective Indo-Pacific strategy must account for force posture, alliance ties and defence diplomacy, as well as constraints on force structure and spending.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

Emmers Ralf

**Indonesia's role in ASEAN: A case of incomplete and sectorial leadership**

in *Pacific Review (The)* , Volume 27, Issue 4, 2014 , 543-562

Indonesia is often regarded as the natural leader of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) in light of its geographical dimensions, large population, strategic position and natural resources. The country has felt entitled to a position of leadership and has generally been recognized by the other ASEAN members as first among equals. While the de facto leadership of Indonesia has traditionally been accepted as conventional wisdom, little attention has been given to the extent to which Jakarta has actually succeeded in exercising leadership in ASEAN and how its attempt to do so has been perceived by the other Southeast Asian states. The paper explores this question by focusing on Indonesia's ability to provide international public goods in the areas of security and economics, engage in conflict management and promote institution building. It argues that the country has sought to establish a stable and autonomous security environment, to conduct conflict mediation efforts in the Cambodian conflict and the South China Sea disputes, and to develop institutional mechanisms to promote security, democracy and human rights among other issues. Still, Indonesia's leadership in ASEAN has been incomplete due to resistance from some members to its preference for an autonomous regional order and in recent years a democratic form of domestic governance. Its leadership has so far also been limited to the political and security spheres, leaving other sectors, like the economy, to others.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**



*Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

Wai Ching Poon, Yong Shen Lee

**Inflation Targeting in ASEAN-10**

in **South African Journal of Economics (The)**, Volume 82, Issue 1, March 2014 , 141-157

The paper addresses the empirical question of whether economies that do not systematically target inflation (non-inflation targeters) experience higher exchange rate volatility as compared with inflation targeters in 10 countries of the Association of Southeast Asian Nation (ASEAN) from 1990 to 2010. The paper examines the role of real exchange rate, exchange rate volatility and the reaction functions of central banks using dynamic panel estimation techniques. The results indicate that the output gap offers more useful information than the inflation gap in setting interest rates for inflation targeters, implying that the real term is more important than the nominal term. In turn, this suggests that an increase in interest rate can be wielded swiftly to reduce real gross domestic product and suppress inflation. The real exchange rate appears as a weaker determinant in setting interest rates for non-inflation targeters. Inflation targeters experienced lower exchange rate volatility compared with non-targeters in the ASEAN, which implies that implementation costs to their domestic economies may be marginally lower. Meanwhile, the non-targeters follow a mixed strategy as both the inflation and real exchange rate are used as instruments to set the interest rates.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

Alice Ba

**Institutional divergence and convergence in the Asia-Pacific? ASEAN in practice and in theory**

in **Cambridge Review of International Affairs** , Volume 27, Issue 2 , 295-318

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

Gabrielle Simm and Andrew Byrnes

**International Peoples' Tribunals in Asia: Political Theatre, Juridical Farce, or Meaningful Intervention?**

in **Asian Journal of International Law**, vol. 4, issue 1 , 103-124

Since the 1960s, over eighty international peoples' tribunals have been established outside formal state and international structures. Many have drawn on the forms and procedures of state-sponsored international tribunals and investigated whether states, international organizations, and transnational corporations have violated established norms of international law, while also seeking to infuse it with more progressive values. This paper first provides an overview of the history of international peoples' tribunals in Asia, then examines three tribunals that have focused on situations in Asia. We argue that not only do peoples' tribunals respond to a perceived gap in official structures of accountability, but they also perform other functions. These include building solidarity and networks, and recording and memorializing otherwise unacknowledged experiences. Further, such tribunals not only engage in holding states and others accountable informally but also articulate claims about the right of civil society to "own", interpret, and develop international law.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

Athukorala Prema-chandra

**Intra-regional FDI and Economic Integration in South Asia**

in *South Asia Economic Journal*, March 2014; 15 (1) , 1-35

This article examines trends and patterns of intra-regional foreign direct investment (FDI) in South Asia, with a focus on the potential for integrating production processes among countries in the region through further trade and investment policy reforms. The empirical evidence pieced together from scattered sources suggests that horizontal (market seeking) FDI has continued to dominate South Asian intra-regional FDI, with a significant shift in recent years in favour of services sector activities. Vertical (efficiency seeking) FDI in the region has remained confined to a few product lines, predominately garments, and also a few industries in which the availability of specific natural resources plays an important role in the site selection decisions of firms. In other industries, including electronics and electrical goods in which global production sharing is heavily concentrated, there is no evidence of notable cross-border operations by regional firms.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

Bhumitra Chakma

**Liberal Peace and South Asia**

in *India Quarterly*, vol. 70, no. 3 , 187-205

Following the end of the Cold War, South Asia has been in transition in a number of ways. Based on the Kantian tripod of democracy, economic interdependence and institution, this article assesses whether liberal peace has taken root in South Asia. It concludes that although an incipient liberal order may be discerned in the region, South Asia has yet to change fundamentally to become a zone of liberal peace. Particularly the Indo-Pakistani relationship remains frosty which constrains the building of a liberal order in the region.

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*Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

Kim Inkyoung

**Messages from a middle power: participation by the Republic of Korea in regional environmental cooperation on transboundary air pollution issues**

in *International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics*, Volume 14, Issue 2, May , 147-162

This paper addresses the question whether or not regional middle power states are capable of making a significant contribution to enhancing regional cooperation via regime creation processes. A combination of "nonregime" and the middle power analysis is applied to produce hypotheses about less-developed cases of regime creation in Northeast Asia. Among the attractions of such an approach are that (1) cases of failure to create international regimes as well as cases of success are important to understand the emergence of global governance institutions, and (2) the different roles of various state actors should be understood beyond hegemonic power. The explanatory power of this approach is illustrated by transboundary air pollution issues in Northeast Asia, chosen because the international relations literature has emphasized the development of European regional environmental cooperation and global environmental issues.





The paper examines participation by the Republic of Korea (ROK) in both comprehensive and issue-specific environmental cooperative mechanisms to tackle transboundary air pollution. It concludes that the ROK as a middle power has played a promising role to initiate and lead some positive competition between member countries, but at the same time, it highlights challenges that need to be met for creating solid regional environmental cooperation.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

Kabir Shahriar, Salim Ruhul A.

**Regional Economic Integration in ASEAN: How Far Will It Go?**

in *ASEAN Economic Bulletin*, Volume 31, Number 2, August 2014 , pp. 313-335

The Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) is among several regional blocs that have received praise from economists for making significant progress towards developing intra- and extra-regional economic relationships. However, opinions differ over the extent of ASEAN's potential for integration. This paper reviews the performance of and prospects for the group's intra- and extra-regional integration. It also reviews the performance of individual members in order to assess whether ASEAN integration could potentially lead to a monetary union in the future. We provide an overview of trade performance and a comparison of three macroeconomic variables: inflation; interest; and exchange rates. We observe that ASEAN members are in a favourable position to form a strong economic zone in the near future, but adopting a common monetary policy is less plausible.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

Varkkey Helena

**Regional cooperation, patronage and the ASEAN Agreement on transboundary haze pollution**

in *International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics*, Volume 14, Issue 1, March , 65-81

Transboundary haze pollution is an almost annual occurrence in Southeast Asia. Haze originates from peat and forest fires mostly in Indonesia, with Malaysia and Singapore suffering the worst of its effects. Most of these fires are man-made and linked to land-clearing activities of local and foreign commercial oil palm plantations. The regional nature of the haze has resulted in a concentration of haze mitigation activities at the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) level. However, these initiatives continually fail to effectively mitigate haze. This article argues that this failure is due to the influence of patronage politics in the sector, which is linked to the ASEAN style of regional engagement that prioritises the maintenance of national sovereignty. States are compelled to act in their national interests, as opposed to the collective regional interests. The economic importance of the oil palm sector to the states involved, coupled with the political importance of the clients populating this sector to elite patrons in the governments, meant that the maintenance of the status quo, where clients could continue to clear land using fire, was of crucial national interest. Therefore, the ASEAN style of regional engagement has enabled political elites to shape ASEAN initiatives to preserve the interests of their clients, while the public continue to suffer the haze. This article demonstrates this through a close analysis of the negotiations, outcomes and the implementation of the ASEAN Agreement on transboundary haze pollution, with a special focus on Indonesia's decision to withhold ratification of the treaty.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**





*Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

Natasha C. Kuhrt

**Russia and Asia-Pacific: From 'Competing' to 'Complementary' Regionalisms?**

*in Politics*, vol. 34, issue 2 , 138-148

This article addresses Russia's role in the Asia-Pacific region and asks whether and how its conception of its role has changed. It is suggested that within Russia there is a re-evaluation of regionalism, underway in both academic and public spheres, which seeks to engage with 'Eurocentric' approaches to regionalism and, to some extent, challenge it – much of this remains at a discursive or rhetorical level. However, there is also evidence to show that Russia is attempting to diversify relations in the region away from China due to the overdependence of Russia's Far Eastern region on China in economic terms.

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*Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

Hamanaka Shintaro

**Services trade integration in Asia: comparison with Europe and North America**

*in Journal of the Asia Pacific Economy (The)*, Volume 19, Issue 2 , 137-150

This paper will examine the level of services trade integration in Asia in comparison with Europe and North America. The main empirical findings of this paper are that: (i) the regional bias of services trade in Asia is as high as or higher than in Europe and North America; (ii) in Asia, the regional bias of services trade is higher than that of goods trade, which is in sharp contrast to Europe and North America, where the regional bias of goods trade is higher than that of services trade; and (iii) while Asia's regional bias of goods trade shows a declining trend, that of services trade remains high, although in the future its decline is expected. Asia's relatively high-level of regional bias of services trade can be explained by the following factors: (i) a relatively high prevalence of a shared language (Chinese), which is essential to services trade, but not to goods trade; and (ii) the archipelagic nature of the region, which inhibits goods trade more than services trade. In contrast, for example, major European countries share land borders with their neighbors and they speak different languages. In order to deepen Asia's services trade integration, two policies are necessary. First, effective regional services agreements are critical to enhancing the level of integration. Second, policies to increase the trade of crisis-resilient services, such as professional services and insurance, as opposed to crisis-vulnerable services, such as transport and travel, are necessary.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

MOHD AMINUL KARIM

**South Asian Regional Integration – Challenges and Prospects**

*in Japanese Journal of Political Science*, Volume 15 - Special Issue 02 , 299-316

South Asian regional integration is seemingly confronting many challenges. The aim of this paper is to identify those challenges and also look for prospects. Although regional integration in South Asia has adopted a kind of institutionalization, it is yet to deliver any concrete outcomes. High-politics and the not-so-conducive regional economic structures hinder any effectual culmination. However, constructivism, as a theory, is given due credence in this paper when looking for future prospects. The paper highlights the issues, and attempts to offer certain policy directions by



analyzing the challenges and identifying the prospects in the on-going integration/cooperation process.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

**Che Youngwon**

**South Korea and the Pitfalls of East Asian Monetary Regionalism: Do Neighbors Mean Neighborly Behavior?**  
in *Pacific Focus*, Volume 29, Issue 1 , 92–115

In the aftermath of the Asian financial crisis, monetary regionalism has been widely advocated as a means to shelter East Asia from not only the volatility of global financial markets but also from the US-dominated International Monetary Fund. While the primary obstacle to deepening regional monetary cooperation centered around the Chiang Mai Initiative (CMI) is cogently identified as being political, the existing literature focuses mostly on the rivalry between the likely lenders, China and Japan, and neglects the likely borrowers. Using the case of South Korea, this paper provides a cautionary tale of the CMI from a borrower's perspective. Any workable liquidity-support arrangement, regional or otherwise, requires a robust surveillance mechanism to address the problem of moral hazard inherent to such a lending facility. In turn, an effective surveillance mechanism inevitably implies a significant political leverage for the lenders and vulnerability for the borrowers, an outcome that cannot be assumed to be avoidable by the CMI just by the virtue of its regional scope. There is little basis to expect that being neighbors necessarily means neighborly behavior; mere geographic proximity does not make China and Japan any less self-interested than the United States, nor does it make Korea's potential political costs more tolerable.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

**Tara Davenport**

**Southeast Asian Approaches to Maritime Boundaries**  
in *Asian Journal of International Law*, vol. 4, issue 2 , 309-357

From both a geographical and geopolitical perspective, Southeast Asia is a particularly interesting case-study for maritime delimitation. Despite the existence of significant obstacles to maritime boundary-making, including a complex coastal geography and a multitude of territorial and jurisdictional disputes, Southeast Asia has been described as the "scene of very active and innovative ocean boundary diplomacy". The objective of this paper is to examine Southeast Asian approaches to maritime boundaries. First, it seeks to identify whether there are common trends and practices in Southeast Asian practice which have contributed to the high number of maritime boundaries concluded by Southeast Asian states. Second, the paper will explore the extent to which Southeast Asian practice has contributed to the normative development of international law on maritime delimitation. Third, the paper will discuss whether there are any lessons to be learned from Southeast Asian practice that can be used to settle unresolved maritime boundary issues in the region.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

**Groser Tim**

**Stoking the Engine of Growth: Tim Groser Discusses the Trans-Pacific Partnership and Trade Integration in the**



## **Asia-Pacific Region**

in *New Zealand International Review*, July 2014

The link between involvement in comprehensive free trade agreements, or trade and investment integration agreements by whatever name, and internal reform is certainly nothing new. It has been evident in economies as diverse as New Zealand's and China's. Japan, too, has recognised the importance of such an approach. Prime Minister Shinzo Abe has indicated that his government sees structural adjustment as crucial to the success of his internal economic programme. And central to that adjustment is the success of the Trans-Pacific Partnership. The entry of Japan into the TPP negotiation was transformational. The addition of the world's third largest economy immediately raised the stakes.

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### **Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

Nicholas Doyle

#### **The ASEAN Human Rights Declaration and the Implications of Recent Southeast ASEAN Initiatives in Human Rights Institution-Building and Standard-Setting**

in *International and Comparative Law Quarterly*, vol. 63, issue 1 , 67-101

On 18 November 2012 the 'Association of Southeast Asian Nations' (ASEAN) adopted the ASEAN Human Rights Declaration (AHRD). ASEAN has existed since 1967 and as a result allows Southeast Asia to be identified as a 'region' comparable with other regions such as Africa, the Americas and Europe which have been seen as such in human rights terms for over 40 years. However, until recently Southeast Asia has not been involved in a process of regional human rights institutionalization which in other regions has been an important means of implementing international human rights treaty commitments adopted by their member-States in global forums. Furthermore, the ten States of ASEAN as a group are parties to relatively few of the principal international human rights standard-setting and monitoring regimes. Hence vesting ASEAN with a human rights mandate would seem to present an opportunity to enhance the range of human rights commitments to which ASEAN States are subject. However, after reviewing the 'ASEAN human rights mechanism' it is concluded that much recent ASEAN activity amounts either to political rhetoric or has potential to fragment the human rights norms recognized by those ASEAN States which are committed to international human rights treaties. For the ASEAN States which are relatively uncommitted to international human rights treaty regimes, participating in the ASEAN mechanism may reduce pressure to recognize international norms.

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### **Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

Doyle Nicholas

#### **The Asean Human Rights Declaration and The Implications Of Recent Southeast Asian Initiatives In Human Rights Institution-Building And Standard-Setting**

in *International & Comparative Law Quarterly* , Volume 63, Issue 01

On 18 November 2012 the 'Association of Southeast Asian Nations' (ASEAN) adopted the ASEAN Human Rights Declaration (AHRD). ASEAN has existed since 1967 and as a result allows Southeast Asia to be identified as a 'region' comparable with other regions such as Africa, the Americas and Europe which have been seen as such in human rights terms for over 40 years. However, until recently Southeast Asia has not been involved in a process of regional human rights institutionalization which in other regions has been an important means of implementing international human rights



treaty commitments adopted by their member-States in global forums. Furthermore, the ten States of ASEAN as a group are parties to relatively few of the principal international human rights standard-setting and monitoring regimes. Hence vesting ASEAN with a human rights mandate would seem to present an opportunity to enhance the range of human rights commitments to which ASEAN States are subject. However, after reviewing the 'ASEAN human rights mechanism' it is concluded that much recent ASEAN activity amounts either to political rhetoric or has potential to fragment the human rights norms recognized by those ASEAN States which are committed to international human rights treaties. For the ASEAN States which are relatively uncommitted to international human rights treaty regimes, participating in the ASEAN mechanism may reduce pressure to recognize international norms.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

**Stephan Keukeleire and Bas Hooijmaaijers**

**The BRICS and Other Emerging Power Alliances and Multilateral Organizations in the Asia-Pacific and the Global South: Challenges for the European Union and Its View on Multilateralism**

in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 52, Issue 3, May 2014 , 582-599

Over the past decade the BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa) and other emerging power alliances (such as BASIC [Brazil, South Africa, India and China] and IBSA [India, Brazil, South Africa]), as well as multilateral organizations in the Asia-Pacific and the global south, have become increasingly important players on the world stage. None of the variations on Asian regionalism and emerging power alliances is in itself very influential. Taken together, however, they are not inconsequential for the European Union (EU) and its position on multilateralism. Their views on multilateralism differ from the EU's vision with regard to contents and methodology. Problematic for the EU is that their views not only structure the relations between the emerging powers themselves, but that these powers also increasingly try to promote them as the basic principles for structuring international relations and regimes on a global level.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

**Sen Rahul, Srivastava Sadhana, Pacheco Gail**

**The Early Effects of Preferential Trade Agreements on Intra-Regional Trade Within ASEAN+6 Members**

in **ASEAN Economic Bulletin**, Volume 30, Number 3, December 2013 , pp. 237-249

This study analyses the early effects of recent bilateral and regional Preferential Trade Agreements (PTAs) involving the ten-member Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) grouping, as well as Australia, New Zealand, China, India, Japan and Korea. We utilize an augmented gravity model with this ASEAN+6 group of countries to examine the impact of membership in a bilateral versus a plurilateral PTA for the period of 1994 to 2006. The traditional gravity model is augmented by separately estimating the effects of bilateral memberships against plurilateral PTA memberships. Disaggregated country-by-country results indicate that plurilateral PTAs have had a more significant impact, relative to bilateral PTAs, in stimulating trade among the ASEAN+6 countries, in this initial period of new regionalism in Asia.



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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

Watanabe Akio

**The Future of the Asia-Pacific Region**

in *Asia Pacific Review*, Volume 20, Issue 2, 2013 , 116-121

This article discusses the origin and significance of the designation of the area surrounding Japan as the Asia-Pacific region. It then outlines the members of the region and the various organizations in which they participate. After describing the economic and cultural achievements to date, the article points out the issues challenging the Asia-Pacific region and encourages leaders in this “security complex” to remove obstacles to peace and security going forward in the twenty-first century.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

Rozman Gilbert

**The Sino-U.S. National Identity Gap, Australia, and the Formation of an Asia-Pacific Community**

in *Asian Survey* , Vol. 54, No. 2, March/April 2014 , 343-366

Australia is a middle power caught between rising dependence on China, which seeks a sinocentric region, and growing security reliance on the U.S., which strives for a trans-Pacific community supporting universal values. In light of the Sino-U.S. identity gap and different concepts of regionalism, its response becomes clearer.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

Harvey John, Gamas Divino

**The Tragedy of the Southeast Asian Commons Ritualism in ASEAN’s Response to the South China Sea Maritime Dispute**

in *European Journal of East Asian Studies* , Volume 13, Issue 1, 2014 , 33 – 49

The South China Sea disputes have proven to be the most divisive issue in ASEAN. The collective decision-making of the ten member states towards the issue remains ineffective and this has often been attributed to their disunity. However, disunity in the ASEAN maritime commons is symptomatic of the underlying political culture in Southeast Asia. Using Lucian Pye’s analysis of power as ritual in Southeast Asian political culture, we can surmise that the disjuncture between the hopes for a definitive Code of Conduct and the resulting lack of consensus in the 2012 biannual ASEAN summit chaired by Cambodia concretised ritualism. This paper’s analysis focuses on how intra-ASEAN disagreement in resolving the South China Sea maritime dispute was compounded by Cambodia’s 2012 ASEAN chairmanship. It revealed that power as ritual reduces ASEAN integration into a temple in support of the secularised version of the cosmic order and thus tolerating its lack of pragmatic utility and efficiency.

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*Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

Wouters Patricia

**The Yin and Yang of International Water Law: China's Transboundary Water Practice and the Changing Contours of State Sovereignty**

**in Review of European Community & International Environmental Law**, Volume 23, Issue 1, Special Issue: International Water Law, April , 67-75

International law, by its very nature, is dichotomous – at once anchored in tradition, and yet infused with future potential, inherently capable of transforming to address evolving contemporary challenges. This article explores the dynamic nature of international law in the context of transboundary freshwaters shared across Asia, with a focus on China. Soon to be the world's leading economy, China forges ahead with development on all fronts, placing increased pressures on its already diminishing qualities and quantities of freshwater. As an upper riparian State on close to 40 major transboundary watercourses shared with 14 neighbouring countries, China faces the 'upstream dilemma': how to meet domestic water-related needs, while at the same time taking into account other nations' requirements. In short, how can China be the 'good neighbour' that it emphasizes is an integral part of its foreign policy strategy? A concise review of China's treaty and State practice related to its transboundary water resources reveals incremental but significant changes in that arena, which reflect new approaches to national sovereignty. The article suggests that the ancient Chinese concept of 'yin and yang' provides an apt metaphor for considering China's evolving transboundary water practice – an emerging 'Chinese way'.

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*Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

Carolin Liss

**The privatisation of maritime security in Southeast Asia: the impact on regional security cooperation**

**in Australian Journal of International Affairs**, Volume 68, Issue 2 , 194-209

This paper examines the involvement of new modes of governance (NMoG)/new actors, in establishing new regional regulatory frameworks in Southeast Asia. The basis for this discussion is a framework suggested by Kanishka Jayasuriya who argues that the activities of NMoG can facilitate the establishment of such regional regulatory frameworks. Concentrating on maritime services provided by one new actor, Private Military and Security Companies (PMSCs), this paper suggests that the current activities and working practices of PMSCs in Southeast Asia are more likely to undermine regional security cooperation and regional governance, thus challenging some of the tenets of Jayasuriya's framework.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Priya Chacko

**The rise of the Indo-Pacific: understanding ideational change and continuity in India's foreign policy**

**in Australian Journal of International Affairs**, Volume 68, Issue 4 , 433-452

In 2011, the concept of the Indo-Pacific began to appear in India's foreign policy discourse. This article argues that rather than signalling a dramatic shift in India's foreign policy, however, the way in which the Indo-Pacific has been





interpreted by the Indian leadership suggests significant continuity as well as change, which is contrary to the goals of the concept's most fervent proponents in India. The article seeks to develop a framework for understanding ideational change and continuity in foreign policy by theorising the interplay between ideas, political and economic flux, and social expectations related to effective and legitimate state-building. It is argued that the Indo-Pacific concept has instigated a new emphasis on regional architecture-building to manage the ongoing regionalisation in the area between the Indian and Pacific Oceans as a result of heightened trade flows and production and investment linkages. Yet, the Indo-Pacific concept, like the new policy ideas on regional engagement that preceded it—the Look East policy and the 'extended neighbourhood'—has been articulated in ways that are also compatible with long-standing ideas—such as non-alignment—about what constitutes appropriate international behaviour. This reflects the nature of the broader state project that has emerged since 1990, which, while encompassing a new focus on economic growth and competitiveness as being essential to effective state-building, continues to prioritise older ideas about what constitutes effective and legitimate state-building.

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**Chengxin Pan**

**The 'Indo-Pacific' and geopolitical anxieties about China's rise in the Asian regional order**  
in *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Volume 68, Issue 4 , 453-469

The Indo-Pacific seems to have come of age. In a growing body of literature on this subject, the rise of India and China, as well as the ensuing great-power competition and deepening economic links across the Asia-Pacific and the Indian Ocean regions are often seen as mere (albeit new) geopolitical realities, which the term 'Indo-Pacific' can best capture. This article, however, questions the 'naturalness' of the 'Indo-Pacific' and illustrates how it is largely a product of geopolitical imaginations about the perceived 'rise of China'—imaginations that are shared among some influential observers and practitioners, particularly in the USA, Australia, Japan and India. Fuelled by their collective anxieties about China's growing influence in Asia, the 'Indo-Pacific' is not an innocent or neutral description, but is a manufactured super-region designed to HEDGE against a perceived Sino-centric regional order. In doing so, it is complicit in the production of great-power rivalries and regional security dilemmas. It is thus important that the 'Indo-Pacific' construct be subject to critical re-examination and re-imagination.

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*Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

**Jonathan Schultz**

**Theorising Australia–Pacific island relations**  
in *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Volume 68, Issue 5 , 548-568

Australia's relations with its neighbours in the South Pacific challenge theories of international relations and foreign policy analysis. Most existing analysis eschews an explicitly theoretical approach in favour of empirical description and 'common sense' explanations. Yet repeated patterns of interaction suggest that there is scope for developing a more theoretical understanding of the relationships between Australia and the Pacific islands. Moreover, lying at the margins in several dimensions of interstate relations, these relationships test theories and thus provide a basis to delimit or refine them. This article explores three important ways in which theories of international relations and foreign policy analysis and the study of Australia–Pacific island relations can benefit each other. First, Pacific island resistance to the projection



of Australian power tests theories about the tactics available to 'micro-powers'. Australia's frequent reorientation of and regular distraction from its approach to the Pacific islands provide evidence about 'under-institutionalised' policy making. Finally, the interaction of Australia's global 'middle power' status with its regional dominance challenges ideas of 'middle power leadership' and 'strategic personalities'. These three insights lead to novel hypotheses about the conduct of foreign policy by non-great powers under conditions of extreme asymmetry.

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*Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area*

**Katsumata Hiro**

**What Explains ASEAN's Leadership in East Asian Community Building?**

**in Pacific Affairs** , Volume 87, Number 2 , 247-264

Conventional wisdom holds that the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) has been able to lead community building in East Asia by default, against the background of Sino-Japanese rivalries. The present study maintains that this line of argument is insufficient, and offers a complementary account, centred on the statement that ASEAN has actively constructed a social environment which defines itself as the legitimate leader of East Asian community building. More specifically, the leadership of ASEAN can be explained in terms of three parallel developments since the early 1990s that are associated with the Asia-Pacific framework of the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF): the Southeast Asian association has been able to lead community building in East Asia because (1) it has advanced the vision of an "East Asian community" by drawing on its cooperative security norm embodied in the ARF; (2) through their participation in the ARF process, the Northeast Asian powers have come to recognize the value of ASEAN's cooperative security norm, and thus to share with the Southeast Asian nations their vision of an East Asian community; and (3) the sharing of a community-building vision by all the East Asian countries has constituted a structure that makes it costly for the Northeast Asian powers to challenge the Southeast Asian association.

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*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

**Cozzi Giovanni, Griffith-Jones Stephany**

**Come gli investimenti possono rilanciare l'Europa**

**in ItalianiEuropei**, n. 4

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

**Peter L. Lindseth**

**Equilibrium, Demoi-cracy, and Delegation in the Crisis of European Integration**

**in German Law Journal**, vol. 15, issue 4 , 529-567

As my work has argued previously, European integration enjoys an "administrative, not constitutional" legitimacy. This view is in obvious tension with the deeply-rooted conceptual framework — what we might call the "constitutional, not international" perspective — that has dominated the



public-law scholarship of European integration over many decades. Although the alternative presented in my work breaks from that traditional perspective, we should not view it as an all-or-nothing rejection of everything that has come before it. The administrative alternative can be seen, rather, as providing legal-historical micro-foundations for certain theories that also emerged out of the traditional perspective even as they too are in tension with it. I am referring in particular to Joseph Weiler's classic notion of European "equilibrium" — now updated as "constitutional tolerance" — as well as Kalypso Nicolaïdis's more recently developed theory of European "demoi-cracy" on which this article focuses in particular. The central idea behind the "administrative, not constitutional" interpretation — the historical-constructivist principal-agent framework rooted in delegation, as well as the balance demanded between supranational regulatory power and national democratic and constitutional legitimacy — directly complements both theories. The administrative alternative suggests how the relationship between national principals and supranational agents is one of "mediated legitimacy" rather than direct control. It has its origins in the evolution of administrative governance in relation to representative government over the course of the twentieth century (indeed before). By drawing on the normative lessons of that history — notably the need for some form of national oversight as well as enforcement of outer constraints on supranational delegation in order to preserve national democratic and constitutional legitimacy in a recognizable sense — this article serves an additional purpose. It suggests how theories of European equilibrium and demoi-cracy might be translated into concrete legal proposals for a more sustainable form of integration over time — a pressing challenge in the context of the continuing crisis of European integration.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Paolo Dardanelli

**European integration, party strategies, and state restructuring: a comparative analysis  
in *European Political Science* , Volume 6 - Issue 02 , 213 - 236**

To what extent and in what way does European integration fuel state restructuring? This is a long-standing but still not a fully answered question. While the theoretical literature suggests a positive link between the two, previous empirical studies have reached contrasting conclusions. The article offers an alternative testing of the proposition, centred on the role of party strategies as a causal mechanism, analysed across space and time. On the cross-sectional axis, it focusses on parties in Flanders and Wallonia (Belgium), Lombardy and Sicily (Italy), Catalonia and Andalusia (Spain), and Scotland and Wales (United Kingdom). On the cross-temporal axis, it focuses on four critical junctures connecting integration and state restructuring. It analyses the degree to which 'Europe' has been strategically used in connection to state restructuring and which conditions have been necessary and/or sufficient to that outcome. The analysis has been conducted on the basis of a Qualitative Comparative Analysis methodology. Five main results emerge: (1) overall, parties have generally exploited 'Europe' in connection with state restructuring to a limited extent only but in a few cases exploitation has been very intense and intimately linked to strategic turning points; (2) 'Europe' has overwhelmingly been used to support state restructuring; (3) the most intense use has been made by regional parties with a secessionist position and positive attitude to the EU; (4) 'use of Europe' is a product of a complex conjunctural effect of several conditions; (5) it has increased over time but is not a linear product of integration, a sharp drop can be observed between the two most recent time points. These findings show that European integration can indeed exercise causal influence upon state restructuring via party strategies but that this is highly contingent on the complex interaction of



multiple factors.

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Ferrara Pasquale

**Geocultura vs. geopolitica? L'UE, la Russia e il partenariato orientale**

in *ItalianiEuropei*, n. 4

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Bini Smaghi Lorenzo

**I falsi miti su Bruxelles**

in *Aspenia*, n. 65, giugno

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Pommier Vincelli Daniel

**Il revisionismo russo e l'Unione eurasiatica**

in *ItalianiEuropei*, n. 4

No abstract available

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Meister Stefan

**Imparare dalla crisi: l'Ucraina, la Russia e l'Unione Europea**

in *ItalianiEuropei*, n. 4

No abstract available

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Wiesner, Claudia; Björk, Anna

**Introduction: Citizenship in Europe after World War II—the Challenges of Migration and European Integration**

in *Contributions to the History of Concepts*, Vol. 9, n°1, 50-59



The concept of citizenship in Europe after World War II faces two major challenges: migration and European integration. This introduction precedes a group of articles examining debates and law-making processes related to the concept of citizenship in Europe after World War II. The introduction sketches the historical development of citizenship in European representative democracies, taking into account four basic dimensions (access to citizenship, citizenship rights, citizenship duties, and the active content of citizenship) for analyzing changes in the concept of citizenship.

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**Maurizio Ferrera**

**L'Europa in trappola: come uscirne?**

in **Mulino (il)**, N.1 , 63-76

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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**Giorgio La Malfa**

**L'euro e la crisi dell'Europa**

in **Mulino (il)**, N.1 , 85-95

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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**Fayolle Pauline**

**Le renseignement d'intérêt militaire : indépendance nationale et perspectives européennes**

in **Revue Défense Nationale**, n° 766, Janvier

Partager le renseignement militaire entre Européens, c'est une nécessité avérée mais aussi un casse-tête politique et technique. Mieux que d'autres, la France peut y contribuer, comme l'auteur l'expose, en faisant le tour de cette question sensible.

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**Manciulli Andrea**

**Proposte per un sistema di difesa europeo integrato**

in **ItalianiEuropei**, n. 4

No abstract available



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Mark Callanan & Michaël Tatham

**Territorial interest representation in the European Union: actors, objectives and strategies**  
in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 21, Issue 2 2014 , 188-210

When studying the ever increasing mobilization of territorial authorities in the EU context, the literature has used the term 'subnational' as shorthand for very different actors, with the most typical distinction made between regional and local government. In this article we propose an alternative dichotomy. We suggest that 'stronger' regions actually share much in common with 'stronger' associations of local governments, while 'weaker' regions exhibit a number of similarities with 'weaker' associations and individual local authorities. We illustrate our findings using evidence gathered from a survey of 103 regional offices in Brussels as well as interview data of 149 officials working in five different European countries. We draw on existing research in this field, as well as our own data, to take stock of key understandings around territorial interest representation and present a series of propositions concerning (1) the objectives of subnational actors, distinguishing financial from regulatory mobilization, and (2) the strategies and representation channels used by these authorities.

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Tomaselli Salvatore

**Un patto per la manifattura in Europa**  
in *ItalianiEuropei*, n. 4

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Surdi Giuseppe

**Una via italiana per l'Industrial Compact**  
in *ItalianiEuropei*, n. 4

No abstract available

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Welch Cheryl B.

**Une société civilisée et religieuse: Postrevolutionary French liberalism and the character of Europe**  
in *Revue Tocqueville - The Tocqueville Review*, Volume 35, Number 1 , 117-138

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Francesc de Carreras Serra

**Unión Europea y secesión de Estados miembros : ¿deben intervenir las Instituciones Europeas?**  
in *Teoria y realidad constitucional*, no. 33 , 271-282

The European Union has reached such a high degree of integration that a secession on any of its members states would cause very negatives consequences. In this case, should the European Institutions consider this problem as merely an internal problem of the member state, accordingly the international law? Or should take part and intervene, with appropriate mechanisms, in order to protect the European Union and its objectives? This is the dilemma that the author of this article faces.

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Winkler Adalbert

**Finance, growth and crisis — A European perspective**  
in *Intereconomics*, Volume 49, Issue 2, March 2014 , Pages 88-94

The long-held truism that finance is always good for growth has been called into question by the global financial crisis. This article examines new evidence on the finance-growth nexus from a European perspective. More specifically, it compares the approach of many CESEE countries — i.e. financial deepening and integration via foreign banks — with that of the euro area, namely wholesale financial integration but without any instruments for crisis management.

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Müller-Using Susanne, Vöpel Henning

**The EU's migration and development policy: New approaches in economics for more effective public aid**  
in *Intereconomics*, Volume 49, Issue 2, March 2014 , Pages 95-101

Among the EU member states, increasing immigration has led to a recent debate over changes to European refugee and migration policies. The desire among the poor to escape from a hopeless economic and social situation in their home countries is the most common impetus for their migration. As the EU is the world's biggest donor of public development aid, new approaches in European development politics are much needed to increase the effectiveness of this aid and to create a sustainable improvement of the economic situation among the poor. This article focuses on a new approach to implement more efficient and cost-effective development strategies that include individual time preference as well as insights from behavioural and experimental economics.

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La Torre Massimo

**'A Weberian Moment for Europe? Constitutionalism and the Crisis of European Integration'**

in *European public Law*, Volume 20 (2014) / Issue 3 , 421–433

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Beck Gunnar

**'The Court of Justice, the Bundesverfassungsgericht and Legal Reasoning during the Euro Crisis: The Rule of Law as a Fair-Weather Phenomenon'**

in *European public Law*, Volume 20 (2014) / Issue 3 , 539–566

Since 2010 the EU has been in an 'emergency' situation due to the euro crisis, where the crisis management by the EU institutions, notably the European Central Bank, and national governments has been increasingly out of step with the EU Treaties and the natural meaning of the provisions defining the mandate of the central bank and the EU's economic policy powers. This article examines the judicial response to the euro crisis. The discussion will focus on the Pringle decision of the Court of Justice of the EU and the ESM judgment of the German Federal Constitutional Court (hereafter 'FCC'), in which both courts had to consider the compatibility of the European Stability Mechanism (hereafter 'ESM') with the EU Treaties and, in the case of the German Constitutional Court, also with the German Constitution known as the Grundgesetz. Further but less detailed consideration will be given to other decisions handed down by both courts in connection with the euro crisis since 2011.

In relation to the Pringle decision, the author will summarize the key aspects of the decision and analyse the Court's legal argumentation to justify its conclusions. It is argued that the Court's general approach exhibits features which afford the Court great flexibility to take underhand account of extra-legal factors of judicial decision-making, notably political goals and institutional self-interest. In Pringle, however, the Court exploits the vagueness and norm uncertainty in its general approach to the maximum, to a point where legal reasoning no longer imposes any meaningful constraints on judicial decision-making. The author further shows that the Court of Justice's pragmatic and politically compliant response to the euro crisis is mirrored by the approach of the German Federal Constitutional Court (hereafter 'FCC') which, in its judgments on the legality of the Greek financial aid measures, the eurozone's temporary and permanent rescue funds, and the ECB's so-called Outright Monetary Transactions ('OMT') unlimited bonds buys programme effectively abandoned most central tenets of its long-established and well-considered case law on the principles governing the relationship between EU and national constitutional law and the principles of national sovereignty and the EU's supra-national authority confined by the EU Treaties.

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Kreutzmann Marko

**, The German Customs Union of 1834: From an Intergovernmental Federation to a Supranational Organization?**

in *Journal of European Integration History*, vol. 19, n. 2 , 189-206



The German Customs Union, established in 1834, marks the first historical example of a customs union of formally sovereign states. It was a unique phenomenon until the beginning of European Integration since the 2nd half of the 20th century, thus allowing studies of how supranational integration processes work. The article argues that dynamics of supranational integration within the German Customs Union followed similar patterns like the unification of Europe since 1945 and that the Customs Union can be described as a supranational organization. Despite the absence of supranational elements like common legislation and administration in the formal organization, some institutions of the German Customs Union in fact developed supranational functions. Moreover, the demands for establishing supranational institutions like common administration or even a parliament for the German Customs Union became more and more insistently. Consequently it appears a tendency of displacing intergovernmental by supranational forms of integration.

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Andreas Follesdal

**A Common European Identity for European Citizenship?**

in *German Law Journal*, vol. 15, issue 5, 765-775

Over the past two decades, authors, many of whom are included in this volume, have addressed several salient foundational issues concerning citizenship in Europe. Others in this volume address some of these issues—such as the relationship between national and European citizenship regarded as multilevel (Rainer Baubock and Ulf Bernitz), the relationship between citizenship and legal human rights (Samantha Besson), the relationship between citizenship and political rights in particular (Agustin Menendez and Jo Shaw), and citizenship and social rights (Stefano Giuboni).

This essay elaborates on the need for shared values among those who share citizenship in Europe, as either citizens of Member States engaged in multilevel governance or as Union citizens. The European crisis has increased the call for such values, and also shows that people contest these values. The issues include: What is the responsible exercise of political rights in national elections with repercussions for EU governance, how to trust authorities at all levels concerning human rights, the extent of cross-border solidarity at the risk of free-riders, and the trust that the political and legal order will remain responsive to the best interests of all affected.

To invoke a slightly different issue, what sort of shared European identity is required for Union citizenship to represent part of a sustainable, just European political and legal order? Which substantive values and beliefs should be shared? And is there a need for “unique” values and beliefs, exclusive among those who share citizenship?

This essay addresses the following issues: Section B affirms the need for some shared values; Section C explores aspects of European citizenship such a shared identity; and Section D denies the need for a shared “thick” cultural identity. Likewise, Section E questions the need for unique values. Finally, Section F points to several challenges concerning identity and citizenship in a Union with asymmetric federal elements, especially when subjected to asymmetric shocks.

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Andreas Follesdal

**A Common European Identity for European Citizenship?**

in *German Law Journal*, vol. 15, issue 5 , 765-775

Over the past two decades, authors, many of whom are included in this volume, have addressed several salient foundational issues concerning citizenship in Europe. Others in this volume address some of these issues—such as the relationship between national and European citizenship regarded as multilevel (Rainer Baubock and Ulf Bernitz), the relationship between citizenship and legal human rights (Samantha Besson), the relationship between citizenship and political rights in particular (Agustin Menendez and Jo Shaw), and citizenship and social rights (Stefano Giuboni).

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Rafael Fernandez and Enrique Palazuelos

**A Political Economy Approach to the European Union Gas Model: Continuities and Changes**

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 52, Issue 3, May 2014 , 495-511

The European Union gas model worked steadily for nearly four decades: since the time that gas first emerged as an important resource in European energy demand. However, since the late 1990s this stability has been disrupted by a number of factors. The EU reform agenda has been the most important of these. Following a structural-conduct-performance plan, the European Commission has forced changes on players, scenarios and exchange mechanisms through legislative action in order to build a new energy model based on those operating in the United States and the United Kingdom. The main point of this article is that despite these actions, many features of the traditional model have been modified but not removed, and many changes have not brought the results initially expected. These results are mainly due to the fact that the power relations among the main players of the pre-reform model are still in place.



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**Samadashvili Salome**

**A change of government and the future of EU–Georgia relations**

**in European View** , vol. 13, n. 1, June, special issue “A Changing Eastern Neighbourhood” , 59-66

No abstract available

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**Dzurinda Mikuláš**

**A changing eastern neighbourhood**

**in European View** , vol. 13, n. 1, June, special issue “A Changing Eastern Neighbourhood” , 1-2

No abstract available

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**Tyushka Andriy**

**A liberationist constitution? Maidan’s revolutionary agenda and challenges for constitutional reform in Ukraine**

**in European View** , vol. 13, n. 1, June, special issue “A Changing Eastern Neighbourhood” , 21-28

No abstract available

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**MARK LANGAN**

**A moral economy approach to Africa-EU ties: the case of the European Investment Bank**

**in Review of International Studies (The)**, Volume 40 - Issue 03 , 465-485

The European Union's (EU) trade and development ‘partnership’ with the African, Caribbean, and Pacific (ACP) countries has long interested scholars of North-South relations. Historically, the theoretical literature on ACP-EU ties has been characterised by liberal institutionalist accounts of interdependence and critical assessments of Europe’s neo-colonialism. In the timeframe of the Cotonou Agreement (2000–20), this division has expressed itself in relation to liberal assessments of Europe’s pursuit of pro-poor market reforms in the Post-Washington Consensus and critical accounts of Europe’s neoliberal ‘development’ agenda. This article argues that a moral political economy offers an innovative lens for the latter critical assessment of ACP-EU ties. With a constructivist focus on Europe’s normative ‘development’ agenda, a moral economy standpoint may draw attention to the EU’s role in (re)embedding poverty through recourse to legitimating ethical discourse. This is seen to enable the critical school to more closely consider ideational/discursive power in response to contemporary liberal institutionalist accounts. The article focuses on the



European Investment Bank (EIB) and its activities in ACP countries – with particular focus on the Bank's Investment Facility (IF) – as an exemplar of the disjuncture between norms and outcomes.

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Alvarez Fernando, Dixit Avinash

**A real options perspective on the future of the Euro**

in *Journal of Monetary Economics*, Volume 61, January 2014 , 78-109

A break-up of the Eurozone is no longer regarded as implausible. This will be a costly and irreversible decision in conditions of continuing uncertainty; therefore it is amenable to analysis in the real options framework. We do so by solving as an n-dimensional optimal stopping problem with country-specific shocks and “convergence” of member economies. We compare a complete break-up with individual country departures. In calibrated solutions for a symmetric case we find a non-negligible but small option value. Furthermore, we find a new theoretical result on the non-monotonicity of abandonment threshold with respect to volatility.

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Verheugen Günter

**A “warts and all” portrait of a new EU industrial policy**

in *Europe's World*, n. 27, Summer

To fully appreciate the EU's new industrial policy, one first has to understand the reasons behind its European-level renaissance. By the end of the 1990s, many policymakers had become fascinated with the emerging knowledge-based, sustainable and green economy, leaving anyone speaking about industrial policy as belonging to a dying species. This was in part because industrial policy was widely seen as no more than state interventionism, and so was regarded as undue intervention in free market forces. It also reflected the growing sentiment that the EU should be a frontrunner in greening the economy and building up knowledge-based societies. Even today, there are leaders in EU who hope that Europe will abandon industrial roots they regard as dangerous and polluting.

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Kansikas Suvi

**Acknowledging economic realities. The CMEA policy change vis-à-vis the European Community, 1970–3**

in *European History Quarterly*, Volume 44, No. 2, April , 311-328

In the early 1970s, the economic consequences of European Community (EC) policies forced the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) to devise its trade policy vis-à-vis the outside world. With the implementation of its Common Commercial Policy, the EC was about to change the rules and conduct of its foreign trade. The East–West trade boom that took off in the 1960s had created significant commercial links, and substantial dependencies, across the Iron Curtain. The smaller members of the CMEA began to advocate an opening up towards the EC due to their fears of worsening trade prospects caused by the new EC policies. After reconsideration of its allies' commercial needs, the





Soviet leadership was pressured to change its mind in favour of a common approach vis-à-vis the EC. This article follows the debate within the CMEA Executive Committee on the socialist countries' dependency on the Western market and on the advisability of opening up to the global market. It relies on official CMEA documents as well as Soviet and German Democratic Republic (GDR) policy-making documents. This article analyses the process of socialist integration in connection with the simultaneous developments taking place in their Western European counterparts, and thereby fills a gap in the historiography of Europe in the Cold War.

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**Schlipphak Bernd**

**Action and attitudes matter: International public opinion towards the European Union in European Union Politics**, vol. 14, n. 4, December, 590-618

Descriptive studies on the European Union's global image reveal generally favourable feelings towards the European Union on the part of citizens outside Europe. However, European Union perceptions vary considerably across countries. This article argues that these patterns can be analytically explained by taking context and individual factors into account. European Union behaviour and an individual's supranationalist attitude should exert a substantial impact on citizens' feelings. A multi-level model confirms the expectations. These findings imply practically that the behaviour of the European Union and other International Organizations shapes public opinion and that it might, in the future, negatively influence global public opinion towards the European Union.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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**Lancien Anne**

**Adenauer, de Gasperi, Schuman et le principe de subsidiarité : un «spillover culturel»? Une approche constructiviste de l'intégration européenne in Europe en formation (L'), n. 370, 2013/4, 133-157**

This article seeks to understand the development of the European integration across the spectrum of ideas, concepts and beliefs of the three founding fathers : Schuman, Adenauer and de Gasperi. The author wants to develop further the concept of "cultural spillover" which emphasizes the importance of normative diffusion within the creation of the European integration. This concept is result of a threefold process, according to the theory of "normative life cycles" by Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink. As genuine entrepreneurs of the norms, through a similar process, the founding fathers would have succeeded in building a Europe faithful to their conception of the international scene.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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**Fazi Thomas**

**After The Elections The Real Battle For Europe Begins in Social Europe Journal**, Volume 8, Issue 1, Summer/Autumn 2014, 26-29



The full text is free:

<http://www.social-europe.eu/pdf-editions/>

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

Anna-Lena Högenauer

**All by themselves? Legislative regions and the use of unmediated access to the European level**  
in *European Political Science* , Volume 6, Issue 03 , 451-475

Since the 1980s, the level of activism of regions in European Union policy-making has greatly increased, leading to the emergence of claims that regional governments can and do bypass national government in European negotiations. However, two decades after the emergence of the concept, the debate about the ability of regions to engage successfully in this process of continuous negotiation and to represent their interests on the European stage is ongoing. Due to the scarcity of research looking at regional interest representation in concrete cases of policy-making, it has been difficult to establish to what extent and under which circumstances regions do rely on unmediated channels of interest representation on the European level. This article examines these questions through the activities of seven legislative regions during two negotiations of European Directives, as legislative regions have a wider choice of channels of interest representation. Overall, extensive use of unmediated access in regulatory policy-making is rare and can best be explained with reference to domestic conflict and the level of influence of a region in domestic European policy-making. Differences in the size of a region also influence the ability of a region to represent its interests in the coordination of the national position and at the European level.

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Ingrid Habets

**Alternative prospects for the Eastern Partnership countries**  
in *European View* , vol. 13, n. 1, June, special issue "A Changing Eastern Neighbourhood" , 125-132

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

Del Pero M, Frank T.

**American History and European Identity**  
in *American Historical Review* , Volume 119, Issue 3, June , 780-790

No abstract available

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Bailer Stefanie

**An Agent Dependent on the EU Member States? The Determinants of the European Commission's Legislative Success in the European Union**

in *Journal of European Integration*, vol. 36, n. 1, January , 37-53

For decades the European Commission's possible legislative influence has interested scholars of EU studies, yet few empirical studies on the determinants of the Commission's influence exist. This paper analyses quantitative data on 60 EU proposals to show to which degree rather endogenous resources of the Commission, external conditions determined by the EU member states or institutional constraints determine the Commission's influence on EU legislation. Modeling the Commission as an agent having resources and strategic options, I demonstrate that the Commission's ability to defend the content of its original proposals is to a large extent dependent on its principals, the member states. Endogenous resources of the Commission such as expertise and experience influence only to a small extent the legislative success of the Commission. Thus, this study allows gaining a deeper understanding on the factors influencing the European Commission's influence on legislative affairs.

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Stefanova Boyka M.

**An ethnonational perspective on territorial politics in the EU: east-west comparisons from a pilot study**

in *Nationalities Papers*, Volume 42, Issue 3, 2014 , 449-468

Abstract

This paper examines the relationship between European integration and ethnonational demands with the example of selected regions in the European Union (EU). It follows the theoretical premises of new regionalism and explores the ways in which ethnonational groups use the opportunities and resources of European governance to express their identities, material interests, and political demands. Methodologically, it conducts a plausibility probe of the potential effects of European integration on ethnonationalism by testing for regional differences in identities, interests, and political attitudes. The case studies are drawn from the UK (Wales and Scotland), Belgium (Flanders), Austria (Carinthia and Burgenland), Romania (Northwest and Center regions), and Bulgaria (South-Central and South-Eastern regions) as a representative selection of regional interests in the EU. The paper finds that European integration affects ethnonational groups by reinforcing identity construction in the direction of inclusiveness and diversity. Although regional actors are more supportive of the EU than the European publics in general, they also seek access to representation in the authority structures of the state. Based on these findings, the paper concludes that European integration facilitates a growing public acceptance of its resources, in parallel with persisting allegiances to the nation-state, the community, and ethnoregional distinctiveness.

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Perissich Riccardo

**Analisi del populismo**

in *Aspenia*, n. 65, giugno

No abstract available



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Radin Andrew

**Analysis of current events: “towards the rule of law in Kosovo: EULEX should go”  
in *Nationalities Papers*, Volume 42, Issue 2, 2014 , 181-194**

Abstract

Following Kosovo's declaration of independence in February 2008, the European Union deployed a rule of law mission in Kosovo (EULEX). While EULEX and its supporters have argued that the mission has the potential to succeed, critics claim that the mission has failed to significantly improve Kosovo's rule of law institutions, to address the rule of law vacuum in the north of Kosovo, and to prosecute high-level organized crime and corruption. I argue that the critics are correct, and explain that the mission is fundamentally flawed due to its neutrality about Kosovo's independence, its rejection of conditionality and capacity building, and its difficulty investigating politicized crimes. Consequently, the mission cannot overcome the inherent challenges of building the rule of law in Kosovo, namely the desire of the Kosovo Albanian majority for independence and the connection between politics and criminality. The paper concludes that EULEX should not be renewed, since the mission's main functions could be better fulfilled by other international organizations, namely the NATO-led Kosovo Force and the European Union Office.

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Ulrich Sedelmeier

**Anchoring Democracy from Above? The European Union and Democratic Backsliding in Hungary and Romania after Accession**

*in Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 52, Issue 1, January 2014 , 105-121

This article analyzes the European Union's reactions to breaches of liberal democratic practices in Hungary and Romania during 2012–13 in order to assess its capacity to lock in democracy in the Member States. The article finds that a combination of partisan politics and weak normative consensus thwarted the EU's ability to use the sanctioning mechanism of Article 7. The effectiveness of alternative instruments that EU institutions used – social pressure, infringement procedures and issue linkage – varied across issues and countries. In Hungary, changes to illiberal practices generally remained limited, but differences in the EU's material leverage explain cross-issue variation. The EU's relative success in Romania suggests that it is not necessarily powerless against democratic backsliding. It might require a demanding constellation of favourable conditions for both social and material pressure, but there are grounds for a more optimistic interpretation that material leverage might be unnecessary if the conditions for social pressure are favourable.

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Schmidt Helmut, Fischer Joschka

**Angela Merkel e l'Europa**

*in Affari Esteri*, Anno XLVI, numero speciale, n. 173, gennaio-inverno , 33-35



No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Trittin Jürgen

**Angela Merkel's European Policy and the Future of Europe**

in **Social Europe Journal**, Volume 7, Issue 2, Summer/Autumn 2013 , 8-10

The full text is free:

<http://www.social-europe.eu/pdf-editions/>

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Cambini Carlo, Franz Donata

**Assessing the EU Pressure for Rules Change: The Perceptions of Southern Mediterranean Energy Regulators**

in **Mediterranean Politics**, Volume 19, Issue 1 , 59-81

This paper analyses the perception of the EU as promoting rules for energy regulatory agencies in four southern Mediterranean countries: Algeria, Egypt, Turkey and Jordan. The restructuring of the energy sector, as promoted by the EU in the southern Mediterranean region, is considered to be the main criterion to evaluate the EU's modes of external governance. The EU's modes of governance are comparatively assessed through a perception survey. The case studies have been selected due to their relevance in terms of energy sector restructuring and energy exchanges. Among the modes of governance considered, the top-down approach appears to be the most promising for rules diffusion.

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Sandra Pogodda, Oliver Richmond, Nathalie Tocci, Roger Mac Ginty & Birte Vogel

**Assessing the impact of EU governmentality in post-conflict countries: pacification or reconciliation?**

in **European Security**, Volume 23, Issue 3 , 227-249

European Union (EU) interventions in conflict countries tend to focus on governance reforms of political and economic frameworks instead of the geopolitical context or the underlying power asymmetries that fuel conflict. They follow a liberal pattern often associated with northern donors and the UN system more generally. The EU's approach diverges from prevalent governance paradigms mainly in its engagement with social, identity and socio-economic exclusion. This article examines the EU's 'peace-as-governance' model in Cyprus, Georgia, Palestine and Bosnia and Herzegovina. These cases indicate that a tense and contradictory strategic situation may arise from an insufficient redress of underlying conflict issues.

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Cengiz Erisen and Elif Erisen

**Attitudinal Ambivalence towards Turkey's EU Membership**

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 52, Issue 2, March 2014 , 217-233

This article takes a comparative political behaviour approach to examine the multifaceted nature of Turkey's European Union (EU) membership bid from the perspective of the EU citizens. We propose a multidimensional explanation for EU citizens' attitude towards Turkey's membership by referring to the political psychology literature on attitudinal ambivalence. We examine whether EU citizens simultaneously hold multiple and conflicting considerations on Turkey's EU accession bid, and whether this ambivalence has attitudinal consequences. To that end, we use the Eurobarometer 66.1 data set to analyze the EU public attitudes on various aspects of possible Turkish EU membership. The findings show that the EU citizens maintain ambivalent views about Turkish membership across three domain pairs: economy–security, immigration–security and population–culture. The significant impact of these ambivalence domains on increasing support for Turkey's membership to the EU is further discussed in the article.

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Tillman Erik R.

**Authoritarianism and citizen attitudes towards European integration**

in *European Union Politics* , vol. 14, n. 4, December , 566-589

Recent scholarship has emphasized the importance of concepts rooted in social identity for understanding citizen attitudes towards the European Union (EU). This article builds upon prior research by developing an argument that authoritarians are more likely to oppose the EU and to hold exclusionary social identity attitudes. Authoritarians, who have a predisposition towards order and conformity, are likely to oppose the EU as it threatens the established social and political order of the sovereign state and the dominant national culture. In addition, authoritarians are more likely to express exclusionary social identities. Analysis of survey data finds support for these claims and demonstrates that authoritarianism decreases support for the EU directly and indirectly through various indicators of social identity attitudes.

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Alieva Leila

**Azerbaijan and the impact of the lack of democratisation on relations with the EU**

in *European View* , vol. 13, n. 1, June, special issue "A Changing Eastern Neighbourhood" , 39-48

No abstract available

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Troost Axel, Ötsch Rainald

**Bail-in statt Bail-out: Bankenunion ohne Biss**

in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, Juli, 2014, 83-91

Nun soll sie also endlich kommen: die Bankenunion. Gerade einmal zwei Jahre dauerte die Planung, im März beschlossen das Europäische Parlament und der Europäische Rat einen gemeinsamen Abwicklungsmechanismus für die Banken der Eurozone. Fast gleichzeitig wurde außerdem ein EU-weites Regelwerk für Krisenbanken verabschiedet, das seit langem auf sich warten ließ. Im Zentrum der Bankenunion steht die Europäische Bankenaufsicht. Sie ist bei der Europäischen Zentralbank in Frankfurt am Main angesiedelt und kontrolliert ab November 130 europäische Großbanken. Am 1. Januar 2015 startet dann der Abwicklungsmechanismus für marode Banken.

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Kakogianni Maria, Cuillerai Marie

**Bankocracy. Greek money and the 'new idea' of Europe**

in *Radical Philosophy*, Issue 186, Jul/Aug 2014

On the contrary, the faction of the bourgeoisie that ruled and legislated through the Chambers had a direct interest in the indebtedness of the state. The state deficit was really the main object of its speculation and the chief source of its enrichment. At the end of each year a new deficit. After the lapse of four or five years a new loan. And every new loan offered new opportunities to the finance aristocracy for defrauding the state, which was kept artificially on the verge of bankruptcy – it had to negotiate with the bankers under the most unfavourable conditions.

In his analysis of the July Monarchy, Marx evokes the indebtedness of the state as a means for the financial aristocracy to enrich itself. It goes to show that our 'new capitalism' is in fact rather old. Where Marx speaks of the financial aristocracy threatening the state and the interests of the industrial bourgeoisie, we now speak of the financialized economy threatening the so-called real or industrial economy. Today, the 'rescue packages' envisage sacrificing the welfare state, dismantling public services and deregulating labour laws. Since a return to monarchy remains difficult to imagine in the neoliberal Europe of 'the end of History', the financial aristocracy has found a new form: the November democracy.

There has been talk of parliamentary coups d'état, conceived and implemented by the Troika, placing bankers at the head of governments. We can recite with Marx the words of Jacques Lafitte, a banker and Louis-Philippe's finance minister: 'From now on the bankers will rule.' Although easy, the analogy is not quite accurate. If the – financial – aristocracy threatens the interests of the – industrial – bourgeoisie, it is the second that was, in Marx's era, the emerging force demanding a redistribution of power, occasionally playing the dangerous game of making alliance, sometimes with workers, at other times with peasants. A century and a half later, in so-called post-Fordist capitalism, in place of the industrial bourgeoisie, the rising star that shines in the sky of Capital is le golden boy, the financier.

The July monarchy was nothing other than a joint-stock company for the exploitation of France's national wealth, the dividends of which were divided among ministers, Chambers, 240,000 voters and their adherents. Louis-Philippe was the director of this company – Robert Macaire on the throne. Trade, industry, agriculture, shipping, the interests of the industrial bourgeoisie, were bound to be continually endangered and prejudiced under this system.



In Marx's analysis, the industrial bourgeoisie is exasperated, its interests are prejudiced in a system in which the financial aristocracy has all the organized public powers at its disposal, makes the laws and administers the state. At present, it is rather the financial oligarchy that is exasperated, tired of having to conform with the rules of the welfare state and with the whole series of compromises of the twentieth century – 'social gains' – between the industrial bourgeoisie and popular demands.

In his article 'From Marx to Goldman Sachs', Michael Hudson emphasizes Marx's analysis of how, with the development of capitalism, banking would be subordinated to the requirements of industrial capital, and of how it was even an important step towards another mode of production. The current situation instead shows 'the symbiosis of finance capital with real estate and monopolies rather than industry'. Hudson thus refers to a contemporary neofeudalism and a new alliance between the interests of rentiers and the banks that recycle the profits generated by credit.

Between the lassitude of the industrial bourgeoisie of Marx's era and that of the financial oligarchy of today, it is neither a question of saying that the 'new capitalism' is absolutely old, persisting as identical to itself, nor that 'new capitalism' is absolutely new and preparing a 'new communism' that would be inscribed, almost objectively, in its own materiality.

What, then, is the meaning of this November democracy?

Marx points out how the fact of maintaining the state artificially on the verge of bankruptcy was in the direct interest of the financial aristocracy. The indebtedness of the state is not an accident, but rather a rationally produced and controlled artifice. Structural measures and adjustments do not aim ...

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Genin Vincent

#### **Belgian Foreign Policy Facing France. The role of a Small Country and A Bilateral Relation During the Empty Chair Crises (1965-66)**

in **Journal of European Integration History**, vol. 19, n. 2 , 259-276

The empty chair crisis which took place from June 1965 until January 1966, has already been extensively examined. Belgium, a so-called «small country», whose foreign policy was led by Paul-Henri Spaak, aimed to play a conciliatory role between France and other countries of the EEC, hoping to relaunch European integration during this difficult period. Often described as a country that was opposed to De Gaulle's European vision, Belgium actually maintained a more complex relationship with France than it often appears. Using some hitherto unused documents, the article assesses the importance of Franco-Belgian bilateral relations in the ending of the empty chair crisis. It shows that, even if Belgian policy cannot be understood outside the Benelux or EEC, it was nevertheless perfectly capable of managing a distinct policy in this particular instance.

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Nissen Sylke

#### **Beobachtung oder Intervention Das Eurobarometer im Prozess der Europäischen Integration**

in **Zeitschrift für Politik**, Jahrgang 61, Heft 1, 2014



Observation or Intervention. The Eurobarometer and the Process of European Integration

The European Commission observes the development of the European Union for 40 years now. The Eurobarometer measures the Europeans' attitudes towards a number of Europe related questions. The information value is classified as high because the surveys are conducted twice a year and thus generate an ever growing set of data.

The paper investigates the role of the Eurobarometer in the process of the European integration. To this end, the methods applied are examined and weaknesses discussed. Subsequently the contribution advances to the thesis that the commission uses the Eurobarometer as a political instrument to foster European integration processes. The use of the Eurobarometer as an instrument of intervention, however, questions its usefulness as a survey and leaves the political benefit of its exploitation uncertain.

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Kambeck Michael

**Between the big blocs: Armenian foreign policy untangled**

**in European View** , vol. 13, n. 1, June, special issue "A Changing Eastern Neighbourhood" , 29-38

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Rayroux Antoine,

**Beyond Actorhood in EU Crisis Management: Internal Functions of External Peacekeeping**

**in Journal of European Integration**, vol. 35, n. 7, November , 731-748

What do European crisis management operations in remote places reveal about the EU's political ambitions and about the present state of European integration? Against a traditional reading in terms of actorhood and effectiveness, this article applies the functionality thesis to CSDP operations, and argues that the latter perform three internal functions: a substitute for national strategies in international crisis management; a way for EU foreign policy actors to compete against each other for political power; and an opportunity to reflect upon the nature and identity of the EU. Through a case study of the military intervention EUFOR Chad/CAR, the article demonstrates that an approach in terms of functionality is more accurate empirically than one in terms of effectiveness. Theoretically, it also usefully bridges the traditional rationalist/constructivist divide in the literature on CSDP, and provides challenging avenues for future research on EU peacekeeping in a middle-ground and sociological perspective.

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Carbone Maurizio, Orbie Jan

**Beyond Economic Partnership Agreements: the European Union and the trade–development nexus**

**in Contemporary Politics**, Volume 20, Issue 1, 2014 , 1-9

Without disregarding them, this volume seeks to go beyond the controversial and extensively researched Economic



Partnership Agreements to offer new perspectives on the evolution of the trade–development nexus in the European Union against dramatic changes in the international context. In particular, it focuses on the reform of the Generalised System of Preferences, the negotiation of various Preferential Trade Agreements, the application of trade sanctions, the allegedly ambitious agendas on decent work, Aid for Trade and aid untying, and the implications of the changing balance of power in global economic relations. Taking diverse approaches and, at times, reaching different conclusions, contributors directly or indirectly address one or more of the three general themes that are discussed in this introduction: differentiation, coherence, and norms.

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Glencross Andre

**Bleak Prospects? Varieties of Europessimism and their Application to the Eurozone Debt Crisis and the Future of Integration**

in *Journal of European Integration*, vol. 36, n. 4, June , 393-408

This article argues that pessimistic analyses of integration constitute a distinct category of critique separate from euro-scepticism or the democratic deficit literature. Drawing on an interdisciplinary analysis of law, political science, and international relations theory, three strands of europessimism are identified: realist, federalist, and social-democratic. The analysis of these varieties examines how the grounds for europessimism differ and how these can be applied to understand the causes and consequences of the Eurozone sovereign debt crisis. This application reveals how europessimism finds its vindication whilst also exposing evolution in how pessimistic each analytical tradition is. Indeed, whereas realism has never been optimistic about integration the article shows how federalism and social democracy are associated with optimistic or transformative visions of integration. Yet, the analysis concludes by showing the increasing pessimism of the social democratic tradition alongside the enduring optimism of federalism. By extension, the conceptual analysis of europessimism promises to have applications for the study of other research questions in European integration.

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MARK LEONARD

**Brexit y el auge de los nuevos euroescépticos**

in *Política Exterior*, n.159

Los euroescépticos británicos están disputando a los europeístas el apoyo de los tres grupos clave de la sociedad británica: los colonos, los buscadores de oportunidades y los innovadores. ¿Lo conseguirán?

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Felix Jack Grenfell Bozek



**Britain, European security and freer movement: the development of Britain's CSCE policy 1969–1972**  
in *Cold War History*, Vol. 13, n°4, 439-461

Britain's participation in the process towards the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), between the Warsaw Pact's Budapest Appeal in 1969 and the opening of the CSCE in 1972, has been insufficiently studied. The British analysis of European security in the late 1960s and early 1970s informed Britain's response to calls for a conference and led them to believe that the CSCE was not the right forum for advancing their security goals. British and Western interests would also not be served by rejecting negotiations or participating in a conference held on Soviet terms. This prompted the British to contribute constructively to preparing a conference and to transforming Warsaw Pact appeals into the basis for genuine discussions. In the run up to the CSCE, British objectives settled on defending Western unity, securing the propaganda advantage, and achieving some small but meaningful steps to improve European security.

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Murdoch Zuzana, Trondal Jarle, Gänzle Stefan

**Building Foreign Affairs Capacity In The Eu: The Recruitment Of Member State Officials To The European External Action Service (Eeas)**

in *Public Administration*, Volume 92, Issue 1, 71–86

The Treaty of Lisbon introduced common action capacities in the EU's external relations administration, notably the European External Action Service (EEAS). One essential capacity is staff resources. This article analyses to what extent and under what conditions the practice of staff recruitment to the EEAS is independent of government influence, and in particular the recruitment of officials temporarily assigned from EU member states. The data draw on interviews with officials from all 27 member states as well as the EEAS which is charged with the selection of national public servants to the EEAS. Key findings suggest substantial independence of recruitment to the EEAS, and this independence is facilitated under two particular conditions: (i) the supply of administrative capacities at EU level strengthens the capacity of the EEAS to nurture the independent recruitment of its personnel; and (ii) the recruitment of EEAS personnel is conditioned by pre-existing organizational traditions, practices, and formats.

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Winzen Thomas

**Bureaucracy and Democracy: Intra-Parliamentary Delegation in European Union Affairs**

in *Journal of European Integration*, vol. 36, n. 7, November, 677-695

Recent literature notes that national parliaments' growing relevance in European Union (EU) affairs might have led to the empowerment of legislative bureaucrats rather than elected politicians, an argument that we may label the "bureaucratisation thesis". This paper suggests that a delegation approach is most suitable for studying the democratic relevance of legislative bureaucracy in EU affairs. From a delegation perspective, however, parliamentary political-administrative relations are likely to work effectively instead of creating democratic deficits. According to this



“delegation thesis”, parliamentarians are likely to restrict the bureaucratic domain, refrain from delegating exclusive competences, delegate selectively to party group officials and, thus, constrain bureaucratic opportunities to influence policy to positive agenda-shaping. An exploratory analysis of agenda-setting in EU affairs in the German parliament provides tentative support for these arguments.

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VAN ROMPUY Herman

**CE QUE L'EUROPE APPORTE AU MONDE**

in *Politique internationale*, n°142 - HIVER - 2014

The world's pace has accelerated over the last quarter of a century, with the end of the cold war, the triumph of free-market economics and the globalization of trade. But this also means that we now live in a very interdependent world, one in which the slightest crisis can impact the entire planet. If Europe wants to help stabilize the global situation, it should start by putting its own financial and economic house in order - and that's what it's doing! If Europe wants to be a real global player, it has to employ its "soft power", meaning a set of values based on a culture of compromise that is one of the continent's special qualities. Not to mention increasing its economic throw weight and deploying a real defense arm. Above all, Europe must develop a unified vision and actions. Europe is just starting to develop a foreign policy: give it time to come into its own.

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Rayko Grégory, D'Arthuys Xavier

**COMBATTRE LA POLITIQUE D'AUSTERITE**

in *Politique internationale*, n°142 - HIVER - 2014

At the venerable age of 88, Mario Soares is a very angry man. The former prime minister (1976-1978 and 1983-1985) and president (1986-1996) of Portugal is profoundly upset by the austerity policies pursued by not only his country, but also others in the European Union under pressure from the troika (the European Commission, European Central Bank and International Monetary Fund). In an exceptional interview with *Politique Internationale*, the artisan of Portugal's entry into the EU in 1986 vehemently lashes out at a remedy he characterizes as worse than the disease. Austerity, he said, throws literally millions of Europeans into the street, unleashes misery and hunger, fans the flames of extremism and - the ultimate absurdity - prevents any economic recovery. The neo-free market recipes promoted by Brussels are leading the continent straight to disaster. A change in course is urgent before it is too late.

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Tkalec Staša, Svetli&#269;i&#269; Marjan

**Can cooperation with the BRICs and other Growth Markets help EU member states exit the crisis?**

in *Post communist economies*, Volume 26, Issue 2, 2014 , 176-200





This article explores potential differences in the level and speed of adjustment to the new centres of economic growth (BRICs and other Growth Markets) between the industrial member states (EU-15) and the new members of the European Union (NMS). It seeks to examine whether such differences can be attributed to differences in policies and the countries' crisis exit strategies. It establishes that the NMS have been more successful in adjusting to the new centres of economic growth (more by way of exports than inward FDI), but not if Russia, easily the biggest partner of the NMS, is excluded from the analysis. It therefore cannot be claimed that this success was the result of far-sighted strategies.

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**Eggertsson Gauti, Ferrero Andrea, Raffo Andrea**

**Can structural reforms help Europe?**

in **Journal of Monetary Economics**, Volume 61, January 2014 , Pages 2-22

Structural reforms that increase competition in product and labor markets are often indicated as the main policy option available for peripheral Europe to regain competitiveness and boost output. We show that, in a crisis that pushes the nominal interest rate to its lower bound, these reforms do not support economic activity in the short run, and may well be contractionary. In the absence of the appropriate monetary stimulus, reforms fuel expectations of prolonged deflation, increase the real interest rate, and depress aggregate demand. Our findings carry important implications for the current debate on the timing and the design of structural reforms in Europe.

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**Kobzová Jana**

**Can the EU support democracy in the Eastern Partnership?**

in **European View** , vol. 13, n. 1, June, special issue "A Changing Eastern Neighbourhood" , 109-114

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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**Phedon Nicolaides**

**Can the Euro Area's Economic Governance be Reformed?**

in **Global Policy** , Volume 5, Issue 2 , 256–257

The crux of the problem is to ensure adequate controls on national policies before the situation gets out of hand.

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**Palacio anna**

**Carta abierta a Europa**

in **Cuadernos de pensamiento político**, Número 42, Abril/Junio



<http://www.revistascultrales.com/xrevistas/PDF/103/1737.pdf>

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ELLIE GERANMAYEH

**Carta de Europa: ¿Cómo puede la UE impulsar el acuerdo nuclear con Irán?**

in *Política Exterior*, n.161

Los europeos cuentan con suficientes instrumentos diplomáticos, económicos y políticos para maximizar las posibilidades de un acuerdo nuclear con Irán que refuerce el papel de la UE en la región.

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Carneiro Anabela, Portugal Pedro, Varejão José

**Catastrophic job Destruction during the Portuguese Economic Crisis**

in *Journal of Macroeconomics*, Volume 39, Part B, March 2014 , 444-457

In this article we study the resilience of the Portuguese labor market, in terms of job flows, employment and wage developments, in the context of the current recession. We single out the huge contribution of job destruction, especially due to the closing of existing firms, to the dramatic decline of total employment and increase of the unemployment rate. We also document the very large increase in the incidence of minimum wage earners and nominal wage freezes. We explore three different channels that may have amplified the employment response to the great recession: the credit channel, the wage rigidity channel, and the labor market segmentation channel. We uncover what we believe is convincing evidence that the severity of credit constraints played a significant role in the current job destruction process. Wage rigidity is seen to be associated with lower net job creation and higher failure rates of firms. Finally, labor market segmentation seems to have favored a stronger job destruction that was facilitated by an increasing number of temporary workers.

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Braconnier Céline, Dormagen Jean-Yves

**Ce que s'abstenir veut dire**

in *Monde Diplomatique (Le)*, Mai

<http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/2014/05/BRACONNIER/50381>

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Ahnlid Anders, Elgström Ole

**Challenging the European Union: the rising powers and the USA in the Doha Round**

in *Contemporary Politics*, Volume 20, Issue 1, 2014 , 77-89



In this article, the challenges posed to the European Union's (EU) role in trade policy and its implications for development policy during the World Trade Organization's Doha Development Agenda, also known as the Doha round, are highlighted. The authors argue that transformed power relations have created a situation characterized by role uncertainty, for the emerging powers but also for the EU. Priorities among multiple possible roles – in the existing trade regime, in relation to the global South and in the ongoing negotiations – become subject to redefinition. For the EU, heavily wedded to a multilateralist and reformist mission because of its own history, this process is particularly difficult. The EU's traditional role conceptions as a leader and a benign partner to developing countries have been challenged and partly replaced by a more realist approach.

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Christiane Lemke

**Challenging the “Ever Closer Union”: Political Consequences of the Eurozone Crisis in American Foreign Policy Interests**, Volume 36, Issue 1 , 18-24

After several years of crisis management to avoid an immediate fallout from the sovereign debt crisis in the European Union (EU), financial markets have calmed, but economic recovery in indebted Eurozone countries has been slow. Europe has introduced institutional changes to guard against future shocks, but no doubt the repercussions of the Eurozone crisis will be long lasting for the European project as well as for the future of transatlantic relations. The vested interests of European actors make a breakup of the Eurozone highly unlikely. From 2007 to the present, five countries have joined the Eurozone and several EU countries are in the process of acceding. Yet, the model of the “ever closer union,” which has served the peace and security interests of the European continent well, faces serious political challenges. The new European trajectory is moving toward an emerging hegemonic power, Germany; moreover, the EU is now characterized by growing rifts between countries.

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Gfeller Aurélie Élisa

**Champion of Human Rights: The European Parliament and the Helsinki Process in Journal of Contemporary History**, Volume 49, Issue2, April , 390-409

This article investigates the involvement of the European Parliament – one of today's key European Union institutions – in human rights in the context of East–West relations during the 1970s and 1980s. It shows that the European Parliament used symbolic politics to style itself as champion of human rights in Europe and thus assert itself in two partially overlapping political arenas: the European Community and the broader Western European political arena. Using untapped archival materials, this study also suggests that in pursuing this goal European parliamentarians became part of the so-called transnational ‘Helsinki network’ which promoted respect for human rights in the Soviet bloc and contributed to raising the salience of this topic in international affairs.

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Benedikt Schoenborn

**Chancellor Erhard's silent rejection of de Gaulle's plans: the example of monetary union  
in Cold War History**, Vol. 14, n°3 , 377-402

In the 1960s, French president de Gaulle's ambition to create a 'European Europe' depended heavily on German support. This article illustrates and reinterprets the crucial attitude of Ludwig Erhard by focusing on his role after the signing of the Elysée treaty in January 1963, and his reaction to a secret (and since forgotten) French proposal for monetary union in March 1964. The evidence shows that Erhard, fundamentally a moderate Atlanticist, was profoundly affected by the pressure of the Kennedy administration not to harbour Gaullist ideas. Indeed, as German chancellor Erhard feared that America might cease to defend Europe if de Gaulle's idea of a more independent Europe were to gain ground in Germany. Hence Erhard simply ignored any French move perceived to be contradictory to US policy. The article adds an element to the complexity of Franco-German relations in the 1960s while providing an example of how American power was exercised during the Cold War.

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Nivet Bastien

**Change or Procrastination? The European Union Faces Itself in 2014**  
in *Revue internationale et stratégique*, 2014/1 (n° 93) , 18-27

The conjunction between the European elections, the renewal of the European Commission and of other European posts, and the implementation of certain reforms planned in the Treaty of Lisbon, make of the year 2014 a European year with many issues at stakes. The result of the arbitration between long awaited politicization and re-energization of the European institutions and the tendencies of member states towards procrastination will determine the real outcome of this European year.

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Jaume Lucien

**Che cos'è lo spirito europeo?**  
in *Giornale di storia costituzionale*, n. 27, 1/2014

No abstract available

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Ma Junjie

**China and the EU to Lead International Efforts on Climate Change Mitigation. The Chinese and the EU ETS  
in Europe en formation (L')**, n. 370, 2013/4 , 85 à 100

Climate change is an international challenge faced by the entire human race. As the biggest emitters of green-house gases (GHGs) and the advocates with the biggest emissions trading scheme (ETS), China and the EU weigh heavily on



international climate change mitigation efforts.

This article compares the EU and Chinese emissions trading schemes along three dimensions: motivations and evolution; design; and the challenges and opportunities for China-EU cooperation. It argues that the Chinese and EU systems have differed in terms of the centralization of authority and emissions allocations, and that these differences can be the ground for an exchange of information as to best practices. It also explores the structural differences and similarities of the two schemes in order to showcase the room for improvement and to caution about potential risks.

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**Albert Weale**

**Citizenship in Europe and the Logic of Two-Level Political Contracts**

in **German Law Journal**, vol. 15, issue 5 , 867-881

How are we to understand the state of citizenship in Europe twenty years after the implementation of the Maastricht Treaty? When answering this question, I focus particularly on social citizenship. Social citizenship may be understood as a form of political relationship among citizens extending to each collective protection against the financial risks associated with the life cycle, including dependency when young, ill health, accidents, and the vulnerabilities of old age. Collective protection against these financial risks takes the form of social rights within the welfare state, including rights to income protection, access to health care, and the provision of education. Within the most economically developed European states, securing these rights has since 1945 been seen as central to the democratic legitimacy of these states, as well as an aspirational standard for democratizing societies seeking to achieve “the concrete substance civilised life” and the associated “general reduction of risk and insecurity” at all levels that the welfare state provides.

Policies securing these collective goods entail either the raising of revenue through taxation or the imposition of a legally mandated requirement on citizens to contribute to social insurance schemes, or, most typically, some combination of these two policy instruments. Despite the existence of some provisions at the EU level to help with particular cases of social disadvantage, the primary responsibility for the securing of social rights belongs to the Member States. Citizens of those states who benefit from social rights enjoy a form of “club good,” in which benefits are extended to citizens of other Member States—each of which has its own club—on a reciprocal basis.

Social citizenship requires that states be able to exercise their revenue-raising responsibilities effectively. Since 2008, the Eurozone crisis has placed enormous strain upon the fiscal capacity of EU Member States

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**Allegri Maria Romana**

**Cittadinanza, residenza ed elezioni del Parlamento europeo: la partecipazione elettorale transnazionale**

in **Cittadinanza europea (La)**, Fascicolo 1 - 2014 , 61-92

No abstract available

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**Margiotta Costanza**

**Cittadini europei, il cammino percorso fin qui. E adesso?**

in *Reset*, Numero 151, Aprile ,

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**David Galloway**

**Classifying Secrets in the EU**

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 52, Issue 3, May 2014 , 668-683

Since 2001, the European Union has put in place a comprehensive internal and external framework for protecting classified information. This framework has brought into existence EU classified information and defines accepted common principles and standards across EU institutions, agencies and Member States for protecting it. It has been established to enable the EU to achieve its external and internal policy objectives and further its interests. This article argues that recent criticism of the EU's regulatory approach in the literature and the press is exaggerated. It explains why the EU has avoided a 'pillar'-based legislative approach to regulating classified information based on policy domains, and forged a broad degree of convergence across EU institutions and Member States on a pragmatic approach largely based on internal rules. This has allowed the EU to emerge as a credible and capable security actor in the eyes of Member States and international partners.

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**Roth Steffen**

**Coining societies: an inter-functional comparative analysis of the Euro**

in *Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science Research*, Volume 27, Issue 2 , 99-118

The present analysis of the Euro looks for the marks that function systems make on what we commonly take for the European money. Clearly distinguishing between coins and currency, the Euro coins and banknotes are not taken for economic tokens per se but for storage devices that contain both economic and noneconomic information. A systemic analysis of the function system references on these storage devices shows that the economy has left fewer marks on the Euro than politics, art, and the mass media systems have. We, hence, argue that "the Euro" "is" not just money with a political second mission but rather can be understood as an indicator of the relative relevance that specific function systems do or do not have for the European societies and the European society.

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**Amato Giuliano**

**Come e perché si è interrotta la marcia trionfale dei diritti**

in *Reset*, Numero 151, Aprile





No abstract available

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Corchia Luca

**Come nasce l'Europa-Streit tra Jürgen Habermas e Wolfgang Streeck**

in *Reset*, Numero 151, Aprile

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Blom-Hansen Jens

**Comitology Choices In The Eu Legislative Process: Contested Or Consensual Decisions?**

in *Public Administration*, Volume 92, Issue 1 , 55–70

Studies show that the EU institutions have strong preferences with regard to the design of the EU comitology system which, consequently, is the result of intense inter-institutional negotiations. However, the exact choice of comitology procedure to install in a given legislative proposal has received much less scholarly attention. Based on a behavioural logic of control maximization, this article investigates the comitology preferences of the Commission, the Council, and the European Parliament in the legislative process. The findings from an analysis of all new directives and regulations in the years 1999–2006, a total of 686 acts, show that the Council seeks strict comitology control while the Commission and the Parliament both seek permissive control. This holds even though the legislative process is characterized by a high degree of agreement on comitology. The analysis indicates that this is because the actors strategically anticipate each other's preferences, not because there is a true alignment of preferences.

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Marty Olivier

**Comment gouverner la zone euro?**

in *Esprit*, Août/septembre 2014 , 208

No abstract available

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Vettas Nikolaos

**Comment on “Leverage, Default, and Forgiveness: Lessons from the American and European Crises”**

in *Journal of Macroeconomics*, Volume 39, Part B, March 2014 , 334-336



This comment discusses the paper “Leverage, default, and forgiveness: Lessons from the American and European crises” by John Geanakoplos, which was presented in the Bank of Greece Conference in May 2013.

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Nicolitsas Daphne

**Comment on “Catastrophic job Destruction during the Portuguese Economic Crisis”**

in *Journal of Macroeconomics*, Volume 39, Part B, March 2014 , 458-459

This comment discusses the paper “Catastrophic Job Destruction” by Anabela Carneiro, Pedro Portugal and José Varejão, which was presented at the Bank of Greece Conference in May 2013.

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Kazanas Thanassis, Tzavalis Elias

**Comment on “Fundamentally Wrong: Market Pricing of Sovereigns and the Greek Financial Crisis”**

in *Journal of Macroeconomics*, Volume 39, Part B, March 2014 , 420-423

We provide evidence that credit ratings have exerted an independent influence on credit (sovereign) spreads for Greece beyond that implied by economic fundamentals. Based on the Markov Regime-switching model of , we show that this happens during the recent financial crisis regime, characterized by a higher mean and volatility of credit spreads. It is also true for Ireland and Portugal, also bailed out by their EU partners and IMF. We show that, for Greece and Portugal, the shift of credit spreads to their higher mean-volatility regime occurred before the collapse of Lehman brothers, thus discounting a higher price of sovereign credit risk for these two countries. In contrast to Ireland, this regime shift has not been triggered by a rating downgrades for Greece and Portugal. In this higher volatility regime, credit ratings seem to significantly influence future changes in credit spreads independently of economic fundamentals, for Greece and Portugal. For Ireland, they constitute the main factor of determining credit spreads.

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Hondroyannis George

**Comment on “How much Fiscal Discipline in a Monetary Union?”**

in *Journal of Macroeconomics*, Volume 39, Part B, March 2014 , 361-363

This comment discusses the paper “How much Fiscal Discipline in a Monetary Union?” by Paul De Grauwe and Yuemei Ji, which was presented in the Bank of Greece Conference in May 2013.

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Sideris Dimitrios

**Comment on “How the Euro Crisis Evolved and How to Avoid Another: EMU, Fiscal Policy and Credit Ratings”**



in *Journal of Macroeconomics*, Volume 39, Part B, March 2014 , 375-377

This comment discusses the paper “How the euro crisis evolved and how to avoid another: EMU, fiscal policy and credit ratings” by Vito Polito and Mike Wickens, which was presented in the Bank of Greece Conference in May 2013.

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Moutos Thomas

**Comment on “Ireland’s Economic Crisis: The Good, the Bad and the Ugly”**

in *Journal of Macroeconomics*, Volume 39, Part B, March 2014 , 441-443

This comment discusses the paper “Ireland’s Economic Crisis: The Good, the Bad and the Ugly” by Karl Whelan, which was presented in the Bank of Greece Conference in May 2013.

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383-386

**Comment on “Lessons for Monetary Policy from the Euro-Area Crisis”**

in *Journal of Macroeconomics*, Volume 39, Part B, March 2014 , Hardouvelis Gikas A.

This comment discusses and extends the paper: “Lessons for Monetary Policy from the Euro Area Crisis,” by Charles Goodhart. The comment claims the Eurosystem was more sluggish in responding to the crisis than the Federal Reserve due to restrictions originating from its mandate. Yet today’s challenge runs deeper, as the absence of a banking union in the Euro Area has allowed a large fragmentation in financial intermediation. The critical question is: “Given that the Euro Area is not an Optimum Currency Area and a banking union will take a long time to materialize, can the Eurosystem find a way to alleviate the fragmentation in lending rates without compromising its independence?” The comment offers a solution, which would expand the monetary toolbox.

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Tsionas Efthymios G.

**Comment on “Monetary Policy and Banks in the Euro Area: The Tale of Two Crises”**

in *Journal of Macroeconomics*, Volume 39, Part B, March 2014 , 401-404

This comment discusses the paper “Monetary policy and banks in the euro area: The tale of two crises” by Lucrezia Reichlin, which was presented in the Bank of Greece Conference in May 2013.

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Malliaropoulos Dimitrios

**Comment on “The Euro Area Crisis: A View from the North”**



in **Journal of Macroeconomics**, Volume 39, Part B, March 2014 , 272-274

This comment discusses the paper “The Euro Crisis: A View from the North” by Seppo Honkapohja, which was presented in the Bank of Greece Conference in May 2013.

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Christodoulakis Nicos

**Comment on “The European Crisis in the Context of the History of Previous Financial Crises”**

in **Journal of Macroeconomics**, Volume 39, Part B, March 2014 , 285-287

This comment discusses the paper “The European Crisis in the Context of the History of Previous Financial Crises” by Michael Bordo and Harold James, which was presented in the Bank of Greece Conference in May 2013.

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Philippopoulos Apostolis

**Comment on “The Eurozone Crisis: Phoenix Miracle or Lost Decade?”**

in **Journal of Macroeconomics**, Volume 39, Part B, March 2014 , 309-312

This comment discusses the paper “The Eurozone crisis: Phoenix miracle or lost decade?” by Barry Eichengreen, Naeun Jung, Stephen Moch, and Ashoka Mody, which was presented at the Bank of Greece Conference in May 2013.

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Jourdain Laurence

**Comment peut-on militer à Bruxelles pour une «Autre Europe»? Le cas du Collectif ALTER-EU**

in **Politique européenne** , n. 43, 2014/1 , 210-241

This article focuses on the transnational ALTER-EU Collective’s campaign for the regulation of lobbying and, ultimately, for an overhaul of the EU’s decisionmaking process. It highlights the limits of the categories commonly used to define the different forms of opposition to Europe and proposes to qualify ALTEREU’s posture as “reformist”: at the same time as claiming its place among the supporters of “another Europe”, the Collective’s policy is to act within existing institutions, rather than calling for a “clean slate”. We can explain this posture both as a strategic choice and as the result of a necessary compromise: while some of its founders were more critical of the EU, a reformist posture has enabled ALTER-EU to make its voice heard in Brussels and to federate its members. That said, this case study also shows the constraints and the contradictions faced by social actors who try to oppose Europe within the European system, because the resources and strategies that have enabled ALTER-EU to act in Brussels have paradoxically contributed to limiting its ability to mobilize and therefore, perhaps, its capacity to transform Europe.

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Flores D'Arcais Paolo

**Comment sauver l'Europe**

in *Esprit*, Mai 2014 , 89-98

Calls for institutional transformations of Europe are insufficient today, so deep is the crisis of European representation. The preconditions to a democratic vote do not exist, and it is only through civil mobilization that we will manage to escape new nationalisms as well as the doctrine of ultra-liberalism.

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Privitera Walter

**Commissione Ue, la posta in gioco Renzi dia un colpo e guidi l'integrazione**

in *Reset*, Numero 151, Aprile

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Jane Reichel

**Communicating with the European Composite Administration**

in *German Law Journal*, vol. 15, issue 5 , 883-906

One of the reasons for introducing a "Union" citizenship in the 1993 Maastricht Treaty was to provide a direct channel between the citizens of the Member States and the EU. In contrast to many other international organizations, the role of the individual has been central to the European project since its inception. In its famous 1962 judgment given in *Van Gend en Loos*, the Court of Justice of the European Union (CJEU) underscored the importance of the "vigilance of individuals concerned" seeking to protect their European rights in the new legal order through judicial control. The right to directly vote on the representatives of the European Parliament had already been introduced in the 1970s. The citizens of the Member States were thus equipped with two classic forms of political participation even prior to the introduction of Union citizenship: law making and the legal adjudication of individual cases. Nonetheless, whether these channels are sufficient to guarantee the citizens effective democratic means to influence legislation and exercise control of EU institutions in the rather complex multilevel legal system of the EU has been continuously debated.

During the twenty years since Union citizenship was introduced in 1993, the constitutional setting of the Union and its relations to the Member States have evolved. The subject of this paper is the developing administrative cooperation between administrative organs within the EU and its Member States. The implementation of EU law at the national level has changed from being mainly an issue for the Member States to decide, to becoming an issue of shared responsibility for the EU and the Member States. In most sectors of EU law, national authorities work closely together as well as with EU organs, not only at the implementation stage, but also...

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Lisa Conant

**Compelling criteria? Human rights in the European Union**

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 21, Issue 5 2014 , 713-729

The European Union's (EU) 'widening' to post-communist democracies contributed to the 'deepening' of integration to human rights: protection of individual (and minority) rights first emerged as EU requirements of democratic consolidation. Here I explore whether the EU deserves its reputation for promoting democratic consolidation by assessing whether transitional democracies meet the 'Copenhagen Criteria' on human rights. I find that transitional democracies currently in or acceding to the EU progressed in respecting human rights, but conclude that EU human rights commitments remain shallow and transitions to rights-respecting democracies are reversible.

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Bressanelli Edoardo

**Competitive and Coherent? Profiling the Europarties in the 2009 European Parliament Elections**

in *Journal of European Integration*, vol. 35, n. 6, September , 653-668

On the bases of the new EU Profiler data for the 2009 European Parliament elections, this work looks at two basic criteria to assess the representative potential of the EU party system: its competitiveness and the policy coherence of its parties. It is here argued that, if the national parties are successfully able to aggregate their programmes and agendas at the EU level, proposing different options to the European voters, the EU 'democratic deficit' might not be as severe as it is often lamented. It is found that the Europarties, despite the enlargements towards Central and Eastern Europe, are sufficiently coherent and different to seek to fulfil an expressive, or representative, function. By selectively placing its focus on the 'supply-side' of politics, this work shows that European voters could indeed make meaningful choices, which the Europarties might turn into concrete policies through their parliamentary activity.

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Peter Wierds, Henk Van Kerkhoff and Jakob De Haan

**Composition of Exports and Export Performance of Eurozone Countries**

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 52, Issue 4, July 2014 , 928-941

This article investigates to what extent the composition of exports is related to the export performance of eurozone countries using a data set on exports from the oldest eurozone countries to their top 20 trade partners for the period 1988–2009. The results suggest that a higher share of high technology exports in total exports is positively related to total exports. Export composition also conditions the effects of the real exchange rate and partner income growth. The effect of the real exchange rate on exports becomes smaller the higher the share of high technology exports in total exports. The effect of partner income on exports becomes larger the higher the share of high technology exports in total exports.





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de Beaufort Viviane

**Compétitivité, concurrence et réciprocité**

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 575, février , 110

Summary and abstracts [http://www.dalloz-revues.fr/Revue\\_de\\_l\\_Union\\_europeenne-cover-33676.htm](http://www.dalloz-revues.fr/Revue_de_l_Union_europeenne-cover-33676.htm)

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Henökl Thomas

**Conceptualizing the European Diplomatic Space: A Framework for Analysis of the European External Action Service**

in *Journal of European Integration*, vol. 36, n. 5, July , 453-471

The creation of the European External Action Service (EEAS) has a significant impact not only on European foreign policy-making, but also, more widely, on the transformation of the European political order, and represents a further step in the evolution of a European administrative space. Analysing the EEAS as an instance of European administrative space will inform on the shape of the Euro-polity, in that more independent European administrative capacities in area of core state-powers could be interpreted as an indicator for a shift of the EU's political order. Based on direct observation, document analysis and expert interviews with EEAS officials, the paper presents a first overview of the outcomes of this capacity-building exercise, suggests a comprehensive conceptual framework for analysis and concludes that the EEAS can be seen as an instance of the European administrative space.

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Sara Kahn-Nisser

**Conditionality, Communication and Compliance: The Effect of Monitoring on Collective Labour Rights in Candidate Countries**

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 51, Issue 6, November 2013 , 1040-1056

This article presents findings of an empirical analysis which show that the level of candidate countries' compliance with the accession conditionality is positively associated with the extent of annual pre-accession monitoring. Focusing on conditionality and labour rights in 11 post-communist CEE candidate countries, in the period between 1998 and 2009, the study analyzes the relationship between the extent of annual monitoring and the post-communist CEE candidate countries' labour rights scores, two years later. A positive, statistically significant association between the two variables is found. The article proposes an explanation of the findings based on discursive institutionalism, and integrates this with the theory of conditionality. According to discursive institutionalism, monitoring supported conditionality through strategic, normative and communicative mechanisms. It strengthened certainty regarding rewards and sanctions, reduced domestic costs of compliance and supported normative convergence.



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Gaëlle Marti

**Construcción política de la Unión Europea y poder constituyente  
in Teoría y realidad constitucional, no. 32 , 309-322**

This paper aims at analyzing the use of the concept of «constituent power» in the context of European integration. The thesis is that the constituent power is the «forgotten» of European integration, since this legal order was built and acquired a political and constitutional dimension without any action attributable to an European demos. Indeed, it is under the combined action of the member States (as «masters of the Treaties») and of European institutions (especially the European Court of justice) that the process of «constitutionnalization» has developed itself endogenously. It is generally argued that the lack of «constituent power» illustrates the fact that the EU has not yet crossed the «state threshold», since this concept was historically shaped within the nation-state framework. However, we believe that the eviction of the concept of constituent power is not a theoretical necessity but that it stems from a political choice, due to the fear that the adoption of a European constitution by a European people could result in the disappearance of the states. However, we think that there is no conceptual need to limit the concept of constituent power to the state field. In other words, we assume that the concept of constituent power could be transposed into the European field and, moreover, that this prospect could be essential in the view of bridging the «democratic deficit» of the European Union. The model of the «Federation of States» could be used to sketch a European constituent power respectful of the existence of the nation-states.

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Jaouën Fabrice, Kornmaier Andreas

**Coopérations européennes en matière de cybersécurité  
in Revue Défense Nationale, n° 770, mai**

Cette réflexion à deux voix constitue un plaidoyer pour la mise en commun de compétences et de moyens au niveau européen pour réduire les coûts d'investissement nécessaires et faire face à la réalité complexe des défis de la cybersécurité.

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Scarano Giovanni

**Corporate Savings and the 2007-2009 Financial Crisis: A Warning for the European Banking Union  
in Rivista di politica economica, IV-VI 2014**

The final step of the European banking union process should be the single deposit guarantee mechanism (SDM) able to allow for bail-in of the banks while the saving system is rescued. If the effectiveness of bank deposit insurance depends on the nature of the financial crisis and the corporate savings glut does in fact play an important role in such crises, then



it could be worth looking into the structural, cyclical or transitory nature of the latter. This paper constitutes a preliminary reconnaissance of the phenomenon, seeking to understand its relevance in defining the nature of a financial crisis.

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Soupault M.

**Crise et crise de l'Europe**

in *Revue administrative (Ia)*, 398 , 193

No abstract available

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Mégie Antoine, Vauchez Antoin

**Crise, crises et crisologie européenne**

in *Politique européenne* , n. 44, 2014/2 , 8-22

Qui pourrait aujourd'hui encore en douter ? L'Europe est entrée en crise. L'accumulation de chiffres, de rapports et de colloques en donne un aperçu presque quotidien et forme un inventaire sans concession des multiples « échecs », « déclin », « dysfonctionnements », et autres dérivés qui caractérisent désormais l'Union européenne (UE). Jusqu'ici l'UE apparaissait comme l'acteur qui allait...

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Kaelble Hartmut

**Crises of European Integration: A Downward Spiral or Productive Crises?**

in *Journal of European Integration History*, vol. 19, n. 2 , 277-290

In the current uncertainty between the past European debt crises and the vulnerability of European Union this article compares the past European crisis with other crises in the history of European integration since the late 1940s. It proposes a typology of the crisis of European decision-making from the blocked management of problems to the fundamental crisis of the entire civilization. In addition it discusses the three current interpretations of the actual crisis: the idea of a swirling down to the final end of European integration, the idea of cyclical crisis and the idea of the productive crisis, leading to new institutional solutions. The article comes to the conclusion that the productive crisis comes closest to the historical reality, however only under important conditions and with distinct qualifications.

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Pitruzzella Giovanni

**Crisi economica e decisioni di governo**

in *Quaderni Costituzionali*, n.1 , 29-50,



This article is focused on the impact that the Eurozone crisis has had on the political decision-making process in Italy. Europe and its Member States have been strongly affected by the crisis in both their institutional and constitutional development. Moreover, when a State becomes a "debtor State", it has to regain the confidence of financial markets, which strongly limits its policy options. In Italy, the sovereign debt crisis has triggered many economic and financial problems whose roots, however, are to be traced back to the enormous public debt accumulated in the last decades. Italy has reacted to the crisis by adopting a series of austerity measures, based on higher taxes, public spending cuts and structural reforms, which are deemed necessary to foster economic growth. These measures have however met several obstacles. The weakness of the country's institutional system has made it extremely difficult for these policies to be approved by Parliament. Indeed, there is a strong relation between Italy's economic crisis and its political crisis. Several aspects of the constitutional system are in urgent need of reform. Such reform will need to take into account the political and institutional changes which have occurred during the crisis. These include: the broadening of the functions of the President of the Republic; the strengthening of the executive; the demand for a new kind of political party which clearly emerges from the success of primary elections.

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Morrone Andrea

**Crisi economica e diritti. Appunti per lo stato costituzionale in Europa**  
in *Quaderni Costituzionali*, n.1 , 79-108

What are the consequences of the economic crisis on constitutional rights and on the institutions that are set in place to protect them? The essay aims at describing the main constitutional issues that have emerged from the financial crisis, with a particular focus on the welfare and the constitutional state. The main idea is that the decline of this form of political organization, especially in the context of the old continent, depends only in part on the recent economic crisis, and it is instead to be attributed to a series of complex and diverse phenomena. These include: the globalization of financial markets, migratory flows, the emergence of a multicultural society, and a still undefined process of European integration. In particular, the uneven pace of European integration attracts the attention of the constitutional lawyer and requires a rethinking of the contents of the welfare and the constitutional state, with a view to a united Europe based on a society of equals.

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Roth Felix, Gros Daniel, Nowak-Lehmann D. Felicitas

**Crisis and Citizens' Trust in the European Central Bank — Panel Data Evidence for the Euro Area, 1999–2012**  
in *Journal of European Integration*, vol. 36, n. 3, April, Special Issue: Coping with Crisis: Europe's Challenges and Strategies , 303-320

Throughout the crisis, citizens' trust in the European Central Bank has significantly declined throughout the Euro area (EA-12). Although a decline in the core countries of the EA-12 has been distinct, a more pronounced decline has been taking place in the peripheral countries of the EA-12. Taking panel data and using a fixed effects DFGLS estimation for an EA-12 country sample over the time period of 1999–2012 with a total of 305 observations, this paper detects a negative and significant relationship between unemployment and trust in times of crisis. The robustness analysis of the



paper confirms that this decrease in trust is strongly driven by the significant increase in unemployment rates in the four peripheral countries Spain, Ireland, Greece and Portugal.

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Senem Aydın-Düzgit

**Critical discourse analysis in analysing European Union foreign policy: Prospects and challenges in Cooperation and Conflict**, 49 (3) , 354-367

This article discusses the potential of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) for the study of EU foreign policy and argues that CDA can provide a systematic way of studying discourses on EU foreign policy through the refined linguistic and argumentative tools that it offers. The article first outlines the main theoretical premises of CDA and its one particular variant, the discourse-historical approach, and then presents a discussion on its analytical and methodological toolkit. After discussing the various ways in which EU foreign policy texts can be subject to CDA, the article concludes with the theoretical challenges posed by CDA, particularly regarding its relationship with poststructuralist approaches to foreign policy.

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Elisabetta Nadalutti

**Cross-border-cooperation in the Upper Adriatic: A new kind of citizenship?**  
in *European Urban and Regional Studies*, vol. 21, no. 2 , 175-190

The 1990s witnessed a strong debate around the emergence of a new kind of citizenship in Europe. This article analyses the ways in which identity and citizenship are being reshaped in cross-border areas following the implementation of European Union Cross Border Cooperation (CBC) programmes, with reference to the Upper Adriatic area. First, it offers a brief theoretical background on citizenship. Second, it investigates how different cross-border grass-roots stakeholders relate to each other in the process of implementing CBC projects and how, through their interaction, construct new meanings, interests and values and revisit their identities. It concludes by arguing that the constant interaction between societal and political cross-border actors at the local elite level is leading to greater mutual understanding, long-term transnational initiatives and an increasing emphasis on shared interests and values.

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Tzelgov Eitan

**Cross-cutting issues, intraparty dissent and party strategy: The issue of European integration in the House of Commons**  
in *European Union Politics* , vol. 15, n. 1, March , 13-23

When do legislative opposition parties use wedge issues to attack the government? In this article, I focus on the issue of European integration and its impact on party strategy in the 1992–1997 British House of Commons. Utilizing both voting and rhetorical data, the analysis reveals that both government and opposition were split on the issue, and thus the



opposition was not able to use it. This, I argue, stems from the complexity of the issue, i.e. the fact that it combines redistributive cleavages with pre- and post-material ones, which cannot be suppressed by party leaders. The results demonstrate the importance of taking into consideration both the government's and the opposition's cohesion in modeling party strategies. Further, the combination of voting and rhetorical data adds to our understanding of the dimensionality and structure of partisan ideologies in Europe.

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Barrette Patrick

**Croyances et coopération : analyse du réseau des acteurs de la Politique de sécurité et de défense commune de l'UE**

in *Swiss Political Science Review - Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft - Revue suisse de science politique*, Volume 20, Issue 1, March 2014 , 115–145

The full text is free:

<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/spsr.2014.20.issue-1/issuetoc>

Abstract

This article analyses the European Union's Common Security and Defence Policy in a sociological perspective. Although nationalities still influence ESDP actors' preference in matters of European defence, they are not linked to their cooperation relations in a policy field that has been transgovernmentalized in a decade only. Using Social Networks Analysis and an original database, we compare the cooperation relations of a sample of key ESDP actors with their beliefs on some issues of this policy field. In accordance with our theoretical framework, the Advocacy Coalition Framework, we find that the increasing number of cooperation relations between our actors is linked with the convergence of some categories of beliefs about European defence.

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Badinger Harald, Türkcan Kemal

**Currency Unions, Export Margins, and Product Differentiation: An Empirical Assessment for European Monetary Union**

in *Review of International Economics*, Volume 22, Issue 1, February 2014 , 13-30

This paper reconsiders the trade effects of the euro, providing a decomposition into its effects on the extensive margin and intensive margin. Furthermore, it relates the more disaggregated estimates for 93 two-digit HS product groups to the elasticity of substitution, thereby testing a key hypothesis of heterogenous firm trade theory. The estimates for the period 1996–2011 suggest a trade effect of the euro of some 28%, which has mainly materialized through the intensive margin. A negative net effect of the euro on the extensive margin is found for several product groups, supporting anecdotal evidence that firms have consolidated their product varieties in response to the elimination of exchange rate variability. Finally, the disaggregated estimates are in line with heterogenous firm trade theory models, suggesting that a large





elasticity of substitution dampens the effect of a trade cost reduction on the extensive margin and amplifies its effect on the intensive margin.

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Mendez Elias Cristina

**Current trends and perspectives regarding constitutional jurisdiction in the member state of the EU**  
in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, Vol. 80, n. 4, ottobre-dicembre , 553-574

No abstract available

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Bassan Fabio

**Dalla golden share al golden power: il cambio di paradigma europeo nell'intervento dello Stato in economia**  
in *Studi sull'integrazione europea*, anno IX, n. 1, gennaio-aprile , 57-80

No abstract available

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Benoist Alain de

**Dall'impotenza al rinnovamento**

in *Eurasia Rivista di studi geopolitici* , XXXIII (1-2014), "Rifondare l'Unione Europea"

No abstract available

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Barnavi Élie

**De Herman Auguste à César Van Rompuy**

in *Debat (Le)*, n° 179, mars-avril , 53-56

No abstract available

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Rassafi-Guibal Hicham

**De quelques aspects des usages des instruments de soft law comme vecteurs de normativité économique**

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 575, février , 85-93



Summary and abstracts [http://www.dalloz-revues.fr/Revue\\_de\\_l\\_Union\\_europeenne-cover-33676.htm](http://www.dalloz-revues.fr/Revue_de_l_Union_europeenne-cover-33676.htm)

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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**Bernhagen Patrick, Schmitt Hermann**

**Deliberation, political knowledge and vote choice: Results from an experiment with second-order elections in European Union Politics**, vol. 15, n. 3, September, Special issue: Can European elections be deliberative? The 2009 EuroPolis deliberative poll, 352-371

This article assesses the effects of deliberation and increased political knowledge on vote choice. The observed knowledge gains result from participation in a deliberative experiment in the context of second-order elections, which facilitates realistic estimates of information gains that can be expected if citizens were politically more engaged than they actually are. Using survey data on 333 participants in the deliberative experiment and 729 respondents from a control group, we find that deliberation is associated with significant changes in vote choice. Specifically, participating in the deliberative event is related to an increased likelihood of vote switching in favour of Green parties. However, there is no support for the expectation that changes in citizens' party choices are related to the observed increase in political knowledge.

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**Amandine Crespy**

**Deliberative Democracy and the Legitimacy of the European Union: A Reappraisal of Conflict in Political Studies**, Volume 62, Issue Supplement S1, 81–98

Connecting the relevant literature in sociology, political theory and European studies with original empirical research, this article calls for a reappraisal of conflict when addressing the issue of the democratic legitimacy of the European Union. It offers a critical account of rationalistic and consensus-based deliberative democracy both in the classical theories of deliberative democracy and in the practices institutionalised in the EU. Drawing on the model of 'discursive democracy' theorised by John Dryzek, it provides an account of the contentious debate over the EU Services Directive (also known as the Bolkestein Directive). It is argued that the EU can function as a polity where democratic legitimacy is granted by deliberation. However, this holds only under two conditions. First, deliberation must be conflict based; that is, it must allow for the voicing of dissent and its channelling into political institutions. Second, supranational institutions and decision making can only be responsive and engage in alleviating conflict through deliberation when conflict is structured along transnational – as opposed to national – lines.

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**Gerber Marlène, Bächtiger André, Fiket Irena, Steenbergen Marco, Steiner Jürg**

**Deliberative and non-deliberative persuasion: Mechanisms of opinion formation in EuroPolis in European Union Politics**, vol. 15, n. 3, September, Special issue: Can European elections be deliberative? The 2009 EuroPolis deliberative poll, 410-429



From a normative vantage point, post-deliberative opinions should be linked to the quality of arguments presented during discussion. Yet, there is a dearth of research testing this claim. Our study makes a first attempt to overcome this deficiency. By analyzing a European deliberative poll on third country migration, we explore whether statements backed by reason affect opinions, which we term deliberative persuasion. We contrast deliberative persuasion to non-deliberative persuasion, whereby we explore whether the most frequently repeated position influences opinions. We find that with regard to regularization of irregular immigrants, deliberative persuasion took place. In the context of European involvement in immigration affairs, however, opinions are driven by the most frequently repeated position rather than by the quality of argumentation.

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Achim Hurrelmann

**Democracy beyond the State: Insights from the European Union**

in *Political Science Quarterly*, VOLUME 129 - NUMBER 1 , 87-105

ACHIM HURRELMANN looks at lessons that could be drawn from the European Union about the democratization of other non-state entities. He argues that the EU's non-state character is no insurmountable obstacle to democratization. The "democratic de&#64257;cit" of the European Union is rooted in the institutional design of its multilevel system and is further in&#64258;uenced by limited and uninformed citizen participation in EU politics. -

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Iavor Rangelov

**Democracy or Stability? European Approaches to Justice in Peace and Transitional Processes**

in *Global Policy*, Volume 5, Issue 2 , 191–200

Debates over justice for gross human rights violations in active conflicts and transitions are often framed as a dilemma that emphasizes perceived tensions between human rights and democracy on one side and peace and stability on the other. Despite the prominence of the justice dilemma in the scholarly literature, little attention has been directed to examining its significance for global policy making. Beyond the rhetoric, it is unclear whether the dilemma frames the issues for key international actors and how it shapes their policies. This article addresses this gap by investigating the role of the justice dilemma in the foreign policy of the EU. First, it traces the origins of the dilemma and highlights important continuities in its framing over time. It then demonstrates how in pursuing 'democratization' and 'stabilization' approaches to justice, the EU often reproduces the underlying assumptions, perceived tensions and conventional solutions that circulate in scholarly and policy discussions. The final section examines the implications of the justice dilemma for European policy making. The article argues that the EU's preoccupation with the dilemma limits its ability to develop effective and innovative policies in this important field.

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Habermas Jürgen

**Democracy, Solidarity and the European Crisis**



in **Social Europe Journal**, Volume 7, Issue 2, Summer/Autumn 2013 , 18-26

The full text is free:

<http://www.social-europe.eu/pdf-editions/>

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**Silander Daniel, Nilsson Martin**

**Democratization without enlargement? The European Neighbourhood Policy on post-communist transitions**  
in **Contemporary Politics**, Volume 19, Issue 4, 2013 , 441-458

This article explores the concept of normative power in Europe by assessing the democratic impact of the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) in Eastern Europe. By focusing on democratization as a normative objective of the ENP, the authors argued that the European Union (EU) should not be assumed to be a normative power in international politics. It is argued that the EU vision of creating a ring of friends through the ENP has failed. Although the number of EU member states has significantly increased, and the Western European norms and values have become consolidated in most of Europe, Europe remains divided between EU member states and the others. The democratic decline in Russia, the conflict in Georgia in 2008, and the growing authoritarianism in Belarus and Ukraine have had negative effects on the notion of a whole, free, and democratized Europe.

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**Peters Mayte**

**Demokratie durch Kritik: Wider die EU-Skepsis - Essay**  
in **Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte**, Band 12, 2014 , 37-41

The full text is free:

<http://www.bpb.de/apuz/180360/europawahl-2014>

Der Populismus in Europa ist im Aufwind, die Sorge vor einem Erfolg EU-skeptischer Parteien bei den bevorstehenden Europawahlen geht um. Die Argumente, mit denen die antieuropäischen Parteien Wahlkampf machen, richten sich oftmals gegen die Europäische Union im Allgemeinen. Allerdings werden sie auch durch die in Europa weit verbreitete Praxis befeuert, "Brüssel" für Politikergebnisse verantwortlich zu machen, die unter Beteiligung nationaler Regierungen zustande gekommen sind. Einfache Bekenntnisse zu Europa reichen als effektive Antwort auf EU-Skeptiker nicht mehr aus.

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**Schneider, Karsten**

**Der Ultra-vires-Maßstab im Außenverfassungsrech. Skizze sicherer Vollzugszeitumgebungen für**



## **zwischenstaatliche und supranationale Integrationsprozesse**

in *Archiv des öffentlichen Rechts* , Volume 139, Number 2, April 2014 , 196-256

### Abstract

The German constitution provides a highly flexible and powerful framework for integration. The domestic legal order can blend in with international and supranational processes of integration, creating patterns (or networks) of polymorphic legal regimes vis-à-vis manifest transnational challenges. The article expands on the security architecture (integrity) as one major non-functional aspect of the German constitution's framework for integration. The author elaborates on two fundamental security architectural components – “program” and “process” of integration – as well as on “runtime” as an important security architectural perspective. In particular at runtime, dynamic processes of integration can amply interfere with domestic law and compromise the integrity of the constitution's framework of integration itself. The author argues that “secure runtime environments” are allocated to dynamic processes of integration, if effective mechanisms delimit critical access to the integrity of the constitution's framework of integration. The ultra-vires pattern provides a generic mechanism for handling access control: the ultravires mechanism checks acts of execution against programs of integration, which are customized by parliamentary law with regard to each process of integration. On these terms the embedded processes of integration cannot change their “secure runtime environments”: establishment and change of runtime environments require parliamentary legislation in accordance with the constitution. Conceptually, the ultra-vires-pattern is located at the core of the parliament's responsibility with regard to integration (Integrationsverantwortung). Practically, it is the most effective security mechanism disposable at runtime.

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**Andor László, Sebastian Dullien, H. Xavier Jara, Holly Sutherland, Daniel Gros**

#### **Designing a European unemployment insurance scheme - Forum**

in *Intereconomics*, Volume 49, Issue 4, July 2014 , 184-203

With disparities in national unemployment rates reaching record levels, the debate on fiscal stabilisers in Europe has gained new momentum. Can a European unemployment insurance scheme help to absorb asymmetric shocks and bring about the desired level of macroeconomic stabilisation? What should such an unemployment benefit system look like? The contributions to this Forum explore the benefits expected from a European unemployment insurance scheme and discuss the difficulties in establishing such a policy.

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**Costantini Mauro, Fragetta Matteo, Melina Giovanni**

#### **Determinants of sovereign bond yield spreads in the EMU: An optimal currency area perspective**

in *European Economic Review*, Volume 70, August 2014 , 337-349

In the light of the recent financial crisis, we take a panel cointegration approach that allows for structural breaks to the analysis of the determinants of sovereign bond yield spreads in nine economies of the European Monetary Union. We find evidence for a level break in the cointegrating relationship. Moreover, results show that (i) fiscal imbalances – namely expected government debt-to-GDP differentials – are the main long-run drivers of sovereign spreads; (ii) liquidity



risks and cumulated inflation differentials have non-negligible weights; but (iii) all conclusions are ultimately connected to whether or not the sample of countries is composed of members of an Optimal Currency Area (OCA). In particular, we establish (i) that results are overall driven by those countries not passing the OCA test; and (ii) that investors closely monitor and severely punish the deterioration of expected debt positions of those economies exhibiting significant gaps in competitiveness.

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Colliat Rémi

#### **Deux décennies de transformations structurelles de l'économie allemande : quelques leçons iconoclastes in Critique Internationale, N° 64, Avril/Juin**

En Allemagne, il existe depuis longtemps une politique industrielle polycentrique, volontariste et axée sur le moyen terme. Grâce à l'excellente compétitivité structurelle et technologique de l'industrie allemande, les gouvernants de ce pays n'ont pas eu à mener d'importantes réformes structurelles, mais face aux chocs de l'ouverture des frontières et de l'unification, ils se sont lancés dans des politiques de sites axées sur l'attractivité de ses territoires. Ils ont ainsi décidé d'améliorer la compétitivité-coût de la partie orientale par d'importantes réformes sociofiscales libérales. Les finances publiques n'ont pas été épargnées par les tensions internes de l'unification. À la veille de l'union monétaire, les dirigeants allemands ont fait le choix d'une réforme en profondeur du modèle ouest-allemand qui passait par l'austérité budgétaire. Cette stratégie a été confirmée par le grand élargissement européen de 2004. Hinterland naturel de l'ex-RDA, les firmes allemandes ont mené une réorganisation productive à l'échelle continentale. La stratégie de Lisbonne et le Pacte de stabilité ont permis aux dirigeants de réformer le modèle allemand et la crise financière de légitimer cette orientation. Dans cette configuration, le pays mène une politique industrielle mercantile et de concurrence sociofiscale génératrice de tensions mortifères pour la poursuite de l'intégration européenne.

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Dieter Smeets and Marco Zimmermann

#### **Did the EU Summits Succeed in Convincing the Markets during the Recent Crisis?**

**in Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 51, Issue 6, November 2013 , 1158-1177

Using an event study approach, this article examines whether crisis meetings of European heads of state and government, as well as their agreed and communicated results, had a significant impact on Europe's financial markets. The analysis is based on daily data for seven Member States of the eurozone (France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Portugal and Spain), starting in autumn 2008 and covering the time period until April 2012. To summarize the findings, the high-profile meetings appear to have only minor effects that ceased quickly. Therefore, it can be concluded that investors consider Europe's economic and political crisis management insufficient and its communication strategy little convincing. While controlling for additional effects, it was found that European Central Bank policy measures may have had short-run effects on bond returns and the exchange rate, but no intended influence on stock prices, except for Italy.

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Decker Frank

**Die Europäische Union auf dem Weg zur parlamentarischen Demokratie?**

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 38-39, 2014

The full text is free:

<http://www.bpb.de/apuz/191187/die-europaeische-union-auf-dem-weg-zur-parlamentarischen-demokratie>

Die achten Direktwahlen zum Europäischen Parlament (EP), die zwischen dem 22. und 25. Mai 2014 stattfanden, stellen in mehrerlei Hinsicht eine Zäsur dar. Vor allem zwei Aspekte verdienen hervorgehoben zu werden. Auf der einen Seite ist es zu einem deutlichen Stimmenzuwachs der euroskeptischen und -feindlichen Parteien gekommen. Auch wenn dieser nicht ganz so stark ausfiel wie zunächst befürchtet, wird es für die pro-europäisch aufgestellten Parteien dadurch schwieriger, die Vertiefung und Erweiterung der Integration in den kommenden Jahren voranzutreiben.[1] Vor diesem Hintergrund ist es bemerkenswert, dass die Wahlen auf der anderen Seite tatsächlich zu einer Vertiefung der Integration beigetragen haben, nämlich in institutioneller Hinsicht. Nachdem die großen Parteienfamilien zum ersten Male bereit waren, mit EU-weiten Spitzenkandidaten für das Amt des Kommissionspräsidenten anzutreten, ist es dem Europäischen Parlament gelungen, dem Europäischen Rat das Bestellungsrecht der europäischen Exekutivspitze faktisch zu entwinden. Damit wurde eine Verfassungspraxis etabliert, hinter der die Union auch bei künftigen Wahlen kaum mehr zurückfallen dürfte – selbst wenn einige Mitglieder des Europäischen Rates (wie Kanzlerin Angela Merkel) das heute noch nicht wahrhaben wollen...

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Schaefer Jan Philipp

**Die Europäische Union zwischen grundrechtlicher und demokratischer Freiheitsidee**

in *Jahrbuch des öffentlichen Rechts der Gegenwart*, Band 62, 2014

No abstract available

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Slominski Peter, Trauner Florian

**Die Europäisierung der Abschiebepolitik Österreichs: Mehr Handlungsoptionen für staatliche AkteurlInnen oder mehr Schutz für Betroffene**

in *Oesterreichische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft*, Heft 2/2014, 151-168

The Europeanization of Austrian return policy: More power for state actors or more protection for returnees?

The full text is free: <http://www.oezp.at/getMagazine.php>

The article deals with the impact that Austria's institutional embeddedness into the European multi-level system has had on its return policies. The article argues that the process of Europeanisation has expanded the room for manoeuvre of Austrian state actors. In fact, the EU's cooperation with third countries, the Dublin system and Frontex joint return flights



have provided Austrian law enforcement officials with enhanced opportunities to conduct deportations in a more comprehensive, cost-effective and speedier manner. At the same time, the article demonstrates that EU law and supranational courts may improve the protection standards of returnees or narrow the discretion of state actors. In Austria, citizens of Central and Eastern Europe have now more protection against deportation. The human rights safeguards which are of relevance for Austria during the process of deportation have remained largely unchanged through the Europeanization. A system of human rights monitoring during deportations has already existed before it has become compulsory in the EU.

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Brummer Klaus

**Die Führungsstile von Präsidenten der Europäischen Kommission**

in *Zeitschrift für Politik*, Jahrgang 61, Heft 3, 2014

Summary

Leadership Styles of European Commission Presidents

This article offers a comparative and systematic analysis of the leadership traits of several presidents of the European Commission. More specifically, this article offers a novel perspective on the subject matter in two regards. On the conceptual/analytical level, it uses the concept of leadership trait analysis (LTA), which is a well-established tool from the field of foreign policy analysis. In turn, regarding source material this article identifies the leadership traits of European Commission presidents based on their own speech acts. This is being done by employing the automated content analysis program "Profiler Plus". The leadership styles that were established for the Commission presidents from Delors to Barroso can to a large extent be substantiated with findings from the existing literature. Moreover, the concluding discussion on the leadership styles of the Commission president designate Juncker and the main competitor for the post, Schulz, illustrate that LTA can also be employed for engaging in predictions.

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Maurer Andreas

**Die Kreationfunktion des Europäischen Parlaments im Spannungsfeld zwischen Politisierungsimpulsen und Systemerfordernissen**

in *Zeitschrift für Politik*, Jahrgang 61, Heft 3, 2014

Summary

The elective function of the European Parliament torn between politicization pulses and system requirements

The proclaimed strategy by European political parties to personalize and politicize the European election campaigns by nominating top candidates for the office of the President of the European Commission has revived the debate between the European Parliament and the Heads of State and Government about their respective recruiting powers within the EU. However, the analytical concentration on the nomination and election of the Commission's President obstructs the



understanding of the complex, multi-faceted and multi-levelled investiture of the European Commission. This paper therefore undertakes a more comprehensive analysis of the »elective« function of the EP including its interactions with other parliamentary functions. The study draws on contractual norms and intra-parliamentary developed rules to determine the make-up and institutional context of Parliament's elective function. The analysis concludes that Parliament's elective function developed gradually and against the resistance of member state governments into a supra-nationalization and potential politicization of the European elections. The theoretical construction of a hierarchical relationship between a party-politically organized parliamentary majority and a Commission that is continuously backed up by »its« parliamentary faction or coalition is contrary to the real functions and the governance structures of the EU's political system. A constellation between majority and opposition remains alien to the EP and the EP-Commission-European Council relations, as there is no unified and sole executive, which depends on parliamentary support or control on the basis of party political considerations.

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Kadritzke Niels

**Die Legende vom griechischen Schummeln**

in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, Juni, 2014 , 29-31

In der letzten Ausgabe der »Blätter« zeichneten David Stuckler und Sanjay Basu ein verheerendes Bild des griechischen Gesundheitssystems. Ihr Beitrag verkenne jedoch die eigentliche Genese der griechischen Krise, meint Griechenland-Experte Niels Kadritzke.

Will man die gesellschaftlichen Verwerfungen in Griechenland wirklich verstehen, ist die richtige Analyse der griechischen Wirtschaftskrise der letzten fünf Jahre von zentraler Bedeutung. Insofern soll nicht die zutreffende Schilderung der dramatischen Krise des griechischen Gesundheitssystems durch Stuckler und Basu in Frage gestellt werden, wohl aber ihre Skizze der wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung Griechenlands und der historischen Abfolge des Krisengeschehens.

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Jörg König and Renate Ohr

**Different Efforts in European Economic Integration: Implications of the EU Index**

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 51, Issue 6, November 2013 , 1074-1090

European integration is a multilayer process consisting of significant differences in efforts and capabilities of the Member State's individual EU participation. Hence, general statements about the national level of European economic integration are very vague. In order to fill this gap, this article presents a composite indicator measuring the extent of economic integration within the European Union – the EU Index. Existing composite indicators concerned with economic integration (globalization indices) were not designed to capture the specific European dimensions. The EU Index offers a unique basis, as now the national differences can be illustrated by one statistical measure. Large heterogeneities are found between the Member States with respect to overall European economic integration and to various sub-indices. By using cluster analysis, it is also shown that the prevailing economic heterogeneities in the EU are combined with a strong and even growing clustering of its members, thereby challenging present and future steps of European integration.



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Woolcock Stephen

**Differentiation within reciprocity: the European Union approach to preferential trade agreements in Contemporary Politics**, Volume 20, Issue 1, 2014 , 36-48

Recent statements on European Union (EU) trade policy towards developing countries (DCs) have stressed the need for differentiation between trading partners depending on their level of development. But what does this mean in practice? This article assesses the substance of EU trade policy towards a number of partners at different levels of development on the basis of the texts of recent preferential trade agreements (PTAs). It argues that EU PTA policy exhibits differentiation within a general shift towards reciprocity vis-à-vis DCs and that this needs to be assessed at the level of specific policy areas as much as partner country. It also suggests that the factors shaping EU policy vary from case to case with commercial competition and sector interests relatively more important in PTAs with emerging markets and high-income DCs and norms and institutional factors relatively more important in shaping those with least developed or low-income DCs.

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Saracino Daniele

**Dimensionen europäischer Solidarität: Die Antwort der EU auf die Migrationsbewegungen über das Mittelmeer während des »Arabischen Frühlings«**

in *Zeitschrift für Politik*, Jahrgang 61, Heft 1, 2014

Dimensions of European solidarity: The EU response to the migratory movements over the Mediterranean during the »Arab Spring«

On May 30, 2013, the Council of the European Union and the European Parliament announced an agreement on the negotiations over the »Schengen Governance Package « reform plans. The deal was preceded by tough political debates between the member states, the European Parliament and the European Commission. In the future, the evaluation mechanisms regarding the application of the Schengen Borders Code, as well as the requirements for reinstating internal border checks within the framework will be renewed through the reform. The background of this reform package was the influx of several ten thousand people starting in February 2011, who fled the countries in upheaval in Northern Africa during the »Arab Spring« and sought refuge in Europe. The internal and external political response to this influx reveals the dimensions of Europe's much-quoted »solidarity«. The diplomatic structures and processes within Europe's immigration and asylum policy highlight one of the core values of the European Union.

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Gambino Silvio

**Diritti e cittadinanza (sociale) nelle costituzioni nazionali e nell'Unione**  
in *Cittadinanza europea (La)*, Fascicolo 2 - 2013 , 5-39

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Moccia Luigi

**Diritto comunitario e Diritto europeo**  
in *Cittadinanza europea (La)*, Fascicolo 2 - 2013 , 41-58

No abstract available

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Henrik Larsen

**Discourses of state identity and post-Lisbon national foreign policy: The case of Denmark**  
in *Cooperation and Conflict*, 49 (3) , 368-385

The political system of the EU and its member states is frequently seen as post-Westphalian within constructivist-inspired research. This is based on the view that political authority and legitimacy are to be found both at the EU level and the national level with no clear borders between them. The question raised in this article is how the member states conceive of themselves as foreign policy actors in this situation where they are both politically embedded in EU foreign policy structures and, in most cases, formally able to act outside the EU structures in the field of foreign policy. The overall argument is that a pertinent answer to this question can be provided by looking at how (or whether) state identity is articulated in relation to the EU. The paper first presents theoretical considerations relating to discursive articulations of state identity in an EU context. The relevance of these discursive articulations is then illustrated through the empirical example of Danish articulations of actorness prior to and post Lisbon. It is shown that the articulation of national actorness in relation to the EU varied across the different areas of foreign policy before and after Lisbon. A research agenda that flows from these considerations is outlined.

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Fernández-Villaverde Jesús

**Discussion of "Can Structural Reforms Help Europe?" by Gauti Eggertsson, Andrea Ferrero, and Andrea Raffo**  
in *Journal of Monetary Economics*, Volume 61, January 2014 , 23-31

No abstract available

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**Brand Thomas, Tripier Fabien**

**Divergence entre États-Unis et zone Euro: le financement des entreprises en cause**

in **Lettre du CEPII**, n. 346, Aug. - 2014 , 1-4

Fortement synchronisés durant la Grande Récession de 2008-2009, les cycles aux États-Unis et en zone Euro ont divergé en 2011, la reprise américaine se poursuivant alors que la zone Euro entrait à nouveau en récession. Cette divergence macroéconomique s'est accompagnée d'une divergence dans les conditions de financement des entreprises non financières. Les entreprises américaines ont accès aujourd'hui à un volume de crédit plus important qu'avant la Grande Récession, pour un coût proche de celui qui prévalait alors ; les entreprises de la zone Euro font face à un coût du crédit toujours élevé pour un volume de crédit octroyé quasi-identique. Cette lettre montre que les fluctuations de l'incertitude dans le secteur financier jouent un rôle crucial pour expliquer la divergence entre les deux économies : elles stimulent la croissance de l'investissement et du crédit aux États-Unis depuis 2009 et sont à l'origine de la double récession en zone Euro.

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**Mitchell Kristine**

**Does European Identification Increase Support for Further Economic Integration?**

in **Journal of European Integration**, vol. 36, n. 6, September , 601-618

Explanations of support for European Union policies are often conceived in terms of utilitarian cost-benefits analysis, yet recent scholarship has demonstrated that 'soft' variables, such as identity, are sometimes more useful for explaining preferences about European integration. This article tests a hypothesised link between European identity and support for integrative economic policies to respond to economic crisis in the Eurozone. Data to test the hypothesis are from a novel survey of European university students (n=1872) conducted in autumn 2012 in four Eurozone countries (France, Germany, Italy and Spain). Given the economic nature of the policies in question, this is a case where utilitarian calculations might be expected to drive preferences. Yet in each of the four countries, European identity is found to have a significant positive relationship with support for further economic integration, even when controlling for material considerations that might otherwise have been thought to explain these preferences.

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**Fraile Marta**

**Does deliberation contribute to decreasing the gender gap in knowledge?**

in **European Union Politics** , vol. 15, n. 3, September, Special issue: Can European elections be deliberative? The 2009 Europolis deliberative poll , 372-378

This article tests the role of deliberation in potentially reducing the gender gap in knowledge. It compares gender differences in knowledge of both participants and non-participants before and after the Europolis deliberative event took place by making use of the difference in difference estimation method. Findings show that deliberation increases the political knowledge of participants (especially women) suggesting that it contributes to reducing the gender gap in





knowledge by providing participants not only with information and awareness about the topics discussed but also with confidence when answering factual knowledge questions. These results suggest the need to conduct further research about the way in which information-rich contexts might reduce other potential inequalities in sources of knowledge.

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**Christina J. Schneider**

**Domestic politics and the widening-deepening trade-off in the European Union**  
in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 21, Issue 5 2014 , 699-712

This contribution analyzes the relationship between European Union (EU) enlargement, preference heterogeneity of EU members and co-operation in the EU. I argue that the widening of the EU does not invariably present an obstacle to co-operation. Preference heterogeneity in the Council is not only affected by the accession of new member states, but it also fluctuates over time owing to changes in the domestic political arena. In European countries, governmental coalitions have changed frequently, with important consequences for the ability of EU members to negotiate deeper integration. To test the theoretical hypotheses, I analyze to what extent the changing bargaining dynamics in the Council owing to domestic political circumstances, as compared to the accession of new member states itself, have affected the co-operation between EU member states over time.

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**Bellamy Richard, Kröger Sandra**

**Domesticating the Democratic Deficit? The Role of National Parliaments and Parties in the EU's System of Governance**  
in *Parliamentary Affairs* , Volume 67, Issue 2, April

The Lisbon Treaty grounds the European Union (EU) in the principles of political equality and representative democracy. It also acknowledges the role national parliaments play in realising these norms within the EU's system of governance—the first time they have been mentioned in the main body of the Treaty on European Union (TEU)—and introduced the Early Warning Mechanism (EWM) as a means for national parliaments (NPs) to be involved in EU policy-making. This article analyses the normative and empirical connections between political equality and representative democracy at the domestic level, and the ways they are embodied in parliamentary elections between competing parties. It then assesses how far these links continue to operate in the domestic debate of EU affairs before undertaking a first evaluation of the use NPs have made of the Early Warning Mechanism (EWM). We argue that in many respects they have been undermined by the integration process, which has reduced the capacity of national representative institutions to perform the tasks assigned to them by the Treaty.

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**Turi Andrea**

**Dove Europa nacque, l'Europa muore**  
in *Eurasia Rivista di studi geopolitici* , XXXIII (1-2014), "Rifondare l'Unione Europea"



No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Alfredo Allué Buiza

**Déficit parlementario y representación política en la Unión Europea**

in *Teoría y realidad constitucional*, no. 33 , 327-340

The current process of integration with the economic crisis is creating technocratic spaces. The multilevel constitutionalism idea breaks. The emergence of no majority bodies within the Union, affects a larger deficit. However, in 2014, with the European elections, the Union must express its democratic potential with citizen participation in European integration. Therefore, we analyzed the different problems of parliamentary deficit in the European Union and the contributions that are made in favour of the democratic principle from the institutions.

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Neefs Philippe, Gourgue Antonin

**Délocalisation, l'hydre fiscale?**

in *Reflets et perspectives de la vie économique*, Tome LII, 2013/4 , 39-48

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Warlouzet Laurent

**Dépasser la crise de l'histoire de l'intégration européenne**

in *Politique européenne* , n. 44, 2014/2 , 98-122

Widely used by historians of European integration, the notion of “crisis” has frequently been associated with “relaunching” the Community. This use betrays an implicit focus on the 6 founding members as well as a teleological temptation. As a result, the field of European integration history has been accused by its critics of being itself in crisis. Nowadays however, the methods and conceptual approaches of European integration history are being renewed through the “history of European cooperation.”

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Weber Christoph S., Forschner Benedikt

**ECB: Independence at risk?**

in *Intereconomics*, Volume 49, Issue 1, January 2014 , Pages 45-50

The extraordinary measures taken by the ECB to combat the financial crisis have led many observers to question



whether the bank has put its independence at risk. The bank's vow to do "whatever it takes" to save the euro has added a second (and potentially contradictory) goal alongside its primary mission of achieving price stability. This expansion of the ECB mandate could expose the bank to national and European political demands, thereby endangering its prized independence.

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Galgoczi Bela

**ESM: European Social Model or European Stability Mechanism – is there a crash?**

in **Social Europe Journal**, Volume 7, Issue 2, Summer/Autumn 2013 , 13-18

The full text is free:

<http://www.social-europe.eu/pdf-editions/>

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Kochenov Dimitry

**EU Citizenship without Duties**

in **European law journal**, Volume 20, Issue 4 , 482–498

Many believe that duties should be at the essence of citizenship. This paper dismisses this view, using EU law as the main context of analysis, by making five interrelated claims. (1) There are no empirically observable duties of EU citizenship; (2) such duties would lack any legal-theoretical foundation, if the contrary were true; (3) legal-theoretical foundations of the duties of citizenship are lacking also at the Member State level; (4) EU law plays an important role in undermining the ability of the Member States where residual duties remain to enforce them; (5) this development is part of a greater EU input into the strengthening of democracy, the rule of law and human rights in the Member States and reflects a general trend of de-dutification of citizenship around the democratic world. If these conclusions are correct, it is time to stop categorising EU citizenship duties among the desiderata of EU law.

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Milada Anna Vachudova

**EU Leverage and National Interests in the Balkans: The Puzzles of Enlargement Ten Years On**

in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 52, Issue 1, January 2014 , 122-138

EU enlargement continues in the Western Balkans in the 2010s because the underlying dynamics remain largely unchanged: EU Member States still see enlargement as a matter of national interest, bringing long-term economic and geopolitical benefits. The risk of instability in the Western Balkans has made the dividends from the EU's 'democratizing effect' especially substantial. I argue that the enlargement process continues to have a 'democratizing effect,' as Western Balkans candidates and proto-candidates respond to the incentives of EU membership: political parties have changed their agendas to make them EU-compatible, and governments have implemented policy changes to move



forward in the pre-accession process. Yet the EU is taking on candidates with difficult initial conditions. I explore the changes the EU has made in order to exercise its leverage more effectively in the Western Balkans and check whether these helped overcome the pre-accession process' earlier problems with expertise, consistency and legitimacy.

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Robles Alfredo C. Jr.

**EU Services Trade with ASEAN: Towards Policy Coherence for Development?**

in *Journal of European Integration*, vol. 35, n. 7, November , 819-837

In bilateral free trade agreement (FTA) negotiations with members of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), the European Union (EU) must demonstrate that its policy on services trade is coherent with its development policy. This will be a major challenge for the EU, since its coherence review of services trade policy merely confirmed the status quo. Policy coherence may be improved by granting concessions on temporary migration of ASEAN workers to the EU and by providing Aid for Trade to ASEAN countries to increase their capacity to export services. But at the World Trade Organization (WTO), the EU has already refused to grant concessions on temporary migration, and it is unlikely to be in a position to provide the right amount and type of Aid for Trade to ASEAN countries.

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Seeberg Peter

**EU Strategic Interests in Post-Qadhafi Libya: Perspectives for Cooperation**

in *Middle East Policy*, Volume 21, Issue 1, Spring , 122-132

Full text available at <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/mepo.12062/pdf>

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Jappe Eckhardt

**EU Unilateral Trade Policy-Making: What Role for Import-Dependent Firms?**

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 51, Issue 6, November 2013 , 989-1005

This article looks at political mobilization and the influence of import-dependent firms in the context of the European Union's (EU) trade defence instrument (TDI) policy. By looking at this increasingly relevant set of economic actors during (unilateral) TDI decision-making, the article provides a much needed complement to the existing EU trade policy literature, which is dominated by analyses of the trade policy preferences and involvement of import-competing and export-dependent firms during multilateral and bilateral trade co-operation. The article defines import-dependent firms and theorizes the circumstances under which they are capable of lobbying and of wielding influence in EU TDI cases. The argument is discussed with case study evidence drawn from a series of recent EU TDI episodes.

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Haastrup Toni

**EU as Mentor? Promoting Regionalism as External Relations Practice in EU–Africa Relations**

in *Journal of European Integration*, vol. 35, n. 7, November , 758-800

This article examines regionalism in the context of the EU inter-regional relations with Africa. It especially focuses on the EU–African Union (AU) relationship. It evaluates this relationship using a typology based on the policy diffusion literature and challenges the notion that the AU is a model of the EU. It addresses the institutionalisation of Africa's own regional integration process in the context of the EU's broader external relations practice, which prioritises support for local processes. Rather than a model, the article argues that the EU is best placed to serve as mentor to the AU as the latter seeks to foster regional integration in Africa. By mentoring, the EU is able to fulfil its overarching external relations commitments to local ownership, and realise deepened further integration in Africa.

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Skovgaard Jakob

**EU climate policy after the crisis**

in *Environmental Politics*, Volume 23, Issue 1, February , 1-17

In the period 2009–2011, Member States discussed whether the EU should increase its emissions reduction target for 2020 beyond the existing 20%. This discussion has not resulted in any agreement, the different actors being deeply divided between those calling for a step-up to a higher target (for instance 30%) and those opposed to any kind of increase. The division can be seen as a result of a conflict between policy frames. The economic crisis has deepened the division between those who see climate-change policy as detrimental to growth and those seeing it as beneficial to growth. Whereas the latter group – including the UK and DG Climate Action – subscribe to the green growth policy frame, the former – including Poland – subscribe to the 'trade-off policy frame'. Many Member States have been internally divided between proponents and opponents of a step-up, often with environment ministries in the former camp and finance and economics ministries in the latter.

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Frank Schimmelfennig

**EU enlargement and differentiated integration: discrimination or equal treatment?**

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 21, Issue 5 2014 , 681-698

What is the effect of European Union (EU) enlargement on differentiated integration? And is it driven by the relative bargaining power of old and new member states or by the equal or even preferential treatment of weaker candidates? This article analyses differentiation in EU treaty and secondary law across the EU's six enlargement rounds. It shows that exemptive differentiation privileging the new member states has been more frequent than discriminatory differentiation. Whereas there is some evidence that poorer new members suffer more strongly from discrimination, most of the variation in differentiation across new member states is explained by differences between enlargement rounds. In addition, the EU grants poorer candidates more time to fully adopt the EU acquis. The analysis suggests that bargaining between old and new member states over differentiation is constrained by the equal and even preferential



treatment of weaker candidates.

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**Borghetto Enrico, Mäder Lars**

**EU law revisions and legislative drift**

**in European Union Politics**, vol. 15, n. 2, June, 171-191

European Union research has made great strides in understanding the dynamics of the European Union decision-making process. In contrast to this progress, the dynamics unfolding after the enactment of a European Union secondary legislative act has largely been ignored. Some of these acts remain in force in their original form for several years while others are revised soon after their enactment. What factors account for this variation? We empirically analyze the proposition that in the presence of 'legislative drift,' i.e. the intertemporal variation of decision-makers' preferences, major revisions of European Union legislative acts are more likely to occur. Based on an analysis of the revision histories of 158 major European Union acts in the time period between 1958 and 2003, we find significant support for this hypothesis.

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**Siles-Brügge Gabriel**

**EU trade and development policy beyond the ACP: subordinating developmental to commercial imperatives in the reform of GSP**

**in Contemporary Politics**, Volume 20, Issue 1, 2014, 49-62

Following the stagnation of negotiations with the African, Caribbean and Pacific states, the centrepiece of the European Union's (EU's) trade and development strategy has been a reform of the Generalised System of Preferences. Although policy-makers in the Commission's Directorate General for Trade have argued they are 'refocusing' these preferences on the 'neediest', by rendering a significant proportion of emerging economies' exports ineligible for the scheme, this article argues that the reform is actually part of a broader 'reciprocity' agenda being pursued in the context of the current economic crisis. This is about ensuring the EU possesses sufficient offensive leverage in ongoing free trade agreement negotiations, rather than representing any mercantilist move towards greater domestic protection. In arguing that the EU's developmental trade agenda is increasingly subordinated to commercial imperatives, this article adds to a literature that has situated the study of EU trade and development policy within the field of political economy.

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**Lucke Albrecht von**





## **EU: Tage der Entscheidung**

in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, Juli, 2014 , 5-8

The full text is free:

<https://www.blaetter.de/archiv/jahrgaenge/2014/juli/eu-tage-der-entscheidung>

Nach dem Attentat von Sarajevo am 28. Juni 1914 ging es in der sogenannten Julikrise um Krieg und Frieden in Europa, mit dem bekannten verheerenden Ausgang. Hundert Jahre später ist es wieder ein Juli, in dem sich eine historische Entscheidung für Europa anbahnt. Zwar geht es diesmal nicht um Krieg und Frieden, aber dennoch steht die Europäische Union vor einer politischen Richtungsentscheidung.

Seit der Wahl des EU-Parlaments Ende Mai stehen sich zwei Alternativen in bisher noch nicht dagewesener Klarheit gegenüber – erstens ein demokratisch vertieftes Europas mit einem starken Europäischen Parlament und zweitens ein intergouvernementales Europa der starken Nationalstaaten. Am Ende des einen Weges könnten die Vereinigten Staaten von Europa stehen, am Ende des anderen der Rückzug auf ein Europa der Vaterländer, mit einer geschwächten europäischen Union. Zugespitzt formuliert lautet die, wenn auch langfristige, Alternative: Bundesstaat oder Staatenbund...

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**DE CAPELE Gaëtan**

#### **EUROPE: L'APRES-CRISE**

in *Politique internationale*, n°142 - HIVER - 2014

In this exclusive interview with Gaëtan de Capèle for *Politique Internationale*, the French Minister of Finance reviews all the major issues facing him since taking office, including the euro crisis, of course, which is now behind us; the need to curtail austerity policies in order to kick-start growth in Europe; and the even more urgent need to control public spending. Pierre Moscovici makes the case for pooling sovereign debt by issuing eurobonds, and for greater convergence among the eurozone economies. He also reaffirms France's - and Germany's - desire to impose a tax on financial transactions, and he welcomes the advent of a banking union, which should break the vicious cycle between bank crises and sovereign debt crises and thereby reduce the risk of more recurring dramas like those of the past five years. But the green shoots of recovery still seem fragile, and cannot mask the fact that confidence can only be built gradually, day by day.

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**Cemal Karakas**

#### **EU–Turkey: Integration without Full Membership or Membership without Full Integration? A Conceptual Framework for Accession Alternatives**

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 51, Issue 6, November 2013 , 1057-1073

The EU accession aspirations of the de jure European country Turkey remain a highly contested issue. Due to the national preferences and mainly socio-cultural resentment in some EU Member States and due to its limited



integration capacity, the EU offered Ankara a discriminatory 'full membership minus'. The current EU law and the various paradigms of 'differentiated integration' do not only provide the spatial, temporal and thematic scope for a conceptual framework on accession alternatives, they also limit it. In this context, the gradual integration/membership concept could be an interesting option for both parties. The depreciation of full membership in the case of Turkey has weakened the EU conditionality policy in general. On the other hand, 'external' flexibilization can help to overcome deadlock by allowing the Member States and accession candidates such as Turkey to co-operate at different levels of integration.

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Rachel A. Epstein and Wade Jacoby

**Eastern Enlargement Ten Years On: Transcending the East–West Divide?**

in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 52, Issue 1, January 2014 , 1-16

This introduction summarizes the findings of nine research articles that examine the consequences of the European Union's eastern enlargement ten years on. The volume reaches three surprising conclusions: since 2004, the EU's economic effects have been more far-reaching than its political effects; all of the new Member States (NMS) have had problems with democratic consolidation; and, despite four years of intense crisis in the eurozone, both the EU's enlargement and neighbourhood-shaping efforts have continued. We set these economic, political and institutional developments in the context of the long-standing east–west divide in Europe, and ask whether EU membership for post-communist countries upends the continent's traditionally persistent divisions. Notable achievements of EU enlargement notwithstanding, the volume points to the continuing important differences between east and west and highlights the issue areas in which the EU transcends but also reinforces the centuries-old partition.

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Menéndez Agustín José

**Editorial: A European Union in Constitutional Mutation?**

in **European law journal**, Volume 20, Issue 2 , 127–141

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Daniel Innerarity Grau

**El déficit europeo de justicia**

in **Revista de Estudios Políticos** , N. 164 , 13-31

El déficit europeo, más que democrático o de legitimación, debe ser entendido como un déficit de justicia. En este artículo se examinan las condiciones para su resolución, más allá de la lógica intergubernamental. La comunidad en la que tienen que articularse los deberes de justicia no tiene por qué ser entendida tomando como modelo las



comunidades nacionales, sino como una práctica. Desde este punto de vista, se analizan las dificultades y posibilidades de transformar las lógicas disgregadoras de la Unión Europea en un juego de cooperación. Y concluyo con una propuesta de considerar que la actual crisis económica no representa necesariamente una oportunidad para avanzar en la integración europea, que debe recuperar un lenguaje de la libertad.

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**CARLOS CARNICERO URABAYEN**

**El eterno despertar del Parlamento Europeo**

in *Política Exterior*, n.159

De órgano consultivo a institución con crecientes competencias, el Parlamento Europeo no ha sido capaz de corregir el déficit democrático de la UE. La gestión de la crisis ha mostrado que si bien la Eurocámara tiene más poder que nunca, necesita aún más.

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**José María Porrás Ramírez**

**El reto constitucional de la Unión Europea en un contexto de crisis económica y financiera**

in *Revista de Derecho Constitucional Europeo*, no. 21

The European Union, given its continental dimensions, is in an ideal position to provide solutions to citizen demands that States are no longer able to meet, and at the same time, in a position to participate in the influencing and determination of global policy. But the European Union paradoxically still maintains some of its initial characteristics, which are hardly compatible with the idea of democracy that is firmly rooted in the common constitutional traditions of the Member States and which the European Union itself advocates. Accordingly, the European Union finds itself in a transition process despite the fact that it has genuinely representative institutions which are linked to the construction of this new political reality. And as a result, it possess important elements of a democratic deficit, as demonstrated in aspects such as legitimacy, accountability, transparency and popular participation - a fact which generates a notable break or gap in the relationship established between the governing and the governed. So, the serious economical and financial crisis that is actually suffering the European Union, although it has finally forced most of the Member States, overcoming the initial resistance of some of them to reach a more complete coordination of their economic policies, has only been possible at the expense to cause a new democratic deficit of legitimacy of the Union. The reason is that the incipient European economic governance has been founded in an intergovernmental principle of functioning, as the European Commission, the European Central Bank and the International Monetary Fund (the so-called <<troika>>) have received the supervision and control competences in order to demand the right achievement of the proposed stability objectives previously defined in the Treaties. Therefore, we are still far from reaching the goal that expresses the ambition to shape a federal organisation fully based on the European democratic willpower. In sum, Europe needs a constitution to give democratic legitimacy to its institutions, determining their limited competences with the assumption of the due accountability for its actions. The current deficits of the European economic governance are just a consequence of the absence of a real political union. That is the reason of the necessity to open a constituent process. It will give to the European project the legitimacy and the credibility that now that not exist and that is required for its transformation in an exemplar European reply to the increasing challenges of a globalised world.



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Poggi Annamaria

**Elezioni europee 2014: serve visione e speranza**

in *Federalismi*, Anno XII - Nr 11

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Curti Gialdino Carlo

**Elezioni europee del 2014 e scelta del candidato alla presidenza della Commissione europea: i primi passi della procedura**

in *Federalismi*, Anno XII - Nr 11

No abstract available

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Sarah Brockmeier, Gerrit Kurtz & Julian Junk

**Emerging norm and rhetorical tool: Europe and a responsibility to protect**

in *Conflict, Security, and Development*, Volume 14, Issue 4 , 429-460

European governments, parliaments and civil societies belong to the most important supporters of a 'responsibility to protect' (R2P). However, despite a shared positive attitude towards R2P and co-ordinated diplomatic efforts, major European governments and therefore the European Union (EU) have never reached a consensual position on R2P. Based on 47 expert interviews and a review of official government documents, the article analyses the positions of France, Germany, the United Kingdom and the common EU institutions across a series of critical junctures of the R2P debate between 2005 and 2013. The authors find that Paris and London agree with Berlin and Brussels that R2P requires longer-term multilateral norm-building. Yet, while Germany stresses military restraint and civilian crisis prevention, France and the UK continue to view R2P through their pre-existing traditions of a *droit d'ingérence* and the 'doctrine of humanitarian intervention', respectively. These differences are largely due to diverging strategic cultures based on different historical lessons on the use of force. Brussels' efforts to co-ordinate a common EU position have been constrained by these diverging positions.

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Garry John

**Emotions and voting in EU referendums**



in **European Union Politics** , vol. 15, n. 2, June , 235-254

There is an emerging scholarship on the emotional bases of political opinion and behaviour and, in particular, the contrasting implications of two distinct negative emotions – anger and anxiety. I apply the insights in this literature to the previously unresearched realm of the emotional bases of voting in EU referendums. I hypothesise that anxious voters rely on substantive EU issues and angry voters rely on second-order factors relating to domestic politics (partisanship and satisfaction with government). Focusing on the case of Irish voting in the Fiscal Compact referendum, and using data from a representative sample of voters, I find support for the hypotheses and discuss the implications of the findings for our understanding of the emotional conditionality of EU referendum voting.

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Pomian Krzysztof

**Empire ou démocratie ?**

in **Debat (Le)**, n° 179, mars-avril

No abstract available

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Francisco Balaguer Callejón, Antonio Bar Cendón, José María Gil Robles, Enrique Linde Paniagua, Alberto Pérez Calvo, Javier Tajadura Tejada and Francisco Balaguer Callejón

**Encuesta sobre la construcción política de Europa**

in **Teoría y realidad constitucional**, no. 32 , 15-72

No abstract available

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*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

Benito Aláez Corral, Enrique Álvarez Conde, Paloma Biglino Campos, Rafael Bustos Gisbert, Teresa Freixes Sanjuán, José Antonio Montilla Martos, Javier Tajadura Tejada

**Encuesta sobre la integración política de Europa (II)**

in **Teoría y realidad constitucional**, no. 33 , 11-66

In this academic survey a group of Public Law Professors answer questions about constitutionalization of European Unión: about the crisis of the traditional sovereignty concept, the democratic deficit in UE institutions and in State members, and about legitimacy and legitimization in UE.

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McGowan Lee

**Engaging with the European Union? Exploring the Europeanization of the British National Party in *Parliamentary Affairs*** , Volume 67 Issue 3 July , 664-687

Hostility towards the process of European integration is generally considered to constitute one of the hallmarks of the far right 'family' in Europe. This article acknowledges such opposition but it also recognises that the rhetoric is often at odds with actual policy activities and aspirations. Not only have far right parties long advocated greater European inter-party co-operation but they are now actively pursuing engagement with the European Union, especially the European Parliament, as a means of advancing their own strategic interests and boosting their finances. This article focuses on one far right party, namely the British National Party (BNP) and examines the party's approach towards the EU, its activities within the EP and its efforts to boost pan European cooperation through the new Alliance of European National Movements (AENM). It argues that the party's engagement with the European Union may have allowed the BNP to take advantage of new political opportunity structures but in turn, opened it up to Europeanization and made it increasingly dependent on the EU.

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A. Maurits van der Veen

**Enlargement and the anticipatory deepening of European integration in *Journal of European Public Policy*** , Volume 21, Issue 5 2014 , 761-775

It has often been argued that widening and deepening within the European Union are at odds. However, in practice enlargement episodes have repeatedly been accompanied by new deepening initiatives. I offer an explanation for this apparent puzzle by outlining a logic of anticipatory deepening. Current EU member states will have some expectations about the European policy preferences of accession candidates. These, combined with information about the preferences of existing member states, make it possible to compare pre- and post-enlargement bargaining and voting outcomes. Those member states that prefer the former thus have an incentive to negotiate deepening outcomes before the voting balance in the Council of Ministers shifts against them. I illustrate the logic with a simple spatial model, and test it empirically in two key episodes of pre-enlargement deepening: the 1969 summit in The Hague and the pre-Maastricht IGCs of 1991.

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Salais Robert

**Entretien avec Salais Robert, Propos recueillis par Gilles Raveaud: "Il manque à l'Europe un édifice réellement fédéral et démocratique"**  
in *Economie politique (L')*, n° 61, 2014/1 , 68-79

No abstract available

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Egresi Katalin

**Esperienze costituzionali ungheresi e italiane**

*in Eurasia Rivista di studi geopolitici* , XXXIII (1-2014), "Rifondare l'Unione Europea"

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Weeks John

**Euro Crises and Euro Scams: Trade not Debt and Deficits Tell the Tale**

*in Review of Political Economy (The)*, Volume 26, Issue 2, 2014 , 171-189

The euro crisis has been typically presented as excessive fiscal deficits leading to the accumulation of unsustainable public debts. This debt and deficit diagnosis applied most notably in Greece and Italy, but also in Portugal and Spain (the 'PIGS'). Implicit in much of the analysis, and occasionally explicit, is the suggestion that these were not only profligate but also lazy PIGS that spent beyond their means and abandoned a commitment to international competitiveness. This article demonstrates that the German export-led growth strategy generated large trade and current account deficits throughout the eurozone in the 2000s. When the global financial crisis struck the continent in 2008, these trade-based deficits proved unsustainable. With the exception of Greece, neither public debts nor fiscal deficits represented a major problem among eurozone countries prior to 2008. The analysis leads to measures that could have avoided the crisis of sovereign debt entirely, as well as corrected the unsustainable trade balances in the euro zone. These policies were not seriously considered, with the result that in the second decade of the 21st century the future of the common currency is in doubt.

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Philomila Tsoukala

**Euro Zone Crisis Management and the New Social Europe**

*in Columbia Journal of European Law*, vol. 20, issue 1 , 31-76

This Article analyzes the changes in European governance since the beginning of the euro crisis in relation to the project of constructing Social Europe. The Article tracks the incorporation of a structural reform agenda originally designed as bailout conditionality for countries on the verge of default into EU economic governance as a strategy for growth. Beyond the contestable grounds of this reform agenda, its adoption by the EU in the mode of crisis management poses serious questions of legitimacy. The new enhanced economic coordination process includes obligatory guidelines in domains under the legislative competence of Member States, such as labor regulation and taxation, under the guise of a technocratic imperative. The Article also shows that despite the intensely neoliberal character of the proposed structural reforms, the Commission has foregrounded the protection of Europe's welfare regimes as a key reason for reform. In reality, such reforms would dramatically alter welfare regimes, emptying out traditional welfarist goals such as the decommodification of labor without appropriate political processes. This Article argues that these developments are likely to challenge the already weakened legitimacy of the European Union.



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Stefan Borg

**Euro-Crafting at Border Zones: The Case of the Greco-Turkish Border and the Question of a European Union 'Beyond the State'**

in **Geopolitics**, Volume 19, Issue 3 , 565-586

The European Union is often conceptualised as an entity that is profoundly different from that of the modern state. Through a reading of the recent humanitarian crisis precipitated by large-scale migration into Greece, the paper challenges the understanding that the crafting of the European Union ('Euro-crafting') is qualitatively different from the crafting of the modern state. Conceptually, the paper proposes that Euro-crafting should be thought through in relation to practices of statecraft, instead of a priori postulated as qualitatively different from such practices. Putting such an understanding of Euro-crafting to work, the paper explores the recent humanitarian crisis precipitated by large-scale migration into Greece and demonstrates how practices of Euro-crafting mirror the major desire-driven practices of modern statecraft; practices of ordering, bordering, and identification.

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Saryusz-Wolski Jacek

**Euromaidan: time to draw conclusions**

in **European View** , vol. 13, n. 1, June, special issue "A Changing Eastern Neighbourhood" , 11-20

No abstract available

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Stagnaro Carlo

**Europa 2030: Politica ambientale o industriale?**

in **Aspenia**, n. 65, giugno

No abstract available

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Beck Ulrich

**Europa braucht einen neuen Traum - Essay**

in **Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte**, Band 12, 2014 , 9-15

The full text is free:



<http://www.bpb.de/apuz/180360/europawahl-2014>

Es war einmal ein europäischer Traum. Der handelte davon, wie aus Feinden Nachbarn werden. Nachbarn, die sich vielleicht nicht unbedingt mögen, Nachbarn, die sich auch streiten, missverstehen, wechselseitig ihre Stereotype pflegen, aber eben Nachbarn und nicht Feinde. Dieser Traum ist paradoxerweise in seiner Erfüllung verblasst. Es ergibt für viele offenbar keinen Sinn mehr, vom Frieden zu träumen, wenn ein Krieg in Europa nahezu undenkbar geworden ist...

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Cappelluti Giuseppe

**Europa e Russia: un rapporto da ricostruire**

in *Eurasia Rivista di studi geopolitici* , XXXIII (1-2014), "Rifondare l'Unione Europea"

No abstract available

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Alejandro del Valle Gálvez

**Europa más allá de la Unión : pacto confederal y nuevo relato europeo**

in *Teoria y realidad constitucional*, no. 32 , 341-355

Currently the essence of European integration is in crisis : the idea of an open and continuous process in the economy and in the politics. Restart the debate on the political model of integration and its democratic modes of articulation is also recovering the very essential aims of the integration process, and the story of the European project. It is proposed to explicitly discuss new model of legitimacy to Europe, through a Confederal Pact between States and citizens.

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Braccio Aldo

**Europa non sovrana: il ruolo della Commissione**

in *Eurasia Rivista di studi geopolitici* , XXXIII (1-2014), "Rifondare l'Unione Europea"

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Lucke Albrecht von

**Europa und die rechte Versuchung**

in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, Mai, 2014 , 5-8



The full text is free:

<https://www.blaetter.de/archiv/jahrgaenge/2014/mai/europa-und-die-rechte-versuchung>

Einen Kollateralnutzen hat der anhaltende Konflikt um die Ukraine bereits: Von der Notwendigkeit einer „neuen Erzählung“ für die Europäische Union ist heute nicht mehr die Rede. Eben noch schien die große alte Erzählung – die EU als eine Frage von Krieg und Frieden – ausgedient zu haben. Doch mit der Krimkrise wird die Erinnerung an inzwischen fast 70 Jahre in Frieden und Freiheit in Westeuropa reaktiviert. Plötzlich verlieren selbst vermeintlich historische Debatten, wie jene um die 100. Wiederkehr des Ersten Weltkriegs, ihren bloß historischen Charakter, werden erstaunlich widersprüchliche Analogien hergestellt: Einerseits wird Russland mit dem österreich-ungarischen Imperium, dem Habsburger „Völkergefängnis“ von 1914 verglichen – ermattet, bedrängt und am Rande der Auflösung. Andererseits wird an das fatale Appeasement des Westens gegenüber der deutschen Einverleibung des Sudetenlands erinnert. Allerdings wird dabei meist unterschlagen, dass es sich bei Hitler 1938 um einem längst zum Weltkrieg entschlossenen Diktator handelte, wovon man im Falle Putins, bei aller berechtigten Kritik an seiner Annexionspolitik, dann wohl doch nicht wird ausgehen müssen.

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Galloni Antonino

**Europa, dove ci porti?**

in *Eurasia Rivista di studi geopolitici* , XXXIII (1-2014), "Rifondare l'Unione Europea"

No abstract available

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Haun Fabian, Leiße Olaf

**Europawahl: Was für die EU auf dem Spiel steht**

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 12, 2014 , 31-36

The full text is free:

<http://www.bpb.de/apuz/180360/europawahl-2014>

Bald ist es wieder soweit: Vom 22. bis 25. Mai 2014 wählen die Bürgerinnen und Bürger der Europäischen Union das Europäische Parlament. Damit beginnt wieder die Zeit, in der sich die Kandidatinnen und Kandidaten der verschiedenen Parteien, die ins Europäische Parlament gewählt werden wollen, intensiv um Aufmerksamkeit bemühen. Aber auch die EU-Institutionen und zivilgesellschaftliche Organisationen nutzen den Wahlkampf, um für das Projekt Europa und seine Weiterentwicklung zu werben...

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Etienne de Durand

**Europe : d'une démilitarisation l'autre**

in *Politique Etrangère*, Vol. 79, n°1 printemps

Amorcée dès les années 1970, confirmée dans les années 1990 avec les « dividendes de la paix », accélérée par la crise de 2008, la démilitarisation de l'Europe est incontestable. L'effondrement des budgets produit des armées réduites, des matériels déployés en échantillons, des capacités en berne. Alors que les États-Unis se désengagent partiellement d'Europe, cette démilitarisation débouche sur l'impuissance européenne dans un monde où la violence collective demeure une réalité.

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Bauman Zygmunt

**Europe Is Trapped Between Power and Politics**

in *Social Europe Journal*, Volume 7, Issue 2, Summer/Autumn 2013, 26-30

The full text is free:

<http://www.social-europe.eu/pdf-editions/>

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Riccardo Alcaro and Aniseh Bassiri Tabrizi

**Europe and Iran's Nuclear Issue: The Labours and Sorrows of a Supporting Actor**

in *International Spectator (The)*, Vol. 49, No. 3

At the time of writing, representatives from Iran and the E3/EU+3 are trying to work out an agreement that will guarantee that Iran's controversial nuclear programme, widely suspected of having a military purpose, serves only peaceful ends. As the negotiations enter their most crucial phase, the time is ripe to attempt an assessment of the role played by the only actor, besides Iran, that has been on stage since it all began over ten years ago: Europe. Throughout this long drama, Europe's performance has had some brilliant moments. Yet the quality of its acting has decreased as a new protagonist, the US, has come on stage. Overall, the Europeans' record is positive, albeit not entirely spotless.

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Beaugé de la Roque Pauline

**Europe as a Construction of the Human Mind: The example of the Irish Catholic Church's Understanding of Europe in the Late 1950's - Early 1960's**

in *Journal of European Integration History*, vol. 19, n. 2, 243-258

Ireland isolated from the major changes occurring in Europe for much of the first half of the twentieth century. However, when the European project became official Catholic Ireland was unable to ignore these key developments anymore. These changes which took place in Europe caused considerable anxiety in Catholic Ireland. These European reforms



involved a strong state intervention. As a matter of fact, most of the Irish Catholic elite adopted an unenthusiastic attitude towards such a spirit of renewal. As the changes became more tangible, the Church became more concerned with protecting Catholic identity. The principle dangers were seen by the Catholic bishops to be Communism and the evils of materialism. Such a state of mind led to a negative understanding of Europe, one which stands in contrast to the positive attitude of the Holy See which understood the importance of the European project as a promoter of peace. These representations demonstrate how Europe could be seen as a threat to Irish Catholic identity.

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**Stockhammer Engelbert, Sotiropoulos Dimitris P. &#8232;**

**Europe in Crisis: Introduction**

**in Review of Political Economy (The)**, Volume 26, Issue 2, 2014 , 167-170

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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**Daniel Mügge**

**Europe's regulatory role in post-crisis global finance**

**in Journal of European Public Policy** , Volume 21, Issue 3 2014 , 316-326

Before the crisis, the European Union (EU) had emerged as a major force in global financial governance (GFG). The contributions to this collection examine the different dimensions of the EU's role in GFG and how they have been affected by the recent crisis. Taking a bird's eye view, this introduction offers three main arguments. First, the EU has stabilized, rather than challenged, established ideas in and approaches to GFG. Second, the EU continues to be one of two central nodes in GFG, which essentially still is a transatlantic affair – confounding expectations that Europe would find itself in a much more dispersed web of links with other regulatory powers around the world. Third, given its special institutional character, there are signs that a prominent EU may transform the modus operandi of GFG itself, but given present centrifugal forces it remains unclear how pronounced these dynamics will be.

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**Martonyi János**

**Europe, Central Europe and Hungary: 2014, a Year of Anniversaries**

**in Europe-Asia Studies**, vol. 66, n. 3, Special issue: "Assessing Accession: Power, Influence and Representation -Central and Eastern Europe in the EU" , 359-363

2014 can be considered a year of anniversaries. These include five key events that have shaped the historical and contemporary face of modern Europe: 100 years since the start of the First World War; 70 years since the Holocaust; 25 years since the collapse of Communism in Central Europe; 15 years since the accession of the first Central European countries (Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland) to NATO; and, most recently, ten years since the accession of eight former communist bloc states to the European Union. 2014 offers many opportunities to reflect on how far Europe, and





in particular Central Europe, has come during these years. Writing from the position of Hungary, but also acknowledging the wider Central European region, this commentary pays particular attention to the tenth anniversary of the EU's eastern enlargement and reflects on both the positive developments and the challenges for the European integration project that were raised during this time and which still lie ahead.

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**O'Mahony Patrick**

**Europe, crisis, and critique: Social theory and transnational society**

in *European Journal of Social Theory*, Vol. 17, No. 3, August 2014 , 238-257

Abstract

The article begins with a selective outline of social theories of crisis. Such crisis diagnosis is important for general, societal argumentation. The current article positions normative-critical theories and Luhmann's own version of system theory on opposite sides of the societal argument about the future of Europe and, generally, postnational society. The former supports moral and ethical visions of egalitarian pluralism, and the latter emphasizes the need to conform to the functional, communication logics of self-organizing social systems. It is then proposed that if rival social theoretical traditions, the above named and others, are to engage in meaningful normative argument with one another, they must develop a minimal, shared understanding of what should constitute the theory of society. In pursuit of this goal, the article advances a shared, minimal, theoretical framework that addresses both the full spectrum of the normative culture of modernity and its critique, no matter from which social standpoint or theoretical tradition the latter is advanced. In conclusion, asserting its own normative standpoint, it is argued that both a European cultural model and a constitutional order based on cosmopolitan solidarity are needed. Such a model should assert moral principles of justice, equality, responsibility, and legitimacy that would adequately respect and include the full variety of milieus and associational forms in contemporary European society, not just those of the present elite. Such a model should not simply be abstractly asserted, though that is an essential first step, but its conditions of possibility should be supported by appropriate social research that would investigate capacities for transnational democratic innovation and the formation of substantive moral principles among European publics.

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**Somek Alexander**

**Europe: Political, Not Cosmopolitan**

in *European law journal*, Volume 20, Issue 2 , 142–163

The article challenges the established view according to which the authority of the EU is inexplicable in terms of collective civic self-determination. Contrary to this widely held belief, it explains the condition under which it is plausible to impute the current shape of the Union to the collective self-determination of European citizens. This condition is met if citizens approach the Union with a cosmopolitan attitude. The article then goes on to explain that while the Union may not appear optimal under this condition, it looks quite disastrous when approached from the perspective of political self-determination. The argument makes an appeal to European citizens. They have to come to grips with their own



self-understanding. Should European citizens come to realise that they are, after all, political beings because they care about sustaining a form of life at specific place of the world, they will have to re-appropriate Europe for themselves.

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Thiel Markus

**European Civil Society and the EU Fundamental Rights Agency: Creating Legitimacy through Civil Society Inclusion?**

in *Journal of European Integration*, vol. 36, n. 5, July , 435-451

With the ratification of the Lisbon Treaty, the European Union (EU) now possesses advanced human rights institutions such as the binding Charter of Fundamental Rights and a Fundamental Rights Agency. The rights agency, created as an institutional enhancement providing rights assessments to the EU and member states while conducting dialogue with civil society organizations, aims at safeguarding and promoting the rights of residents in the Union. Based on interview and survey data, this article analyzes the degree of input- and output-legitimacy of the EU's participatory rights regime, with a particular focus on the agency's interaction with civil society. It is argued that while such cooperation optimizes human rights attainment in a transnational manner, it is simultaneously being constrained by its embeddedness in the agency, which in turn has to mitigate demands by member states, the EU institutions and the claims of CSOs.

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Jerome Schafer

**European Commission Officials' Policy Attitudes**

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 52, Issue 4, July 2014 , 911-927

European Commission officials are usually thought to prefer more to less supranational authority. A large body of work assumes that they maximize the power of their organization. This study suspends a priori preference attribution and empirically investigates variation in support for supranational authority over five policy areas. The analysis uses Kassim et al.'s survey data from 2008 (N=1,901). The first finding in this article is that Commission officials do not systematically prefer more supranational decision-making. Following the logic of fiscal federalism, they support changes in EU policy scope to the extent that this would improve public good provision. The second finding, taking a political psychology perspective, is that individual calculations of efficiency are mediated by ideological beliefs. Because issues are complex and information is costly, Commission officials rely on heuristics to assess what the European Union should do. They are biased information-processors.

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Mark Thatcher

**European Commission merger control: Combining competition and the creation of larger European firms**

in *European Journal of Political Research*, Volume 53, Issue 3 , 443-464



The article examines the European Commission's use of its legal powers over mergers. It discusses and tests two views. One is that the 'neoliberal' Commission has ended previous industrial policies of aiding 'national champion' firms to grow through mergers and instead pursues a 'merger-constraining' policy of vigorously using its legal powers to block mergers. The other is that the Commission follows an 'integrationist policy' of seeking the development of larger European firms to deepen economic integration. It examines Commission decisions under the 1989 EC Merger Regulation between 1990 and 2009. It selects three major sectors that are 'likely' for the 'merger-constraining' view – banking, energy and telecommunications – and analyses a dataset of almost 600 Commission decisions and then individual merger cases. It finds that the Commission has approved almost all mergers, including by former 'national champion' firms. There have been only two prohibitions over 20 years in the three sectors and the outcome has been the creation of larger European firms through mergers. It explains how the Commission can pursue an integrationist policy through the application of competition processes and criteria. The wider implication is that the Commission can combine competition policy with achieving the 'industrial policy' aim of aiding the development of larger European firms.

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**Daniel Gros and Dirk Schoenmaker**

**European Deposit Insurance and Resolution in the Banking Union**

in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 52, Issue 3, May 2014 , 529-546

Since the European Council of June 2012, 'banking union' is a key item for the EU's policy agenda. This contribution outlines the state of the policy debate – identifying the elements that are missing but important from a theoretical viewpoint. Concrete proposals are made as to how the missing elements could be added in the form of a new European Deposit Insurance and Resolution Authority, which would work alongside the 'single supervisory mechanism' under which the European Central Bank assumes supervisory powers for the largest eurozone banks. The paper also illustrates how a gradual transition could align incentives and mitigate the political resistance to a full banking union. Finally, new estimates are provided for how much would be needed for a European Deposit Insurance and Resolution Fund.

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**Fasone Cristina**

**European Economic Governance and Parliamentary Representation. What Place for the European Parliament?**

in **European law journal**, Volume 20, Issue 2 , 164–185

This article aims to analyse the European Parliament's (EP) position in the reform of the European economic governance, in particular after the adoption of the 'six-pack,' the 'two-pack' and the 'fiscal compact.' References are made to the involvement of the EP in the decision-making process that led to the adoption of the new measures as well as to the substantive role assigned to this institution in the new regulatory framework. The article argues that the new provisions, which undermine the budgetary authority of national parliaments while, at the same time, designing a limited role for the EP—though strengthened compared to the previous version of the Stability and Growth Pact—can jeopardise the effectiveness of the landmark principle of 'no taxation without parliamentary representation' in the EU.

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Pami Aalto and Dicle Korkmaz Temel

**European Energy Security: Natural Gas and the Integration Process**

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 52, Issue 4, July 2014 , 758-774

This article explores energy security and integration within the European Union (EU) in the case of natural gas. It theorizes the underlying institutional dynamics of integration by drawing upon the English School as to how more deep-seated informal institutions condition policy-making by EU institutions and Member States as well as the operations of transnational actors such as energy companies. The informal institution of sovereignty constrains the push of the market institution towards a convergent type of integration. Together with the bilateral energy diplomacy and great power management institutions, sovereignty also limits integration in the external gas trade. Internal integration overall remains dependent on the wider European context as is also seen in the functioning of the environmental stewardship institution. The ambiguities among actors occasioned by the implementation of the Third Energy Package suggest a further integration need, but that is constrained by several further driving forces.

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Manfred Kohler

**European Governance and the European Parliament: From Talking Shop to Legislative Powerhouse**

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 52, Issue 3, May 2014 , 600-615

This article provides an insight into the status quo and functions of the European Parliament (EP) in the European Union (EU) multi-level governance system in order to better locate the structural issues the EP is facing in terms of accountability and legitimacy in the EU. The study mainly finds that the EP's extension of powers by the treaties and non-treaty-based inter-institutional agreements has led it to become a legislative powerhouse, the work of which is concentrated in the less visible committees. This development, however, comes at the cost of the EP's function as a public arena of debate and conflict, with the big party groups mainly voting like a singular bloc in the plenary because decisions had already been agreed in the committees. In sum, increasing competences and workloads do not lead to more legitimacy and accountability.

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Verhaegen Soetkin, Hooghe Marc, Quintelier Ellen

**European Identity and Support for European Integration: A Matter of Perceived Economic Benefits?**

in *Kyklos*, Volume 67, Issue 2, May 2014 , 295-314

Economic utilitarian theory assumes a relationship between economic benefits, support for European integration and European identity. While the relationship between economic benefits and support for European integration has already been empirically investigated, this is not the case for European identity. Therefore, we test the association between economic indicators and European identity, while performing the same analysis for support for European integration. Eight different objective and perceived economic parameters are tested, covering the whole spectrum of sociotropic, egocentric, objective and perceived benefits. The multilevel analyses on Eurobarometer data show that economic



considerations are positively associated with support and European identity. This is especially the case for perceived benefits, indicating that earlier findings about perception of benefits in the study of support for European integration are valid for European identity as well.

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Balaguer Callejón Francisco

**European Identity, Citizenship and the Model of Integration**

in *Jahrbuch des öffentlichen Rechts der Gegenwart*, Band 62, 2014

No abstract available

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Ines Wagner and Nathan Lillie

**European Integration and the Disembedding of Labour Market Regulation: Transnational Labour Relations at the European Central Bank Construction Site**

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 52, Issue 2, March 2014 , 403-419

European integration through mutual recognition has facilitated the growth of a pan-European labour supply system in which transnational subcontractors 'post' workers from low-wage areas to higher wage areas. This allows employers to create spaces of exception in which the national industrial relations system of the country where work occurs does not fully apply. Drawing on interviews with managers, workers, unionists and works councillors at the European Central Bank construction site in Frankfurt, Germany, this article shows how transnational subcontracting allows employers to access, and create competition between, sovereign regulatory regimes. It concludes that high-cost, high-collective good national systems such as the German one, which depend on territorial boundedness for their integrity, are likely to be destabilized by this aspect of European integration.

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Wellings Ben

**European Integration and the End of an Imperial Consciousness in Britain**

in *Australian Journal of Politics & History* , Volume 60, Issue 1, March , 93-109

This article examines the impact of European integration between 1961 and 1975 on national and imperial consciousness in Britain. It suggests that the end of imperial sentiment that was brought about by greater involvement in Europe did not produce a strong or deep attachment to the idea of European integration. Arguments about the need for European integration to transcend war in Europe tended to reinforce a sense of Commonwealth commonality for the British rather than a sense of European commonality. Although the Empire and Commonwealth had become a mere source of nostalgia in British consciousness by 1975, the weak support for European integration continues to condition British attitudes to European integration to this day. Indeed, in the current Eurosceptic climate, the Dominions are making a return to British political consciousness.



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Schimmelfennig Frank

**European Integration in the Euro Crisis: The Limits of Postfunctionalism**

in *Journal of European Integration*, vol. 36, n. 3, April, Special Issue: Coping with Crisis: Europe's Challenges and Strategies , 321-337

The Euro crisis presents a puzzle to the post-functionalist approach to European integration. In spite of unprecedented social hardships, politicization, loss of popular support and political turmoil in the Eurozone, the Euro crisis has produced major new steps of technocratic supranational integration. This article shows that integration during the euro crisis can be sufficiently explained by a neofunctionalist account based on path dependency, endogenous preference change and functional spill over. Finally, it explores three mechanisms that have helped to shield EU-level reform from a constraining dissensus: euro-compatible government formation, avoidance of referendums and delegation to technocratic supranational organizations.

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Ram Melanie H.

**European Integration, Migration and Representation: The Case of Roma in France**

in *Ethnopolitics*, Volume 13, Issue 3, 2014 , 203-224

This article explores how EU enlargement and the concomitant migration of some Roma to Western Europe influenced non-governmental organization (NGO) activity and the representation of Roma interests. It contributes to our understanding of whether European integration advances or reduces opportunities for representation and participation of marginalized groups. Based in part on interviews with NGOs advocating for Roma migrants in France, the author finds that the freedom of movement that came with EU membership gave rise to new and expanded representation of Roma interests through NGOs, with the EU playing an important role in this advocacy. For the most part, however, it has not led to greater Roma participation or to policy responses aimed at improving their situation.

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Caplan Richard

**European Organizations and the Governance of Ethnocultural Diversity after the Cold War: The Yugoslav “Laboratory”**

in *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, Volume 20, Issue 3, 2014 , 269-286

Abstract

The post–Cold War period to date has witnessed renewed international and especially European preoccupation with issues pertaining to ethnocultural diversity and the challenges for governance arising from these issues. This article discusses the shift that has occurred in support of national minority rights in Europe and why European organizations





have become more concerned with these rights after the Cold War. It examines some of the major policy initiatives adopted by European organizations in response to the nearly 25-year long Yugoslav crisis and what these initiatives reveal about new (and old) thinking within these organizations with respect to national minority rights and the management of ethnocultural diversity more generally. It also discusses the consequences of these initiatives for minority rights protection and some of their broader implications for European policy in the future.

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**Jacobs Francis, Bertoncini Yves, Kreilinger Valentin, van Kessel Stijn**

**European Parliament elections in times of crisis** in *Intereconomics*, Volume 49, Issue 1, January 2014 , 4-29

In May 2014, EU citizens will vote in the most important European Parliament elections to date. With the new powers allocated to it by the Lisbon Treaty, the new European Parliament will shape EU policies in many important areas and will elect the President of the Commission. However, public confidence in the EU has fallen to historically low levels — to a great extent due to the financial crisis and its aftermath — and the participation rate in European Parliament elections has dropped steadily since the first call for a direct vote in 1979. This raises fundamental questions about its political and democratic legitimacy. This Forum examines the economic agendas of the main political parties vying for power and the potential outcome of the May elections, including the role that radical and anti-euro parties are likely to play in the campaign and in the next Parliament.

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**Zeynep Somer-Topcu and Michelle E. Zar**

**European Parliamentary Elections and National Party Policy Change** in *Comparative Political Studies* , 47 (6) , 878-902

Political parties seek information about public preferences to determine how much they need to change their policies as elections approach. We argue that opposition parties can use European parliamentary election results to inform themselves about public preferences. When opposition parties lose votes at the European level, they can use this information to infer that public opinion has shifted away from the party and change their national policy strategies. We also argue that not all European elections are the same and that parties should be more responsive to those European elections that are more informative about public preferences. Empirical results from 14 European Union (EU) member countries show that opposition parties use European election results and change their positions (a) when the turnout levels between national and European elections are similar and (b) when the European election is close in time to the upcoming national election.

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**Buess Michael**

**European Union Agencies' Vertical Relationships with the Member States: Domestic Sources of Accountability?** in *Journal of European Integration*, vol. 36, n. 5, July , 509-524



This paper analyzes the underexplored relationship between European Union agencies (EUAs) and the member states. It is argued that the vertical link constitutes a hitherto unexplored source of political accountability for EUAs. In particular, member states' representation on the EUAs' management boards (MBs) can be considered as an instance of vertical political accountability and, therefore, also as a possible substitute for input legitimacy — a feature EUAs are conventionally seen to be lacking. However, drawing on document analysis and survey data, the empirical results reveal a rather ambivalent picture of MBs' vertical political accountability. The strong vertical political accountability relationships expected are only present for one EUA out of six. It can also be shown that more powerful EUAs are not held more accountable than less powerful ones.

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Julia Langbein

**European Union Governance towards the Eastern Neighbourhood: Transcending or Redrawing Europe's East–West Divide?**

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 52, Issue 1, January 2014 , 157-174

How does the European Union (EU) shape the integration of non-member states in transnational markets and why are other external actors more effective than the EU in fostering regulatory change in such a context? Examining the case of Ukraine, the article finds that international financial institutions and donors are better at eliciting reform than the EU because they empower state and non-state domestic actors, who in turn demand and enforce new rules in their home markets. Overall, because the EU limits itself to intergovernmental co-operation and other external actors only engage in reform of select sectors, we do not observe comprehensive regulatory change in the eastern neighbourhood. Shallow transnational market integration is the result. Eastern neighbours are therefore economically worse off than even the laggards of EU enlargement, Bulgaria and Romania. Consequently, a new developmental divide at the EU's eastern borders between countries in- and outside the EU is emerging.

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Maximilian Overbeck

**European debates during the Libya crisis of 2011: shared identity, divergent action**

in *European Security*, Volume 23, Issue 4 , 583-600

The war in Libya of 2011 is generally portrayed as yet more evidence of the European Union (EU)'s inability to formulate a coordinated foreign policy. While the crisis took place in the EU's backyard, joint foreign policy action was hindered by member states' disagreements on whether or not to establish a no-fly zone in Libya. While this is true of political decision-makers, this paper investigates whether governmental decisions were reflected in similar divisions in national news media or whether references to European identity and criticism of European disunity transcended national media boundaries. Comparing a total of 6746 newspaper articles from Germany, France, the UK, Austria and the USA, the findings show that intergovernmental differences did not lead to similarly divided public spheres. Public debates in France, Germany and Austria constantly referred to a European foreign policy identity, though EU identity references were largely absent from UK newspapers.



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**Stefan Borg**

**European integration and the problem of the state: universality, particularity, and exemplarity in the crafting of the European Union**

in *Journal of International Relations and Development*, Volume 17, Issue 3 , 339-366

The European Union is often presented as an entity that has 'moved beyond' the model of organising political life along the way of the modern sovereign state. This paper questions this understanding by engaging a set of texts that could be understood as exemplary of the EU's official discourse of Europe: EU's failed Constitutional Treaty and Javier Solana's collected speeches. A paradox is herein identified: the values that are said to sustain Europe's identity and upon which Europe is founded are simultaneously presented as distinctly European and universal. It is suggested that Europe is being crafted in a pendular oscillation between particularising and universalising the values upon which Europe allegedly rests. By drawing on critical International Relations theory, the paper suggests that this very contradictory oscillation between particularising and universalising Europe's values to an important extent mirrors modern statecraft. One should therefore think twice before announcing the construction of the European Union as something qualitatively different from, or 'gentler' than, modern statecraft.

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**Dirk Peters**

**European security policy for the people? Public opinion and the EU's Common Foreign, Security and Defence policy**

in *European Security*, Volume 23, Issue 4 , 388-408

The democratic foundations of European integration in the foreign and defence realm are increasingly being debated. This article looks at the question of democratic legitimacy from one particular angle, by examining public opinion as measured in Eurobarometer surveys between 1989 and 2009. Based on reflections about the relation between polling results and wider questions of democracy, it examines three aspects of public opinion: general support for a common foreign and a common defence policy; differences among support rates in EU member states; and what roles Europeans would prefer for European armed forces. It turns out that general support for a common foreign policy is high, whereas the desirability of a common defence policy is much more contested. Moreover, citizens across Europe would prefer European armed forces to take on traditional tasks, as territorial defence. An EU defence policy that goes beyond strict intergovernmentalism and is directed towards protecting international law and universal human rights would thus require a significant communicative effort to become accepted.

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**Bernauer Thomas, Gampfer Robert, Kachi Aya**

**European unilateralism and involuntary burden-sharing in global climate politics: A public opinion perspective from the other side**



in **European Union Politics** , vol. 15, n. 1, March , 132-151

Powerful political actors in the international system quite frequently adopt unilateral policies whose implications extend beyond their respective borders. Examples include financial market regulation as well as taxation, trade and environmental policies. They do so to avoid lowest common-denominator outcomes in areas where they desire more ambitious international policies, and to motivate or coerce other countries to shoulder a part of the burden associated with problem solving. This article explores whether and how such unilateralism affects public opinion in other countries, arguing that such analysis can point to external constraints on unilateralism and is worthwhile also for normative reasons. Empirically, we examine the effect of a major unilateral European Union (EU) climate policy initiative, which regulates emissions from aircraft, on public opinion in India and the United States, the two largest democracies outside the EU. Based on survey experiments, we study the effects of cost and sovereignty considerations on people's evaluation of the EU's new policy. The results show that both types of concern play a significant role and may act as a constraint on unilateral European climate policy.

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Sciarini Pascal, Tresch Anke, Fischer Manuel

**Europeanization in Parliament and in the Press**

in **Swiss Political Science Review - Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft - Revue suisse de science politique**, Volume 20, Issue 2, June 2014 , 232–238

No abstract available

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Günay Defne

**Europeanization of State Capacity and Foreign Policy: Turkey in the Middle East**

in **Mediterranean Politics**, Volume 19, Issue 2 , 220-237

Turkey's growing regional presence in the Middle East has been at the centre of several debates recently. This article approaches the debate on Turkey's foreign policy towards the Middle East from a Europeanization perspective. The article assesses the Europeanization of state capacity in relation to Turkey's foreign policy towards the Arab Middle East from 1999 to 2010. It is argued that Turkey's EU accession process has transformed the state, business and increased state capacity to implement Turkey's foreign policy towards the Middle East. This transformation enabled the Turkish government and business actors to improve Turkey's political and economic relations with the Arab Middle East.

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Jenni Sabine

**Europeanization of Swiss Law-Making: Empirics and Rhetoric are Drifting Apart**



in *Swiss Political Science Review - Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft - Revue suisse de science politique*, Volume 20, Issue 2, June 2014 , 208–215

No abstract available

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Ferrara Pasquale

**Europei divisi dall'Unione?**

in *Aspenia*, n. 65, giugno

No abstract available

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Falchi Fabio

**Europeismo contro euroatlantismo**

in *Eurasia Rivista di studi geopolitici* , XXXIII (1-2014), "Rifondare l'Unione Europea"

No abstract available

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Christian Joerges

**Europe's Economic Constitution in Crisis and the Emergence of a New Constitutional Constellation**

in *German Law Journal*, vol. 15, issue 5 , 985-1027

The European Union rides through troubled waters. Its original reliance on law as the object and agent of the integration project and on the “economic constitution,” which the Economic and Monetary Union (EMU)—as accomplished by the Treaty of Maastricht—expected to complete, have proven unsustainable. Following the financial and sovereign debt crises, individuals perceive the EMU, with its commitments to price stability and monetary politics, as a failed construction precisely because of its reliance on inflexible rules. The European crisis management seeks to compensate for these failures by means of regulatory machinery which disregards the European order of competences, takes power from national institutions, and burdens—in particular—Southern Europe with austerity measures; it establishes pan-European commitments to budgetary discipline and macroeconomic balancing. This abolishes the ideal of a legal ordering of the European economy, while the economic and social prospects of these efforts appear gloomy and the Union’s political legitimacy becomes precarious. A fictitious debate between Carl Schmitt and Jürgen Habermas addresses the present critical constellation, where a number of Schmittian notions seem alarmingly realistic. This essay pleads for a more modest Europe committing itself to “unity in diversity,” the motto of the ill-fated Constitutional Treaty of 2003.

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Gerapetritis George

**Europe's new deal: a new version of an expiring deal**

in *European Journal of Law and Economics*, Volume 38, Issue 1, August 2014 , 91-115

The article elaborates upon the reasons of institutional default (Part 1) and, in turn, upon the implications of economic default in Europe (Part 2). In relation to the reasons of institutional default, the paper cast light on three broadly interrelating elements: First, the conceptual issue that the EU has been operating as a community without democracy, which was clearly illustrated in the case of the economic crisis (Sect. 2.1). Second, the structural issue that EU democracy, where applicable, was deprived of politics, in the sense that founding ideology has been completely superseded by the inflexible dominance of free market (Sect. 2.2). And, third, the technical issue that EU politics, where applicable, especially after the Euro-zone launching, lacked principles that could keep the community intact (Sect. 2.3). In relation to the implications of economic default, the paper reveals three salient features. First, the political impact, namely that Europe seems to be puzzled by a sharp division between stability/cohesion and growth/monetarism, which mutates the essential mainstays of a Community (Sect. 3.1). Second, the social impact, i.e. increase of discrepancies within the EU, mostly as a result of diminution of labour rights and the correlating destruction of cohesion (Sect. 3.2). And, third, the psychological impact, which revolves around two antithetical poles, namely stereotyping and nationalism (Sect. 3.3). The epilogue reflects the view that the current depression is both a disaster and an opportunity for Europe, therefore the old messianic deal of the European integration needs an afresh look within the frame of democratic legitimacy and accountability and with an essential preservation of social state.

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Fishkin James S., Luskin Robert C., Siu Alice

**Europolis and the European public sphere: Empirical explorations of a counterfactual ideal**

in *European Union Politics* , vol. 15, n. 3, September, Special issue: Can European elections be deliberative? The 2009 Europolis deliberative poll , 328-351

Is there—or could there be—a Europe-wide public sphere? Some argue that one already exists, others that none is attainable. This debate turns on what it means to have one—on how much (and what kinds of) cross-border ‘discussion’ and public input it must entail. An ambitious European public sphere would involve more truly Europe-wide collective will formation and political accountability. This article attempts to move beyond speculation, with a discussion on an ambitious version of a European public sphere. Participants' opinions and vote intentions in Europolis were gauged before and after deliberating. This enables us to probe a double counterfactual: what if there was a more ambitious European public sphere, and what if European Parliamentary elections were consequently more deliberative.

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König Ewald

**Europäische Großbaustellen - Essay**

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 12, 2014 , 25-30





The full text is free:

<http://www.bpb.de/apuz/180360/europawahl-2014>

Nur die letzten drei, vier Wochen zählen vor der Wahl. Aber schon jetzt zeichnet sich ab, dass die Europaprotestbewegung diesen Wahlkampf beherrschen wird – er wird eindeutig die Negative Europas zum Vorschein bringen. Die jüngste Abstimmung der Schweizer zugunsten der Begrenzung der Zuwanderung lässt die Stimmung erahnen, die sich die Rechtspopulisten bei der EU-Wahl zunutze machen werden. Die Reaktionen aus Betroffenheit und Unverständnis auf das Schweizer Ergebnis werden sich Ende Mai mit Verstärkereffekt wiederholen...

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Azam Nicolas

**Européanisation et dynamique de changement partisan. Le Parti communiste français et l'Union européenne (1989-1999)**

in *Politique européenne*, n. 43, 2014/1, 46-67

The French Communist Party is often classified among the “euroskeptic” parties. However, it has in recent decades revised its official political line on European issues. Through a processual and relational approach of political competition, this paper demonstrates that this evolution is explained by partisan transformations. The struggle on EU issues is linked to a redefinition of partisan identity in order to legitimize the party and to a change of internal rules.

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Merritt Giles

**Eurosceptic and populist MEPs may be just what the EU needs**

in *Europe's World*, n. 26, Spring

The barbarians are at the EU's gates! Scarcely a day goes by in Brussels without a conference speech or high-profile article warning of the legions of eurosceptic populists who will be invading the European Parliament after this summer's elections. The message is always the same; the malevolent newcomers will be bent on destroying the last 60 years of progressive European integration, and will be numerous enough to block parliamentary business and so create political chaos across the EU.

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Hakhverdian Armen, Elsas Erika van, Brug Wouter van der, Kuhn Theresa

**Euroscepticism and education: A longitudinal study of 12 EU member states, 1973–2010**

in *European Union Politics*, vol. 14, n. 4, December, 522-541

This study examines the relationship between educational attainment and euroscepticism from 1973 to 2010. Existing research has shown that, driven by utilitarian considerations, political cues and questions of collective identity, education



and euroscepticism are negatively related. However, as the process of European unification has progressed, all three factors have become more salient, so we expect an increasing effect of education on euroscepticism over time. Using 81 waves of the Eurobarometer survey in 12 European Union (EU) member states, our results show that the impact of education on euroscepticism has indeed increased, particularly after the signing of the Maastricht Treaty.

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Prospero Michele

**Euroscetticismo**

in *ItalianiEuropei*, n. 3

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Souchon Pierre

**Evangélistes de Bruxelles dans les campagnes roumaines**

in *Monde Diplomatique (Le)*, Février

<http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/2014/02/SOUCHON/50109>

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Sara B. Hobolt

**Ever closer or ever wider? Public attitudes towards further enlargement and integration in the European Union**

in *Journal of European Public Policy*, Volume 21, Issue 5 2014, 664-680

Proponents of the European project often portray further enlargement of the European Union as a complement to the process of building an ever closer union. The eurozone crisis, however, has highlighted the risks associated with pursuing deeper integration in a diverse union and reignited the debate on differentiated integration. This contribution examines how public attitudes towards the processes of deepening and broadening are related and asks whether European citizens see them as complementary or conflicting. Using multilevel analysis of Eurobarometer data, the contribution examines the factors – individual and contextual – that shape attitudes towards enlargement and deeper political integration across the 27 member states. The findings suggest that the ‘winners’ of integration – high-skilled individuals in core eurozone countries – are most likely to support deepening, but oppose further enlargement out of fear that an ever wider union might be costly.

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Wendel Mattias



**Exceeding Judicial Competence in the Name of Democracy: The German Federal Constitutional Court's OMT Reference**

in *European Constitutional Law Review*, Volume 10 - Issue 02 - , 263 - 307

First preliminary reference of the German Federal Constitutional Court – ECB Outright Monetary Transaction Programme (OMT) – Financial crisis – Ultra vires review – Principle of democracy – Judicial dialogue – Separation of powers – National constitutional identity – Mandate of the ECB – Article 123 TFEU – Article 18.1 ESCB-Statute – Economic and monetary policy – Honeywell test partially abandoned – Pringle judgment inverted – No margin of discretion for the ECB – Necessity, and prohibition of functional misuse, under Article 267 TFEU – Comparative reasoning

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Clark Nicholas

**Explaining Low Turnout in European Elections: The Role of Issue Salience and Institutional Perceptions in Elections to the European Parliament**

in *Journal of European Integration*, vol. 36, n. 4, June , 339-356

Elections to the European Parliament have been unable to capture the public's interest— turnout remains far lower than most national elections and many who do vote appear more concerned with sending messages of approval to national political parties than electing representatives at the EU level. This paper seeks to explain why the public does not take these elections seriously. A common explanation is that the public simply does not care about EU politics. In addition to this 'issue-based' argument, this article considers where a lack of trust in the European Parliament itself may lead many individuals to abstain from EP elections. Using pre and post-election survey data, results suggest that perceptions of the EP indeed have a significant effect on the decision to vote in EP elections.

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David Benson and Andrew Jordan

**Explaining Task Allocation in the EU: 'Retooling' Federalism for Comparative Analysis**

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 52, Issue 4, July 2014 , 794-809

Federal theories are once again enjoying renewed interest within European Union studies, where they potentially have multiple uses, including shedding more light on the enduringly puzzling issue of task allocation. Yet their overtly rationalist nature means that they may underestimate the contingent and socially constructed nature of integration principles and norms. One recent theory that tries to adopt a more socially nuanced explanation of task allocation is cryptofederalism. This article further develops its central arguments by adding insights drawn from social constructivism, then applying them to the animal welfare sector – a deeply controversial policy area where task allocation has always proven difficult to explain. It reveals that, once 'retooled', cryptofederalism adds a new but incomplete dimension to federal accounts of task allocation. Several scenarios of the potential future relationship between federalism and constructivism are then explored with respect to the changing 'mosaic' of European integration theory.



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Raül Hernández i Sagrera

**Exporting EU integrated border management beyond EU borders: modernization and institutional transformation in exchange for more mobility?**

in *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* , Volume 27, Issue 1 , 167-183

The external dimension of European Union (EU) border management cooperation has recently been developed, in particular through the promotion of integrated border management (IBM). The European Commission has been keen to foster IBM, an attempt to reach EU standards in the absence of an EU common border service. Integrated border management is regulated under the Treaty of Lisbon, and the Stockholm Programme calls for its further development. This article analyses and compares the policy instruments promoting IBM standards beyond EU borders, namely the European Agency for Operational Cooperation at the External Border of the Member States of the EU (FRONTEX) (with the signature of Working Arrangements with the border services of third countries) and the activity of the EU Border Assistance Mission to the Republic of Moldova and to Ukraine (EUBAM) at the Ukrainian–Moldovan border. Moreover, it provides an empirical account of IBM activity carried out in the Eastern Partnership and Russia, and explains the reasons underlying the lack of IBM promotion in the southern Mediterranean countries.

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Hagemann Christian

**External Governance on the Terms of the Partner? The EU, Russia and the Republic of Moldova in the European Neighbourhood Policy**

in *Journal of European Integration*, vol. 35, n. 7, November , 767-783

The eastern neighbourhood of the EU is usually seen as an area of contestation with Russia, where the latter has a negative influence on EU initiatives to promote democracy and the rule of law. However, when the influence of the EU and Russia on the implementation of the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) Action Plan in the Republic of Moldova is tested systematically, it becomes clear that the interests of the government prevailed as a much stronger predictor for rule adoption and implementation: domestic adoption costs accounted both for effective rule transfer and for the lack of it, underlining the importance of domestic factors in processes of external governance even despite the presence of major external powers.

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Camus Jean-Yves

**Extrêmes droites mutantes en Europe**

in *Monde Diplomatique (Le)*, Mars

<http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/2014/03/CAMUS/50209>



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**Guido Montani**

**Far crescere il governo dell'Europa**

in *Mulino (il)*, n.4 , 623-630

No abstract available

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**Delatte Anne-Laure**

**Faut-il abandonner l'euro?**

in *Esprit*, Mars/avril 2014 , 185-195

Some economists and politicians call for an end of the European currency, which they see as being the cause of the current crisis. While the euro is still an incomplete currency, leaving the monetary union would have very serious economic consequences, regardless of the way in which it is done. On the eve of the European elections, politicians have to take a stand, to promote an integrated budgetary framework so that the euro becomes a real common currency.

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**Chiorazzo Vincenzo, Morelli Pierluigi**

**Fifteen Years of Single Monetary Policy in the Euro Area: A Bird's Eye View, Effects on Italian Banks During the Crisis, and Lessons to Draw**

in *Rivista di politica economica*, IV-VI 2014

In the first fifteen years of its life the ECB has delivered price stability through an accommodative monetary policy stance. It has played a crucial role during the sovereign crisis. At the start of 2012, the severe liquidity stress, fixed through the LTROs, has signalled that Italian banks have to address their funding gap problem. To do it without hurting credit flows, a resumption of domestic savings is needed. Thus, the real lesson for Italian banks (and for Italy) is that the ultimate way out of the crisis lies in a quantum leap in the capability of generating higher profits (and income).

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**Detzer Daniel, Creel Jerome, Labondance Fabien, Levasseur Sandrine**

**Financial systems in financial crisis — An analysis of banking systems in the EU**

in *Intereconomics*, Volume 49, Issue 2, March 2014 , Pages 56-87

This Forum aims to systematically describe and analyse the evolution of national financial systems within the EU over the past three decades. It analyses the processes of financialisation that have dominated this period as well as the



causes and consequences of the financial crisis from the perspectives of five individual member states — Germany, France, the UK, Italy and Spain. Furthermore, policy proposals which could change the role of the financial system to better serve economic and social objectives are also put forward.

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**Bertarelli Silvia, Censolo Roberto, Colombo Caterina**

**Fiscal Convergence in the European Union before the Crisis**

**in Contemporary Economic Policy**, Volume 32, Issue 4, October 2014 , 784-801

This article investigates fiscal convergence attained by EU countries in the period 1991–2008, by employing &#946;- and &#963;-convergence techniques complemented by a time series analysis. Overall our results highlight a distinctive convergence pattern in the European Union. Fiscal discipline leading to a fast convergence of deficit/GDP ratio over the 1990s markedly weakened in the following decade. Nonetheless, after the Euro debut a pronounced convergence in total revenue and total government spending emerges, with different patterns characterizing each expenditure component. Despite this evidence of fiscal harmonization, European treaties failed to attract countries toward a common share of government debt over GDP.

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**Giacomo Tagiuri**

**Forging Identity: The EU and European Culture**

**in Survival**, Volume 56, Issue 1 , 157-178

A more prominent and direct European role in the protection of cultural heritage and promotion of the arts could revitalise an exhausted integration process.

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**Fontan Clément**

**Frankenstein en Europe. L'impact de la Banque centrale européenne sur la gestion de la crise de la zone euro**

**in Politique européenne** , n. 42, 2013/4 , 22-45

Depuis sa création en 1999, la Banque centrale européenne a cherché à influencer les règles de gouvernance économique de la zone euro alors que ses responsabilités initiales sont recentrées sur le domaine monétaire. Bien qu'elle n'ait pas pu exercer de véritable influence sur ces domaines lors des dix premières années de l'euro, la crise des dettes souveraines débutée en décembre 2009 a fait apparaître une fenêtre d'opportunité pour les banquiers centraux. Le but de cet article est alors d'identifier les moyens par lesquels la BCE a pu étendre son influence au-delà du domaine monétaire pendant la crise de la zone euro. Après avoir exploré les différentes dimensions de la BCE en tant qu'acteur politique, l'article explore l'impact de la BCE à travers trois canaux : son monopole sur les liquidités, la reconnaissance de son expertise et son autorité morale sur les États membres. Au-delà de cette étude empirique, l'article remet en cause la maîtrise du processus de délégation de compétences à des agences indépendantes par les décideurs





politiques et souligne la place centrale des erreurs de perceptions dans la gestion de la crise

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Hertling Caroline

**French-German Disenchantment and the Europe of Defense**

in *Revue internationale et stratégique*, 2014/1 (n° 93) , 38-48

Half a century after the signature of the Élysée Treaty, the French-German couple is not a driving force anymore regarding defense sector. In spite of declarations of intent consisting in launching common initiatives, the differences in the fields of industrial policy, strategic culture and international ambition slow down the development of an ambitious and efficient European defense. The French-German quarrels have a cost for the European defense structure which could be strongly weakened in the absence of new impetus and of leadership.

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EDITORIAL

**Frente al escepticismo**

in *Politica Exterior*, n.159

Cada elección al Parlamento Europeo levanta una ola de entusiasmo en gran medida agitado por la magnitud de las cifras: 25 países, unos 390 millones de electores y el hito que supone la existencia de una Eurocámara elegida directamente por los europeos. En esta ocasión, además, las elecciones ofrecen a los ciudadanos la posibilidad de emitir un veredicto retrospectivo sobre la gestión de la crisis económica por parte de las instituciones comunitarias y sus respectivos gobiernos.

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Iglesias Sánchez Sara

**Fundamental Rights and Citizenship of the Union at a Crossroads: A Promising Alliance or a Dangerous Liaison?**

in *European law journal*, Volume 20, Issue 4 , 464-481

The reinforcement of the protection of fundamental rights at the European level and the emergence of the status of Union citizenship are two closely connected phenomena. European citizenship has been and continues to be one of the central arguments in favour of the extension of the scope of EU fundamental rights. This argument arises out of a sentiment that vindicates equality at the core of the citizenship of the Union as a fundamental status. Against this background, this paper examines the different possibilities of interconnection between the traditional doctrine of EU fundamental rights and the jurisprudential construction of the citizenship of the Union. Particularly, it will be discussed whether fundamental rights should be placed at the core of the formula that protects the 'genuine enjoyment of the substance' of the rights conferred by EU citizenship, inaugurated by Ruiz Zambrano, already latent in Rottmann and substantially refined in an ever-growing case-law (McCarthy, Dereci, O. and S., Ymaraga and Alokpa). It will be argued



that this formula carries the very valuable potential to reinforce citizenship of the Union as an independent source of rights able to overcome problems such as reverse discrimination. For these purposes, this formula could be considered to encompass not only the absolute deprivation of the 'genuine enjoyment of the substance of citizenship rights', but also the existence of serious obstacles thereto.

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Gibson Heather D., Hall Stephen G., Tavlas George S.

**Fundamentally Wrong: Market Pricing of Sovereigns and the Greek Financial Crisis**

in *Journal of Macroeconomics*, Volume 39, Part B, March 2014 , 405-419

We investigate the impact of the economic fundamentals, sovereign credit ratings, political uncertainty, and the ECB's Securities Markets Program (SMP) on Greek sovereign spreads. Our findings show that sovereign downgrades and political uncertainty appear to have been drivers of the sharp rises in Greek sovereign spreads from 2008–2009 onwards, over-and-above the impact of the economic fundamentals. Our findings also show that prior to 2008–2009, the markets failed to incorporate Greece's deteriorating fundamentals into the price of Greek sovereigns. We demonstrate that, once markets reassessed their pricing of Greek credit risk, the change in the influence of the fundamentals came swiftly and abruptly, exhibiting overshooting characteristics. The SMP reduced spreads while it was in operation.

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Strohmeier Gerd

**Funktioniert Weimar auf EU-Ebene? Reflektionen zur Europawahl 2014 ohne Sperrklausel**

in *Zeitschrift für Politik*, Jahrgang 61, Heft 3, 2014

Summary

Does Weimar work on the EU level? Reflections on the European Elections 2014 without Threshold

At the 2014 European Elections 14 German parties entered the European Parliament – more than at any other European Election before. This is primarily because of the German constitutional court that ruled the electoral law unconstitutional due to its five-percent- and three-percent-threshold. The article discusses the ruling of the constitutional court and its consequences with regard to the specific political architecture of the European Parliament. It shows that there are major arguments against thresholds for European elections, but that a European electoral system without any threshold can be equally problematic. In conclusion, alternatives for electoral reform of the existing European electoral system are presented.

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Costa-i-Font Joan

**Furthering sub-central autonomy in Europe? The roles of identity and redistribution**

in *Intereconomics*, Volume 49, Issue 1, January 2014 , Pages 36-43



The European Union is regarded as a union of diverse territories, but this definition applies to most European Union member states, too. How best should member states manage diversity to maintain the Union? What are the main triggers for autonomy demands in a Union? This article contends that the progressive expansion of regional identities as a response to European integration acts as the main trigger of demand for regional autonomy. This paper draws upon descriptive evidence from two affluent and distinctive Spanish regions, Catalonia and the Basque Country, from 1982 to 2007. Explorative regression analysis of survey data suggests that sub-central identity exceeds that of taming regional redistribution in determining support for regional autonomy.

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Costa-i-Font Joan

**Furthering sub-central autonomy in Europe? The roles of identity and redistribution**

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Defraigne Pierre

**Fédérer l'Eurozone sur un modèle social commun**

in *Revue du droit de l'Union Européenne*, n. 2 , 221-231

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Chiva Cristina

**Gender, European Integration and Candidate Recruitment: The European Parliament Elections in the New EU Member States**

in *Parliamentary Affairs* , Volume 67, Issue 2, April

<http://pa.oxfordjournals.org/content/67/2/458.abstract>



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Jovanovic Miroslav N., Damnjanovic Simic Jelena

**Geopolitics of the European Union: Are Steps backward the Way forward?**

in *Economia internazionale*, 2013, Volume 66, Issue 3 , 455-482

The principal goal of integration in Europe in the post-Second World War period has always been the safeguarding of peace through economic integration. The European Union (EU) has overseen splendid economic achievements. A sign of that great success has been the EU's continuous enlargement. However, geopolitics in Europe is transforming as Germany, France, Britain, Russia and Turkey explore ways to return to a version of the 'old' geopolitical equilibrium in which these countries, rather than the EU, call the tune in Europe. The eurozone is the crown jewel in the process of European integration, but it is also its weakest component. The eurozone is now synonymous with harsh austerity measures, protests and no prospect of any remarkable growth in many countries for a good many years to come. Obvious rifts between the EU's countries are shaking its foundations like never before. The EU passed through many crises (approximately one a decade), and it always exited stronger. This time may be different. The EU may weather the storm. It may, however, end up as a big and important group, but not a very happy family of nations. The first decade of the 21st century was 'lost' for the EU, while the second decade may prove to be the epoch of its diminished global relevance. This is a pity as Europe has taken the reins in many global issues (e.g. environment).

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Jovanovic Miroslav N., Damnjanovic Simic, Jelena

**Geopolitics of the European Union: Are Steps backward the Way forward?**

in *Economia internazionale*, 2013, Volume 66, Issue 4 , 455-482

No abstract available

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martin westlake

**German Europe**

in *European Political Science* , Volume 13, Issue 2 , 217-218

No abstract available

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Gregory Matthew

**Germany and the U.S. Present: A Roadmap for Protecting State Sovereignty in the European Stability Mechanism**



in **Georgia Journal of International and Comparative Law** , Volume 42, Number 1

Germany and the U.S. Present: A Roadmap for Protecting State Sovereignty in the European Stability Mechanism  
Matthew Gregory

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Bardi Luciano

**Gli europartiti e la designazione del presidente della Commissione**

in **ItalianiEuropei**, n. 2

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Matthias Morys

**Gold Standard Lessons for the Eurozone**

in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 52, Issue 4, July 2014 , 728-741

This symposium item belongs to a section headed: SYMPOSIUM: THE GREAT DEPRESSION AND THE EUROZONE CRISIS: LEARNING FROM THE PAST

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Aykut Stefan C.

**Gouverner le climat, construire l'Europe : l'histoire de la création d'un marché du carbone (ETS)**

in **Critique Internationale**, N°62, Janvier-Mars , 39-55

Governing the Climate, Constructing Europe : The History of the Creation of a Carbon Market (ETS) The European leadership strategy in the area of international climate policies consists of two components : numerical objectives for reducing greenhouse gas emissions and a European carbon market (ETS) to achieve these reductions. Reexamining the history of the ETS' adoption in the early 2000s helps elucidate the paradox of this tool's rapid promotion. In the 1990s, community institutions had taken a very different stance, with Europe supporting an "ecotax" project and rejecting recourse to the carbon market and other "flexible mechanisms". Three factors shaped the new direction taken by European climate policies : the emergence in the 1970s of a movement critical of environmental regulation, which, in contrast to market-based tools, was seen as ineffective and excessively rigid by economists and legal scholars ; political negotiations between Rio and Kyoto, with their power struggles, uncertainties and the failure of inter-European negotiations regarding a tax-based approach ; the debate over the principle of subsidiarity, the particular moment in the European construction in which the Commission ratified the creation of the carbon market

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Priester Karin

**Governance in Europa: Auf dem Weg in die Postdemokratie?**

in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, April, 2014 , 99-110

Zum achten Mal finden im Mai die Wahlen zum EU-Parlament statt. Die von 500 Millionen EU-Bürgerinnen und Bürgern gewählte Volksvertretung hat jedoch nach wie vor wenig Einfluss. Die Historikerin und Politikwissenschaftlerin Karin Priester warnt eindringlich vor autoritären Tendenzen auf EU-Ebene. Gegen technokratische Good Governance – aus Management, Effizienz und Kommunikationsstrategien – gelte es das Prinzip demokratischer Einflussnahme zu stärken.

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Sofia Vasilopoulou, Daphne Halikiopoulou and Theofanis Exadaktylos

**Greece in Crisis: Austerity, Populism and the Politics of Blame**

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 52, Issue 2, March 2014 , 388-402

Within the broader debate on the Greek crisis, the theory of 'populist democracy' postulates that populism is fundamental to the sustenance of the Greek political system and is at the heart of Greece's endemic domestic weaknesses. This article tests this assumption empirically through the use of a sophisticated framing analysis of speeches delivered by the leaders of the five parties in the Greek parliament in the period 2009–11. The findings confirm that populism: (a) is expressed through the narratives of political actors; (b) is observed across the party system; (c) is expressed in the forms of blame-shifting and exclusivity; and (d) differs depending on position in the party system. The article contributes to the debate by testing and building on the theory of democratic populism, providing a novel way of measuring and operationalizing populism and identifying a new typology that distinguishes between mainstream and fringe populism.

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Triandafyllidou Anna

**Greek Migration Policy in the 2010s: Europeanization Tensions at a Time of Crisis**

in *Journal of European Integration*, vol. 36, n. 4, June , 409-425

During the past two years Greek migration policy has seen important developments concerning the legislative framework for irregular migration/asylum management and migrant integration. Given that several among these developments are related to the transposition of related EU directives, one obvious answer might be that of Europeanization: these developments had less to do with the Greek government's plans about migration, rather they were the direct impact of Europeanization; Greece simply transposed relevant EU directives. I am arguing here for a more careful reading of the Europeanization effect which not only distinguishes the differential impact of Europeanization on policies and discourses, but also actually shows how Europeanization tendencies at different level can contrast one another. The findings of this paper contribute to a better understanding of Europeanization processes. They highlight that Europeanization involves also resistance to Europe especially at times of crisis.





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Ulrik P Gad

**Greenland: A post-Danish sovereign nation state in the making  
in *Cooperation and Conflict*, 49 (1) , 98-118**

The relationship between Greenland and the European Union (EU) can best be understood by exploring the development from Danish colonialism to a future independent Greenlandic state. In 1985, Greenland became the first territory ever to leave the European Economic Community (EEC) when it opted for status as an 'overseas country or territory'. The manner in which Greenland had to follow Denmark into the EEC in 1973 – whereby Greenlanders saw control over their fisheries move from distant Copenhagen to even-more-distant Brussels – was pivotal for the Greenlandic demands for home rule that succeeded in 1979 and made the 1985 withdrawal possible. On 25 November 2008, a majority of the people of Greenland voted in favour of enhanced home rule – 'self-government' – still within formal Danish sovereignty. Denmark and Greenland alike are preparing for a future envisioned as involving climate change, intensive raw material extraction, new transportation corridors and new claims to sovereignty over the Arctic. Greenland uses this imagined future as a way of enhancing its subjectivity, not the least when dealing with the EU. This article analyses how the Greenlandic self-understanding as being on the way to sovereignty – and the tensions involved – structures the triangular relationship between the EU, Greenland and Denmark. The article concludes that the visions of sovereign equality might, on the one hand, create greater expectations than Greenland will immediately be able to live up to – at home and in the EU. On the other hand, the representation of the Greenland–EU relationship as one of sovereign equality – present and future – might just be able to provoke the resources necessary to make the dream come true.

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Niedobitek Matthias

**Grenzüberschreitende Zusammenarbeit in Europa: Konkurrenz zwischen Europäischer Union und Europarat?  
Zugleich ein Beitrag zur Auslegung von Art. 59 Abs. 2 GG -  
in *Jahrbuch des öffentlichen Rechts der Gegenwart*, Band 62, 2014**

No abstract available

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Stuckler David, Basu Sanjay

**Griechenland als Exempel. Wie die EU-Sparpolitik ein Gesundheitssystem ruiniert  
in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, Mai, 2014 , 59-71**

Wie schafft man es, ein europäisches Land binnen vier Jahren in vormoderne Zustände zurückzusetzen? Der politische Ökonom David Stuckler und der Mediziner Sanjay Basu beschreiben die verheerenden Auswirkungen der europäischen Sparpolitik auf die Gesundheitsversorgung in Griechenland – und decken dabei einen folgenschweren



Denkfehler der Troika auf: Der Gesundheitssektor könnte nämlich eigentlich ein ungeheurer Wachstumsmotor sein.

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**Germania: il modello da seguire?**

**Gros Daniel**

in *Aspenia*, n. 65, giugno

No abstract available

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**Stütze Walther**

**Große Koalition: Außenpolitik ohne Plan und Ziel**

in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, Februar, 2014 , 37-40

Von Europa bis Afghanistan, von der Ukraine bis zum Irak: Die außenpolitischen Herausforderungen dieser Legislaturperiode sind Legion. Doch in der Regierung herrscht die große Verdrängung, kritisiert der ehemalige Staatssekretär im Bundesverteidigungsministerium Walther Stütze.

Ein Blick auf die Landkarte genügt, um zu erkennen: Alle deutsche Politik ist Außenpolitik. Neu ist das nicht. Aber es im heute ungeteilten Europa zu vergessen, ist leichtfertig, wenn nicht gar lebensgefährlich. Dazu acht Anmerkungen, aus Anlass der neuen schwarz-roten Koalition.

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**Roberto Castaldi**

**Guidelines for a Constitutional Reform of the European Union**

in *Perspectives on federalism*, vol. 5, issue 3 , I-IX

A first attempt at politicizing the European elections occurred in 2014. Its main pillar was the selection and indication of party candidates to the post of Commission president by the main European political parties and groups. If the Parliament obtains that the first nomination be given to the party candidate of the group with the most seats in the EP, namely Jean-Claude Juncker, it would probably also rally behind that candidate and ensure his election. This would have long-lasting short-, medium- and long-term effects on inter-institutional relations and European integration that need to be considered. The nomination of the next Commission President is thus a fateful choice. It will not only have very significant political and institutional consequences, but will also set up or prevent a social and political dynamics towards the democratization of the EU.

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Habermas Jürgen

**Habermas: vi spiego perché la sinistra anti-Europa sbaglia**

in *Reset*, Numero 151, Aprile

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Ioannou Demosthenes, Stracca Livio

**Have the euro area and EU governance worked? Just the facts**

in *European Journal of Political Economy*, Volume 34, June 2014 , 1-17

We test whether the two key EU and euro area economic governance pillars, the Stability and Growth Pact and the Lisbon Strategy, have had any impact on macroeconomic outcomes. We test this proposition on a panel of 27, some of which are non-EU (control group) using a programme evaluation approach. The impact of the EU economic governance pillars is evaluated based on both the performance before and after their application as well as against the control group. We find strong and robust evidence that neither the Stability and Growth Pact nor the Lisbon Strategy have had a significant beneficial impact on fiscal and economic performance outcomes. We conclude that a profound reform of these pillars is needed to make them work in

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Kenealy Daniel

**How Do You Solve a Problem like Scotland? A Proposal Regarding 'Internal Enlargement'**

in *Journal of European Integration*, vol. 36, n. 6, September , 585-600

The prospect of a constituent part of a European Union (EU) Member State attaining independence is growing. The year 2012 saw the confirmation of an independence referendum in Scotland, to take place in the fall of 2014, and sub-state nationalism returned to the fore in Spain, Belgium and Italy. Currently, there is no clear mechanism through which to deal with a part of a Member State becoming an independent state. The premise of this article is that such a state of confusion is not conducive to the smooth functioning of the EU. The article argues that, in order to remain faithful to its normative principles and to avoid a dislocation in the single market, the EU must find a way to handle internal enlargement short of expelling new states that might emerge from existing Member States. The official position set out by the European Commission thus needs to be problematised.

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De Grauwe Paul, Ji Yuemei

**How much Fiscal Discipline in a Monetary Union?**

in *Journal of Macroeconomics*, Volume 39, Part B, March 2014 , 348-360



The nature of fiscal policies was changed dramatically by the creation of the Eurozone. While prior to the start of the Eurozone, national governments were sovereign in that they could back up the issue of debt by the issue of money, they lost this sovereignty in the Eurozone. This had dramatic effects that were largely overlooked by the designers of the Eurozone. First it made self-fulfilling liquidity crises possible that degenerated into solvency crises. Second, it led to the imposition of intense austerity program. We provide empirical evidence for these two effects. We argue that contrary to what was expected, i.e. that a monetary union loosens fiscal discipline, it actually leads to too much fiscal discipline.

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**Polito Vito, Wickens Michael**

**How the Euro Crisis Evolved and how to Avoid Another: EMU, Fiscal Policy and Credit Ratings**  
in *Journal of Macroeconomics*, Volume 39, Part B, March 2014 , 364-374

This paper argues that the crisis was an outcome of EMU: setting a common monetary policy for countries with different initial inflation rates. The crisis countries were those with high inflation rates which then had negative real interest rates and consequently over-borrowed. Current policy discussions focus on crisis measures – fiscal, banking and political union – and not avoiding another crisis. This paper suggests two ways to avoid a future crisis: offset an inappropriate monetary policy using fiscal policy; markets could better price loan rates by taking into account default risk. The paper shows that neither was done prior to the crisis.

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**Daniel Seikel**

**How the European Commission deepened financial market integration. The battle over the liberalization of public banks in Germany**  
in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 21, Issue 2 2014 , 169-187

In this article, I argue that the European financial market integration cannot be understood without the European Commission's gradual enforcement of supranational competition law for financial services. The conflict over the liberalization of public banks in Germany demonstrates how the Directorate General for Competition (DG COMP) deepened financial market integration through legal proceedings without the participation of the Council of Ministers. How could DG COMP prevail over the fierce resistance of Germany even though member states never intended for European law to have enough leverage to alter core elements of national financial systems? The article focuses on DG COMP's capacities for strategic action. DG COMP was able to enforce European competition rules for financial services, skilfully combining its legal competences with political strategies. The case illustrates that the regulatory integration of financial services in the EU is much more driven by supranational institutions than assumed by the bulk of the literature.

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**Smith Andy**

**How the European Commission's Policies Are Made: Problematization, Instrumentation and Legitimation**  
in *Journal of European Integration*, vol. 36, n. 1, January , 55-72



How does the European Commission make its own policies? Research on EU policy-making has generated many indirect, informed answers to this question. However, a focus upon the Commission's internal practices remains under-theorized and under-specified. Drawing upon constructivist, institutionalist and sociological policy analysis, this article instead mobilizes a generic approach to policy-making as 'political work' entailing three overlapping processes: problematization, instrumentation and legitimation. This conceptual framework is then applied to a comparison of Commission policy-making as regards the wine and pharmaceuticals industries. The principal finding is that there are three scope conditions for Commission policy-making which seeks deep institutional change: problematization must be precise rather than vague; instrumentation needs to be programmatic rather than dispersed; and commissioners and senior Commission officials must commit to sustained strategies of legitimation. Overall, this theory-driven approach to policy-making provides a means of shedding new light upon both the Commission and its role within European integration.

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**Kamil Zwolski**

**How to Explain the Transnational Security Governance of the European Union?**

in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 52, Issue 4, July 2014 , 942-958

This article argues that empirical developments in international security governance offer untapped opportunities for strengthening intellectual links between European Union (EU) studies and international relations. To uncover these links, the article first demonstrates how the EU has started to address various chemical, biological, radiological and nuclear security risks through adopting an approach conceptualized as 'transnational security governance'. The article subsequently argues that this approach can be convincingly explained by drawing on the insights from the study of the sociology of bureaucracy and bureaucratic behaviour in international relations. In this story, the EU's approach to international security is an example of normal bureaucratic practice, stemming in particular from the bureaucracy's moral and expert authority. Importantly, the engagement with the broader social science scholarship will benefit EU studies as much as other sub-disciplines.

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**Lattanzio Alessandro**

**I Gruppi Tattici ed altre formazioni**

in **Eurasia Rivista di studi geopolitici** , XXXIII (1-2014), "Rifondare l'Unione Europea"

No abstract available

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**Richard Bellamy**

**I dilemmi del processo decisionale europeo**

in **Mulino (il)**, n.2 , 248-254



No abstract available

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Nicolosi Salvatore Fabio

**I paradigmi normativi della politica europea sull'immigrazione economica  
in Cittadinanza europea (La)**, Fascicolo 1 - 2013 , 51-74

No abstract available

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Eiríkur Bergmann

**Iceland: A postimperial sovereignty project  
in Cooperation and Conflict**, 49 (1) , 33-54

The historical links with imperial Denmark still have an impact on Iceland's foreign policy and its approach to Europe in particular. This article examines the triangular relationship between Iceland, its former colonizers (Norway and Denmark) and the European Union (EU). Iceland's political identity was carved out in the course of its independence struggle from Denmark (1830–1944), based on a fundamental belief in its formal sovereignty, which still dictates Icelandic foreign relations to a great extent. In order to uphold the standard of being considered a modern Nordic welfare state, however, Iceland has an economic need to participate in the EU's internal market, resulting in the European Economic Area agreement. Iceland's postimperial sovereignty games are mostly played within these boundaries. To understand its position within the European project, this paper analyses how, until the economic 'Crash of 2008', the national identity emerging out of the colonial experience has limited Iceland's relationship with the EU.

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Moccia Luigi

**Il "nuovo" Parlamento europeo e il futuro dell'Unione  
in Cittadinanza europea (La)**, Fascicolo 1 - 2014 , 5-36

No abstract available

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Rivosecchi Guido

**Il Meccanismo Europeo di Stabilità e il Fiscal Compact tra Karlsruhe e Lussemburgo  
in Quaderni Costituzionali**, n. 2 , 425-428

No abstract available





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Mark Leonard

**Il Parlamento che odia se stesso**

in *ItalianiEuropei*, n. 2

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Moccia Luigi

**Il diritto dei cittadini dell'Unione di avere un governo**

in *Cittadinanza europea (La)*, Fascicolo 1 - 2013 , 5-14

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Guido Montani

**Il dogma tedesco in chiave europea**

in *Mulino (il)*, N.1 , 77-84

No abstract available

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Visco Ignazio

**Il futuro della moneta senza Stato - Intervista**

in *Aspenia*, n. 65, giugno

No abstract available

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Nones Michele

**Il mercato europeo della difesa**

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLVI, numero speciale, n. 173, gennaio-inverno , 60-71



No abstract available

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Maria Luisa Tufano and Sara Pugliese

**Il nuovo strumento di convergenza e competitività: verso una governance negoziata per l'UEM?**

in *Diritto dell'Unione europea*, no. 2 , 317-342

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Argentieri Federigo

**Il populismo d'Ungheria**

in *Aspenia*, n. 65, giugno

No abstract available

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Luther Joerg

**Il rinvio pregiudiziale di Karlsruhe sui poteri della BCE**

in *Quaderni Costituzionali*, n. 2 , 422-424

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Luther Joerg

**Il rinvio pregiudiziale di Karlsruhe sui poteri della BCE**

in *Quaderni Costituzionali*, n. 2 , 422-424

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Colla Alessandra

**Il ritorno dell'antica fanciulla**

in *Eurasia Rivista di studi geopolitici* , XXXIII (1-2014), "Rifondare l'Unione Europea"



No abstract available

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**Boggero Giovanni**

**Il “pregiudizio” di Karlsruhe: sovranità e integrazione**

in *Aspenia*, n. 65, giugno

No abstract available

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**Harteveld Eelco, Meer Tom van der, De Vries Catherine E.**

**In Europe we trust? Exploring three logics of trust in the European Union**

in *European Union Politics*, vol. 14, n. 4, December, 542-565

This study develops and tests three explanations of trust in the European Union. Following the logic of rationality, trust originates from evaluations about the (actual and perceived) performances and procedures of the European Union. Trust within the logic of identity trust depends on citizens' emotional attachments to the European Union. According to the logic of extrapolation, trust is an extension of national trust and therefore unrelated to the European Union itself. We test these explanations and their interrelations in a multilevel analysis of Eurobarometer 71.3 and conclude that the logic of extrapolation is the strongest predictor of trust in the European Union. Although we also find some evidence to suggest that rational calculus matters, by-and-large, citizens seem to trust or distrust the European Union for reasons that are largely distinct from the Union itself.

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**Carlos Closa and Aleksandra Maatsch**

**In a Spirit of Solidarity? Justifying the European Financial Stability Facility (EFSF) in National Parliamentary Debates**

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 52, Issue 4, July 2014, 826-842

This article examines national parliamentarians' approval of the increased budgetary capacity of the European Financial Stability Facility (EFSF) in autumn 2011. Following the analysis of vote outcome and plenary debates in 11 euro states, it is found that the financial position of a state (creditors versus debtors) does not explain the patterns of support and opposition. Rather, two other factors account for these differences: Euroscepticism, and the government and opposition cleavage. In particular, whereas Eurosceptic MPs voted and argued against the EFSF, the parliamentary majorities supported it. Surprisingly, although the legal basis of the EFSF draws on solidarity among the European Union Member States, the supporters of the EFSF did not refer to this principle in their speeches but rather to pragmatic considerations such as national economic interests.

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Caiani Manuela, Conti Nicolò

**In the Name of the People: The Euroscepticism of the Italian Radical Right**

**in Perspectives on European Politics and Society**, vol. 15, n. 2, Special Issue: Europe at Stake: European Union in Italian Politics and Society , 183-197

In this article, we analyse Euroscepticism as a common trait of current radical right-wing formations. Public opinion in Italy has become increasingly polarized on the issue of European integration, and largely Eurosceptic. Thus, it is relevant to understand whether there is an ideological opposition to the European Union (EU) in Italy, both inside and outside the Parliament, which, in the future, could capture the malaise of the citizens and grow within the political system. Particularly, we explore differences and similarities between the parliamentary and the extra-parliamentary right. We show that the ways in which they perceive and (negatively) represent the EU through frames is strikingly similar, despite the fact that these organizations do not really cooperate and are even in competition with each other. Ultimately, despite many factors being mature for issue mobilization and the creation of an EU cleavage in Italy, the success of this process largely depends on the ability of the radical right organizations to come to terms with their ideological background, give priority to this emerging cleavage and establish more synergies with each other.

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Mareike Kleine

**Informal Governance in the European Union**

**in Journal of European Public Policy** , Volume 21, Issue 2 2014 , 303-314

This article reviews new studies of 'informal governance' in the European Union (EU). After exploring the concept's intellectual history and various meanings in EU studies, it introduces the reader to the International Relations school of informal governance. This school emphasizes that states have alternatives to following the official rules, and that these alternatives significantly alter the formal rules' effect. Consequently, and in contrast to other schools, states and their ability to control supranational institutions come to centre state. I shall argue that this literature, though still in its infancy, is poised to shed new light on how the EU really works.

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Federica Bicchi

**Information exchanges, diplomatic networks and the construction of European knowledge in European Union foreign policy**

**in Cooperation and Conflict**, 49 (2) , 239-259

This article analyses how, within the European Union foreign policy system, information is gathered and knowledge is constructed. The analysis is based on the evidence provided by a unique dataset, comprising the Heads of Mission reports between 1998 and 2010 and the EU member states' diplomatic networks. After distinguishing between information and knowledge, the article tackles three related aspects. First, it shows that the EU is able not only to favour



information exchanges, but also to gather information and construct knowledge. Second, it argues that, while member states have an interest in contributing their own information and knowledge, European knowledge is also possible. This is demonstrated by means of an in-depth analysis of the preparation of the Heads of Mission report on East Jerusalem. Third, the article suggests that, depending on the reach of their diplomatic network, some member states are interested more than others in European information, but all member states are interested in European knowledge and in each other's interpretation of current affairs.

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Ross George

**Institutional Knots and EU Economic Governance. Intergovernmental Decision-Making in the Great Recession and the Eurozone Crisis**

in *Politique européenne* , n. 42, 2013/4 , 124-149

L'Union européenne a depuis toujours construit ses décisions en utilisant conjointement les méthodes communautaires et intergouvernementales. Cependant depuis le traité de Maastricht le poids de l'intergouvernementalisme n'a cessé de croître s'accompagnant d'une implication toujours plus forte de l'UE au niveau national. Durant la « Great Recession » et la crise de la zone euro les décisions de l'UE ont certes été prises en grande partie de façon intergouvernementale mais selon deux approches différentes. À la suite de la chute de Lehman Brothers, un intergouvernementalisme « coordonné » s'est imposé à travers un accord entre les membres de l'UE autour d'objectifs généraux: renflouer le secteur bancaire, poursuivre des plans de stimulation économique, ou encore effectuer des réformes du secteur financier. Par la suite, chaque pays a été libre de définir ses propres plans pour arriver à de tels objectifs définis. Durant la crise de la zone Euro, la méthode a changé en faveur d'un intergouvernementalisme dit « coopératif » dans lequel les membres de la zone euro et de l'UE ont négocié de manière multilatérale des décisions détaillées que tout le monde était dans l'obligation de suivre. Ces processus d'intergouvernementalisme coopératif ont été très lents et ont parfois mené vers de mauvaises décisions, voire des erreurs dans lesquelles les préférences des pays les plus forts se sont imposées. De tels résultats ont alors, au moins dans le court terme, posé de forts problèmes de légitimité à l'UE.

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Yannis Karagiannis and Mattia Guidi

**Institutional change and continuity in the European Union: The super-commissioner saga**

in *Acta Politica*, Volume 49, Issue 2 , 174-195

We analyse the politics surrounding the proposal to create a super-commissioner with exclusive powers to veto national budgets in the European Union (EU). According to liberal institutionalism and liberal inter-governmentalism, there should be no need for a super-commissioner to enforce inter-governmental agreements, because the European Commission (the Commission) is already doing this. So, is the super-commissioner superfluous, or is the theory wrong? To answer this question, we build an analytic narrative aimed at clarifying who wanted what and why, and at explaining how a relatively small coalition of northern creditor-nation governments almost succeeded in amending the EU's core constitutional principle of executive-level collegiality by threatening to select an altogether different institution. Our findings bear significance not only for current policy debates, but also for our appreciation of the institutional equilibria that sustain the EU, and on the theory of institutional change in international organizations.



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Isa Camyar

**Institutions, information asymmetry and democratic responsiveness: A cross-national and multi-level analysis in *Acta Politica*, Volume 49, Issue 3 , 313–336**

This study probes the institutional mechanism of democratic responsiveness and elite–public policy agreement in particular. The theoretical idea is that institutions impact policy agreement via information asymmetry built into elite–public relations. As institutions concentrate public authority and hence increase clarity of responsibility, the information asymmetry in elite–public relations gets lower which, in turn, enhances the public’s ability to sanction elites and, as a result, makes elites more responsive to the public. Relying on the 1996 Top Decision Makers Survey on European integration, a cross-national and multi-level analysis confirms the information asymmetry hypothesis. In particular, the results show that elite–public policy agreement on European integration is stronger in countries with greater clarity of responsibility. However, evidence also reveals that the horizontal clarity of responsibility induces greater agreement between elites and the public than the vertical clarity of responsibility.

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Frank Schimmelfennig and Thomas Winzen

**Instrumental and Constitutional Differentiation in the European Union in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 52, Issue 2, March 2014 , 354-370**

Differentiation has become a salient feature of European integration. Yet systematic empirical evidence is lacking about its origins, duration and variation across countries and policies. This article provides such evidence from a new data set on differentiation in European Union treaty law. In addition, it is argued that two logics of treaty-based differentiation are at work. ‘Instrumental differentiation’ originates in enlargement and is motivated by efficiency and distributional concerns. ‘Constitutional differentiation’ has its origins in treaty revisions and is motivated by concerns about national sovereignty and identity. It is driven by Eurosceptic Member States that are opposed ideologically, or fear popular resistance, to the supranational centralization of core state powers.

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Porrini Donatella, Schwarze Reimund

**Insurance models and European climate change policies: an assessment in *European Journal of Law and Economics*, Volume 38, Issue 1, August 2014 , 7-28**

The paper outlines the role of insurance as an economic policy tool that can be used to address the issue of climate change. The magnitude of potential loss, the adverse social and economic consequences for millions of people and considerable fiscal strain imposed on government budgets by extreme weather events all indicate that governments can benefit significantly from the use of an insurance instrument capable not only of covering damage but also of providing an incentive for risk reduction behaviours. By examining the diverse insurance systems that exist in European countries





and grouping them into five stylised models, natural hazards insurance is examined in terms of private and public involvement. The paper analyses the performance of different insurance models in relation to information imperfections (i.e. adverse selection and moral hazard) and market imperfections (i.e. charity hazard and transaction costs). In addition, the different models are examined in terms of the extent to which they incentivise mechanisms that facilitate the mitigation of greenhouse gas emissions, adaptation to the inevitable impacts of climate change and the development of climate risk finance management. Some concluding remarks are offered regarding the possible future development of a European insurance model as a means of developing an economically effective response to natural hazards caused by climate change.

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Klein Hans H.

#### **Integration und Verfassung**

in **Archiv des öffentlichen Rechts** , Volume 139, Number 2, April 2014 , 165-195

#### Abstract

In its authoritative interpretation by the German Federal Constitutional Court, the Basic Law (Grundgesetz, the German Constitution) sets limits to European integration. This also applies where integration takes place on the basis of the European Treaties through their interpretation and application. The democratic principle demands that “sufficient space is left to the Member States for the political formation of economic, cultural and social living conditions” (Decisions of the Federal Constitutional Court, *Entscheidungen des Bundesverfassungsgerichts – BverfGE* 123, 257/357, 358). As long as this is the case, the structure of democratic legitimation of the EU need not be completely the same as that of German state under the Basic Law.

The present analysis shows that the powers which the European Treaties accord to the EU, in particular the competences for law-making, mostly lack clear limitations. The predominant type of interpretation is the teleological, dynamical one, which one-sidedly focuses on the EU's ability to function. The powers allocated to the EU under the Treaties are far less determined by subject-matters than target-oriented. The doctrine of implied powers, the principle of effectiveness, and general clauses provide the law-making institutions of the European Union with additional room for manoeuvre. The limits on the EU's exercise of its powers (Art. 5 TEU) are almost ineffective. By an unrestrictive interpretation and application of the existing provisions on powers in the practice of the European Union, the fundamental principle of conferral is progressively changed into a competence of the institutions of the European Union to decide on their own competence (Kompetenz-Kompetenz).

Accordingly the authorization to further develop the “Constitution” of the EU no longer exclusively rests with the Member States. The democratic right to self-determination of the European peoples, and thus the democratic legitimation of the EU, which lags behind that of the Member States, are increasingly eroded. The Federal Republic of Germany is obliged under constitutional law to press for a reversal of the present development.

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Cronin David

#### **Interaction in euro area sovereign bond markets during the financial crisis**

in **Intereconomics**, Volume 49, Issue 4, July 2014 , 212-220



Applying a t-DCC-GARCH model to daily spread data, four phases of interaction in euro area sovereign bond markets are identified between January 2008 and June 2013. The initial period (January-October 2008) is followed by a general rise in pairwise correlation values between November 2008 and late 2009/early 2010. Interaction then declines on a piecemeal basis up to early 2012. In autumn 2012, coinciding with the announcement of the Outright Monetary Transactions programme by the European Central Bank, there is evidence of some reengagement of bond markets with one another. Policy then seems to have had an influence on euro area sovereign bond market behaviour. While it can act to calm markets, policy may also be unduly influencing market dynamics and raising moral hazard issues.

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Delanty Gerard

**Introduction: Perspectives on crisis and critique in Europe today**

in *European Journal of Social Theory*, Vol. 17, No. 3, August 2014, 207-218

The full text is free:

<http://est.sagepub.com/content/17/3.toc>

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Rebecca Adler-Nissen; Ulrik P Gad

**Introduction: Postimperial sovereignty games in the Nordic region**

in *Cooperation and Conflict*, 49 (1), 3-32

Benevolence, homogeneity and peace has never been the full story of the Nordic region. Building on a critical review of myths of 'Norden' in international relations theory and beyond (international political economy, security studies, regional and European integration theory and postcolonialism), we develop the framework of postimperial sovereignty games for understanding contemporary Nordic foreign policy and regional dynamics. We shift focus from the 'large' Nordic countries to the remnants of Nordic empires: Iceland, Greenland, the Faroe Islands and Åland. On the one hand, these polities struggle to enhance their independence – Iceland even after becoming a sovereign state; the other polities via self-government arrangements. On the other hand, the former colonies develop close relationships to a supranational European Union in their effort to achieve independent subjectivity. Contrasting the developments towards increased independence and European integration, the article demonstrates the importance of imperial legacies. Firstly, it challenges Norden as a model security community. Secondly, it questions the image of a harmonious Nordic welfare model based on equality and consensus in light of the experiences of Iceland, Greenland, the Faroe Islands and Åland. Finally, it suggests that no theory of European integration is complete without taking imperial and postimperial processes into account.

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Arnaud Fanny

**Intégration européenne et mémoire de la guerre en Croatie**



in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 580, juillet-août , 406-413

Croatia's European Union membership on July 1, 2013 is the result of a particularly lengthy integration process, due to its recent war past. The former Yugoslavia war (1991- 1995) left deep marks in the Croatian society and the area, and membership negotiations focused, inter alia, in addition to the implementation of the community gains, on the consequences of that war: cooperation with the Yugoslavia International Criminal Court, minority status and regional reconciliation. Yet such political conditionality was not well accepted locally. Because Croatia claims a deeply European identity, as opposed to its Balkan neighbours, then the specific clauses of its integration caused incomprehension locally, especially when they conflicted with the collective memories of the war.

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Óscar Alzaga Villaamil

**Invitación, desde el realismo, al estudio de la construcción política de Europa**

in *Teoría y realidad constitucional*, no. 32 , 75-97

The Spanish economic crisis, evidenced after the outbreak of the great housing bubble has left on the table a series of questions, which the author states the purpose of understanding the depth of the problem that led Europe push Spain to the reform in 2011 of its economic constitutionalism. This reform followed the path set by the previous reviews the constitutions faced in Poland, Switzerland and Germany. But the public accounts of certain southern states of the European Union have come to constitute a problem for the economic and financial policy across the EU, whose solution has become an opportunity to advance their political construction, situation in which the Constitutionalist should make their best efforts.

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Whelan Karl

**Ireland's Economic Crisis: The Good, the Bad and the Ugly**

in *Journal of Macroeconomics*, Volume 39, Part B, March 2014 , 424-440

This paper provides an overview of Ireland's macroeconomic performance over the past decade. In addition, to presenting the underlying facts about the boom, bust and (currently limited) recovery, the paper also discusses some common fallacies and misrepresentations of economic events in Ireland. The paper concludes with some broader lessons from the Irish experience for Eurozone economic policy and some observations on the role that EMU and the ECB have played in Ireland's crisis.

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Filippa Chatzistavrou

**Is Flexible Integration Harming the Prospect of a Common Acquis?**

in *International Spectator (The)*, Vol. 49, No. 1



In the post-Lisbon era and especially since the outburst of the financial and European sovereign debt crisis, the EU has been changing significantly, to the extent that the meaning and the process of integration are being affected. While constitutional asymmetry is a longstanding feature of the EU polity, the real challenge today is the expanding scope and fragmented character of newly established forms of flexibility, and how they are being used politically. The flexible configuration of integration reinforces a trend toward fragmented integration. Flexibility within the EU could become an end in itself, a device to serve a wide range of strategic visions and preferences in sectoral politics.

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**Conesa Juan Carlos, Kehoe Timothy J.**

**Is It Too Late to Bail Out the Troubled Countries in the Eurozone?**

in *American Economic Review*, Vol. 104 No. 5, May 2014 , 88-93

In January 1995, US President Bill Clinton organized a bailout for Mexico that imposed penalty interest rates and induced the Mexican government to reduce its debt, ending the debt crisis. Can the Troika (European Commission, European Central Bank, and International Monetary Fund) organize similar bailouts for the troubled countries in the eurozone? Our analysis suggests that debt levels are so high that bailouts with penalty interest rates could induce the eurozone governments to default rather than reduce their debt. A resumption of economic growth is one of the few ways that the eurozone crises can end.

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**Andrea Filippetti and Antonio Peyrache**

**Is the Convergence Party Over? Labour Productivity and the Technology Gap in Europe**

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 51, Issue 6, November 2013 , 1006-1022

Closing the technology gap to reduce labour productivity disparities across Europe is crucial for the European cohesion policy. This article explores the sources of labour productivity growth in Europe over the period 1993–2007 in light of the enlargement process. Labour productivity growth has been mostly driven by capital accumulation. New Member States have significantly reduced their inefficiency and their technology gap. Disparities in the levels of labour productivity are still substantial and, to a considerable extent, they can be attributed to technology gap differences. This raises concerns about the process of convergence in labour productivity in Europe and suggests further policies aimed at reducing the technology gap.

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**Smets Kaat**

**Isernia Pierangelo, The role of deliberation in attitude change: An empirical assessment of three theoretical mechanisms**

in *European Union Politics* , vol. 15, n. 3, September, Special issue: Can European elections be deliberative? The 2009 Europolis deliberative poll , 389-409



Though the impact of deliberative polling on attitude change has received ample attention in the literature, micro models of attitude change before, during, and after deliberation are understudied. The relative strength of three competing views of the way attitudes change—the heuristics, systematic, and deliberative models—is assessed, using the quasi-experimental data of the EuroPolis deliberative project and comparing a group of people who participated in the deliberative poll with a control group. The results are: (1) in line with the systematic model, predispositions play a larger role than in the heuristics or deliberative models; (2) predispositions play a different role for participants and nonparticipants; (3) predispositions shape attitude formation in different ways depending on the issue at hand. On some issues the beliefs of participants change as a consequence of deliberation and become more complex and nuanced than before. This is, however, not the case for immigration issues where deliberation seems to strengthen predispositions.

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Yilmaz Gözde

**It Is Pull-and-Push that Matters for External Europeanization! Explaining Minority Policy Change in Turkey in Mediterranean Politics**, Volume 19, Issue 2 , 238-258

Starting with an empirical puzzle, i.e. the variation in minority-related change in Turkey across time, this article aims to uncover the conditions that promote or constrain domestic change and puts forward a comprehensive theoretical framework for external Europeanization. The article draws on current external Europeanization theories and suggests adopting the pull-and-push model of member state Europeanization in external Europeanization. It argues that domestic change – Turkey's minority policy change in the empirical case – depends on the combination and interaction of EU push and domestic pull factors.

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Magnani Marco

**Italia: sette anni di vacche sobrie in Aspenia**, n. 65, giugno

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Eaton Jonathan

**Italy and the European crisis: panel discussion in Journal of Modern Italian Studies** , Vol. 19, n°4 , 396-403

The Crisis of 2008/2009 brutally ruptured a fault line that had separated northern European countries and countries to the east, south and west. The trade deficits of the not-north of Europe rapidly reversed. This reversal came hand in hand with drastic increases in unemployment. The north's pre-crisis trade surpluses continued into the post-crisis era with Europe as a whole replacing China as the largest surplus bloc in the world. Unemployment in the north has also largely



returned to pre-crisis levels. This fissure between the two parts of the continent exposed serious contradictions in the financial architecture of Europe. Some are design flaws fixable within the existing institutional framework and are being addressed. But these fixes cannot overcome the harm imposed by stretching a currency union over what remains a very diverse and disconnected continent. But while Italy was on the wrong side of the fissure, a closer look at the data reveals that it was not among the most critically wounded. Rather the crisis exacerbated problems that had been simmering in Italy for some time.

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Chaltiel Florence

**Jean-Claude Juncker**

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 581, septembre , 461-463

No abstract available

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Clift Ben, Magnus Ryner

**Joined at the hip, but pulling apart? Franco-German relations, the Eurozone crisis and the politics of austerity in French Politics**, Volume 12, Issue 2, June 2012 , 136-163

his article situates analysis of French macroeconomic policy developments under Hollande's presidency within a wider context of macroeconomic policy autonomy under conditions of capital mobility, and the political economy of European economic governance. It focuses on the crucial Franco-German relationship because of its centrality to the evolution of the euro since its inception. The analysis unearths different state traditions informing the distinct economic ideas about austerity, economic policy, economic governance and regulation that underpin French and German visions for future European economic integration and European economic policy. It establishes the historical and ideational conditions of German approaches to European integration and European Monetary Union, and how these have shaped continuities within French European economic strategy, and Hollande's approach to the architecture of the euro, focusing in particular on fiscal policy dimensions and their recent evolutions. The discussion explores the foundations of German veto power within European agreements by 'kicking the tyres' of the German ordo-liberal political economic settlement and its social underpinnings, finding evidence of corrosive tendencies of declining mass party support linked to anaemic output and productivity growth, rising inequality and deficient demand undermining German export surpluses. Yet, time is an important factor in politics, and these corrosive tendencies are unlikely to generate a change in Franco-German relations during Hollande's Presidential tenure.

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Petritsch Wolfgang

**Just another Crisis? South-East Europe and the European Union in a Changing World in Europe en formation (L')**, n. 369, 2013/3 , 169-182





he world is facing fundamental changes in the international system. The rise of China, India and other emerging economies are changing the world's power balance, while Western states, in particular European Union members and the United States, are facing great economic and political trials linked to high sovereign debt, rising inequalities, and job-less growth. Intra-state and transnational conflicts, often waged by non-state actors, including terrorist organizations such as al-Qaeda, pose difficult new challenges to the preservation of peace and security. In this global context, the EU is facing its greatest challenges since its inception. While dealing with the economic crisis, it must keep up with the need to complete its enlargement in South-East Europe. The EU must furthermore address the challenges of being perceived – not entirely wrongly – as too aloof, technocratic, undemocratic, and overly-meddlesome. These challenges also offer new opportunities, but failing to grasp them and implement needed reforms may yet bring the great European experiment to an end. This must not and need not be the case, and possible strategies for a renewed Europe are outlined.

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Frank Wendler

**Justification and political polarization in national parliamentary debates on EU treaty reform**

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 21, Issue 4 2014 , 549-567

National parliaments are arenas both for the discursive justification of European integration and its party political contestation. This article harnesses a discourse theoretical framework to investigate the links between both dimensions in debates about the revision of the EU treaties in the parliaments of four member states (Austria, France, Germany and the United Kingdom). Two arguments are proposed: first, a distinction between discursive perspectives and related mobilizing arguments helps to disentangle different thematic layers of debate, characterised as 'problem-solving debates' on the effectiveness of political action in the EU, 'directional debates' about the substantive goals of EU governance, and 'legitimacy debates' about the compatibility of supranational institutions with domestic democracy. Second, the empirical data show that each of these debates is linked to characteristic patterns of polarization along institutional and party political divides, adding fresh insights for the literature on party politics and public debate about European integration.

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Fehmel Thilo

**Konflikte erster und zweiter Ordnung in Europa**

in *Leviathan. Berliner Zeitschrift für Sozialwissenschaft* , Heft 1, 2014

Die derzeitige Verschärfung von innereuropäischen sozialen Konflikten wird überwiegend mit Sorge betrachtet. Der Aufsatz nimmt diese Sorge zum Anlass, den sozialen Konflikt im Sinne Georg Simmels als Grundlage von Vergesellschaftung und Gesellschaft zu rehabilitieren. Zunächst werden grundlegende Argumente für Bedingungen zusammengetragen, unter denen Konflikte sozialintegrative Wirkungen haben können. Dann werden die aktuellen Entwicklungen in Europa zu den konflikttheoretischen Überlegungen in Beziehung gesetzt. Dabei geht es um die Frage, ob die Krise der europäischen Integration die soziale Integration Europas behindert oder begünstigt.

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**BOLLAERT Baudouin**

**L'EUROPE INTEGREE OU LE DECLIN...**

in *Politique internationale*, n°143 - PRINTEMPS

Educated as a lawyer, then a Flemish regionalist in his early days and later nicknamed "Baby Thatcher", Guy Verhofstadt served as Prime Minister of Belgium from 1999 to 2008 and today he is one of the most prominent commentators on European issues. First, because he's the leader of the Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe Group (ALDE) in the European Parliament - the third-largest Group in the Parliament after the European People's Party (EPP) and the Party of European Socialists (PES). Second, because he founded the highly influential Spinelli Group, which brings together politicians from across all parties who support the idea of a federal Europe. And third, because he loves debating and is not ashamed of Europe. Taking a more socialist line than Finland's Olli Rehn, Commissioner for Economic and Monetary Affairs and advocate of strict financial orthodoxy, Guy Verhofstadt has been selected ahead of Rehn as the Liberal Party's nominee for President of the European Commission in the May elections. Provided of course his party wins enough seats...

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**Bollaert Baudouin**

**L'EUROPE QUI REDEMARRE**

in *Politique internationale*, n°141 - AUTOMNE - 2014

As European Commissioner for Internal Market and Services, Michel Barnier is a key player in the EU's efforts to combat the financial crisis. In this interview with *Politique Internationale*, he shares his assessment of the current situation. At a time when the EU, and especially the Commission, is being widely criticized for its handling of the crisis, and Europe seems to be in the grip of pessimism, Michel Barnier is keen to set the record straight. While recognizing the weaknesses inherent in the European system - whose cumbersome processes get in the way of speedy decision-making - he points out that a great deal has been achieved in recent years, starting with the move toward European Banking Union, which will provide a governance framework for financial markets. The man who some observers have pegged as a possible successor to José Manuel Barroso as President of the European Commission believes more strongly than ever in the European dream.

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**Giuliani Jean-Dominique**

**L'Europe après la Crimée**

in *Revue Défense Nationale*, n° 771, Juin

L'auteur examine la situation politique et économique à Kiev, Moscou et Bruxelles et plaide pour un renforcement du soft power européen pour gérer les changements géopolitiques en cours.



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**Deflou Arnaud**

**L'Europe après le 25 mai 2014 : du rêve d'union à la réalité d'un scrutin**

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 581, septembre , 464-470

In 1979, professor Perin bound the future of Europe to the twilight of States, it would seem that the history agreed with him. The ballot of May 25th, 2014 tending to elect the Members of the European Parliament took up a sharp increase in the euro sceptical parties, flirting with nationalist and populist speeches. Far from describing the European reality, the rise of anti- European speeches tends to close the peoples of the Old continent behind the frontier "artificial" of nations in the backward-looking and motionless outlines. So, the nation seems visible in front of opaque and technocratic Europe. Let us hope that the ballot of May 25th makes become aware of the necessity for the European deputy to communicate on the implementation of the European policies and to make live the formula of professor Paul Reuter in accordance with "the bet is too manifest to win remain a thinly veiled reference: among the weak, only the fools would remain blind".

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**Melchionni Maria Grazia**

**L'Europe: les crises et les défis**

in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, Vol. 80, n. 4, ottobre-dicembre , 491-498

No abstract available

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**Tremonti Giulio**

**L'Incompiuta di Schubert - Intervista**

in *Aspenia*, n. 65, giugno

[https://www.aspeninstitute.it/system/files/private\\_files/2014-06/doc/Tremonti\\_Aspenia65.pdf](https://www.aspeninstitute.it/system/files/private_files/2014-06/doc/Tremonti_Aspenia65.pdf)

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**Levy Bernard-Henri**

**L'Ucraina e l'Europa**

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLVI, numero speciale, n. 173, gennaio-inverno , 72-74

No abstract available



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Baroncelli Stefania

**L'Unione bancaria europea e il meccanismo di risoluzione delle crisi**

in *Quaderni Costituzionali*, n. 2 , 447-449

No abstract available

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Lucia Serena Rossi

**L'Unione europea e il paradosso di Zenone. Riflessioni sulla necessità di una revisione del Trattato di Lisbona**

in *Diritto dell'Unione europea*, no. 4 , 749-770

This article assesses the need for a revision of the Treaty of Lisbon in a constitutional perspective. It starts out by arguing that a revision should address economic, institutional, and constitutional issues. It is submitted that — as in the Zeno's Paradox of Achilles and the tortoise — the EU seems committed in a never-ending march towards an ultimate goal which seems to remain out of reach. The article then analyses the different revision instruments introduced by the Lisbon Treaty, in order to understand what procedures may be required to amend the existing Treaties in crucial areas. Finally, it explores the possibility of revisions on a smaller scale, by means of differential integration.

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Lenzi Guido

**L'Unione europea politica: se non ora quando?**

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLVI, numero speciale n. 174, aprile-primavera , 357-362

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Yves Mény

**L'Unione europea: too big to fail?**

in *Mulino (il)*, n.2 , 183-198

No abstract available

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Cangelosi Rocco

**L'idea d'Europa nel dibattito democratico**

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLVI, numero speciale n. 174, aprile-primavera , 339-343

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Cogliandro Giuseppe

**L'impatto del fiscal compact sul sistema di governance europea**

in *Diritto comunitario e degli scambi internazionali*, n. 3

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Tosello- Moes Alexandra

**L'influence de l'Union européenne sur la territorialisation des politiques publiques en France**

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 576, mars , 178-187

The Union's regional policy has changed considerably since it started in 1957. The current generation of structural funds has a new general purpose: territorial cohesion. For the first time, the aim to take into account territorial proximity is clearly displayed. New operating rules require adjustment to territory specificity and potential. In that context, the principle of partnership naturally becomes pivotal and meets necessary participant coordination. Such territory recognition is not without consequences on the terms of actions of public authorities in France. Apart from the framework of action and the strategic process of the main parties, boosting dialogue between territory growth players exerts an impact on the political organisation, on local governance.

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Alberti Jacopo

**L'utilisation d'actes de soft law par les agences de l'Union européenne**

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 576, mars , 161-169

EU agencies are actors with an increasing influence on the EU decision-making process, even if they have been given mainly instrumental, non-binding powers. Interestingly, EU agencies are highly reliant on soft rule-making. Indeed, through the adoption of formally non-binding acts EU agencies may circumvent the constitutional limits that constrain their powers. Therefore, this article examines the different soft-law measures enacted by EU agencies, dividing them in 4 categories, based on the margin of discretion they leave to the addressees. Then this framework is used for analysing the differences and addressing the problems concerning the rule-making processes followed for the adoption of these acts and the extent of the judicial review.



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**GUEDJ Mikael**

**LA PASSION DE L'EUROPE**

in *Politique internationale*, n°143 - PRINTEMPS

Daniel Cohn-Bendit está a punto de colgar los guantes. Dentro de unas semanas, el antiguo líder de Mayo del 68 finalizará su último mandato de eurodiputado. Tras convertirse en una figura destacada del movimiento ecologista, ha pasado veinte años en el Parlamento Europeo. Es en calidad de federalista convencido que Cohn-Bendit defiende la idea europea, sin indulgencia para con los líderes de un continente en crisis. Y hace hincapié en la brecha cada vez mayor que existe entre el proyecto europeo y la realidad de Europa como la viven a diario los ciudadanos. Una brecha que alimenta el populismo y contribuye a la pérdida de credibilidad de la política. Los dirigentes franceses y alemanes, en particular, son incapaces de superar sus propios límites intelectuales y culturales; los primeros siguen sumidos en una deuda que no logran reducir, y los segundos no consiguen entender que la austeridad hace más mal que bien. Esta falta de visión y liderazgo es la principal debilidad de la Europa actual, afirma Daniel Cohn-Bendit.

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**Clément Fontain**

**La BCE dans la crise : qui décide quoi ?**

in *Pouvoirs*, n. 149 , 91-100

Quelle a été la portée des décisions prises par la Banque centrale européenne pendant la crise de la zone euro ? Afin de répondre à cette question, il faut envisager la BCE, non pas sous l'angle de ses seules compétences officielles, mais comme un acteur politique qui cherche à exercer une influence au-delà du strict domaine monétaire. Son impact porte alors sur les systèmes socio-économiques nationaux, les règles de gouvernance européenne et le système de supervision financière.

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**Lupo Nicola**

**La Conferenza interparlamentare sulla governance economica e finanziaria: la deludente attuazione dell'art. 13 del Fiscal Compact**

in *Quaderni Costituzionali*, n.1 , 113-115

No abstract available

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Sabine Saurugger, Fabien Terpan

**La Cour de justice au coeur de la gouvernance européenne**

in *Pouvoirs*, n. 149 , 59-75

La Cour de justice de l'Union européenne a joué un rôle primordial dans l'intégration européenne. Dans cet article, les auteurs s'interrogent sur l'idée selon laquelle la Cour, après avoir connu des années d'activisme jurisprudentiel, aurait commencé à s'autolimiter depuis le traité de Maastricht de 1992. En replaçant la Cour dans le cadre plus général du système politique de l'Union, on observe que son activisme demeure fort dans certains domaines, en particulier dans celui de la défense des droits fondamentaux.

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Vernole Stefano

**La Germania e la tentazione dell'Europa a due velocità**

in *Eurasia Rivista di studi geopolitici* , XXXIII (1-2014), "Rifondare l'Unione Europea"

No abstract available

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Rolf Petri

**La Grecia che resiste**

in *Historia Magistra* , Fascicolo 12

No abstract available

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Mateeva Maria

**La Macédoine aux portes de l'Europe : un carrefour géopolitique et identitaire**

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 580, juillet-août , 401-405

This article uses two approaches relating to the state and national elaboration of Macedonia from its European perspective angle. The first section deals with the identity tension and the European future of Macedonia. The second section reviews the impact of the EU membership on the national identity of that country. The analysis is based on a study of the elaboration of the national historical story, of the inter-community relationships in the country and its international relationships in the Balkans and more broadly, in Europe. The article concludes that the identity knot within Macedonia represents both a pre-memberships and post-membership stake for Macedonia: it is an obstacle in the EU membership negotiation process; at the same time, the possible membership would not be a factor with a stabilising effect on the identity complex that is currently observed.



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**Antonio Bar Cendón**

**La Unión Europea : de la economía a la política, pasando por el Derecho  
in Teoría y realidad constitucional, no. 32 , 99-124**

The European Union is going through a difficult crisis phase. It is a crisis that affects material aspects such as its economy and finances and, very specifically, the economies and finances of some of its member states; but it is a crisis that affects also immaterial aspect such as its own identity and the future of its political project. Many are the solutions that have been proposed in order to overcome this difficult stage, but in most of the cases these are inadequate solutions since they are not adapted to the peculiar nature of the EU as a legal and political organization. Therefore, firstly, this article analyzes the nature of the EU as a political organization and the different theories that have been issued in this regard. Secondly, the present situation of the EU is analyzed, including a perspective on what it is doing in this regard, and thirdly, the solutions to overcome this critical situation which have been proposed so far are also analyzed.

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**Manuel Medina Ortega**

**La Unión Europea como organización política  
in Teoría y realidad constitucional, no. 32 , 205-223**

The European Union is not a State. It is a new kind of political organization. It is made up of independent and sovereign States. In any case, like other international organizations, the sovereign powers of its Member States are limited by the cooperation requirements imposed upon them by the international society in our times. In the case of the European Union, the limits imposed upon the sovereign powers of the Member States are further reinforced by the symbiosis of two separate political structures: the traditional structure of the Member States and the new Union structure. The Constitutional Law of the Member States is thus conditioned by the development of the supranational Law of the Union.

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**Antonio Bar Cendón**

**La Unión Europea como unión de valores y derechos : teoría y realidad  
in Teoría y realidad constitucional, no. 33 , 99-139**

The UE is founded on a set of values which are mentioned in an explicit manner in Art. 2 of the TEU: respect for human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law and respect for human rights. Values which the same article states that are common to the Member States. Until now, the protection of these fundamental values is based on the mechanism foreseen in Art. 7 of the TEU. The existence of this mechanism though has not prevented the violation of these fundamental values by several of the Member States from taking place. This is why this article proposes the establishing of a new mechanism - the «Copenhagen mechanism» - which would be able to monitor the performance of



the Member States on a permanent basis in order to prevent the violations from taking place, but which would also be able to impose the most serious penalties to the most serious violations of these fundamental values, including the expulsion of the UE.

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Miguel Azpitarte Sánchez

**La autonomía del ordenamiento de la Unión y las «funciones esenciales» de su sistema jurisdiccional**  
in *Teoría y realidad constitucional*, no. 32 , 225-257

The European Court's renew vindication of the autonomy of the European Union Legal order opposes against the political impulses directed to open the judicial power of the Union, taking its jurisdiction beyond the Union or giving jurisdiction to court outside the Unión. Do to this paradox, I try to analyze the link between autonomy of the legal order and indispensable tasks of the judicial power of the Unión. In title II, in an effort of juridical archeology, I wonder which have been the constitutional reasons that moved to the link mentioned. In my opinion three fundamental divisions—functional, institutional and validity divisions— justify the jurisdictional model of vigilant cooperation that build the autonomy of the legal order. In title III, I try to show the weakness of this model. Firstly, although the European Court holds strong on autonomy, reality and the constitutive Treaties call for a complement. The essential question is to know what function develop several actors. Secondly, the protection offered by the judicial power of the Union is asymmetric in a double sense: it does not extend the protection through a system of appeals and it works in a different way attending to state or private origin of the wrong. Finally, I try to defend that those two asymmetries explain the political reason towards the opening of the judicial power of the Union.

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Teresa Pullano

**La citoyenneté européenne : les mesures transitoires concernant la libre circulation des travailleurs comme productrices de différences**  
in *Droit et société*, no. 86 , 55-75

This article examines the transitional arrangements for the free movement of workers implemented for citizens coming from Eastern European countries during the EU's enlargement in 2004 and 2007. The article offers a reading of the transitional measures as legal techniques and operations, and it argues that one of their notable effects is the creation of European citizenship, which produces differentiated rights. European citizenship can thus be viewed as the result of a process of statehood restructuring. The focus here is on the way in which European citizenship has concrete political effects, even though its justifications are formulated in economic or legal terms.

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Diego J. Liñán Noguerras

**La ciudadanía europea : una cuestión abierta**  
in *Teoría y realidad constitucional*, no. 32 , 357-372



The consolidation of the Status of Citizenship in the TFUE, the provisions in the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the EU and a significant jurisprudence seem to indicate that the legal discourse about the European Citizenship is solved. This work challenges this perception. Three aspects are addressed to show the open character of the question: (i) the lack of autonomy of the Status of Citizenship in the TFUE, (ii) the added difficulties stemming from the dual conception of the Status of Citizenship in the TFUE and as fundamental rights in the Charter of Fundamental Rights and, lastly, (iii) the lack of a better discourse about the legitimacy function of citizenship. The author considers that the context of crisis and the increasing gap between citizens and EU calls for a reconsideration of the citizenship question.

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Triggiani Ennio

**La complessa vicenda dei diritti sociali fondamentali nell'Unione europea**  
in *Studi sull'integrazione europea*, anno IX, n. 1, gennaio-aprile , 9-34

No abstract available

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Stéphane Pierré-Caps

**La construcción política de Europa y el problema del demos**  
in *Teoría y realidad constitucional*, no. 32 , 293-307

Reflections about the political construction of Europe, approached from a prospective and not retrospective point of view.

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Demedts Valérie

**La coopération internationale entre les autorités de concurrence : "Entre le marteau et 'enclume'"**  
in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 575, février , 101-109

Summary and abstracts [http://www.dalloz-revues.fr/Revue\\_de\\_l\\_Union\\_europeenne-cover-33676.htm](http://www.dalloz-revues.fr/Revue_de_l_Union_europeenne-cover-33676.htm)

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Hamonc Anne

**La coopération structurée permanente : un dispositif procédural de trop?**  
in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 578, mai , 269-279

Among the various innovations relating to the joint foreign and security policy (PESC) including the joint security and defence policy (PSDC), introduced by the Lisbon Treaty, the permanent structured cooperation (CSP) has regularly



been presented as "the main no-velty (..)" and as an "ambitious" innovation. The Treaty organises, on that matter, a set of procedures governing its implementation and changes. Permanent structured cooperation can thus be described as "procedural system". Yet it prompts some comments and leads to questions from a legal point of view. Thus its study has just fed the thought conducted by the teachers cum researchers of the European Research Centre (CEDRE) of Rennes on decision- making procedures after the Lisbon treaty.

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Rossano Diego

**La crisi dell'Eurozona e la (dis)unione bancaria**

in *Federalismi*, Anno XII - Nr 7

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Dominique Reynié

**La crisi populista dell'idea europea**

in *Mulino (il)*, n.3 , 417-423

No abstract available

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Forner Salvador, Senante Berendes Heidy-Cristina

**La crisis de Europa y el ascenso del populismo. Más allá de las elecciones europeas de 2014**

in *Cuadernos de pensamiento político*, Número 43, Julio / Septiembre

<http://www.revistascultrales.com/xrevistas/PDF/103/1762.pdf>

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Augusto Aguilar Calahorro

**La decisión Pringle en el proceso de constitucionalización de la Unión Europea.**

in *Revista Espanola de Derecho Constitucional*, no. 101 , 337-380

No abstract available

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Migliavacca Paolo

**La difesa europea in cerca dell'Unione**

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLVI, numero speciale, n. 173, gennaio-inverno , 46-59

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Louis Jean Victor

**La difficile naissance du mécanisme européen de résolution des banques**

in *Cahiers de Droit Européen*, n. 1

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Caggiano Giandonato

**La dottrina italiana nella fase costituente dell'ordinamento giuridico comunitario**

in *Studi sull'integrazione europea*, anno VIII, n. 3, settembre-dicembre , 441-468

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Emane Meyo Martin

**La force normative "invisible" de la soft law para-législative de l'Union européenne en droit privé des contrats**

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 575, février , 94-100

Summary and abstracts [http://www.dalloz-revues.fr/Revue\\_de\\_l\\_Union\\_europeenne-cover-33676.htm](http://www.dalloz-revues.fr/Revue_de_l_Union_europeenne-cover-33676.htm)

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Jean Carlo

**La geopolitica dell'euro**

in *Aspenia*, n. 65, giugno

No abstract available





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**Michael W. Bauer, Stefan Becker**

**La gouvernance économique durant et après la crise : vers la disparition de la Commission européenne in Pouvoirs**, n. 149 , 29-44

Alors que la récente crise économique et financière a refaçonné l'ordre institutionnel de la gouvernance économique de l'Union européenne, le rôle de la Commission est remis en question. Cette dernière est, en général, présente sur le terrain, mais les auteurs avancent ici une perspective plus nuancée. Sa capacité à terminer les priorités de l'Union s'est en effet affaiblie, cause du leadership croissant du Conseil européen ; pourtant, la mise en œuvre d'une grande majorité de décisions concernant la gouvernance économique dépend toujours de l'exécutif de l'Union. Le rôle de la Commission, arme de compétences plus conséquentes en matière d'exécution, est peut-être moins visible, mais certainement pas moins important.

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**Pierre Bon**

**La identidad nacional o constitucional, una nueva noción jurídica.**  
in *Revista Española de Derecho Constitucional*, no. 100 , 167-188

Las nociones de identidad nacional, o identidad constitucional, además de su dimensión política o sociológica, tienen una dimensión jurídica que se expresa, tanto en el derecho positivo como en la jurisprudencia. Se analiza en este artículo su manifestación en las relaciones entre la Unión Europea y algunos Estados miembros como España, Francia, Italia o Alemania, entre otros. El texto repasa sucesivamente la plasmación del concepto en la jurisprudencia de los tribunales constitucionales, en los textos constituyentes de cada país, en el Derecho primario de la Unión Europea y en la jurisprudencia del Tribunal de Justicia de la Unión Europea. Finalmente, analiza los límites que este concepto plantea para la integración europea y para la revisión de los textos constitucionales.

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**Luis I. Gordillo Pérez and Giuseppe Martinico**

**La jurisprudencia federalizante y humanizadora del Tribunal de Justicia : un cuento desde el país de las hadas in Teoría y realidad constitucional**, no. 32 , 429-478

This article reflects on the state of the art of the EU Constitutional Law on the 50th anniversary of Van Gend en Loos, the founding constitutional decision of the ECJ. After analyzing the fundamentals of EU constitutional theory, the authors move towards the constitutionalization process of the EU through the case law of the ECJ from a double perspective: constitutionalization as federalization and constitutionalization as «humanization of EU Law».



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Maurizio Drigani

**La legge 24 dicembre 2012, n. 234: analogie e differenze con la legge Buttiglione in Regioni (Le)**, n. 5-6 , 905-945

No abstract available

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Carlier Jean-Yves, Busschaert Gautier

**La libre circulation des personnes dans l'Union européenne : malheur aux immobiles ?** in *Reflets et perspectives de la vie économique*, Tome LII, 2013/4 , 9

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Matthias Jestaedt

**La liga constitucional europea: el encanto teórico constitucional y la insuficiencia teórica del principio de incertidumbre** in *Teoria y realidad constitucional*, no. 33 , 167-197

Since the beginning of the eighties Treaties were graded as «Constitutional Charter», the process of European integration has increased rapidly, and the emergence of European Constitutionalism has only demonstrated the complex relationship between the Union and its Member States, between Union law and the law of its Member States. Both the State Theory and the Theory of the Constitution are to be only partially effective in defining an appropriate conceptual model to the new phenomenon of European integration. It speaks well of a new concept, that of «European constitutional League», which provides a common terminological and introduced into the Europe Union's vision of constitutional law at different levels. It is increasingly difficult to differentiate when we are dealing with national issues and when community issues. Therefore, if we want to legitimize the role of the European Union, we will have to try to include the constitutional principles governing the Member States in this new level. Hence the ambitious concept of «European constitutional League». But nevertheless, the many theoretical problems with this model reflect the difficulty of speaking of a multilevel system in which there is no coexistence between different hierarchical levels, because ultimately it does show a incorrect connection between them.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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De Laet Jean-Pierre

**La mobilité de l'épargne dans l'Union européenne après la crise de l'euro**



in *Reflets et perspectives de la vie économique*, Tome LII, 2013/4 , 49-59

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Gérard Marcel, Voin Mélanie

**La mobilité étudiante et ses conséquences pour l'internationalisation du marché du travail**

in *Reflets et perspectives de la vie économique*, Tome LII, 2013/4 , 61-79

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

Di Maio Claudio

**La partecipazione politica del cittadino europeo. Aspetti evolutivi di un rapporto tra 'cittadinanze**

in *Cittadinanza europea (La)*, Fascicolo 2 - 2013 , 87-129

No abstract available

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Luis Bouza García

**La participación de las organizaciones nacionales en la UE: la movilización de la sociedad civil española y francesa ante la Constitución europea (2002-2005).**

in *Revista de Estudios Políticos* , N.163 , 125-156

Este artículo analiza el papel de las organizaciones de la sociedad civil española y francesa en los debates sobre la democracia participativa durante la elaboración y la ratificación de la Constitución europea (2002-2005). El análisis muestra que estas organizaciones nacionales no resultaron marginadas durante la Convención gracias a sus contactos con actores políticos europeos, con otros grupos y a su conocimiento técnico de las políticas comunitarias, aunque esto no conlleva un apoyo al nuevo marco interpretativo sobre la democracia participativa, puesto que las organizaciones francesas se muestran poco interesadas o escépticas, mientras que los grupos españoles sí que lo comparten en gran medida. Cuando se analiza la participación de estas organizaciones en el debate nacional, queda claro que las organizaciones francesas tuvieron un mayor papel en el debate debido a su capacidad de articular un marco interpretativo mucho más político, mientras que las organizaciones españolas no pusieron en entredicho el consenso de las elites políticas. El artículo concluye que la estructura del espacio público europeo crea una desconexión entre las estrategias de influencia de la sociedad civil a nivel nacional y europeo. Dicha desconexión crea incentivos que inducen a las organizaciones a concentrarse en sólo uno de estos niveles, en lugar de tratar de crear conexiones entre ellos, tal y como espera la teoría sobre la participación de la sociedad civil en la UE.

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Jean-Pierre Chevènement

**La place de l'Europe dans le monde : d'hier à demain**

in *Politique Etrangère*, Vol. 79, n°1 printemps

La première mondialisation du xxe siècle a produit un profond bouleversement de l'ordre des puissances et une dévalorisation globale des nations européennes. Elle a ainsi laissé le champ à une construction européenne largement technocratique et dépolitisée. Il est temps d'affirmer une vision nouvelle, fondée sur la coopération de nations qui demeurent en Europe le creuset de la démocratie. Seule une telle vision peut redonner à cette Europe son poids à l'international.

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Garrigue Marius, Randimbivololona Clio

**La politique agricole commune rebat les cartes à l'Est**

in *Monde Diplomatique (Le)*, Février

<http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/2014/02/GARRIGUE/50110>

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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IGNACIO MOLINA

**La problemática pertenencia a la UE tras una secesión**

in *Política Exterior*, n.161

El factor europeo ha adquirido gran relevancia en los actuales debate independentistas. Entre los Veintiocho y en Bruselas domina un interpretación rígida sobre cómo articular el deseo de un territorio secesionado de seguir formando parte de la Unión Europea.

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Diego López Garrido

**La reforma de la Unión Económica y Monetaria como reacción a la crisis**

in *Revista de Derecho Constitucional Europeo* , no. 21

El trabajo presenta los pilares de la reforma de una gobernanza que había quedado muy afectada por la crisis, arrasada y haciendo inútiles los dos mecanismos de incipiente gobierno económico que hay en el Tratado de Funcionamiento de la UE. El tsunami se dio en tres ámbitos: la existencia inesperada de países en riesgo de suspensión de pagos; los desequilibrios y divergencias macroeconómicas extraordinarias entre países, causantes de riesgos financieros agudos; y la ruptura del PEC otra vez, y generalizada. Por tanto, el trabajo presenta la respuesta que tuvo que darse en las tres materias, particularmente en los países miembros de la eurozona.



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**Pennisi Riccardo**

**La sfida antieuropea parte da Parigi**

in *Aspenia*, n. 65, giugno

No abstract available

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**Bonino Emma**

**La sfida della diplomazia**

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLVI, numero speciale, n. 173, gennaio-inverno , 15-18

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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**Daniel Elise**

**La soft law : un instrument au service du développement de la politique de sécurité et de défense commune**

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 577, avril , 209-216

Soft law instruments are increasingly used in European Union law, whereas they are not clearly identified. This article intends to contribute not only to the review of the use of such instruments in the framework of the common security and defence policy, but also to a more general thinking about the concept of soft law instrument.

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*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

**Pigeon Nicolas**

**La soft law dans la construction de la politique européenne en matière d'investissements internationaux**

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 577, avril , 201-208

The purpose of this article is to show that the use of soft law is convenient and strategic for European politics players in terms of international investments. In the Union and in its foreign relations, such texts proliferate and are not insignificant. Firstly, soft law has a structuring function by allowing the synthesis of conflicting positions and by seeking law adjustability. Secondly, its use also seems to have a strategic aspect: the biased interpretation of an uncertain primary law.

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Le Bot Fabien

**La soft law et les procédures d'adoption des actes de l'Union européenne**

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 576, mars , 137-144

This article considers the links between soft law and institutional law of the European Union, particularly regarding the decision-making procedures. In this area, soft law mainly takes the form of interinstitutional agreements. It is however necessary to examine the relevance of the concept of soft law, which can only include non binding interinstitutional agreements. These agreements may nevertheless have an influence on the decision-making procedures. This is the case in legislative and budgetary matters and also, more recently, in the framework of non legislative acts of the Union, notably through the creation by the Lisbon Treaty of the category of delegated acts.

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Mignot Bruno, Vivier Christophe

**La surveillance et la défense de l'espace aérien européen**

in *Revue Défense Nationale*, n° 771, Juin

L'espace aérien européen encombré doit être partagé. Vols civils et militaires doivent y cohabiter en bonne intelligence et en toute sécurité. Le projet de « ciel unique européen » qui se développe par étapes depuis les années 1990 est le moteur d'une coopération civilo-militaire qui commence à porter ses fruits.

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MATS PERSSON

**La tercera vía que Reino Unido busca en la UE**

in *Política Exterior*, n.161

Londres es contundente: algo tiene que cambiar en la relación con Bruselas. Las opciones son renegociar su permanencia o abandonar la UE. Pero, ¿qué se plantean los británicos en cada uno de estos escenarios? ¿Cuál sería el efecto para el conjunto de la Unión?

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Lelart Michel

**La zone euro et la crise financière internationale**

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 581, septembre , 471-478

The financial crisis that started in late 2007 was exceptionally big. It is a general crisis of finance, both the finances that goes through banks and the finance that goes through the markets. It spread a little everywhere in the world and seven years later many of the problems it raised have not yet been solved. The crisis did not have significant consequences on





the euro, which is now well established in customs and remains a safe currency. It did have some on the euro zone, on the institutional and political scaffolding that the currency relies on. The euro is not the currency of a state. The trust it inspires is not based on full acceptance of a single community, of a same history, to the same values. Therefore it is not surprising that a crisis like that one almost brought the euro down as well as the zone that bears its name.

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Antonin Céline, Blot Christophe, Le Bayon Sabine, Schweisguth Danielle

**La zone euro écartelée. Perspectives 2013-2014 pour l'économie européenne**

in *Revue de l'OFCE*, 2013/4 (N° 130) , 53-95

Après six trimestres de baisse, la zone euro a renoué avec une croissance positive au deuxième trimestre 2013, le PIB progressant de 0,3 %. À l'exception du secteur de la construction, les enquêtes de conjoncture sont mieux orientées, confirmant le retour d'une croissance positive dans les prochains trimestres sur l'ensemble de la zone. La confiance des marchés est revenue, comme en témoigne la poursuite de la baisse des taux souverains en Espagne en Italie. Un mouvement de convergence semble d'ailleurs amorcé puisque dans le même temps les taux sur la dette souveraine allemande et française ont augmenté. Les risques de crise de liquidité dans la zone euro semblent aussi s'atténuer. Le guichet de la BCE reste ouvert et les demandes de refinancement diminuent progressivement. La crainte d'un éclatement de la zone euro étant écartée, les principales menaces qui pourraient contrarier le retour de la croissance dans la zone euro résident dans la poursuite de l'ajustement budgétaire.

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Barslund Mikkel, Matthias Busse, Carlos Vargas-Silva, Pawel Kaczmarczyk, Timo Baas, Mario Izquierdo Peinado, Juan F. Jimeno, Aitor Lacuesta, Béla Galgóczi, Janine Leschke

**Labour mobility in the EU: Dynamics, patterns and policies - Forum**

in *Intereconomics*, Volume 49, Issue 3, May 2014 , 116-158

The continued economic crisis has become a major test for the labour markets of individual member states. Labour mobility within the European Union has the potential to help to reduce labour market pressures and ease economic imbalances. However, a long-term loss of working age population can be detrimental to sending countries. This Forum explores mobility patterns within the European Union and analyses the labour market and welfare effects of labour mobility via case studies of the UK, Poland, Germany and Spain. It also examines a number of its aspects that have important political and institutional relevance for the European Union and its future.

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Antonio Colomer Viadel

**Las encrucijadas de la Unión Europea : el riesgo de un nuevo rapto de Europa**

in *Teoría y realidad constitucional*, no. 33 , 305-313

At the present times there is some kind of fatalism about the difficulties to approach the crisis in the European Union,



about the possibility to approach the difficult environment with a single voice. Not strangers to these difficulties are external speculative practices that hover over the Union, increasing the fear of a kidnapping serving foreign interest. To intensify European citizens participation and to increase their sense of identity seem to be the most suitable reactions to serve, not only to the European interests but, specially, to the values of democracy and human dignity as well as to guarantee the rights and freedoms that are fundamental to European construction.

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**Regioni e Unione europea dopo il Trattato di Lisbona. Il Comitato delle Regioni, i Parlamenti regionali e le sfide della multilevel governance**

**Laura Frosina**

in **Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo**, no. 4 , 1097-1128

This work aims to reconstruct the role of the Regions in the European multilevel governance in the light of the reforms introduced by the Lisbon Treaty. It values the main regional reforms of this Treaty, which have promoted the involvement of subnational levels in the mechanisms of parliamentary and judicial control of the principle of subsidiarity. In particular, these innovations regard the participation of Regional Parliaments to the subsidiarity check system (so-called early warning) and the inclusion of the Committee of the regions among the subjects entitled to bring an action before the Court of Justice in defence of this principle.

In this context the study focuses on two aspects: a) the new role and functioning of the Committee of the Regions; b) the mechanisms of inter-parliamentary cooperation and regional best practices adopted in the comparative law, with particular reference to the Italian and Spanish experiences. The essay concludes with an assessing on the contribution of the Regions to the European democratization process.

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**Wilsher Daniel**

**Law and the Financial Crisis: Searching for Europe's New Gold Standard**

in **European law journal**, Volume 20, Issue 2 , 241–283

The role of law in the governance of the Eurozone confronts divergent economic and political perspectives which are reminiscent of the gold standard era. The Maastricht model sought to use to law to create a sound currency. In practice, fixed exchange rates caused large trade imbalances and risky cross-border investments resulting in a Eurozone-wide crisis of first private, and then later, public insolvency. In the face of continued political unwillingness to either pool fiscal resources or impose massive austerity and structural reform, the European Central Bank ECB has been forced to become lender of last resort to sovereigns to maintain the single currency. Ordo-liberal critics argue that the ECB has created a transfer union in breach of the Maastricht agreement. Keynesians, by contrast, argue that, just as under the gold standard, using 'constitutionalised' austerity to rebalance trade is neither just nor credible. The Eurozone's reliance on law and markets above developed political institutions has failed, but no democratically legitimate process has replaced it.

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Sbaraglia Fanny

**Le Fonds social européen à l'épreuve des régions en voie de désindustrialisation. Les cas de la Région Wallonne et du Midwest irlandais**

in *Politique européenne* , n. 43, 2014/1 , 245-253

Entre les objectifs européens et les besoins socio-économiques locaux : la mise en œuvre domestique de l'instrument comme prisme d'analyse. Une méthode au « ras du sol » pour révéler les logiques institutionnelles en tension dans deux régions en voie de désindustrialisation

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Di Martino Alessandra

**Le Outright Monetary Transactions tra Francoforte, Karlsruhe e Lussemburgo. Il primo rinvio pregiudiziale del BVerfG**

in *Federalismi*, Anno XII - Nr 4

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Blancaneaux Romain

**Le Parlement européen, une courroie de transmission pour des opposants nationaux à la Commission européenne. L'opposition à la libéralisation des droits de plantation viticoles**

in *Politique européenne* , n. 43, 2014/1 , 192-209

In 2009 and 2010, the European and French parliaments opposed the European Commission's reform of the European wine policy. Their opposition gained force through a coalition of professional and political agents who took the battle from Brussels to Paris. This article takes an institutional and parliamentary perspective, integrating a public policy angle, in order to understand how political and professional agents act in different institutional spaces. It prepares the ground for understanding the relations between Parliaments and public policies, a subject upon which the current literature still remains limited.

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Piervirgilio Dastoli

**Le conseguenze del voto sulla governance europea**

in *Mulino (il)*, n.3 , 459-466

No abstract available

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Chaltiel Florence

**Le couple franco-allemand pour relancer le projet européen**

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 575, février , 69-71

Summary and abstracts [http://www.dalloz-revues.fr/Revue\\_de\\_l\\_Union\\_europeenne-cover-33676.htm](http://www.dalloz-revues.fr/Revue_de_l_Union_europeenne-cover-33676.htm)

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Rodrigues Daniel Marcelino

**Le droit européen des minorités dans les Balkans occidentaux**

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 581, septembre , 486-493

Several international organisations, like the European Union, appear to have a growing interest in the respect of the right of minorities. The importance of the latter can be noticed by looking at the great number of frameworks and conventions in which we can find the modalities and some recommendations concerning the respect and the protection of minorities. As it happens with its European neighbours, the post-Yugoslav republics are part of this regional interest in the national, ethnic and linguistic minorities living in their own territories. Nevertheless, it is important to keep in mind that the enforcement of the numerous norms promoting the integration of these minorities is frequently the outcome of a multilevel interaction, which takes place between many different actors.

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Ceccanti Stefano

**Le elezioni dei quattro vincitori e le possibili conseguenze nel futuro prossimo**

in *Federalismi*, Anno XII - Nr 11

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Salerno Giulio M.

**Le elezioni del Parlamento europeo del 2014: un risultato nel segno della continuità debole**

in *Federalismi*, Anno XII - Nr 11

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Stéphanie Novak

**Le grand retour des Etats ?**

in *Pouvoirs*, n. 149 , 19-27

La crise de la zone euro a attiré l'attention publique sur le rôle croissant du Conseil européen. Peut-on pour autant soutenir que la gouvernance européenne est principalement mue par une dynamique intergouvernementale ? Cet article tente de répondre à cette question en analysant les extensions de la méthode communautaire et le rôle croissant du Conseil européen dans la coordination des politiques.

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Arnoult Julien

**Le ministère géorgien de l'Intégration européenne et euro-atlantique : un chemin qui mène à Bruxelles ?**

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 580, juillet-août , 392-400

The Ministry for European and Euro- Atlantic Integration was established in the newly pro-Western Georgia in 2004, following the Rose Revolution. By creating such a body, the Transcaucasian Republic is following a path paved by a large number of countries, which are now a part of the European Union (EU). Since the creation of the Ministry, Georgian officials have spread the word that their country is eager to join the EU, although the Tbilisi-based Government has not officially applied yet. Therefore, setting up a ministry devoted to European integration seems to be a paradox. Furthermore, joining the EU is out of reach for Georgia, especially as the EU is unclear about enlargement issues. The ministry's goals are two-fold: to strengthen ties with the EU and the Europeanization of Georgia. The underlying motive is to break away from Russia's sphere of influence. The following article is written from an administrative point of view, with an analysis of the structure of European and Georgian ministries, and interviews of officials.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Chamon Merijn

**Le recours à la soft law comme moyen d'éluder les obstacles constitutionnels au développement des agences de l'UE**

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 576, mars , 152-160

Because of the uncertain status of EU agencies under primary law, the legislator has mostly granted soft law powers to these bodies. Recently however, the legislator has also granted them significant hard law powers. One of such delegations has now been challenged by the UK before the CJEU. Its ruling will be important for agencification in general and may also influence the question of agencies' soft law.

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Amoroso Maria

**Le relazioni dell'UE con la Russia**



in *Eurasia Rivista di studi geopolitici* , XXXIII (1-2014), "Rifondare l'Unione Europea"

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Pingel Isabelle

**Le régime linguistique de l'Union européenne? Enjeux et perspectives**

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 579, juin , 328-335

The issue of the linguistic system of the European Union is crucial though almost looked over by the treaties, and has occupied the organisation since it began operating. The choice made from the start, of a panarchic multilingualism, is still prevailing, for the same reasons than at the beginning, but requires, with the ever-increasing number of member countries, and therefore of official Union languages, delicate and renewed adjustments.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Claudio Catalano

**Le sanzioni dell'UE e i rapporti con la Russia**

in *CeMiSS - Osservatorio Strategico e Quarterly*, n.7 , 63-66

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Escalona Fabien, Vieira Mathieu

**Le sens et le rôle de la résistance à l'UE pour le Parti de gauche**

in *Politique européenne* , n. 43, 2014/1 , 68-92

This article focuses on opposition to Europe from the socialist dissenters who founded the Left Party and co-founded the Left Front. We argue that opposition to Europe is not only a form of resistance to European integration, but also a catalyst of dissent, a tool for mobilization and differentiation towards the Socialist party, and a way to define the boundaries of the "other left". The article deals with the ideological meaning and strategic use of opposition to Europe, which has played a significant role in the political enterprise of unifying socialist dissenters.

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Linera Alvaro Garcia

**Le sinistre d'Europa e del mondo: cinque proposte**

in *CNS Ecologia politica*, nuova serie, n. 2, gennaio





Full text available at <http://www.ecologiapolitica.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2014/01/Alvaro-Garcia-Linera.pdf>

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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**Gabor Daniela**

**Learning from Japan: The European Central Bank and the European Sovereign Debt Crisis  
in Review of Political Economy (The)**, Volume 26, Issue 2, 2014 , 190-209

What shapes central banks' learning from the policy experiments of their peers? Both economic ideas and organizational interests play important roles. Thus, New Keynesian ideas led central banks to interpret Japan's experience with quantitative easing (2001–2006) through the impact on risk spreads, although the Japanese central bank never intended such effects. In turn, scholars and policy-makers alike ignored one critical lesson: successful policy innovations depend on banks' funding models. It is argued here that this was a crucial omission because the shift to market-based funding impairs the effectiveness of the traditional crisis toolkit. Central banks must intervene directly in asset markets of systemic importance for funding conditions, as the Bank of Japan did by buying government bonds. Hence, market-based finance engenders a trade-off between financial stability and institutional stability defined through central bank independence. During critical periods, central banks cannot preserve both. The ECB illustrates this trade-off well. Early in the crisis, it outsourced financial stability to a (largely) market-dependent banking system to protect its independence. With the introduction of Outright Monetary Transactions in September 2012, the Bank recognized that the market-based nature of European banking required outright purchases of sovereign bonds. This new instrument gave the ECB additional powers to shape national fiscal decisions in the name of an independence that no longer has theoretical justifications.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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**Bruni Franco**

**Learning on the Road towards the Banking Union  
in Rivista di politica economica**, IV-VI 2014

The European Banking Union entered the EU's agenda in the summer of 2012. The design of the project has been proceeding quickly. This paper is a summary of the issues which have been better understood while walking towards the union. It discusses the implications for central bank independence and governance as well as for non-euro area countries. Besides fighting the euro area fragmentation, the union appears to be an indispensable complement of the single currency for the single market, also triggering the best practices in regulation, supervision and crisis management and favoring the structural banking policies and reforms that Europe needs.

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**I nuovi euroscettici**

**Leonard Mark**

**in Aspenia**, n. 65, giugno



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Schiavone Aldo, Larché Gérald

**Les limites de l'analogie historique**

in *Debat (Le)*, n° 179, mars-avril , 74-80

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Heike Klüver

**Les lobbies dans la gouvernance ou la main - invisible - du marché**

in *Pouvoirs*, n. 149 , 121-134

L'élaboration des politiques au sein de l'Union européenne a été critiquée pour son manque de légitimité démocratique. Dans un effort visant à contrecarrer ces critiques permanentes, la Commission a pris différentes initiatives pour accroître la participation des groupes d'intérêt. Cet article illustre le potentiel démocratique de cette participation à l'élaboration des politiques européennes en analysant quels groupes sont représentés à Bruxelles, comment ces groupes sont organisés et quelle influence ils ont sur la politique de l'Union.

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Foucault Martial

**Les politiques économiques européennes face à la Grande Récession**

in *Politique européenne* , n. 42, 2013/4 , 8-21

L'Union européenne est entrée en 2008 dans sa première crise économique d'ampleur mondiale et aux conséquences encore incertaines. Ce n'est pas la première fois que l'Europe est touchée par une crise économique mais cette fois-ci, comme l'ont titré Carmen Reinhart et Kenneth Rogoff (2009) « That time, it's different ». Différent parce que les outils mobilisés pour amortir les effets de la crise ont...

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Chaltiel Florence

**Les valeurs de l'Union européenne**

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 580, juillet-août , 389-391



No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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**AFSE**

**Les écarts de compétitivité entre les différents pays de la zone euro : Entretiens de l'AFSE 2012**

in *Revue d'Economie Politique*, volume 123 n.2013/6 , 813-826

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

**Ouro Foussenatou**

**Les élections législatives allemandes vues du Parlement européen**

in *Revue d'Allemagne et des Pays de langue allemande*, 46 (2014), 1 , 243-256

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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**Goodhart C.A.E.**

**Lessons for Monetary Policy from the Euro-Area Crisis**

in *Journal of Macroeconomics*, Volume 39, Part B, March 2014 , 378-382

The earlier 2007/2008 financial crisis generated the main lessons for monetary policy, notably that price stability does not necessarily guarantee financial stability. Nevertheless, the on-going Eurozone crisis has pointed to further lessons, notably that a single currency covering diverse states does need a Banking Union; and to problems of zero risk-weighting for sovereign debts. Without such a Banking Union, economic divergences between the Eurozone states have continued and look likely to persist.

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**Geanakoplos John**

**Leverage, Default, and Forgiveness: Lessons from the American and European Crises**

in *Journal of Macroeconomics*, Volume 39, Part B, March 2014 , 313-333

This paper argues that macroeconomic stability depends less on riskless interest rates than on leverage and other measures of credit conditions, like average FICO scores of borrowers. It suggests that the leverage cycle played a central role in the recent American and European financial crisis. In the leverage cycle, asset prices and leverage rise when volatility is low and then fall as volatility rises. Sometimes asset prices fall so far below debt levels that it would be better for everybody if debt were partially forgiven. The paper recommends that central banks regularly monitor and



forecast the whole credit surface, and in extreme cases intervene to regulate risky interest rates and impose partial debt forgiveness.

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Della Cananea Giacinto

**Lex Fiscalis Europea**

in *Quaderni Costituzionali*, n.1 , 7-28

The financial crisis generated several responses, both economic and legal. One such response was the Treaty on Stability, Coordination and Governance. This article examines the impact of the Treaty on the Italian legal order from a broad perspective. The discussion begins with an analysis of the cultural background, where the influence of the Economic and Monetary Union is also considered. The focus then shifts to broader issues of principle: the article argues that the impact of the EMU should not be considered in the light of preexisting national practices, first, because such practices have disregarded the limits set by the Constitution to the will of the majority and, second, because they have accentuated the differences between the principles governing public finances in Italy and those common to the principal liberal democracies of Europe. The article concludes by reflecting on the persisting inadequacies that characterize the national measures aimed at implementing the new Treaty.

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Michaël Tatham

**Limited institutional change in an international organization: the EU's shift away from 'federal blindness'**

in *European Political Science* , Volume 6 - Issue 01 , 21-45

The European Union (EU) has been through many institutional transformations since the start of the integration project in the 1950s. While much of the literature has focussed on the more dramatic changes, less attention has been paid to instances of more limited institutional change. This article maps out and then accounts for the limitedness of the EU's departure from its original 'federal blindness' vis-à-vis regional actors. Theories of institutional change would lead one to expect that, as integration and regionalization heightened, endogenous pressures for change would trigger greater reform than that observed. Using a novel formula to estimate the EU's aggregate regionalization levels over time, the article demonstrates that it peaked between 1986 and 2003 but has since dropped to a level below that of the 1950s. Such a finding not only corrects a widespread assumption about regionalization levels in the European polity, but also provides an explanation for the pace and scope of the observed change as well as predictions about its future sources.

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Birch Kean, Mykhnenko Vlad

**Lisbonizing versus financializing Europe? The Lisbon Agenda and the (un)making of the European knowledge-based economy**

in *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, Volume 32, Issue 1, February , 108-128



The Lisbon Agenda was meant to make the European Union 'the most dynamic and competitive knowledge-based economy (KBE) in the world' by 2010. As that date has now come and gone, it is apt to ask whether the Lisbon Agenda achieved its objective. We engage with this very question by analyzing new empirical material on the supposed transition to a KBE. Theoretically, we problematize the very notion that EU policies promoted the emergence of a KBE by highlighting how the Lisbon Agenda was tied to the financialization of the European economy. Our findings illustrate the abject failure of the EU's decade-long strategy to foster a new economy and better employment opportunities. We show that the main winners of the EU's economic strategy have been the finance sector and those who work in it. In summary, we argue that, despite the earlier assurances of Bell and Drucker, it is not the scientist or engineer but the banker who has been empowered to command a higher price in the new world of the KBE.

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Razza Andrea

**Liste transnazionali e procedura elettorale uniforme: verso una "legge elettorale europea"**  
in *Rassegna parlamentare*, n. 4

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Wetendorff Nørgaard Rikke, Nedergaard Peter, Blom-Hansen Jens

**Lobbying in the EU Comitology System**

in *Journal of European Integration*, vol. 36, n. 5, July , 491-507

Comitology is an important part of the EU's regulatory framework. Hence, lobbying by outside interests is to be expected. However, lobbying in the comitology system has received almost no scholarly attention. This paper provides the first understanding of the subject by analysing the access of business interests to actors in the comitology system. The analysis is designed as a most likely study of two cases, aviation safety and CO2 quotas. Based on Bouwen's rationalist theory of access goods, the empirical analysis shows that lobbying is prevalent, especially by sectoral interests providing expert knowledge and targeted mainly at the Commission, but also at the member states in the comitology committees, and the European Parliament. The case studies therefore indicate that lobbying is widespread in the comitology system and important to study in order to understand the outputs from this part of the EU political system.

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Miguel Azpitarte Sánchez

**Los confines de la democracia y la solidaridad. A propósito de las decisiones del Tribunal Constitucional Federal Alemán de 14 de enero y de 18 de marzo de 2014, que enjuician el marco jurídico-supranacional de las políticas de rescate.**

in *Revista Española de Derecho Constitucional*, no. 101 , 301-336

No abstract available



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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Jalali Ali Reza

**L'UE: evoluzione storica, istituzioni, rapporti con gli Stati membri**

in *Eurasia Rivista di studi geopolitici*, XXXIII (1-2014), "Rifondare l'Unione Europea"

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Morviducci Claudia

**L'adesione dell'Unione europea alla CEDU: un percorso non ancora concluso**

in *Studi sull'integrazione europea*, anno VIII, n. 3, settembre-dicembre, 487-506

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Fargion Valeria

**L'afasia dei partiti europeisti e l'orizzonte strategico che ancora non c'è**

in *ItalianiEuropei*, n. 2

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Savona Paolo

**L'euro come problema di politica estera**

in *Aspenia*, n. 65, giugno

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Renaud Dehousse, Laurie Boussaguet

**L'impact de la crise sur la gouvernance européenne**

in *Pouvoirs*, n. 149, 7-18





Depuis de nombreuses années, une dynamique intergouvernementale est à l'œuvre, relevant au second plan la logique de délégation de pouvoir qui a marqué les débuts de la construction européenne. Le mouvement s'est accentué sous la pression de la crise. Toutefois, une analyse approfondie de la réponse européenne laisse entrevoir une réalité plus complexe. Quelles que puissent être leurs préférences profondes, les gouvernements ont été amenés à redécouvrir les vertus de la supranationalité, ce qui redonnera leur marge de manœuvre à l'avenir.

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Marchetti Maria Cristina

**L'iniziativa dei cittadini europei (Ice). Un anno di monitoraggio in Cittadinanza europea (La)**, Fascicolo 1 - 2014 , 93-109

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

Ruggeri Antonio

**L'integrazione europea attraverso i diritti e il valore della Costituzione in Federalismi**, Anno XII - Nr 12

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Canton- Fourrat Altide

**Légitimité démocratique et intégration européenne**

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 577, avril , 233-242

The level of citizen trust in the legitimacy of governments stresses the difference that exists between democracy such as it is practiced in modern states and the ideal model. That difference is even bigger when mentioning the situation of the European Union. The variable and varied practice of democracy prompts Karl Popper to say that " Democracy is the term for something that does not exist" . While it is deliberately excessive, that assertion is full of good sense. The changing form of the State has prompted many questions as to the practice of democracy (local democracy, national and then European democracy). Democracy generates that need for an authority higher than the power in place; it was first how the essence of public affairs is seen, changes and transforms into a source of legitimacy. Innovation in the search for a drive for the elaboration of a European democracy adjusted to the structure of the Union re-mains a challenge, both political and legal.

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Hickel Rudolf

**Lückenbüßer EZB**

in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, Juli, 2014 , 9-12

Als die Europäische Zentralbank am 5. Juni erneut ihren Leitzins senkte, und zwar von 0,25 auf minimalistische 0,15 Prozent, da war dies Ausdruck von zweierlei – von Mut, aber auch Verzweiflung. So richtig und notwendig diese Zinssenkung ist, um die unternehmerische Nachfrage zu beleben: Man sollte sich keine Illusionen machen, dass die Banken bereits diesen geldpolitischen Impuls durch verbilligte Kredite direkt an die Unternehmenswirtschaft weitergeben werden. Im Gegenteil: Da die Zinssenkung schon erwartet wurde, war sie von den Finanzmärkten bereits eingepreist worden. Hier handelt es sich also primär um Symbolpolitik, mit der die EZB ihren anhaltenden Willen zur Politik des billigen Geldes bekräftigt.

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Habermas Jürgen

**Mais que veut dire «une Europe forte»?**

in *Esprit*, Mai 2014 , 79-88

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Mańkó Jerzy

**Majdan: Die andere Europawahl? - Essay**

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 12, 2014 , 48-53

The full text is free:

<http://www.bpb.de/apuz/180360/europawahl-2014>

In der Nacht von Samstag den 25. auf Sonntag den 26. Januar 2014 saßen wir – drei Wissenschaftler aus Deutschland, Frankreich und der Ukraine – bei Tee und Cognac in einem Café an der zum Majdan der Unabhängigkeit ("Majdan" bedeutet "Platz" auf Ukrainisch) führenden Kiewer Hauptstraße Chreschtschjati. Zugleich beobachteten wir per Livestream auf einem Smartphone die Entwicklung auf dem einige Hundert Meter von uns entfernten Europäischen Platz, auf dem das "Ukrainische Haus" steht, das früher ein Lenin-Museum beherbergte und heute unter anderem als Konferenzzentrum genutzt wird. Wir hatten einige Minuten zuvor diesen Platz verlassen, obwohl sich dort interessante Entwicklungen abzuspielen begannen: Hunderte Majdan-Aktivistinnen in improvisierter Kampfkleidung umzingelten das "Ukrainische Haus", in dem Polizisten kaserniert waren...

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Ana E. Juncos and Karolina Pomorska

**Manufacturing Esprit de Corps: The Case of the European External Action Service**  
in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 52, Issue 2, March 2014 , 302-319

The creation of the European External Action Service (EEAS) begs the question of whether its officials might develop an esprit de corps &#8722; understood as the emergence of shared beliefs and values among the individuals within a group and their desire to achieve a common goal &#8722; and how this might be achieved. Since the EEAS is composed of officials originating from different institutions, this contribution discusses the challenges associated with aggregating different beliefs and values within the Service. The article examines five factors that have the potential to promote organizational esprit de corps, including communication, leadership, public image, trust and training. It concludes that the first two years of operation of the Service do not bode well for the emergence of an esprit de corps and that, consequently, this might undermine the coherence and effectiveness of the EEAS itself.

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Mayntz Renate

**Markt oder Staat? Kooperationsprobleme in der Europäischen Union**  
in *Leviathan. Berliner Zeitschrift für Sozialwissenschaft* , Heft 2, 2014

Auf dem Hintergrund ideengeschichtlicher Überlegungen zum Verhältnis von Markt und Staat wird nach den Ursachen der beständigen Kooperationsprobleme gefragt, mit denen es die Europäische Union zu tun hat, wenn für alle Mitgliedstaaten verbindliche Entscheidungen getroffen werden sollen. Die Tatsache, dass ein politisch gewollter gemeinsamer Markt die Basis der Europäischen Union ist, begründet ein grundsätzliches Spannungsverhältnis der Ordnungsprinzipien Markt und Staat. Am Beispiel von Entscheidungen zur Regulierung der Finanzmärkte wird gezeigt, dass politische ebenso wie ökonomische Interessen der Mitgliedstaaten hinter den dabei aufgetretenen Kooperationsproblemen stehen. Wirtschaftliche und politische Interessen stehen jedoch nicht in Gegensatz zueinander, sondern verschmelzen zu ökonomischen Staatsinteressen. Die Kooperationsprobleme in der Europäischen Union sind kein vermeidbarer Mangel, sondern hängen mit ihrer Struktur und Verfassung zusammen.

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Chaltiel Florence

Maurice Faure

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 577, avril , 197-199

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Alexandrova Petya, Carammia Marcello, Princen Sebastian, Timmermans Arco

**Measuring the European Council agenda: Introducing a new approach and dataset**  
in *European Union Politics* , vol. 15, n. 1, March , 152-167



This article introduces a novel dataset on the agenda of the European Council, the most powerful political body and core informal agenda setter of the EU. Using the approach taken by the Comparative Agendas Project, we trace political issue attention over a 38-year period (1975–2012). The insights in the agenda-setting processes within the European Council shed more light on the overall agenda of the EU and its temporal dynamics. This article explains the construction of the dataset, describes its features, and gives some examples of possible applications.

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Torino, Raffaele

**Mercato interno**

in *Cittadinanza europea (La)*, Fascicolo 1 - 2013 , 105-125

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Chase Elaine, Seeleib-Kaiser Martin

**Migration, EU Citizenship, and Social Europe**

in *Social Europe Journal*, Volume 8, Issue 1, Summer/Autumn 2014 , 15-20

The full text is free.

<http://www.social-europe.eu/pdf-editions/>

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Docquier Frédéric

**Migrations internationales et marché du travail dans l'UE15 : enseignements des modèles à proportions de facteurs**

in *Reflète et perspectives de la vie économique*, Tome LII, 2013/4 , 19-38

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Mugabushaka Alexis-Michel, Rieder Veronika, Toma Elena-Simona

**Mobile researchers in European Research systems**

in *Reflète et perspectives de la vie économique*, Tome LII, 2013/4 , 81-98

No abstract available



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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Reungoat Emmanuelle

**Mobiliser l'Europe dans la compétition nationale. La fabrique de l'eupéanisation du Front national  
in *Politique européenne* , n. 43, 2014/1 , 120-162**

The study of the “uses” of Europe by the leaders of the Front national shows how the opening of a new European political space can have indirect effects, in supporting political parties at the domestic level and strengthening specific actors inside political organizations. The European theme, elections and parliamentary institution are transformed by FN leaders into material as well as symbolic resources, mobilized in the national political space at both inter- and intra-party level. These uses of Europe reinforce the capacity for action of the party as well as its legitimacy and visibility. It helps FN actors to widen their electorate and helps the party president to strengthen her own position inside the party. The article reveals the – relative – specificity of the FN case and underlines that these “uses” of Europe by political actors are linked to contextual and institutional factors, as well as to the ideological, cultural and organizational dimensions of political parties. In that regard, the study emphasizes strong continuity in the practices of the FN leadership. The analysis finally shows the concrete process of the Europeanization of the FN and helps us understand the impact of European integration on domestic political competition.

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Secrieru Stanislav

**Moldova on the path to Europe: not yet irreversible  
in *European View* , vol. 13, n. 1, June, special issue “A Changing Eastern Neighbourhood” , 3-10**

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Reichlin Lucrezia

**Monetary Policy and Banks in the Euro Area: The Tale of Two Crises  
in *Journal of Macroeconomics*, Volume 39, Part B, March 2014 , 387-400**

The paper is a narrative on monetary policy and the banking sector during the two recent euro area recessions. It shows that while in the two episodes of recession and financial stress the ECB acted aggressively providing liquidity to banks, the second recession, unlike the first, has been characterized by an abnormal decline of loans with respect to both real economic activity and the monetary aggregates. It conjectures that this fact is explained by the postponement of the adjustment in the banking sector. It shows that euro area banks, over the 2008–2012 period, did not change neither the capital to asset ratio nor the size of their balance sheet relative to GDP keeping them at the pre-crisis level. The paper also describes other aspects of banks’ balance sheet adjustment during the two crises pointing to a progressive dismantling of financial integration involving the inter-bank market since the first crisis and the market for government bonds since the second.



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Tim Haughton

**Money, Margins and the Motors of Politics: The EU and the Development of Party Politics in Central and Eastern Europe**

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 52, Issue 1, January 2014 , 71-87

In line with expectations EU membership has only a limited impact on party politics in the new Member States of central and eastern Europe (CEE); even the economic crisis has not altered this level of impact. An examination of party positioning, party appeals and party competition indicates the EU plays the role of a boundary keeper, a reference point and a weapon to be invoked in domestic competition, particularly to lambast opponents for their incompetence, especially when it comes to the ability to access and manage EU funds. Underlying parties' stances on European integration are the deep-rooted vulnerabilities which help explain why the CEE states recognize the necessity of co-operation and a pooling of sovereignty at the European level.

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Blank Stephen , Kim Younkyoo

**Moscow versus Brussels: Rival Integration Projects in the Balkans**

in *Mediterranean Quarterly*, Volume 25, Number 2, Spring , 61-84

Many see the western Balkans as the back yard of Europe. As the promise and reality of regional economic integration has weakened, however, Russia has returned to the area to play its historically important regional role. In the Balkans, a Russian or Russifying project competes against a European Union project, while Washington has shown little interest in the Balkans during the Barack Obama administration. The instruments of this rivalry are not only, or even primarily, armies but rather economic-political forces: control of energy pipelines and production, the use of that control for political objectives, and the attraction of competing political models.

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Lehmkuhl Dirk

**Much Ado About... What Exactly?**

in *Swiss Political Science Review - Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft - Revue suisse de science politique*, Volume 20, Issue 2, June 2014 , 259–262

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

Carbone Maurizio





**Much ado about nothing? The European Union and the global politics of untying aid**  
in *Contemporary Politics*, Volume 20, Issue 1, 2014 , 103-117

This article has two main purposes. The first is that of providing a longitudinal analysis of the global politics of untying aid, by looking at a number of debates that have occurred within the Development Assistance Committee and in the context of a number of high-level forums on aid effectiveness. The second is that of proposing some explanations for the lack of significant progress in these contexts. The focus is on the European Union (EU), which has been widely perceived as one of the most fervent supporters of promoting the aid untying agenda. In all these debates, the EU's leadership aspirations have remained largely unfulfilled. Thus, the EU has failed to adopt a EU-wide vision on aid untying; persuade non-EU donors to untie their aid, even when it has played the reciprocity card; and promote a pro-poor use of foreign aid, by supporting local ownership and facilitating greater access of developing country firms to aid contracts.

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Jens Newig & Tomas M. Koontz

**Multi-level governance, policy implementation and participation: the EU's mandated participatory planning approach to implementing environmental policy**

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 21, Issue 2 2014 , 248-267

Innovations in European Union (EU) policy making have produced a distinctive, novel mode of policy that combines components of participatory and multi-level governance for policy implementation. In this manuscript we provide a conceptualization of what we term the EU's 'mandated participatory planning' (MPP) approach. This approach is increasingly used to implement EU directives, mandating the explicit formulation of certain plans or programmes on mostly subnational or cross-national levels. Drawing on three empirical examples from (mostly) environmental policy, we argue that analysing MPP as such is useful to help identify challenges and possibilities for EU policy making. Our framework provides a means to organize inquiry and compare disparate policies, and to more broadly understand the integration of policy, planning and implementation. This perspective, in turn, sheds fresh light on familiar concepts at the intersections of multi-level governance, policy implementation and participatory governance, namely multilayer implementation, participatory implementation and polycentric governance.

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*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

Lefkofridi Zoe, Katsanidou Alexia

**Multilevel representation in the European Parliament**

in *European Union Politics* , vol. 15, n. 1, March , 108-131

Congruence in the European Parliament has been analyzed in terms of agreement between voters and national



candidates/parties. The question whether voters and Europarties are congruent on major dimensions of contestation (left-right and European Union) remains unanswered. Acknowledging the 'split-level' structure of preference aggregation in the European Parliament, we theorize the interrelationships between these levels. Our model incorporates a typically neglected factor: the interplay between national parties and Europarties. We establish that voter–Europarty congruence is different from, and determined by, voter–national party congruence; moreover, national party–Europarty congruence moderates this relationship. Our findings shed new light on the quality of representation in the European Parliament and have key implications for understanding transnational democracy in the European Union.

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Armillotta Giovanni

**Multipartitismo e frontismo nell'Europa socialista**

in *Eurasia Rivista di studi geopolitici*, XXXIII (1-2014), "Rifondare l'Unione Europea"

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

Deters Henning

**National Constitutional Jurisprudence in a Post-National Europe: The ESM Ruling of the German Federal Constitutional Court and the Disavowal of Conflict**

in *European law journal*, Volume 20, Issue 2, 204–218

In its pending decision on the constitutionality of the European Stability Mechanism and Fiscal Compact, the German Federal Constitutional Court (FCC) has recently ruled on several applications for temporary injunctions against the transposition of these instruments. The problem of democratic self-determination under the constraints of monetary integration has been a main concern in the ruling. Yet, the democracy-safeguards the FCC has prescribed are parochial in not considering their impact on other EU Member States, and the Court's view of autonomy is skewed towards the issue of spending. Both concepts are at odds with the current level of transnational interdependence, which the FCC as relay to 'integration by stealth' has facilitated during two decades of EU-jurisprudence. Constitutional jurisdiction should acknowledge its role in this state of affairs and fortify its effort in building judicial networks of deliberative exchange to overcome outworn parochialisms.

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*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

Reviglio Edoardo, Bassanini Franco

**National States Sovereignty, Democracy and Global Financial Markets: The European Issue**

in *Economia internazionale*, 2013, Volume 66, Issue 4, 79-109

Since the emergence of representative democratic states, national sovereignty is based on the rule of law and the sovereignty of the people: sovereignty is exercised by the people through democratic representative institutions, with a



limited use of instruments of direct democracy. Consequently, the relationship between financial markets and State sovereignty came to be the relationship between finance and representative democracy. But democratic institutions are normally contained within national borders, while financial markets are now global. The relationship between finance, sovereignty and democracy has thus become highly problematic.

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Nicola Lupu

**National and Regional Parliaments in the EU decision - making process, after the Treaty of Lisbon and the Euro-crisis**

in *Perspectives on federalism*, vol. 5, issue 2 , E1-E28

The Treaty of Lisbon increased the role of National and Regional Parliaments in the EU decision-making process, in order to compensate for some of the weaknesses of the European institutional architecture. Neither National nor Regional Parliaments are given a real power of veto. However, their active involvement – through the day-to-day activity of direction and scrutiny of their executives and sometimes through the triggering of the “early warning mechanism” – can significantly help in closing the gap between (mainly national) politics and (mainly European) policies and in letting national public opinions have a say in the decisions being taken “in Brussels”. Their active involvement seems even more necessary after the Euro-crisis, which has brought about a steady acceleration of both the trends towards a more inter-governmental EU and the development of an “asymmetric” Europe. Under the light of these trends, in fact, a further increase of the scrutiny function of the European Parliament seems an unrealistic scenario and, in any case, not sufficient in order to oversight and to counterbalance the fragmented (and, thus, very powerful) executive power of the EU.

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Domnitz Christian

**National separation, controlled co-operation: how state-socialist elites communicated economic openings in European History Quarterly**, Volume 44, No. 2, April , 201-217

This article describes how official journalists in the state-socialist dictatorships communicated economic co-operation with the West to the domestic audience. It discusses the hypothesis of West–East transfers causing a structural differentiation of the official spheres of state socialism regarding the issue of European co-operation and integration. Both a legacy of Stalinist narratives and rigid media control hampered a consistent explanation of East–West co-operation. Ultimately, growing ambivalence in the official public sphere undermined the legitimacy of state-socialist rule.

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Gulbrandsen Christer

**Navigating from Conflict to Working Arrangement: EU Coordination in the International Maritime Organization in Journal of European Integration**, vol. 35, n. 7, November , 749-765



National officials from EU member states who participate in negotiations in other international organizations (IOs) are often obliged to coordinate on the basis of proposals from the European Commission. As many IOs represent an intergovernmental order and the Commission can be seen as an executive centre in development within an executive European order with supranational traits, the EU and other IOs may be institutionally mismatched and conflicts between EU member states and the Commission over coordination may ensue. In this paper EU coordination in the International Maritime Organization is examined to see how this mismatch is resolved. In the IMO the institutional mismatch seems to have been overcome through a learning process necessitated by pre-existing institutional configurations in which an important entrepreneur – the Commission's Permanent Representative – has framed the process as more intergovernmental to secure EU coordination.

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Edoardo Bressanelli

**Necessary deepening? How political groups in the European Parliament adapt to enlargement**  
in *Journal of European Public Policy*, Volume 21, Issue 5 2014, 776-792

Drawing on the theoretical literature on institutional change, group size and party organizations, this contribution explains the impact the 'mega-enlargement' of the European Union (EU) has had upon political groups in the European Parliament (EP). Presenting an in-depth analysis of their organizational adaptation, this work demonstrates that the widening of the EU is an important catalyst for organizational reform, and facilitates deepening. Additionally, describing the organizational reforms implemented to tackle enlargement, it also shows that party cohesion is the product of intense co-ordination activity within the groups, which starts at the committee level, rather than the use of disciplinary tools by the party leadership.

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Ragozzino Guglielmo

**Nell'albero europeo la linfa è russa**  
in *CNS Ecologia politica*, nuova serie, n. 4, giugno

Full text available at <http://www.ecologiapolitica.org/wordpress/?p=778>

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Gigliani Fabio

**Nuove attese per la composizione della Commissione. Ma sono davvero giustificate?**  
in *Federalismi*, Anno XII - Nr 11

No abstract available

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Martin Ralf, Muûls Mirabelle, de Preux Laure B., Wagner Ulrich J.

**On the empirical content of carbon leakage criteria in the EU Emissions Trading Scheme**  
in **Ecological Economics**, Volume 105, September , 78-88

The EU Emissions Trading Scheme continues to exempt industries deemed at risk of carbon leakage from permit auctions. Carbon leakage risk is established based on the carbon intensity and trade exposure of each 4-digit industry. Using a novel measure of carbon leakage risk obtained in interviews with almost 400 managers at regulated firms in six countries, we show that carbon intensity is strongly correlated with leakage risk whereas overall trade exposure is not. In spite of this, most exemptions from auctioning are granted to industries with high trade exposure to developed and less developed countries. Our analysis suggests two ways of tightening the exemption criteria without increasing relocation risk among non-exempt industries. The first one is to exempt trade exposed industries only if they are also carbon intensive. The second one is to consider exposure to trade only with less developed countries. By modifying the carbon leakage criteria along these lines, European governments could raise additional revenue from permit auctions of up to €3 billion per year, based on a permit price of €30.

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Mamadouh Virginie

**One union, two speakers, three presidents, and... 500 million EU citizens: The European Union and the 2012 Nobel Peace Prize**

in **Political Geography**, Volume 42, September , A 1- A3

No abstract available

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Jeffrey C. Dixon, Andrew S. Fullerton

**Opposition to Enlargement among “New” and “Old” Europeans: The Cases of Post-Communist EU Members and Candidates**

in **International Journal of Comparative Sociology** , Vol. 13, n°2 , 135-161

As the European Union (eu) continues to expand “eastward,” we know relatively little about enlargement opinion in post-Communist member states and toward post-Communist candidates’ entries. This article develops comparative explanations of enlargement opinion and examines attitudes toward the entries of post-Communist candidates (as of 2006: Bulgaria, Romania, Croatia, and Macedonia). Descriptive and multinomial logit analyses of Eurobarometer data reveal that opposition is less pronounced in post-Communist versus other eu member states and somewhat less pronounced in post-Communist countries that began eu accession negotiations earlier. Anti-immigrant sentiment is a consistently weaker predictor of oppositional attitudes in post-Communist versus other eu member states. These and other differences warrant theoretical and empirical attention in eu research.

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Deirdre Curtin

**Overseeing Secrets in the EU: A Democratic Perspective**

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 52, Issue 3, May 2014 , 684-700

Formulating policy and overseeing implementation require access to information. Yet in (national) security matters executive officials have considerable discretion to conceal from the public and from parliaments information they consider sensitive. If executive officials are given largely unchecked power to conceal from the public and from parliament(s) whatever information they consider sensitive, part of the essential machinery of democracy is disconnected. Secrecy becomes a danger when it undermines the very values invoked to protect it: democratic self-government and security. Technical European Union (EU) security classification rules receive little attention from outsiders and are adopted and amended in iterative processes as low-level internal rule-making. Oversight mechanisms in the EU, in particular by parliaments, can supply some countervailing pressure, but remain a recurrent challenge. Is more public discussion needed on when and for how long secrets can be kept and how oversight mechanisms are constructed in new EU horizontal legislation?

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Chaltiel Florence

**Parler d'Europe**

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 576, mars , 133-135

No abstract available

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Dirk Peters, Wolfgang Wagner & Cosima Glahn

**Parliamentary control of CSDP: the case of the EU's fight against piracy off the Somali coast**

in *European Security*, Volume 23, Issue 4 , 430-448

Parliamentary involvement remains a key tool for the democratic control of executive policies. This article explores the web of parliamentary involvement in decision-making on European Union (EU) military operations, using insights gained in an in-depth case study on the EU's anti-piracy mission Atalanta. We find that parliaments at all levels became involved only after key political decisions had already been made. At the member state level, we find highly uneven involvement with only some parliaments being very well informed and closely monitoring, if not influencing government policy. The European Parliament became active only after the launch of the mission but then scrutinised it intensely, profiting (in contrast to national parliaments) from its access to top military officials and key decision-makers. Finally, transnational parliamentary assemblies as well as more informal networks provided opportunities to transmit information across the boundaries of individual parliaments and party-groups thus potentially enhancing the ability of parliamentarians to scrutinise government policies.

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Katsourides Yiannos

**Partisan Responses to the European Union in Cyprus**

in *Journal of European Integration*, vol. 36, n. 7, November , 641-658

In Cyprus, the EU cleavage has never gained a prominent position in domestic party competition, at least hitherto. However, the EU could become politicized as a result of recent economic developments. The article analyses party responses to the EU and suggests that Cyprus party politics towards the EU are largely determined by: (a) strategic factors relating to party competition and governmentability, (b) the country's specific circumstances, i.e. the unresolved Cyprus problem and (c) public opinion. Nonetheless, a turn to the economy is already evident in most recent times.

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Recchi Ettore

**Pathways to European identity formation: a tale of two models**

in *Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science Research*, Volume 27, Issue 2 , 119-133

This article argues that there are two distinct logics that underlie existing studies on European identification. These are grounded in models of collective identity formation that stress either messages inscribed in discursive processes or practices situated in socio-spatial relations – respectively, the “culturalist” and the “structuralist” models. The first of these models considers identification as a direct outcome of the exposure to content-specific symbols, narratives, and messages; the second, as an emerging property of socio-spatial interactions that are content-free of identity references. The first is logocentric, while the second is democentric and topocentric. This article focuses particularly on the second and less-developed research tradition which explores the effects of cross-national practices. The limits and potential of this model are discussed, setting an agenda for empirical research aiming to better elucidate the causal dynamics of European identity formation and adjudicate between these competing explanations.

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Alex Callinicos

**Perry Anderson on Europe**

in *Historical Materialism* , Vol. 21, n°1 , 159-176

This intervention discusses Perry Anderson's treatment of the European Union in *The New Old World*, tracing its origins in his intellectual and political history, and the ambivalences it reveals in his relationship to Marxism and to left politics. It identifies some of the key themes in a specifically Marxist analysis of the EU and explores the political possibilities implied by the present crisis.

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Schweiger Christian



**Poland, Variable Geometry and the Enlarged European Union**

in *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 66, n. 3, Special issue: "Assessing Accession: Power, Influence and Representation -Central and Eastern Europe in the EU" , 394-420

This article examines the role of Poland in the European Union, where the traditional Franco-German leadership axis has been replaced by a new 'variable geometry' of leadership constellations across a variety of policy areas. In this setting Poland has the potential to move from maintaining an initially passive role as a policy-taker towards becoming an agenda-setter alongside other larger and more traditionally dominant member states, especially Germany. However, Poland's success in this matter and subsequent influence on a variety of European Union policy areas, particularly the single market and the European Union's external relations, will substantially depend on the extent of its economic recovery from the effects of the global economic recession and wider developments in the European Union's debt crisis as well as its willingness to engage in constellations of member states that go beyond its traditional partners.

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Monica den Boer

**Police, policy and politics in Brussels: scenarios for the shift from sovereignty to solidarity**

in *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* , Volume 27, Issue 1 , pages 48-65

No abstract available

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Adelle Camilla, Jordan Andrew

**Policy Coherence for Development in the European Union: Do New Procedures Unblock or Simply Reproduce Old Disagreements?**

in *Journal of European Integration*, vol. 36, n. 4, June , 375-391

Policy coherence for development (PCD) — the integration of the needs of developing countries into all policy areas — is now an EU policy goal. This article focuses on how far this ambitious goal has been addressed in a policy procedure — impact assessment (IA) — established to support such cross-cutting goals. Drawing on an analysis of the 2006 and 2013 reforms of the EU's sugar policy, it finds that while IA offered a new venue in which to debate PCD, in practice it reproduced the same disagreements that previously frustrated agricultural reform. The article shows how IA was shaped during its implementation, so instead of functioning as a bureaucratic procedure to pursue policy coherence, it simply buttressed the power of dominant groups. Advocates of policy coherence in general and PCD in particular should therefore be mindful that the toolbox of implementing instruments in the EU may be more limited than sometimes assumed.

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Scott Urban

**Policy Options for the Euro: Heterodoxy Ahead**

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 52, Issue 4, July 2014 , 742-757

This symposium item belongs to a section headed: SYMPOSIUM: THE GREAT DEPRESSION AND THE EUROZONE CRISIS: LEARNING FROM THE PAST

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Minna van Gerven, Bart Vanhercke & Susanna Gürocak

**Policy learning, aid conditionality or domestic politics? The Europeanization of Dutch and Spanish activation policies through the European Social Fund**

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 21, Issue 4 2014 , 509-527

This article investigates variations in the domestic impact of the European Union's largest financial instrument, the European Social Fund (ESF), in The Netherlands and Spain. We find that, despite the large differences between the two countries examined in terms of 'goodness of fit', the ESF had significant effects on both The Netherlands and Spain. These effects, however, occurred through rather different dynamics: intermediate variables such as leverage, learning and aid conditionality determine how the ESF actually 'hits home', in addition to the degree of institutional, political and policy (mis)fit. At the same time, we qualify our analysis by exploring the role of countries' past experiences with the ESF, their problem load, the availability of (European Union and domestic) resources and member states' uploading capacities. The 'goodness of fit' literature has suggested that these factors may be important, but they have not yet been sufficiently explored for the ESF.

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Fabio Wasserfallen

**Political and Economic Integration in the EU: The Case of Failed Tax Harmonization**

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 52, Issue 2, March 2014 , 420-435

The European Union (EU) tax mandate remains narrow. That there was only a limited transfer of tax authority to the EU exemplifies the failure of political and fiscal integration. Using a political economy framework, this article analyzes why the heads of state rejected tax harmonization proposals in the intergovernmental conferences. The presented findings of the original data on the Maastricht, Nice and Lisbon negotiations support the main hypothesis derived from the theoretical framework – namely that resistance against tax harmonization came predominantly from low-tax countries. Moreover, the results indicate that after the accession of the central and eastern European countries the prospects of harmonizing tax policy starkly decreased. The analysis shows that tax heterogeneity and the enlargements have negative effects on tax integration. Based on the empirical findings and the theoretical framework, the article concludes by discussing how the creation of the monetary union restructured the politics of tax Europeanization and fiscal integration.

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Hutter Swen, Kerscher Alena

**Politicizing Europe in Hard Times: Conflicts over Europe in France in a Long-term Perspective, 1974–2012**  
in *Journal of European Integration*, vol. 36, n. 3, April, Special Issue: Coping with Crisis: Europe's Challenges and Strategies , 267-282

This article examines whether and how the Euro crisis has affected the long-term trends of politicization of Europe in France. Has the crisis fueled the extent of politicization? Do we observe shifts in specific aspects of Europe being politicized? Are the patterns of opposition changing? To answer these questions, the authors compare the electoral campaign in 2012 with all French campaigns since 1974. Additionally, France is put in a broader comparative perspective. Politicization is conceptualized as three interrelated dimensions: issue salience, actor expansion, and polarization. Methodologically, the article is based on a relational content analysis of newspaper articles. The findings show that the Euro crisis boosted the level of politicization, and economic policies, as well as justification frames became more important. However, the degree of polarization was higher in election campaigns that focused more on constitutional conflicts over membership and were dominated by concerns with national identity and sovereignty.

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Brack Nathalie

**Poor linkage and lacking representation. A thorn in the side of the European Parliament only?**  
in *Politique européenne* , n. 44, 2014/2 , 183-191

Europe is experiencing a profound democratic malaise and contemporary democracies are facing an extreme challenge as more and more voices become critical of their institutions. Populist and radical parties are on the rise, reflecting the growing discontent of segments of the population towards traditional parties and elites (Albertazzi and McDonnell, 2007; Mair, 2011). At the same time,...

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Antoaneta Dimitrova and Aron Buzogány

**Post-Accession Policy-Making in Bulgaria and Romania: Can Non-state Actors Use EU Rules to Promote Better Governance?**

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 52, Issue 1, January 2014 , 139-156

This article investigates whether EU accession can help Bulgaria and Romania limit state capture and the undue influence of business actors on the policy process. Particularly vulnerable to such influence, Bulgarian and Romanian institutions are monitored through the EU's co-operation and verification mechanism and the Commission and ECJ infringement procedures. We argue that, under certain conditions, these tools can improve the quality of democracy in both countries. The key conditions are the presence of domestic actors able to use the EU and carry over procedural policy requirements from the *acquis* to other policy-making. Analysing policy-making processes in the forestry sector, we find NGOs able to use EU links and governments sensitive to naming and shaming can result in a positive influence of EU rules on the policy process and quality of democracy. This is true even in least likely cases, such as non-*acquis* policy areas in Bulgaria and Romania.



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**Fink-Hafner** Danica

**Post-Accession Politicization Of National Eu Policy Coordination: The Case Of Slovenia**  
in *Public Administration*, Volume 92, Issue 1 , 39–54

This article focuses on how domestic and EU-level political factors affect the functional aspect of the national coordination of EU affairs. Due to the idiosyncrasies of the post-communist countries which have joined the EU since 2004, an analysis of dynamic changes in the national systems of coordination needs to focus on three factors: (a) functional pressures from the EU; (b) the consolidation of the national party system; and (c) existing traditions of politico-administrative relations. The international economic and financial crisis is considered as a fourth factor that has affected the first three factors through the increase in the EU's 'informal intergovernmentalism', which adds to the politicization of EU matters. The Slovenian case points to an increased, though selective, politicization of EU business due to both national- and EU-level factors.

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**Arrignon Mehdi**

**Poursuivre malgré la crise? Changement de contexte et continuité des politiques d'emploi en Europe**  
in *Politique européenne* , n. 42, 2013/4 , 46-70

Les stratégies d'« activation » visant à inciter davantage les chômeurs à l'emploi ont été poursuivies au cours de la crise. Pourtant ces réformes n'avaient pas atteint leurs objectifs avant la crise et leurs résultats ont été particulièrement négatifs dans la conjoncture récente. Pourquoi les avoir maintenues ? L'inertie s'explique à la fois par des raisons institutionnelles (gouvernance européenne faiblement réactive en matière d'emploi), cognitives (implantation durable d'un référentiel d'« activation » chez les responsables nationaux et européens) et politiques (crise comme variable écran empêchant de dresser le bilan des stratégies poursuivies)

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**La Spagna tra speranze e incertezze**

**Powell Charles**

in *Aspenia*, n. 65, giugno

No abstract available

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**Donnelly Shawn** &#8232;



**Power Politics and the Undersupply of Financial Stability in Europe**

in *Review of International Political Economy*, Volume 21, Issue 4, 2014 , 980-1005

This article analyses the politics of banking and fiscal union in the EU in the context of continued threats to financial stability in Europe. Contrasting the expectations of functional responses and power politics, it finds that the behavior of the states and the outcome of negotiations most closely resembles contemporary realist expectations. Minimal supranationalism takes place to prevent complete collapse, but the main development is that financially powerful member states coerce and impose changes on weaker member states, without committing to the financial transfers that the latter require to survive the financial crisis, with negative consequences for European financial stability.

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Beaudonnet Laurie

**Preferences for European Social Policy in Times of Crisis**

in *Politique européenne* , n. 42, 2013/4 , 96-123

Depuis 1992 et la création de l'Union économique et monétaire, les citoyens européens sont de plus en plus conscients des conséquences économiques et sociales de l'intégration européenne. La crise économique actuelle, en augmentant la pression financière sur les politiques de redistribution, a renforcé les craintes du public en matière de protection sociale et de (dé-) régulation du marché du travail. Néanmoins, notre connaissance des préférences en matière de redistribution et de politiques sociales au niveau supranational est encore parcellaire, malgré l'importance de ces préférences pour le soutien politique dans les régimes multi-niveaux.

Cet article étudie (a) les facteurs attitudinaux et économiques du soutien à une politique sociale commune et leur évolution dans le temps, (b) l'impact de la crise économique actuelle sur ces préférences. L'étude examine la validité empirique de la logique d'exit, en se fondant sur une analyse de time series cross section dans l'UE des Quinze, de 1996 à 2011. Les résultats étayent la thèse de la stratégie d'exit et montrent un renforcement de cette logique à la faveur de la crise économique de 2008.

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Antonio López Castillo

**Prejudicializando... : comentario urgente de la primera cuestión prejudicial del Tribunal Constitucional Federal Alemán**

in *Teoría y realidad constitucional*, no. 33 , 315-325

In this brief comment is subject to review the first question referred to the ECJ by the German Federal Constitutional Court. Both by (replicative) parallelism with which the questions are asked, to hinder an eventual declaration of inadmissibility, such as extensive projection to the case of the topics of the topics of jurisprudence on the constitutional basis and scope of European integration.

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Hans-W. Micklitz

**Premières lignes** Gérard Farjat et Laurence Boy ont beaucoup apporté, chacun à sa manière, au droit économique tant sur le plan interne que sur le plan international, en montrant d'ailleurs de façon brillante et convaincante les imbrications et interactions entre les deux plans. À bien des égards, le droit international du développement et le nouvel ordre économique international (NOEI) sont un prolongement et une projection...

**Plan de l'article** Genèse du nouvel ordre économique international La contribution du droit international du développement Un droit finalisé et engagé Le bilan du nouvel ordre économique international

in *Revue internationale de droit économique*, Vol. 28, n°1, 5-57

Plan de l'article

- 1 - Les questions occultées dans les projets de codification relatifs au droit européen des contrats
- 2 - « Économisation/Ökonomisierung » (marché intérieur) contre politisation/politisierung (gouvernance) du droit privé européen
  - 2.1 - Tensions et interactions entre l'économisation et la politisation
  - 2.2 - Effets de l'économisation/de la politisation sur le système juridique
- 3 - La main « visible » du droit privé européen
  - 3.1 - Les domaines dignes d'intérêt – les secteurs jusqu'ici négligés
  - 3.2 - Relation avec le projet de la Commission européenne sur la codification du droit privé européen
  - 3.3 - Droit privé européen « visible » et droit privé national
- 4 - Le cadre analytique devant appréhender le droit privé visible
  - 4.1 - Substance du droit privé européen visible réglementaire
  - 4.2 - Les nouveaux processus de production du « droit » – ou la privatisation de la production normative
  - 4.3 - Nouveaux et anciens instruments réglementaires – règles impératives, supplétives et réglementation privée
- 5 - La structuration du rapport entre droit privé européen et droit privé national – considérations préliminaires relatives à un système de coordination flexible
  - 5.1 - Différents ensembles de règles de droit (des contrats) privé
  - 5.2 - Substance du « nouveau » droit
  - 5.3 - Combinaison des anciens et nouveaux instruments réglementaires
  - 5.4 - Nouveaux processus de production du droit/des normes
  - 5.5 - Droits, moyens de recours, procédure et exécution
- 6 - Conclusions

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**Manzella Andrea**

**Prima lettura di un Parlamento (un po' meno) Europeo**

in *Federalismi*, Anno XII - Nr 11

No abstract available

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Todi&#263; Dragoljub, Dimitrijevi&#263; Duško

**Priority goals in international co-operation of the Republic of Serbia in the field of environment and sustainable development**

in *International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics*, Volume 14, Issue 2, May , 163-179

The paper points to the significance of some factors of international co-operation in the field of environment and sustainable development as a general framework for understanding of the fundamental goals in international co-operation of the Republic of Serbia (RS). It is especially pointed to the place and importance of the activities that are carried out in the European Union (EU), to the harmonisation of national legislation with EU legislation including regulations in the field of climate change, to the significance of international environmental agreements and various forms of global, regional, subregional and bilateral co-operation as well as to the co-operation with international financial institutions which are important for environment and sustainable development. The paper is based on the thesis that the fundamental goals in international co-operation of RS in the field of environment and sustainable development are mostly determined by the "European perspective" of RS and in accordance with this, with global trends in the contemporary environmental and sustainable development policy and law. Opening the prospect of the EU membership (potential candidate status and the status of the candidate for EU membership) has resulted in the acceleration of the process of harmonisation of national legislation with the EU's as well as speeding up the process of ratification of the international treaties in the field of the environmental protection.

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Engels David

**Pro domo sua Ou quand la vache sacrée s'émeuhh**

in *Debat (Le)*, n° 179, mars-avril , 81-91

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Crombez Christophe, Vangerven Pieterjan

**Procedural models of European Union politics: Contributions and suggestions for improvement**

in *European Union Politics* , vol. 15, n. 2, June , 289-308

This article analyzes the literature on procedural models of European Union politics. We present an overview of the main models of the legislative procedures, with a focus on their relevance to European Union politics and the literature today. We discuss early controversies in the literature and examine the empirical research that tested the models. Furthermore, we consider models of other aspects of policy-making in the European Union. Finally, we discuss the literature's main contributions and principal shortcomings and formulate suggestions for improvement. We argue that the models contribute greatly to our understanding of European Union politics, offer clear predictions regarding policies, institutions' powers, and the extent of gridlock and have sparked extensive empirical research. The models of consultation and codecision can serve as standard models of unicameral legislatures with an agenda setter and bicameral legislatures with bargaining between the two chambers, respectively. Moreover, they contribute to the study of the implications of institutional reform.



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Gawronski PierGiorgio

**Progetto euro: cosa è andato storto? La riforma necessaria dell'Eurozona**  
in *Rivista di politica economica*, I-III 2014

Gawronski PierGiorgio

The article offers an overview of the literature on the many institutional weaknesses of the Eurozone exposed in the 2009-2013 period. Comparing failures with expected outcomes clarifies where the original project has gone wrong. Three main conclusions are offered. (a) The Eurozone is even less a viable currency area than it was believed; the theory of Optimal Currency Areas underestimates the costs and overestimates the benefits of the euro; (b) Asymmetric shocks are stronger than expected; (c) Institutions are biased, ill-suited for managing even symmetric negative demand shocks. A comprehensive institutional reform would be the most appropriate response.

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Grand Peter, Tiemann Guido

**Projection effects and specification bias in spatial models of European Parliament elections**  
in *European Union Politics*, vol. 14, n. 4, December, 497-521

Substantial empirical evidence suggests that voters cast their ballot not only by considering the different policy positions of parties or candidates, but also appear to pull candidates/parties they prefer closer to their own ideal position ('assimilation') while pushing candidates/parties they dislike, farther away ('contrast'). These effects are called 'projection effects'. We illustrate that voters' perceptions of policy positions of candidates/parties are contaminated by non-spatial considerations. Building on data from the EES series, we empirically demonstrate that projection effects are substantively meaningful and statistically significant in elections to the European Parliament. We moreover distinguish between unsystematic projection bias that only depends on the closeness to a specific candidate or party and systematic projection bias that is also affected by party-, voter-, and context-specific determinants.

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Fragola Massimo

**Protezione diplomatica dei cittadini e politica estera dell'Unione europea**  
in *Cittadinanza europea (La)*, Fascicolo 2 - 2013, 59-85

No abstract available

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**Kecsmar Krisztian**

**Président de la République de Hongrie n'est pas un citoyen de l'Union comme les autres?**

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 581, septembre , 479-485

The Court of Luxembourg decided on October 16, 2012 that a head of State is not a citizen like another and considering his special status, notwithstanding the fact that he is a citizen of the Union, he does not enjoy his basic freedom of residency and movement within the EU. The Court thus broke the organic link between free movement of people within the EU and the Union citizenship while denying the principle that the basic status of the Union citizen is his citizenship, not his function. It did it on the sole basis of a vague reference to international law without trying to know whether international law applies.

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**Quiring Manfred**

**Putins Poker**

in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, August, 2014 , 13-16

Es liegt nicht einmal ein halbes Jahr zurück, da bejubelten die Menschen auf dem Maidan den Erfolg ihrer monatelangen Demonstrationen: Ende Februar setzte sich Präsident Wiktor Janukowitsch nach Russland ab, die Zeichen standen auf demokratische Erneuerung, eine Übergangsregierung wurde eingesetzt. Doch die Freude währte nur kurz: Denn seither bestimmen wachsende Unruhen im Osten der Ukraine das Bild. Inzwischen droht das Land vollends im Bürgerkrieg zu versinken. Anfang Juli brach der neu gewählte Präsident Petro Poroschenko unter dem Druck seiner Wähler und des Militärs eine zehntägige Waffenruhe ab. Die Schuld dafür gab er den prorussischen Separatisten, die immer wieder gegen die Waffenruhe verstoßen hatten.

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**Mehdi Arrignon**

**Quand l'Europe s'active. Effets et instruments de l'eupéanisation dans le secteur de l'emploi**

in *Revue française de science politique*, Vol. 64, n°1 février , 29-56

Two main criticisms are usually addressed against European studies in the field of employment policies : 1/ "Europeanization" would be an old and odd concept in the field of employment policies ; 2/ Because of the weakness of European instruments, the EU wouldn't limit the polarization between Welfare regimes. The results of a recent PhD Thesis about "Activation" of social policies in France, Spain and the Netherlands show that we can nuance and discuss these recurring arguments. Policy instruments and policy principles have converged since the launch of the European Employment Strategy in 1997. European procedures of harmonisation were an independent variable of social changes in France, Spain and the Netherlands.

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Grassi Vincenzo, Periotto Isabella

**Quando contano le istituzioni**

in *Aspenia*, n. 65, giugno

No abstract available

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Olivier Costa

**Que peut le Parlement européen**

in *Pouvoirs*, n. 149, 77-89

La revalorisation constante des pouvoirs du Parlement européen est l'un des traits les plus marquants de l'évolution du système institutionnel de l'Union depuis les origines. C'est aujourd'hui une assemblée puissante et surtout très indépendante, capable d'influencer directement sur la production normative et de contrôler effectivement la Commission. Toutefois, l'évaluation de l'influence du Parlement se heurte au développement de pratiques telles que les « trilogues », qui favorisent une négociation des accords pré-coces en matière législative et occultent les rapports de forces entre les institutions.

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Middelaar van Luuk

**Quelle Europe ?**

in *Debat (Le)*, n° 179, mars-avril, 57-67

No abstract available

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Caro de Sousa Pedro

**Quest for the Holy Grail—Is a Unified Approach to the Market Freedoms and European Citizenship Justified?**

in *European law journal*, Volume 20, Issue 4, 499–519

The case law of the CJEU on the economic free movement of people has departed from the traditional requirement that a nexus must be established between individual free movement and cross-border economic activity, which has led to an extension of its scope. It is submitted that concerns with the protection of fundamental rights of European citizens are driving this process, and that the CJEU has sought to protect these fundamental rights through the market freedoms in two ways: by arguing that market freedoms are fundamental rights themselves, and/or that European Citizenship has changed their normative underpinnings and status. This Article criticises both lines of argument, and defends a third: that the protection of these fundamental rights must be achieved at European level, if at all, through a conception of European Citizenship able to stand on its own.



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Bertrand Brunessen

**Rapport introductif : Les enjeux de la soft law dans l'Union européenne**

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 575, février , 73-84

Summary and abstracts [http://www.dalloz-revues.fr/Revue\\_de\\_l\\_Union\\_europeenne-cover-33676.htm](http://www.dalloz-revues.fr/Revue_de_l_Union_europeenne-cover-33676.htm)

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Solana Javier

**Re-Winning Europe**

in *Social Europe Journal*, Volume 8, Issue 1, Summer/Autumn 2014 , 29-30

The full text is free:

<http://www.social-europe.eu/pdf-editions/>

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Rosa Sanchez Salgado

**Rebalancing EU Interest Representation? Associative Democracy and EU Funding of Civil Society Organizations**

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 52, Issue 2, March 2014 , 337-353

European Union (EU) funding of civil society organizations (CSOs) is a substantial and important part of EU governance, but study of such funding is scarce and theoretically underdeveloped. To fill this gap, this article analyzes the main features of EU funding of CSOs and its effects on the EU system of interest representation, drawing on policy documents and the EU register of interest representatives. The resulting analysis shows that EU funding of CSOs in the social sector tends to reflect many of the characteristics of the model of associative democracy. European funds are being directed to groups that voice the concerns of excluded groups and, in this way, address imbalances in EU interest representation. The EU also promotes certain healthy features among CSOs, since it restricts access to funding opportunities to interest groups fulfilling key normative criteria. Hence, the EU helps sustain, but does not significantly constrain, the development of European CSOs.

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Stockhammer Engelbert, Sotiropoulos Dimitris P. &#8232;

**Rebalancing the Euro Area: The Costs of Internal Devaluation**

in *Review of Political Economy (The)*, Volume 26, Issue 2, 2014 , 210-233





This paper investigates the economic costs of rebalancing current account positions in the Euro area by means of internal devaluation. Internal devaluation relies on wage suppression in the deficit countries. Based on an old Keynesian model we estimate a current account equation, a wage-Phillips curve and an Okun's Law equation. All estimations are carried out for a panel of twelve Euro area members. From the estimation results we calculate the output costs of reducing current account deficits. Greece, Ireland, Italy, Portugal and Spain (GIIPS) had, on average, current account deficits of 8.4% of GDP in 2007. To eliminate these current account deficits, a reduction of GDP by some 47% would be necessary. Trade imbalances can be resolved in two ways: deflationary adjustment in the deficit countries or inflationary adjustment in the surplus countries. The economic costs of deflationary adjustment to those countries are equivalent to the output loss of the Great Depression. An adjustment of the surplus countries would increase growth and it would come with higher inflation, but it would allow rebalancing without a Great Depression in parts of Europe.

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Mudde Cas

#### **Rechtsaußen, die Große Rezession und die Europawahlen 2014**

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 12, 2014 , 16-24

The full text is free:

<http://www.bpb.de/apuz/180360/europawahl-2014>

Wenn wir den internationalen Medien Glauben schenken, wird 2014 das Jahr der "antieuropäischen Rechtspopulisten". In den ersten drei Tagen des Jahres hat die "New York Times" zwei Gastkommentare veröffentlicht, in denen vor dem Aufstieg von Rechtsaußenparteien gewarnt wird, während der Schwerpunkt der ersten Ausgabe des "Economist" auf "Europe's Tea Parties" lag. Dem waren bereits Monate voller öffentlicher Warnungen prominenter EU-Politikerinnen und -Politiker vor einem europaweiten "populistischen Backlash" vorausgegangen, unter anderem ausgesprochen von den Präsidenten des Europäischen Rates, der Kommission und des Parlamentes sowie mehrerer nationaler Politiker wie dem (damaligen) italienischen Ministerpräsidenten Enrico Letta und dem stellvertretenden niederländischen Premierminister Lodewijk Asscher...

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### **Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Barczak Tristan

#### **Rechtsschutz bei Verzögerung verfassungsgerichtlicher Verfahren. Zugleich die Konturierung eines verfassungsrechtlichen Anspruchs auf Verzögerungsfolgenkompensation**

in *Archiv des öffentlichen Rechts* , Volume 138, Number 4, October 2013 , 536-583

Abstract:

Most recently in its RUMPF v. GERMANY judgement, the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR) has repeatedly demanded effective legal protection against unreasonably lengthy court proceedings from the German legislator, preferably by granting redress to the concerned party to ensure court proceedings within a reasonable time-frame. Since all judicial proceedings, civil or administrative, are subject to Art. 6, para 1 of the European Convention on Human Rights as well as Art. 2, para 1 in conjunction with Art. 20, para 3 of the German Basic Law, all courts – even the constitutional



courts – are bound to guarantee effective judicial protection and a court proceedings „within a reasonable time“. In the last couple of years, the workload of German constitutional courts, federal and state, has reached a high level, which has already been subject to ECtHR-proceedings. Although excessively lengthy proceedings before constitutional courts still remain an exception, in 2011 the German legislator included those proceedings in his implementation of various (originally judgemade) requirements and remedies against unnecessary delays in court proceedings. In this regard, one could already doubt if the subjection of constitutionally-based proceedings to those new legal remedies is in fact necessary.

Furthermore, since state bodies are not always a suitable party, the new regulation of remedies in case of delay is not applicable to various constitutionally-based types of procedure, especially between governmental bodies (e.g. Organstreit proceedings). In future, remedies for procedural delay could therefore at most – if at all – gain importance in cases concerning the concrete review of statutes as well as constitutional complaints.

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Alexandra Hennessy

**Redesigning financial supervision in the European Union (2009–2013)**

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 21, Issue 2 2014 , 151-168

How do European Union (EU) member states decide whether soft or hard law instruments better serve their interests? We address this question in the context of financial supervision. In the past years, financial supervision has changed dramatically from soft co-ordination (2009) to a banking union based on hard law (2012/13). This article draws on insights from the hard/ soft law distinction, the informal governance literature and personal interviews to analyze what factors precipitated change, which actors were central to it and how it occurred. Our main argument is that member states' power, perceptions of uncertainty, distributive conflict, as well as the interests of the domestic banking industry, have shaped the choice of soft or hard law instruments in financial supervision. Our analysis suggests that we need to theorize more rigorously about the sources of member state preferences over formal and informal co-ordination mechanisms in the EU.

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Miguel Martínez Cuadrado

**Reflexiones sobre el proceso federativo de Europa y el camino de la Unión Política Europea : ante las elecciones al VIII Parlamento de la Unión (2014-2019)**

in *Teoría y realidad constitucional*, no. 33 , 151-165

From the end of WWII starts the awareness that we were facing the end of «classical sovereignties» and the conviction that the future would go through a process of convergence that would lead to a real system of supranational government. A long process of small steps makes the Union not a federal system of government but a «federative system» in the meaning that Locke gave to the expression of Commonwealth in the early XVIII. The crisis of 2007-2014 gives birth to a new acceleration and the elections of 2014 to the VIII European Parliament will confirm that communitarians DEMOS stands on a stronger basis than before.

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Thierry Chopin, Jean-François Jamet and François-Xavier Priollaud

**Reformar el proceso decisional europeo : legitimidad, eficacia, legibilidad**

in *Teoria y realidad constitucional*, no. 32 , 323-339

This paper aims to outline a certain number of concrete proposals in view of providing detailed, operational content to the project to strengthen legitimacy and democratic control of European decisions as part of the work towards reforming the Economic and Monetary Union. The legal feasibility of each of the proposals set out here is analyzed by identifying the type of reform it involves: innovation using the treaty as it stands; limited changes to the Treaty under the simplified revision procedure, more important changes to the Treaty under the ordinary revision procedure.

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David Ellison, Mattias Lundblad, Hans Petersson

**Reforming the EU approach to LULUCF and the climate policy framework**

in *Environmental Science & Policy* , Vol. 40 , 1-15

We focus on recent progress in reforming the role of forests and other land use in the EU climate policy framework. EU inclusion of LULUCF (Land Use, Land-Use Change and Forestry) in the climate policy framework still lags international developments, remaining at odds even with the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change's (UNFCCC) Kyoto framework. Though the EU has made some important changes that eclipse even the UNFCCC framework—in particular regarding the inclusion of cropland and grazing land management in mandatory EU-level carbon accounting practices—in other respects the EU has far to go. As part of a strategy for fulfilling emission reduction commitments within the EU burden-sharing agreement, Member states are not permitted to trade either in domestically nor foreign produced forest-based carbon credits. On the other hand, both the EU and the UNFCCC/Kyoto LULUCF frameworks remain distant from an idealized model that could facilitate increased climate change mitigation and a more efficient and balanced use of forest-based resources. Limiting the incorporation of forests in the climate policy framework has significant consequences for the cost and rapidity of emission reductions. Forest potential thus remains under-mobilized for climate change mitigation. In this context, we draw particular attention to the fact that forest-based carbon sequestration's potential contribution to negative emissions represents an important missed opportunity. In the context of ongoing discussions over the EU and UNFCCC's Post-Kyoto frameworks, we propose an all-encompassing LULUCF carbon accounting model incorporating all previously omitted carbon pools and activities, thus weighing LULUCF removals and emissions on a par with emissions from other sectors (industry, the energy sector, end-users). The successful integration of LULUCF into the EU climate policy and carbon-trading frameworks could dovetail neatly with emerging international climate change mitigation efforts.

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Delpeuch Thierry, Vassileva Margarita

**Repenser les relations entre transferts et apprentissages en Europe centrale Les théories de l'eupéanisation à l'épreuve du changement des politiques de développement local en Bulgarie (1990-2013)**

in *Revue d'études comparatives Est-Ouest*, vol. 44, n. 4 , 5-52



Various international efforts to influence the local planning and development policies conducted in Bulgaria since the end of Communism till today have had the objective of bringing local parties to adopt an endogenous, partnership-based conception of local development. A sociological analysis of the impact of these transfer programs on practices at the local level serves as the starting point for reviewing the theory of the relations between transfers and learning processes advanced in studies on "europeanization". Local case studies lay the grounds for an alternative conceptualization that sees learning as an emerging, cumulative effect of a combination of social processes. The latter involve not only various forms of transfer, both hierarchical and voluntary, but also endogenous forces such as private-public forms of cooperation, the diffusion owing to the domestic impact of actions undertaken by local players (representative and professional organizations) who have been won over to the model's cause, or even the interplay of forces in a democratized municipal politics.

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Flavio Silvestrini

**Repubblicanesimo necessario, cosmopolitismo possibile. Da Kant all'Unione Europea**  
in *Historia Magistra* , Fascicolo 13 , 63-75

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Wettestad Jørgen

**Rescuing EU Emissions Trading: Mission Impossible?**  
in *Global Environmental Politics*, Volume 14, Issue 2, May , 64-81

Is rescuing the EU's emissions trading system impossible? Despite the substantial reform in 2008, subsequent problems of allowance surplus and a low carbon price have spurred new efforts to reform the system for the 2013–2020 phase. But these efforts have met resistance both among member states and in the European parliament, and the EU is struggling in its efforts to improve the ETS. This article draws on four central EU and political science theory approaches to more systematically explore why. The financial crisis and slow international policy progress have narrowed the window of opportunity that was open in 2008. Factors that could open that window again include an economic upswing, a new European commission and parliament, and new global negotiations in 2015. But even without short-term reform, the linear reduction factor will gradually tighten the system and lead to a higher carbon price.

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Tekin Beyza Ç.

**Rethinking the Post-National EU in Times of Austerity and Crisis**  
in *Mediterranean Politics*, Volume 19, Issue 1 , 21-39

This article investigates the discursive framework of the Greek debt crisis in an attempt to rethink the characterization of the European Union as a post-modern, post-national polity. By scrutinizing speculative speeches delivered by the EU's



prominent politicians, this study argues that Greece is hybridized and constructed as a peripheral member of the EU in-group, part of the in-group, yet further away from the core. Politics of representation surrounding the current crisis show us that the EU is hardly constructed in a post-national/post-modern way.

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**JEAN-CLAUDE JUNCKER**

**Reunificar Europa**

in *Politica Exterior*, n.159

Es el momento de consolidar, reformar y reunificar el proyecto europeo. La UE debe poner freno a la ampliación y centrar sus esfuerzos en hacerse más eficiente, asertiva y democrática.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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**Quah Chee-Heong**

**Revisiting business cycles in the Eurozone: A fuzzy clustering and discriminant approach**

in *Acta Oeconomica*, Volume 64, Number 2/June 2014 , 161-180

The first part of analysis draws out homogenous clusters of countries out of the 27 EU states based on their business cycle synchronicities with the euro area (EA) 12, quantified by correlations of cycles between the 27 countries' GDP components and the EA12's GDP1. The purpose is to compare the obtained country groupings with the countries that have adopted the euro in practice. This exercise is performed using fuzzy cluster analysis and is carried out for pre- and post-euro periods. Knowing that the recent global and euro zone crisis might impact the post-euro findings, the analysis for the post-euro period is done with and without the crisis period. In the second part of the analysis, a discriminant technique is applied to the clustering findings to ascertain the GDP component whose cycle synchronicity contributes most to the partitioning obtained in the cluster analysis. In a nutshell, findings indicate a significant divergence within EU27 and EA12 in the post-euro period and that business cycle symmetry concerning the GDP component of capital investment as a more significant determinant to country partitions.

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**Morten Rasmussen**

**Revolutionizing European law: A history of the Van Gend en Loos judgment**

in *International Journal of Constitutional Law*, vol. 12, issue 1 , 136-163

Did the famous Van Gend en Loos judgment constitute a breakthrough for a constitutional practise in European law or was it merely drawing the logical legal consequences of earlier case law and of the Treaties of Rome? Based on comprehensive archival studies, this article argues that neither earlier case law nor the Treaties of Rome can fully account for the judgment. Instead, Van Gend en Loos represented a genuine revolution in European law. Prompted by the legal service of the European Commission, the European Court of Justice (ECJ) took a decisive step towards addressing two major problems of international public law, namely the lack of uniform application of European law by



national courts across the six member states and the lack of primacy granted to international law in several member states. The judgment was based on a new teleological and constitutional understanding of the Treaties of Rome developed by the legal service, and took the first step towards establishing an alternative enforcement system. The ECJ would already in 1964 take the second step by introducing primacy in the *Costa v. E.N.E.L.* judgment. The new enforcement system remained highly fragile, however, due to the dependency on the cooperation of national courts through the preliminary reference system. As a result, the full effects of the *Van Gend en Loos* judgment were only felt after the Single European Act (1986) pushed reluctant national governments and courts to finally come to terms with the legal order the ECJ had developed.

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Mutti Claudio

**Rifondare l'Unione Europea**

in *Eurasia Rivista di studi geopolitici*, XXXIII (1-2014), "Rifondare l'Unione Europea"

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Cangelosi Rocco

**Riprendere la strada dell'Unione politica**

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLVI, numero speciale, n. 173, gennaio-inverno, 41-45

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Iara Anna, Wolff Guntram B.

**Rules and risk in the Euro area**

in *European Journal of Political Economy*, Volume 34, June 2014, 222-236

We show that stronger fiscal rules in Euro area members reduce sovereign risk premia, in particular in times of market stress. Using a unique data set of rules-based fiscal governance in EU member states, we estimate a model of sovereign spreads that are determined by the probability of default in interaction with the level of risk aversion. The legal base of the rules and their enforcement mechanisms are the most important dimensions of rules-based fiscal governance.

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Jack Hayward

**Réglementations européennes et politiques sociales nationales : le grand écart**





in **Pouvoirs**, n. 149 , 101-120

Avant la commission Delors, l'Union européenne réglementait de façon minimale la politique sociale car les gouvernements des États membres considéraient leurs États-providence comme des éléments essentiels de la cohésion nationale. Les États membres ont ensuite agi de façon diverse pour éviter de mettre en œuvre les réglementations européennes et ont également utilisé leur influence au sein du Conseil pour les bloquer ou les modifier en amont. La Cour de justice de l'Union est parvenue à instaurer une certaine uniformité des éléments de la politique sociale. Entre les "partenaires sociaux", un recours accru à la marchandisation, à la déréglementation et à l'autoregulation a favorisé les employeurs et les contribuables au détriment des salariés et des citoyens en général. L'austérité financière imposée a entraîné une précarisation variable des services de santé et de retraite dans les différents pays.

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Chaltiel Florence

**Rêver d'Europe?**

in **Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne**, n. 578, mai , 261-263

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

Portela Clara, Orbie Jan

**Sanctions under the EU Generalised System of Preferences and foreign policy: coherence by accident?**

in **Contemporary Politics**, Volume 20, Issue 1, 2014 , 63-76

This article investigates the relationship between the European Union's withdrawal of trade benefits for developing countries under the Generalised System of Preferences (GSP) and its sanctions under the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP). Our expectation is that GSP withdrawals and CFSP sanctions will not cohere. However, our research reveals that GSP suspension has been coherent with CFSP sanctions when the latter exist prior to the decision-making process on GSP sanctions and when the International Labour Organisation has set up a Commission of Inquiry condemning the country, as with Myanmar/Burma and Belarus. The presence of separate institutional frameworks explains the GSP suspension towards Sri Lanka in the absence of CFSP sanctions.

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Gabellini Giacomo



**Sciacalli e sicari all'assalto dell'Europa**

in *Eurasia Rivista di studi geopolitici* , XXXIII (1-2014), "Rifondare l'Unione Europea"

No abstract available

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Lucarelli Sonia

**Seen from the Outside: The State of the Art on the External Image of the EU**

in *Journal of European Integration*, vol. 36, n. 1, January , 1-16

After years of collective fascination with the idea of the EU as a 'special' global actor, some scholars have started to investigate whether such a perception of distinctiveness is shared by people, institutions and intellectuals outside of Europe. Such investigations have already produced some interesting results, but they are still limited in terms of geographical and functional scope of research, and they tend to be under-theorised and to fail to engage to their full potential with other branches of literature. This article illustrates how the analysis of the external image of the EU can contribute to the overall understanding of the EU's identity and role in world politics. It goes on to review the main projects on the external image of the EU and their findings, as well as the main challenges to this type of research. It finally proposes avenues of research for the future.

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Marengo Umberto, Giovannini Alessandro

**Semestre italiano: l'agenda delle riforme**

in *Aspenia*, n. 65, giugno

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Viren Matti

**Sensitivity of fiscal-policy effects to policy coordination and business cycle conditions**

in *International Economics and Economic Policy*, Volume 11, Issue 3, September 2014 , 397-411

This paper deals with the problems of assessing the effects of fiscal policy in the European Monetary Union. Here, we face wide cross-country differences in key fiscal parameters, some of which may also vary over time (business cycle). Moreover, these effects may also depend on trade spillover effects and thus on the extent of policy coordination. Our empirical analyses make use of data for 15 EU countries, mainly for the period 1970–2011. The results clearly indicate that fiscal multipliers are not constant across countries and time, being much larger during economic recessions. By contrast, the policy coordination-effects appear to be more homogenous, although it turns out that small countries may benefit more from coordination.



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Robert Boyer, Traduction de Coline Emmel

**Sept scénarios pour l'avenir de l'Union européenne  
in *Economie politique (L')*, n° 61, 2014/1 , 54-67**

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Thomas Diez

**Setting the limits: Discourse and EU foreign policy  
in *Cooperation and Conflict*, 49 (3) , 319-333**

This article discusses the relevance of discourse in the analysis of EU foreign policy. Instead of using discourse as a structure, the discursive struggles in meaning production are emphasised. The article argues that the literature trying to make a contribution to the explanation of EU foreign policy has so far overemphasised the positive function of discourses in influencing policies in their substance. In contrast, the article focuses on the delimiting function of discourses in providing the boundaries of the kinds of policies which can be legitimately pursued. From this point of view, important discursive struggles take place exactly about these limits, and it is only through the setting of these limits that identities and norms are provided with clearer meanings. The article illustrates this framework by focusing on the debate about normative power Europe. It argues that an important aspect of this debate which has been missing from the literature so far is that it is indeed engaging in a struggle over what is acceptable as a policy of a normative power and is what not, and that it is therefore engaged in setting the limits of legitimate EU foreign policy.

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Hans-Jürgen Bieling

**Shattered expectations: the defeat of European ambitions of global financial reform  
in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 21, Issue 3 2014 , 346-366**

As a consequence of the global financial crisis, many observers expected that the European Union would initiate and spur the reform of global finance. However, it turned out that the European endeavours have only been modest and unassertive so far. This contribution aims to explore this development. It argues that there are various causes of the European defeat, but that it is possible to identify some structural factors which enabled powerful political actors to defend a liberally organized financial market environment: externally, international communication and bargaining processes have been and still are structurally biased towards a liberal global financial order owing to the strong role of global financial centres and the dynamics of competitive deregulation; and internally, the emergence of a new European economy, based on financial market integration and manifold processes of financialization, has brought about fundamental changes of European capitalism as well as of societal and intergovernmental power relations.



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**Illing Gerhard**

**Should the euro area be concerned about deflation?**

in *Intereconomics*, Volume 49, Issue 3, May 2014 , 114-115

No abstract available

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*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

**Kenealy Daniel, MacLennan Stuart**

**Sincere Cooperation, Respect for Democracy and EU Citizenship: Sufficient to Guarantee Scotland's Future in the European Union?**

in *European law journal*, Volume 20, Issue 5 , 591-612

The position of an independent Scotland within the European Union (EU) has recently been a subject of considerable debate. The European Commission has argued that any newly independent state formed from the territory of an existing Member State would require an Accession Treaty. This article critiques that official position and distinguishes between a set of claims that could be made on behalf of an independent Scottish state, and a set of claims that could be made on behalf of the citizens of an independent Scottish state vis-à-vis the EU. It argues that the general principles of the EU Treaties ought to govern how Scotland is treated, and that a new Accession Treaty is not necessary. Furthermore, notwithstanding the jurisprudence of the European Court of Justice (ECJ) in the area of EU citizenship, we conclude that EU citizenship itself is not sufficient to guarantee or generate membership of the EU.

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**Burgi Noëlle**

**Societies without citizens: The anomic impacts of labor market restructuring and the erosion of social rights in Europe**

in *European Journal of Social Theory*, Vol. 17, No. 3, August 2014 , 290-306

Abstract

This article studies the chronic and acute anomic social impacts of the development of market societies in Europe over the past few decades. Focusing on the firm but linking micro and macro levels, it argues that the passage from the welfare state to disembedded markets and neoliberal governance has generated individual and collective anomie by depriving social actors of agency and voice while caging them in the disciplinary constraints of an ideal competition society. Promoted by public and private governors animated by visions of managerial omnipotence, this reconfiguration has hollowed out the cluster of rights that was the basis of democratic and social citizenship in Europe. The article discusses the manifestations of anomie, stressing the violence flowing from the radical uncertainty to which atomized employees and more broadly citizens are facing in the reification of collective goals, which have been reduced to



participation in market society. Drawing on the classical literature (Durkheim, Parsons, Merton) but expanding upon it, the article examines exit solutions, at the individual and collective levels, involving violence against the self (suicide) and others (mobbing, xenophobia, fascism), and concludes that Europe seems to be heading towards a protracted period of danger-laden chronic and acute anomie.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

Cadilhac Cécile

**Soft law et procédure de conclusion des accords externes de l'Union européenne: illustration d'un paradoxe**  
in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 576, mars , 144-151

The comparison of the European Union external agreement signing procedure and of soft law may come somewhat as a surprise. Whereas the former, detailed in article 218 of the TFUE, is characterised by a succession of sentences that show its strong degree of formalism, the use of the latter mainly meets the wish to escape procedural constraints to prefer more flexibility and efficiency. However, a number of soft law instruments are involved in the framework of the international agreement signing procedure, either by controlling or supervising it. There then arises the apparent paradox : those soft law instruments do not generate a reduction or acceleration in the external agreement signing procedure. On the contrary, they seem to make weigh new constraints on the institutions taking part in the procedure.

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*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

Broner Fernando, Erce Aitor, Martin Alberto, Ventura Jaume

**Sovereign debt markets in turbulent times: Creditor discrimination and crowding-out effects**  
in *Journal of Monetary Economics*, Volume 61, January 2014 , 114-142

In 2007, countries in the euro zone periphery were enjoying stable growth, low deficits, and low spreads. Then the financial crisis erupted and pushed them into deep recessions, raising their deficits and debt levels. By 2010, they were facing severe debt problems. Spreads increased and, surprisingly, so did the share of the debt held by domestic creditors. Credit was reallocated from the private sector to the public sector, reducing investment and deepening the recessions even further. To account for these facts, we propose a simple model of sovereign risk in which debt can be traded in secondary markets. The model has two key ingredients: creditor discrimination and crowding-out effects. Creditor discrimination arises because, in turbulent times, sovereign debt offers a higher expected return to domestic creditors than to foreign ones. This provides incentives for domestic purchases of debt. Crowding-out effects arise because private borrowing is limited by financial frictions. This implies that domestic debt purchases displace productive investment. The model shows that these purchases reduce growth and welfare, and may lead to self-fulfilling crises. It also shows how crowding-out effects can be transmitted to other countries in the euro zone, and how they may be addressed by policies at the European level.

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*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

Corsetti Giancarlo, Kuester Keith, Meier André, Müller Gernot J.



**Sovereign risk and belief-driven fluctuations in the euro area**

in *Journal of Monetary Economics*, Volume 61, January 2014 , 53-73

Sovereign risk premia in several euro area countries have risen markedly since 2008, driving up credit spreads in the private sector as well. We propose a New Keynesian model of a two-region monetary union that accounts for this “sovereign risk channel.” The model is calibrated to the euro area as of mid-2012. We show that a combination of sovereign risk in one region and strongly procyclical fiscal policy at the aggregate level exacerbates the risk of belief-driven deflationary downturns. The model provides an argument in favor of coordinated, asymmetric fiscal stances as a way to prevent self-fulfilling debt crises.

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English Robert David, Svyatetsa Ekaterina (Kate)

**Soviet elites and European integration: from Stalin to Gorbachev**

in *European History Quarterly*, Volume 44, No. 2, April , 219-233

This article argues that, like the liberalising “Great Reforms” of Russia in the mid-19th century, Mikhail Gorbachev's perestroika of the late 20th century was propelled as much by reformist intellectuals' Europe-inspired visions of a more humane society as it was by military-economic crisis. Over the post-Stalin decades, a new policy-academic elite – economists, philosophers, scientists and writers – viewed in the apparent success of East European reforms a model of “socialism with a human face” for their country's eventual reintegration into a “common European home.” Yet their understanding of European integration was too superficial, and their appreciation of communist hard-liners' resistance too belated, to carry their reforms to successful completion. This article also holds that Russian reformers' naiveté was compounded by Western leaders' selfishness and short-sightedness. The latter clung to Cold War beliefs that the Soviet system could not produce a genuine reformist movement. When Gorbachev came to power, his perestroika was considered merely a “ruse,” its ideas of “new thinking” ridiculed, and ultimately only the “shock therapy” of Boris Yeltsin merited significant Western aid despite its broad incompetence and vast corruption. The combined Western-Russian failures in 1990s efforts toward rapid marketisation and integration proved even more damaging than those of the 1980s due to their broad discrediting of Western liberal democracy.

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R. Daniel Kelemen, Anand Menon & Jonathan Slapin

**Special Issue: The European Union: wider and deeper?**

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 21, Issue 5 2014 , 643-646

Introduction to the Special Issue

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Yannick Lécuyer

**Splendeurs et misères de l'ordre politique européen – Contribution à l'étude de la construction jurisprudentielle**





**d'un ordre constitutionnel européen**

in *Revue trimestrielle des droits de l'homme*, n. 97

La jurisprudence de la Cour européenne des droits de l'homme relative au droit à des élections libres, à la liberté d'expression, à la liberté de réunion pacifique et à la liberté d'association, propose, au-delà de l'ordre public européen, fondement du contentieux européen des droits de l'homme, un ordre politique et démocratique européen original qui dépasse la simple ébauche. Il est devenu le principal levier de création d'une identité constitutionnelle en droit de la Convention. Toutefois, moins assumé par le juge européen, l'ordre politique européen est davantage exposé aux variations et régulièrement menacé de détérioration.

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Puttini Spartaco A.

**Stati Uniti d'Europa o Europa degli Stati Uniti?**

in *Eurasia Rivista di studi geopolitici*, XXXIII (1-2014), "Rifondare l'Unione Europea"

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

Alessandro Barbera

**Stati e banche**

in *Aspenia*, n. 65, giugno

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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L.C.

**Streeck: solo gli stati nazionali fermeranno il Leviatano neoliberale**

in *Reset*, Numero 151, Aprile

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Michele Messina

**Strengthening economic governance of the European Union through enhanced cooperation: a still possible, but already missed, opportunity**

in *European Law Review*, vol. 39, issue 3, 404-417



This article evaluates the Treaty establishing the European Stability Mechanism (ESM) and the Treaty on Stability, Coordination and Governance in the Economic and Monetary Union (TSCG) from the perspective of protection of the integrity and unity of the European integration process. It is argued that the objectives of those two Treaties could have been pursued within the EU legal order under the pre-existing legal framework. For the ESM, the analysis highlights the inconsistent behaviour of the euro zone members, who stipulated an international treaty while revising art.136 TFEU to introduce a specific EU legal basis for the ESM. It is then argued that the ESM could have most probably been established within the Union system even in the absence of the revision of the EU Treaties. As for the TSCG, the instruments available for the incorporation of its content into the EU legal order are analysed to assess whether they could also have been used without resorting to an international treaty.

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Egger Peter, Eggert Wolfgang, Larch Mario

**Structural Operations and Net Migration Across European Union Member Countries**

in *Review of International Economics*, Volume 22, Issue 2, May 2014

This paper analyzes the effects of international transfers to finance infrastructure on net migration flows among countries within the EU. A new economic geography model is employed with common pool financed infrastructure investments to derive a set of empirically testable hypotheses about the effects of transfer payments to finance infrastructure investments on migration. A significant effect of structural fund expenditures is identified on the bilateral net migration of workers among the EU member countries. On average, a one percentage point increase in the expenditures on structural funds (in per cent of gross domestic product (GDP)) leads to a reduction in the measure of bilateral net migration by about 0.4–0.8%.

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Dirk Leuffen, Thomas Malang and Sebastian Wörle

**Structure, Capacity or Power? Explaining Salience in EU Decision-Making**

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 52, Issue 3, May 2014 , 616-631

Salience as the intensity of interest is a key explanatory factor of European Union decision-making. In this article, the ability of three explanatory models to explain the realized values of Member States' salience is hypothesized and tested. On the basis of the DEU II data, the analysis shows that a mixture of national interest group heterogeneity and membership length has the highest predictive power. The results support the liberal intergovernmentalist claim that domestic interests determine European decision-making.

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Alexandra M.D. Hild, Bernhard Herz and Christian Bauer

**Structured Eurobonds: Limiting Liability and Distributing Profits**

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 52, Issue 2, March 2014 , 250-267



In this article, an alternative eurobond approach is developed by applying an asset-backed security (ABS) transaction to a pool of eurozone sovereign bonds. Based on the new approach two different rules to distribute the associated interest gains are analyzed. Within the ABS structure a special purpose vehicle buys a portfolio of eurozone sovereign bonds (pooling) and issues a set of subordinated eurobonds with varying risk and rating (tranching). A large share of less risky securities is created as structuring concentrates the default risk in one part of the capital structure. A trust fund covers first losses in case of a country default. This approach has three major advantages. First, all eurozone countries can gain from eurobonds. These benefits are driven by partial liability, which also limits moral hazard, and the distribution of interest gains to all participating countries. Second, the approach is very flexible and quickly implementable. Finally, it is in line with European Union law.

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Caterina Carta and Jean-Frédéric Morin

**Struggling over meanings: Discourses on the EU's international presence  
in Cooperation and Conflict**, 49 (3) , 295-314

The first section of this article arranges the four theoretical approaches and methods presented in the special issues – namely interpretative constructivism, post-structuralism, discursive institutionalism and critical discourse analysis – along two dimensions: (a) the role of discourse in the constitution of the world, depending on whether approaches perceive social structure as being constitutive of or constituted by discourse; and (b) interpretation of the weight of material and ideational elements in discourses. This model helps to make sense of the profound theoretical diversity that characterises analytical approaches to international relations discourse. The second section tackles the question of 'who does the speaking'. It identifies the different voices that converge in the EU's international choir and problematises the discursive environment that forges international discourses through the theoretical lenses of selected approaches. In the last section, the contributions to this special issue are presented.

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Cannone Andrea

**Su alcune recenti clausole giurisdizionali relative alla Corte di giustizia dell'Unione europea  
in Studi sull'integrazione europea**, anno VIII, n. 3, settembre-dicembre , 469-486

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Roger J. Goebel

**Supranational? Federal? Intergovernmental? The Governmental Structure of the European Union after the  
Treaty of Lisbon**  
in **Columbia Journal of European Law**, vol. 20, issue 1 , 77-142

The goal of this article is to provide an overview of the progressive augmentation of the supranational character of the



governmental structure of the initial EEC, gradually evolving into the present European Union, particularly as a consequence of revisions to the constituent Treaties. Part I of this article presents the European Commission, the initial institution whose structure and operations have always been markedly supranational in character and which has always been dedicated to the promotion of supranational goals. Part II examines the Council of Ministers, the political institution that is intrinsically intergovernmental in character, but whose operational role in the adoption of legislation and policies took on significant supranational features in the late 1980s. Part III then describes the European Parliament, which can be properly characterized as a supranational, or indeed federal, institution after it began to be directly elected in 1979, and which strongly promotes a supranational agenda. Part IV presents the intrinsically intergovernmental nature of the European Council, and then examines the impact of the Lisbon Treaty, which marks the start of a shift to a partially supranational operational role for that highest political body.

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**Sacriste Guillaume**

**Sur les logiques sociales du champ du pouvoir européen. L'exemple de l'affaire Dalli**

**in *Politique européenne*** , n. 44, 2014/2 , 52-96

This article explores the workings of the European field of power through the Dalli case. The alleged bribery of a European commissioner reveals how large European public relations firms operate as a go-between between private corporations and EU institutions. Drawing from the documentary evidence of this case, the paper argues that the European field of power is a strongly heteronomous "weak field" that is torn apart between, on the one hand, the national and the European and, on the other hand, the public and the private. I conclude that, in the current set-up, the private dominates the public, so that European institutions are very receptive to the interests of corporations.

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**Balbi Gabriele, Fari Simone, Calvo Spartaco, Richeri Giuseppe**

**Swiss Specialties. Switzerland's Role in the Genesis of the Telegraph Union, 1855-1875**

**in *Journal of European Integration History***, vol. 19, n. 2 , 207-226

This paper aims to rethink the early history of the Telegraph Union (today called the International Telecommunications Union) focusing on the political, diplomatic, economic and technical role played by Switzerland during the ten years preceding and following its creation (1855-1875). The ITU's history is a quite neglected topic in telecommunication history and the role of Switzerland in its formation and management has gone practically unnoticed by historians, which is surprising for three reasons. First, Switzerland was (and still is) the seat of the Bureau. Second, up to World War II, the Bureau's secretary was a Swiss citizen. Finally, the Bureau was placed under the direct control of the Swiss government. Our main statement is that the political economy of Switzerland (based on neutrality, diplomacy, internationalism, and technicity) influenced the origins of ITU.

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**Schimmelfennig Frank**



**Switzerland's Differentiated European Integration – What can we Learn from the Study of Europeanization?**  
in *Swiss Political Science Review - Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft - Revue suisse de science politique*, Volume 20, Issue 2, June 2014 , 255–258

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

Rebecca Adler-Nissen

**Symbolic power in European diplomacy: the struggle between national foreign services and the EU's External Action Service**

in *Review of International Studies (The)*, Volume 40 - Issue 04 , 657-681

National diplomacy is challenged by the rise of non-state actors from transnational companies to non-governmental organisations. In trying to explain these challenges, scholars tend to either focus on a specific new actor or argue that states will remain the dominant diplomatic players. This article develops an alternative Bourdieu-inspired framework addressing symbolic power. It conceptualises diplomacy in terms of a social field with agents (field incumbents and newcomers alike) who co-construct and reproduce the field by struggling for dominant positions. The framework is applied to the EU's new diplomatic service (the European External Action Service, EEAS), which is one of the most important foreign policy inventions in Europe to date. I show that the EEAS does not challenge national diplomacy in a material sense – but at a symbolic level. The EEAS questions the state's meta-capital, that is, its monopoly of symbolic power and this explains the counter-strategies adopted by national foreign services. The struggles to define the 'genuine' diplomat reveal a rupture in the European diplomatic field, pointing towards a transformation of European statehood and the emergence of a hybrid form of diplomacy. A focus on symbolic power opens up new avenues for the study of transformations of authority in world politics.

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Mangiameli Stelio

**THE EUROPEAN UNION AND THE IDENTITY OF MEMBER STATES**

in *Italian Papers on Federalism*, n. 3/2013

The issue of the meaning attached to Constituent Units in Federations and in the Federal Political Systems in Europe has an emblematic example in the European Union itself: this is perhaps the most important case study available both for the fact that it is the only true process that aggregates sovereign States in which the federalist idea has some influence, and for the political and cultural role that Europe still plays in the Western World; and also because of the economic globalization process that has modified the perception of the economic and financial wealth (assets and capital) that circulates in the world.

With regard to these three profiles, Europe is still in search of its identity and of its place in the global system which depends on the positions of its Member States. It may therefore be useful to consider the "Federation (the EU) from the standpoint of the States federated".

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Redoano Michela

**Tax competition among European countries. Does the EU matter?**

in *European Journal of Political Economy*, Volume 34, June 2014 , 353-371

This paper provides a simple theoretical model of capital tax competition between countries that differ in spatial location, and where cross-border investment costs are proportional to distance (a gravity model). We model EU membership as a reduction in 'distance' between countries. Precise predictions about reaction functions' intercepts and slopes are derived. In particular we find that joining the Union lowers the intercept and that all countries react more to member countries than they do to non-members. These predictions are largely confirmed using a panel data set of statutory corporate tax rates on Western European countries.

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Emek M Uçarer

**Tempering the EU? NGO advocacy in the Area of Freedom, Security, and Justice**

in *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* , Volume 27, Issue 1 , 127-146

No abstract available

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Matthes Jürgen

**Ten misconceptions about current account imbalances in the euro area**

in *Intereconomics*, Volume 49, Issue 3, May 2014 , 160-169

In the pre-crisis period, substantial current account imbalances built up in the euro area. Despite recent progress in economic rebalancing, especially in the countries mostly affected by the euro debt crisis, a controversial debate is still raging about past causes, current interpretations and future outlooks for the current account positions of euro area countries. This article examines ten common claims often heard in the public debate and critically discusses their economic foundation.

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Holden Patrick

**Tensions in the discourse and practice of the European Union's Aid for Trade**

in *Contemporary Politics*, Volume 20, Issue 1, 2014 , 90-102

The contemporary global Aid for Trade (AfT) agenda emerged out of world trade negotiations and it could have profound implications for the future of development aid, depending on how it is interpreted. The European Union (EU) has recontextualised this global agenda to suit its own approach to trade and development; specifically a focus on regional





integration, and free market but 'pro-poor' development models. AfT is ascribed a variety of purposes in EU texts and its use continues to adapt as the EU's trade and development policy evolves. Institutionally the AfT framework has not strongly affected EU processes, organisational structures or methodology. A study of the use of EU aid for regional integration reveals dissonance between its development relationship and its trade policies while a focus on pro-poor AfT reveals a lack of capacity. Overall, there are tensions not just between discourse and practice but between different discourses of the EU.

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Higgins Matthew, Klitgaard Thomas

**The Balance of Payments Crisis in the Euro Area Periphery**

in *Current Issues in Economics and Finance*, Volume 20, Number 2

Countries in the euro area periphery borrowed heavily from abroad in the years leading up to the sovereign debt crisis, largely to finance increased consumption and housing investment. When the crisis hit in 2010, capital flight by private investors forced these countries to bring domestic spending back into line with domestic incomes—the same adjustment required of countries facing a typical balance of payments crisis. Nevertheless, adjustment to the pullback of private capital was not as harsh as might have been expected, owing to the workings of the euro area's system for managing cross-border payment imbalances between regional commercial banks. This system, known as Target2, offset much of the capital flight with credits extended collectively by euro area central banks to central banks in the periphery.

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Pavlos Eleftheriadis

**The Content of European Citizenship**

in *German Law Journal*, vol. 15, issue 5, 777-795

Many European Union law scholars, commentators and politicians consider the creation of European citizenship by the Treaty of Maastricht an important landmark in the process towards "ever closer union." By marking a special relationship with the Union itself, citizenship epitomizes the growing maturity of the Union as a political community and not merely an economic project of a single market. Citizenship introduces the first elements of a political, social, and emotional bond between the peoples of Europe and their new Union. Nonetheless, the content of European citizenship remains a puzzle. The rights it grants are very different to those promised by states. When looked at in detail, it fails to match many of the most central elements of citizenship.

One of the problems in this area is that there is no single common core of citizenship rights. State citizenship in general marks a special relationship with a political community marked by a bundle of rights and duties, yet that relationship takes many forms. Some sociological accounts present a model of citizenship with many components disaggregated



and broken down as overlapping identifications. Nevertheless, even these theories presuppose that the primary case of citizenship is some type of special belonging or attachment to a political community. Multiple national or other identities do not challenge the idea of a special attachment to a single set of institutions. In fact, they presuppose it. A theory of citizenship must explain the content of this special bond between the citizens and his or her political community and must explain whether or to what extent such a special bond has moral value sufficient to create moral obligations on those sharing it.

A theory of European citizenship must accommodate the peculiar phenomenon of Union citizenship existing side by side with that of the member states.

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Haverland Markus

**The Continuous Importance of the Swiss Case for Europeanization Research**

in *Swiss Political Science Review - Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft - Revue suisse de science politique*, Volume 20, Issue 2, June 2014 , 252–254

No abstract available

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Gibson Heather D., Palivos Theodore, Tavlas George S.

**The Crisis in the Euro Area: An Analytic Overview**

in *Journal of Macroeconomics*, Volume 39, Part B, March 2014

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Attalides Michalis

**The Cyprus Problem after the 1999 Helsinki European Council**

in *Mediterranean Quarterly*, Volume 25, Number 1, Winter , 22-53

This essay attempts to assess the consequences of the so-called Helsinki Strategy since its creation at the Helsinki European Council of December 1999. It analyzes the strategy's interrelations with other processes involved in developments related to the Cyprus problem. Despite the fears and criticisms expressed at the time and the complex of events and processes that followed, the decisions affecting Cyprus, Turkey, and Greece at the Helsinki Council reflected a degree of "Europeanization" of a conflict situation. It is also argued that the contents of the Annan Plan for Cyprus's reunification and the outcomes of the referenda on that plan in 2004 are not the results of the Helsinki Strategy but have a different origin.

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Wade Jacoby

**The EU Factor in Fat Times and in Lean: Did the EU Amplify the Boom and Soften the Bust?**

in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 52, Issue 1, January 2014 , 52-70

This article describes the EU's impact on economic performance in the new Member States since the advent of membership. It first deals with the EU's role in promoting the economic boom that marked the region up to 2007, emphasizing the role of the single market and of the EU in anchoring and encouraging economic policy liberalization. The second section investigates the EU role in buffering the bust that occurred after 2007, looking at structural fund spending and financial sector instruments to enhance liquidity. I argue the EU had a (mostly unintentional) pro-cyclical effect that fuelled the boom and contributed to setting up the region for a very hard fall during the bust. I also show the EU efforts to buffer the hard times were far quicker in the area of structural fund spending compared to very slow and limited innovation in liquidity provision, especially for non-eurozone states.

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François Heisbourg

**The EU Without the Euro**

in **Survival**, Volume 56, Issue 2 , 27-48

The single currency was supposed to have led to greater political union, but the policies taken to ensure its survival are having the opposite effect. An orderly retreat from the euro might be the EU's least-bad option.

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Fakhoury Tamirace

**The EU and Lebanon in the Wake of the Arab Uprisings**

in **Middle East Policy**, Volume 21, Issue 1, Spring , 133-143

Full text available at <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/mepo.12063/pdf>

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Florence Gaub

**The EU and Libya and the Art of the Possible**

in **International Spectator (The)**, Vol. 49, No. 3

In spite of geographic proximity and a number of shared interests, the European Union and Libya have a history of strained relations. The war of 2011 provided an opportunity for a fresh start, but so far neither side has been able to reap benefits from an entirely new political situation. Instead, Libya's difficult internal situation has not only slowed down the process of rapprochement, but also increased EU concern. At a time when cooperation becomes a necessity rather than



a choice, Libya is now down-spiralling into implosion at the levels of security, bureaucracy and economy, to the point where it cannot absorb the offers being made.

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*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

Neil MacFarlane & Anand Menon

**The EU and Ukraine**

in *Survival*, Volume 56, Issue 3 , 95-101

EU members did not take long-standing Russian positions seriously, assumed any neighbour would be eager to sign up for 'more Europe', and have failed to generate a viable reply to Moscow's intervention.

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*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

Lorenzo Trombetta

**The EU and the Syrian Crisis as Viewed from the Middle East**

in *International Spectator (The)*, Vol. 49, No. 3

Seen through the eyes of Syrian activists and other observers based in the Middle East, EU policy towards Syria could in some ways appear inconsistent and ambiguous. In Brussels, EU representatives remind us that the Syrian crisis is the most difficult one the European Union has had to face so far, for the unprecedented scope of the humanitarian catastrophe, its geographic proximity to the Union's borders, and the difficulties in deciphering a fluid and multi-dimensional conflict. After more than three years since the eruption of violence, the EU is trying hard to play a pivotal role in the Syrian issue, despite the complexity of balancing its institutions, the different political sensibilities of its 28 member states, and the pressures exerted by influent external actors.

Keywords: European Union, Syria, activism, civil society

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Henrik Larsen

**The EU as a Normative Power and the Research on External Perceptions: The Missing Link**

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 52, Issue 4, July 2014 , 896-910

In research on European foreign policy two important axes of debate have been running relatively independently of each other for more than a decade: the study of the European Union as a normative power (NPE) and the study of external perceptions of the EU. However, the studies of external perception offer some findings that are central for the NPE debate. This article's argument is that the external perceptions literature points to a limited (if still identifiable) perception of the EU as a normative power depending on the geographical area. By comparison, the image of a powerful economic actor is prevalent. The article raises the question of whether the thin and geographically varied character of the perceptions relating to the EU as a normative power justifies the general designation of NPE. A new agenda focusing on geographical differences and interaction with other sources of power is outlined.



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**Tosun Jale, Wetzel Anne, Zapryanova Galina**

**The EU in Crisis: Advancing the Debate**

in *Journal of European Integration*, vol. 36, n. 3, April, Special Issue: Coping with Crisis: Europe's Challenges and Strategies , 195-211

The European Union (EU) has experienced an unprecedented economic and financial crisis since 2007, the effects of which form the object of analysis in this Special Issue. In particular, it addresses the questions of whether and how the crisis has served as an obstacle or an opportunity for further integration. It concentrates on two broad types of implications for the EU that are central elements of theories on integration and policy and public opinion change. First, the crisis has triggered events of proposed and actual change of policies and institutions. Second, the crisis and the EU's response to it have had an impact on how citizens perceive the EU and its democratic legitimacy. Based on the contributions by scholars of European integration, this Special Issue concludes that, at least in the short run, the crisis has (overall) created an opportunity structure for European integration rather than an obstacle. At the same time, the contributions show the need for further research on the nexus of public opinion and politicization on the one side and institutional and policy change on the other.

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**Eder Klaus**

**The EU in search of its people: The birth of a society out of the crisis of Europe**

in *European Journal of Social Theory*, Vol. 17, No. 3, August 2014 , 219-237

Abstract

The article argues that the 'crisis of Europe', triggered by market and governance dysfunctions (summarized as the Euro crisis), represents a 'critical moment' in the evolution of a European society. This society so far does not offer much resistance to such critical moments which is due to its incapacity to form a demos capable of acting together. The existing European society – and this is the basic claim – is nothing but the sum of individuals living in 'sub-European' (mainly national) groups. The evolution triggered by this critical situation opens pathways to turn these peoples of Europe into something more than being a sum of peoples governed by supranational bureaucracies. To decipher such processes a model is presented using Hirschman's idea of exit, voice and loyalty as mechanisms to generate social ties. Two points arise as crucial. The first is the observation that national societies which continue to provide foundational claims for people have turned into interest groups in the context of the European Union. This undermines not only the ontological nationalism still dominating the self-presentation of national societies in Europe, but it also offers evolutionary paths towards a society beyond national foundational claims in Europe. Yet it also provokes reactive processes such as the return to the self-contained nation (or even ethnic group). This is the core of the crisis of Europe. The systemic crises of the state and the market in Europe are speeding up an evolutionary process of people-making, the outcome of which could be either the regression to a people with foundational identities or to a people without foundational identities. The latter will be described as a postnational society, which would make an emerging European society the first really



modern society.

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Jonathan Joseph

**The EU in the Horn of Africa: Building Resilience as a Distant Form of Governance**

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 51, Issue 2, March 2013 , 285-301

The EU has recently got involved in resilience building. This article concentrates on the SHARE project relating to resilience building in the Horn of Africa. It suggests that resilience is best understood as part of a particular approach to governance. By employing the concept of governmentality it is suggested that the resilience project is part of a broader strategy that seeks to govern from a distance. It is argued that this is consistent with two other developments. First it fits with new approaches to development and global governance, something that is shown through a comparison with the work of USAID. And it fits with the EU's own internal processes both in the field of risk and disaster preparedness, and in relation to things like the open method of co-ordination. Resilience has emerged as an important new approach and this will be at the heart of internal and external EU relations.

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Gava Roy, Varone Frédéric

**The EU's Footprint in Swiss Policy Change: A Quantitative Assessment of Primary and Secondary Legislation (1999-2012)**

in *Swiss Political Science Review - Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft - Revue suisse de science politique*, Volume 20, Issue 2, June 2014 , 216–222

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

Jörg Monar

**The EU's growing external role in the AFSJ domain: factors, framework and forms of action**

in *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* , Volume 27, Issue 1 , 147-166

External action has been of growing importance for the Union's Area of Freedom, Security and Justice (AFSJ) and accounted in 2011 already for over 19 per cent of all texts adopted by the Justice and Home Affairs Council. AFSJ related external action has also added a new dimension to previously existing fields of EU external relations. This article first considers the internal and external factors which have influenced the development the external side of the AFSJ and the impact of the post-Lisbon legal and institutional framework, including the special context created by the 'opt-outs' and coherence problems within this framework. It then provides a survey and analysis of the main forms of EU action in this domain (strategy formulation, cooperation with third countries, capacity-building and cooperation with and within international organizations) before assessing—in the conclusions—the implications of this external dimension for





both the EU and the Member States and its future developments prospects.

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**Ayse Kaya**

**The EU's China problem: A battle over norms**

**in International Politics** , Volume 51, Issue 2 , 214-233

This article contends that China's rise is negatively affecting the European Union (EU)'s ability to act as a 'normative' and 'civilian' power in international relations. Specifically, China's rise, and the European reactions to this rise, are interfering with the EU's ability to spread 'new sovereignty', which holds that sovereignty is violable and interference in other states' internal affairs is valid, particularly when human rights issues are concerned. New sovereignty not only defines the EU as a political entity, but also the EU has actively pursued it in its external relations. In contrast to the EU, China has been defending 'traditional sovereignty', which sees human rights as a domestic matter. These competing notions of sovereignty also lead to contrasting models of economic development by the two powers. In discussions of new versus traditional sovereignty, the article focuses on two crucial areas – the role of human rights in the EU-China relationship as well as the two parties' interactions with countries in Africa. These discussions offer insights into both the projection of the EU's power and the impact of China's rise on the international system.

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**Bosse Giselle**

**The Eastern Partnership and the disintegration of Eastern Europe: The end of the region-building project?**

**in European View** , vol. 13, n. 1, June, special issue "A Changing Eastern Neighbourhood" , 97-108

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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**Marty Nicolas**

**The Edification of a Common European Market of Bottled Waters. Issues, Actors and Progress of the Negotiations Related to Regulation 80/777 on Bottled Water, 1950s to 1980s**

**in Journal of European Integration History**, vol. 19, n. 2 , 227-242

Bottled water has become since the late 1980s a symbol of mass consumption society by spreading across all continents. This typically European product had its first developments in very different regulation contexts. After the Treaty of Rome, the European Communities, with the goal of breaking down non-tariff barriers, wanted to converge regulatory systems of many products, including bottled water. This article, by returning to the issues, actors, the progress and the results of the harmonization of the regulation of mineral water aims to show that the standards do not impose themselves, but are the result of power struggles involving a multiplicity of actors and institutions. The CE standard was without a doubt one of the reasons for the success of the product "mineral water" in the years that followed. Institutions involved in the control system inspired trust in the product.



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**The Egyptian Transition, 2011–13: How Strategic to Europe?**

in *Middle East Policy*, Volume 21, Issue 1, Spring

Full text available at <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/mepo.12065/pdf>

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Ekelund Helena

**The Establishment of FRONTEX: A New Institutional Approach**

in *Journal of European Integration*, vol. 36, n. 2, February , 99-116

As border management continues to be a contentious and fast developing policy area in the EU, a better understanding of FRONTEX is needed. This article takes the new institutionalist approach that the functioning of institutions is dependent on the conditions under which they emerge. Drawing on documentary resources and semi-structured interviews with EU officials, the article traces the process leading to the establishment of FRONTEX. It argues that a proper understanding of agency creation and design requires us to look beyond rational choice institutionalist explanations and take into account social processes and historical contexts. Expectations derived from the three main strands of new institutionalism (rational choice institutionalism, sociological institutionalism and historical institutionalism) are not mutually exclusive and can function as conceptual lenses drawing attention to different aspects of agency creation.

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Zahorka Hans-Jürgen, Sargsyan Ofelya

**The Eurasian Customs Union: an alternative to the EU's Association Agreements?**

in *European View* , vol. 13, n. 1, June, special issue "A Changing Eastern Neighbourhood" , 89-96

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Honkapohja Seppo

**The Euro Area Crisis: A View from the North**

in *Journal of Macroeconomics*, Volume 39, Part B, March 2014 , 260-271

The paper provides an overview of the sovereign debt crisis. I first consider the build-up of the crisis. I then discuss policy choices when a financial crisis erupts and assess the adjustment processes in the crisis countries, including



alternatives to policies of austerity. Finally I take up institutional improvements that can help in resolving the current crisis and avoiding a future one. These include the banking union and the strengthened Stability and Growth Pact and related institutional rules. Current high levels of public and private debt together with still weak bank balance sheets are a major unsolved problem.

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Erik Jones & R. Daniel Kelemen

**The Euro Goes to Court**

in *Survival*, Volume 56, Issue 2 , 15-23

Germany's highest court stopped short of ruling the European Central Bank's programme to support the euro illegal. Now the European Court of Justice must find a way to make the programme acceptable without making it ineffective.

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Isernia Pierangelo, Fishkin James S.

**The EuroPolis deliberative poll**

in *European Union Politics* , vol. 15, n. 3, September, Special issue: Can European elections be deliberative? The 2009 EuroPolis deliberative poll , 311-327

This special issue focuses on EuroPolis, a unique experiment in 'deliberative democracy' at the European level convened in Brussels soon before the 2009 European Parliamentary Elections. A European wide random sample of the 27 member countries at the time was gathered to deliberate about two key issues--climate change and immigration as well as its voting intentions. The articles in the special issue focus on this Deliberative Poll, both quantitatively and qualitatively to assess what it tells us about ambitious versions of a 'European wide public sphere.' Can the citizens of Europe deliberate together across all the barriers of language and nationality? Can there be a credible process of European wide 'public will formation' about substantive policy issues and about voting?

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Belke Ansgar, Verheyen Florian

**The European Central Bank and the Financing Conditions of Small and Medium-Sized Enterprises in Europe**

in *Rivista di politica economica*, IV-VI 2014

Small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) play a crucial role in innovation, economic growth and job creation. Generally, SMEs face special problems when trying to access funding. Their situation is further complicated by the European economic crisis and a fragmentation of financial markets in the euro area. Funding conditions differ between the countries of the euro area. Claims have emerged that the ECB should more explicitly address the financing problems of SMEs. In this contribution we provide an overview of the current situation of SMEs and evaluate whether it should be the central bank that helps to overcome their funding difficulties.



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John Grahl and Photis Lysandrou

**The European Commission's Proposal for a Financial Transactions Tax: A Critical Assessment**

in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 52, Issue 2, March 2014 , 234-249

A financial activities tax (FAT) and a financial transactions tax (FTT) are the main alternative ways of recouping some of the public money used to bail out the financial sector after the great crisis of 2007–08. In preparing a common proposal for the European Union, the European Commission initially appeared to favour the FAT, but then swung its weight behind the FTT in late 2011. Its rationale was that in addition to generating revenue, this tax could also help to stabilize the financial markets by curbing excessive speculative trading. This article takes a different position. Its central argument is that the FTT would amplify rather than dampen market instability by interfering with the functions of important financial institutions. Its chief conclusion is that the FAT is superior to the FTT.

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Constâncio Vítor

**The European Crisis and the Role of the Financial System**

in **Journal of Macroeconomics**, Volume 39, Part B, March 2014 , 250-259

The paper aims to provide a deep rationale for Banking Union in the euro area. It shows that the banking sectors of core and peripheral countries were responsible for financing the credit boom that created the imbalances and vulnerabilities that later were at the centre of the crisis. The increase of debt ratios in the periphery until 2007 was more significant for the private sector than for the public sector. The crisis has been as much a banking crisis as a sovereign debt crisis and to avoid similar future risks a European Supervisor and a Resolution Authority are essential.

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Bordo Michael, James Harold

**The European Crisis in the Context of the History of Previous Financial Crises**

in **Journal of Macroeconomics**, Volume 39, Part B, March 2014 , 275-284

There are some striking similarities between the pre 1914 gold standard and EMU today. Both arrangements are based on fixed exchange rates, monetary and fiscal orthodoxy. Each regime gave easy access by financially underdeveloped peripheral countries to capital from the core countries. But the gold standard was a contingent rule – in the case of an emergency like a major war or a serious financial crisis – a country could temporarily devalue its currency. The EMU has no such safety valve. Capital flows in both regimes fueled asset price booms via the banking system ending in major crises in the peripheral countries. But not having the escape clause has meant that present day Greece and other peripheral European countries have suffered much greater economic harm than did Argentina in the Baring Crisis of 1890.



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Bauman Zygmunt

**The European Elections, Politics and Inequality**

in **Social Europe Journal**, Volume 8, Issue 1, Summer/Autumn 2014 , 5-10

The full text is free:

<http://www.social-europe.eu/pdf-editions/>

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Revoltella Debora

**The European Investment crisis**

in **Intereconomics**, Volume 49, Issue 4, July 2014 , 182-183

No abstract available

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Mangiameli Stelio

**The European Union and the Identity of Member States**

in **Europe en formation (L')**, n. 369, 2013/3 , 151 à 168

The Member States' (MS) identity delimits the European competences and the integration process, because the essential inviolable core of their constitution can be opposed to European law. Nevertheless, the European integration process and the basis of the legal sovereignty of the European order started not from the national constitutions, but from the common will of the Member States to give life to a common legal order.

The situation of the last decade shows some fractures in the integration process, which call into question the same legal sovereignty of the European Union. Indeed, de facto, some MS have obtained a different position in respect to the others. That can be seen in the veto expressed by France (2005), in the political opinion of the German Constitutional Court in the Lisbon-Judgment (2009) and in the Fiscal Stability Treaty (2012). In particular, the latter it has been released as an assignment of budget-sovereignty not of the EU, but evidently of some MS.

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Sergio Fabbrini

**The European Union and the Libyan crisis**

in **International Politics** , Volume 51, Issue 2 , 177-195



This article investigates the European Union (EU)'s answer to the Libya crisis of 2011 to show the unresolved dilemmas of an intergovernmental approach to foreign and defence policies. The Lisbon Treaty has institutionalized a dual constitution or decision-making regime: supranational for the policies of the single market, and intergovernmental for the policies traditionally at the core of national sovereignty, such as foreign and defence policies. In the most significant test for the EU foreign and defence policies in the post-Lisbon era, the intergovernmental approach generated unsatisfactory outcomes because it was unable to solve structural and institutional problems of collective action. Without revising the intergovernmental constitution, it will be difficult for the EU as an actor to play a role in international politics in the future.

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George Christou

**The European Union's human security discourse: where are we now?  
in *European Security*, Volume 23, Issue 3 , 364-381**

The language of human security has been prominent in the European Union's (EU) official discourse for a number of years. However, whilst it has been promoted as a new approach for the EU in the development of its security and defence policy, the aim of this article is to assess the extent to which it actually features in the EU's contemporary strategic discourse and practice. It seeks to uncover where and how the concept is spoken within the EU's institutional milieu, how it is understood by the relevant policy-makers in the EU and the implication of this across key areas of human security practice. It is argued in the article that human security has not been embedded as the driving strategic concept for Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) in an era of crisis and change in Europe and beyond and that the prospects for this materialising in the near future are rather thin.

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Blokker Paul

**The European crisis and a political critique of capitalism  
in *European Journal of Social Theory*, Vol. 17, No. 3, August 2014 , 258-274**

Abstract

The European crisis has provoked widespread critique of capitalist arrangements in most if not all countries in Europe. But to what extent do contemporary social protest and critique indicate a revival of critical capacity? The range of criticisms against the existing capitalist system raised by various social movements is seen as ineffectual and fragmented. Such observations are mirrored in sociological analyses of the critique of capitalism. A distinct type of critique of capitalism has, however, not been explicitly conceptualized. This political critique, denouncing the depoliticization and the erosion of autonomy resulting from capitalist arrangements, indicates the crucial role of the political in formulating common projects. The article will, first, briefly discuss Boltanski and Chiapello's historical identification of forms of critique of capitalism as well as the contemporary relevance of these. In a second step, it will conceptualize and in a way recuperate a political critique of capitalism. In a third step, it will show that the contours of a critique that explicitly refers to the political is available in the contemporary European context, not least in claims made by movements that pursue a 'Europe of the Commons' and an 'alternative Europe'.





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Cathleen Kantner

**The European public sphere and the debate about humanitarian military interventions in European Security**, Volume 23, Issue 4 , 409-429

Studies on the democratic control and legitimacy of Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) have thus far mostly focused on formal institutions. However, a comprehensive analysis requires including the 'sociocultural infrastructure' in which such formal institutions are embedded. Students of democracy have argued that the public sphere is a crucial dimension, if not a precondition for all mechanisms of democratic control in general. This paper investigates whether and in which ways Europeans participated in transnational European communication on humanitarian military interventions (1990–2005/2006). The paper analyzes a full sample of 108,677 newspaper articles published in leading newspapers of six EU member states, and the US as a comparative case. It demonstrates that the 'national' arenas of political communication are intertwined and allow ordinary citizens to make up their minds about common European issues in the highly controversial and normatively sensitive realm of humanitarian military interventions.

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Lütz Susanne, Kranke Matthias

**The European rescue of the Washington Consensus? EU and IMF lending to Central and Eastern European countries**

*in Review of International Political Economy*, Volume 21, Issue 2, 2014 , 310-338

The global financial crisis has transformed the relationship between the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the European Union (EU). Until the crisis, the IMF had not lent to EU member states in decades, but now the two organisations closely coordinate their lending policies. In the Latvian and Romanian programmes, the IMF and the EU advocated different loan terms. Surprisingly, the EU embraced 'Washington Consensus'-style measures more willingly than did the IMF, which much of the contemporary literature still portrays as an across-the-board promoter of orthodox macroeconomic policies. We qualify this stereotypical characterisation by arguing from a constructivist perspective that the degree of an organisation's autonomy from its members depends on the interpretation of its mandate. IMF staff viewed the Fund's technical mandate as an opportunity to react rather flexibly to the challenges of the latest crisis. By contrast, European Commission, as well as European Central Bank (ECB), staff interpreted the vast body of supranational rules as necessitating stricter adherence to economic orthodoxy. Thus, IMF lending policies were more flexible and, at least on fiscal issues, also less contractionary.

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Afonso Alexandre, Fontana Marie-Christine, Papadopoulos Yannis

**The Europeanisation of Swiss Decision-Making in Comparative Perspective: From Outlier to Normal Case?**

*in Swiss Political Science Review - Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft - Revue suisse de science politique*, Volume 20, Issue 2, June 2014 , 246–251



No abstract available

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Wiesner, Claudia

**The Europeanization of Citizenship: Conceptual Innovations, Legal Changes, and Development of New Institutional Practices**

in **Contributions to the History of Concepts**, Vol. 9, n°1 , 88-104

The development of citizenship in the framework of European integration has been marked by conceptual innovations. This article concentrates on three of its elements: antidiscrimination rights, the concept of Union Citizenship, and the right to free movement. In these cases, either concepts were newly coined, or already-established concepts were newly interpreted in the context of the European Union by the European Commission or by the Council. In a second step, they were then incorporated into new EU citizenship laws and then transferred into national legislation and national political and administrative practice. During the implementation phase in the member states, the innovations often led to conflicts related to the interpretation of the new concepts in political and administrative practice. The article discusses the related processes as a pattern of conceptual innovation by law making that is typical for the EU.

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Fischer Manuel, Sciarini Pascal

**The Europeanization of Swiss Decision-Making Processes**

in **Swiss Political Science Review - Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft - Revue suisse de science politique**, Volume 20, Issue 2, June 2014 , 239–245

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Offe Claus

**The Europolis experiment and its lessons for deliberation on Europe**

in **European Union Politics** , vol. 15, n. 3, September, Special issue: Can European elections be deliberative? The 2009 Europolis deliberative poll , 430-441

The Europolis experiment took place at a time when the worst crisis in the history of the EU began to unfold. There is little confidence that the year 2014 (or any later year in the near future) will bring its definitive resolution that would also have to minimize the risk of the crisis repeating itself. The crisis can be understood as consisting of three interrelated components: the political economy of the Euro zone and its dynamics, an inadequate institutional shell of the EU polity and its deficient democratic quality, and the widespread disenchantment of publics in Europe with the narratives about what 'Europe' is good for and what the finalité might be that would make its further integration intrinsically desirable.

In a nutshell, the crisis unfolded in four stages. First, as in the US, the financial industries engaged in risky, often



frivolous kinds of investments, correctly trusting that, if investments failed on a significant scale, national governments would step in to bail them out. Second, governments, lacking any viable alternative, did as expected, thus causing an economic crisis with sharp (if uneven, given the vast economic differences between Euro zone members) declines in Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and employment. Third, in order to rescue the Euro monetary system and to prevent the depression from becoming ever deeper, governments had to rely on banks (including the European Central Bank (ECB)) to provide deeply indebted sovereigns with the liquidity needed to rescue their economies. Fourth, there is no democratic mechanism in place at the EU level that would allow for the legitimation of the major redistributive effects that any conceivable economic rescue operation would involve.

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Steinbrück Peer

**The Eurozone Crisis and the Future of the European Union**

in **Social Europe Journal**, Volume 7, Issue 2, Summer/Autumn 2013 , 5-8

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Eichengreen Barry, Jung Naeun, Moch Stephen, Mody Ashoka

**The Eurozone Crisis: Phoenix Miracle or Lost Decade?**

in **Journal of Macroeconomics**, Volume 39, Part B, March 2014 , 288-308

We analyze why the Eurozone crisis increasingly resembles Latin America's lost decade instead of Asia's phoenix miracle, emphasizing the roles of the real exchange rate, the external environment, and debt restructuring. In addition, we contrast the adjustment to housing bubbles in Ireland, Spain and the U.S. Here our explanation for the contrast departs from the conventional wisdom in placing less emphasis on labor mobility but more on participation rates and bank mergers and acquisitions in the adjustment process.

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Lo Vuolo Rubén

**The Eurozone crisis in light of the Latin American experience**

in **European Journal of Social Theory**, Vol. 17, No. 3, August 2014 , 359-374

Abstract

Many scholars have looked for similarities between the recent crisis in the Eurozone and the crises that have occurred in the past in developing countries and particularly in Latin America. Problems of balance of payments, public debt, overvaluation of the exchange rate and unregulated capital inflows are frequently mentioned to compare common



features of different crisis events. Additionally, Continental European countries are following similar processes of welfare state retrenchment and labour market segmentation to Latin American cases in the past, but in different institutional contexts and with different levels of economic development. This article will discuss common features of past Latin American crises and the current crisis in the Eurozone in order to show how such a comparison could help to manage (and avoid) crises in an integrated financial world as well as to teach how a faulty institutional design can arise from a defective understanding of how financial capitalism works in a complex internationally integrated economic system.

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**Bilbao-Ubillos Javier**

**The Failure of European Governance of the Crisis**

**in *European Review*, Volume 22 - Issue 03 , 361 - 381**

The current euro crisis, considered by the IMF to be the new heart of the international economic crisis, has its historical roots in the process of construction of the European Monetary Union (EMU). The resulting architecture of economic governance in the EU has revealed itself to contain serious shortcomings in both ideological terms (design of a coherent exit strategy) and institutional terms (procedures, irreversibility and implementation times of the decisions made). As a result, the responses made by Europe have been late, hesitant, sometimes lacking in intensity and inconsistent in their attempts to manage the crisis.

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**Rebecca Adler-Nissen**

**The Faroe Islands Independence dreams, globalist separatism and the Europeanization of postcolonial home rule**

**in *Cooperation and Conflict*, 49 (1) , 55-79**

This article examines the intersection of postimperial sovereignty and European integration in the context of a disintegrating Nordic empire. More specifically, it explores the relationships between the Faroe Islands – a group of self-governing islands in the North Atlantic – Denmark and the rest of the world. While the Faroe Islands have gained increased autonomy from Denmark, Faroese separatists are now discussing whether to transfer their newly won autonomy further on to the EU. This contradictory development of separation and integration is shaped by interweaving ideas of sovereignty, nationalism, globalization and postcolonial dependency. The article shows that the Faroese–Danish relationship is being internationalized and Europeanized as the EU and UN become reference points in negotiations of political visions for an independent Faroese state and the controversial issue of pilot whaling. Notwithstanding dramatic transformations, the Faroese–Danish relationship has maintained its postcolonial character, where Denmark is awkwardly constituted as a maternalistic colonial power defending an adolescent colonized from the rest of the world. The real novelty is not the increased Faroese autonomy from Denmark, but how the EU challenges the unity of the postimperial Danish realm and hence the myth of a homogenous Danish nation-state.

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Mavroyiannis Andreas D.

**The Geopolitical Role of Cyprus in the Wider Context of the European Union**  
in *Mediterranean Quarterly*, Volume 25, Number 1, Winter , 54-64

This essay explains how Cyprus is positioned to play a constructive and stabilizing role in the eastern Mediterranean and how valuable this role can be for the foreign and security policy of the European Union. Offshore hydro-carbon discoveries in Cyprus's exclusive economic zone can transform the island into a regional energy hub and an important pillar for Europe's energy security and diversification. At the same time, these discoveries can create an additional impetus to end the long division of the island.

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Luigi Bonatti and Andrea Fracasso

**The German Model and the European Crisis**

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 51, Issue 6, November 2013 , 1023-1039

The large current account imbalances in the eurozone reflect persistent diverging trends between core and periphery countries, also fed by low interest rates and abundant capital flows brought about by the introduction of the euro. With the global financial crisis, the market sentiment has changed, and capital has left the periphery countries suffering from debt and growth problems due to their failure to bring price–wage dynamics into uniformity with those of the more disciplined countries. Germany is called upon to provide financial assistance and additional external demand; however, though the euro is at stake, Germans are recalcitrant. This article investigates the rationale of the German stance in light of the (corporatist-etatist, neo-mercantilist) German socio-economic model and the widespread concern about losing the competitiveness that Germany regained through painful reforms and changes in the last two decades.

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Hollis Simon

**The Global Construction of EU Development Policy**

in *Journal of European Integration*, vol. 36, n. 6, September , 567-583

At the turn of the twentieth century, 191 countries agreed to realize the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). The European Union (EU) has incorporated many of these goals into its development policies. However, the effect of the MDGs on the construction of EU development policy has not been achieved through a homogenous diffusion of global development norms, but through a heterogeneous process: some MDGs have had a greater impact on EU policy formation than others. By reconceptualizing the EU as a receiver of norms, this paper aims to locate the scope conditions of global norm convergence in EU development policy through a comparison of disaster risk reduction and urban development in slum dwellings. Informed through world society theory, the findings point to the importance of norm 'theorization' in explaining the scope conditions of norm diffusion.

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Braun Daniela, Tausendpfund Markus

**The Impact of the Euro Crisis on Citizens' Support for the European Union**

in *Journal of European Integration*, vol. 36, n. 3, April, Special Issue: Coping with Crisis: Europe's Challenges and Strategies , 231-245

Our paper investigates the impact of the global and the Euro crisis on citizens' attitudes towards the European Union (EU). We measure the impact of the Euro crisis on two different levels: First, the crisis itself at the contextual level and second, and more importantly, at the individual level, referring to citizens' perceptions of the crisis. Our main assumption is that during the crisis, economic explanations find their way back into the study of EU support. We test our hypotheses with 27 EU member states using different Eurobarometer surveys and apply descriptive statistics as well as multi-level regression analyses. Three conclusions emerge from the analysis: First, the impact of the Euro crisis is stronger than in the case of the global financial crisis. Second, support for the EU depends on both the contextual and the individual level although effects of the latter are more prevalent. Third, the effect of the individual perception of the crisis on EU support is stronger in Euro countries as well as in economically powerful countries. Altogether and contrary to major assumptions following post-functional arguments, our findings show that in times of the crisis economic factors again play a major role in the explanation of support for the EU. This leads to a rather critical evaluation for the future of the European integration process.

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Copsey Nathaniel, Pomorska Karolina

**The Influence of Newer Member States in the European Union: The Case of Poland and the Eastern Partnership**

in *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 66, n. 3, Special issue: "Assessing Accession: Power, Influence and Representation -Central and Eastern Europe in the EU" , 421-443

This article seeks to examine and assess the role of Poland in the early stages of the making of the Eastern Partnership of the European Union. First, it briefly reviews Poland's aims and ambitions with regard to the European Union's policy towards its eastern neighbours, both before and since it joined the European Union in 2004. Second, it describes and analyses the Eastern Partnership, including its added value for the European Neighbourhood Policy. Third, it draws on a range of interviews carried out by the authors in Brussels and Warsaw on Poland's role in the initial formation of the Eastern Partnership, as seen by its partners in the other member states and European institutions. In addition, it seeks to unpack some of the early stage lessons learnt by the Polish government about how best to achieve its ambitions in the European Union, and notes the remaining weaknesses of the Polish administration, particularly in the area of administrative capacity.

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Hu Kun

**The Institutional Innovation of the Lender of Last Resort Facility in the Eurozone**

in *Journal of European Integration*, vol. 36, n. 7, November , 627-640

The eurozone has experienced a liquidity squeeze since the outbreak of the European debt crisis, leading to a crisis of





confidence. Whether the European Central Bank (ECB) can become the Lender of Last Resort (LLR) has become the focus of discussions. The author begins by clarifying the definition of the LLR, and then analyses the possibility of the ECB or other institutions assuming the role of the LLR, taking into account the eurozone's special economic governance model and legal framework. As the conclusion shows, with the introduction of Outright Monetary Transactions (OMTs), a debt-purchasing programme, the ECB and the European Stability Mechanism (ESM) will jointly act as the eurozone LLR.

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David Bholat

**The Interwar Gold Standard in Light of the Present**

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 52, Issue 4, July 2014 , 711-712

This symposium item belongs to a section headed: SYMPOSIUM: THE GREAT DEPRESSION AND THE EUROZONE CRISIS: LEARNING FROM THE PAST

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Åsa Casula Vifell and Ebba Sjögren

**The Legal Mind of the Internal Market: A Governmentality Perspective on the Judicialization of Monitoring Practices**

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 52, Issue 3, May 2014 , 461-478

The purpose of this article is to contribute to the understanding of the broader effects of monitoring practices in the European Union. The empirical setting is Solvit, a Commission-initiated network tasked with informal resolution of misapplications of internal market directives by national authorities. All Member States must operate a Solvit centre within their administrations. Using a governmentality approach, the article investigates the normative underpinnings of the technologies deployed by Solvit and the experts which operate them. A survey study of the Solvit network shows the development of an EU identity and a cognitive judicialization which contributes to a depoliticization of issues. This allows Solvit to expand its remit from ex post monitoring to ex ante regulation. While a governance instrument can be designed for a delimited task, a governmentality approach highlights more general mechanisms by which such an instrument's influence and reach may be extended beyond its modest appearances.

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Jakob Skovgaard

**The Limits of Entrapment: The Negotiations on EU Reduction Targets, 2007–11**

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 51, Issue 6, November 2013 , 1141-1157

In 2007, the EU decided to cut greenhouse gas emissions by 20/30 per cent, something which was considered a proof of the EU's willingness to take on high targets independently of others. In the period 2009–11, the EU was debating but could not reach an agreement on stepping up to a 30 per cent reduction target. This raises the question: why did the EU



go from being capable of adopting high targets independently of others to being incapable of agreeing whether it should increase its mitigation effort? It is argued that whereas actors sceptical of a high target could be rhetorically entrapped in 2007, such entrapment was impossible in the 2009–11 period. The lack of entrapment can be explained in terms of changes in the international and socio-economic contexts, which led to changes in the policy processes and the normative environment, which again made effective entrapment impossible.

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Kienzle Benjamin

**The New Face of EU Security Policies? Analysing the Normative Patterns of EU Non-Proliferation Policies in the Southern Mediterranean**

in *Mediterranean Politics*, Volume 19, Issue 1 , 40-58

In recent years, the European Union has substantially intensified its non-proliferation policies in the southern Mediterranean. Although the analysis of these policies shows that the Union comes close to what the literature suggests is an ideal type normative power, this interpretation in itself is at odds with other security policies in the southern Mediterranean and with non-proliferation policies outside the region, most notably in Iran. Therefore, this article examines the causes and implications of this inconsistency, and argues that it can be problematic to characterize the EU as a normative power in a geographically and thematically limited issue area.

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Coman Ramona

**The Normative Power of the EU and Contentious Europeanization: The Case of Judicial Politics**

in *Journal of European Integration*, vol. 36, n. 6, September , 533-548

This article explores the relationship between Europeanization and EU integration in the field of judicial politics. It claims that the process of Europeanization engenders contention which creates demands for increased supranational governance. To illustrate this duality, the article draws on the waves of reforms aiming to consolidate the independence of the judiciary in the new Member States of the EU. What is at stake from a political and normative point of view is the post-conditionality debate, the discussion around the Copenhagen dilemma and — conversely — the need to define at the EU level a set of effective mechanisms and instruments of compliance. Empirically, the article discloses the dead angles of Europeanization and reveals that policy implementation in the Copenhagen framework creates functional and political pressures for further integration. In the field of judicial politics, the power of the EU oscillates between spill-over and spill-back.

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Willem Maas

**The Origins, Evolution, and Political Objectives of EU Citizenship**

in *German Law Journal*, vol. 15, issue 5 , 797-819



Within this collection flowing from the “European Citizenship: Twenty Years On” conference, this article has three functions: first, explain the political origins of a common supranational citizenship in Europe; second, summarize the evolution of EU citizenship by illustrating the debates about the proper relationship between human rights (for everyone) and citizenship rights (for EU citizens only) and about the relationship between national and EU citizenship (or national and EU law), debates occurring within a context of the ever-expanding scope of EU law; third, provide a new perspective on the debates about EU citizenship’s finalité politique or political objectives by placing EU citizenship in a comparative perspective. The main argument of the first section is that the goal of creating European citizens has always been an essential element of the European project, rather than an afterthought accidentally introduced in the Maastricht Treaty. Hence the conference title of “Twenty Years On” is flawed; “Sixty Years On” (dating the genesis of European citizenship not to the 1990s but rather, correctly, to the 1950s) would be more appropriate. This article’s second section describes the expanding scope and growth of supranational citizenship rights from workers to movers to citizens; the main idea is that this continuing expansion and growth of EU citizenship should mean the end of reverse discrimination, in which national law disadvantages those who cannot appeal to EU law but must rely on national law. The main argument of the third section is that EU citizenship is not sui generis or without precedent but rather should be seen as one manifestation of the ubiquitous tension between unity and diversity, a tension present within any political community but manifest most clearly in political systems (such as the EU and federal states) characterized by multilevel citizenship.

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Chris Gifford

**The People Against Europe: The Eurosceptic Challenge to the United Kingdom's Coalition Government**  
in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 52, Issue 3, May 2014 , 512-528

This article approaches Euroscepticism as central to a contemporary dynamic of government and opposition. Populist Eurosceptic mobilizations exemplify opposition to depoliticized forms of political rule and demonstrate the tight political coupling of the national and the European. In the case of the United Kingdom, a depoliticized post-imperial governing approach to European integration has proved highly contested. From this perspective, the article examines the recent politics of Europe under the coalition government (from 2010 to 2013) as a period of Eurosceptic mobilization that successfully challenges European policy. What on the surface appears to be a problem of party management for the Conservative leadership is more accurately understood as a broader conflict between government and a populist Eurosceptic opposition. The outcome of this conflict is to further embed hard Euroscepticism within British politics to the point where maintaining governing autonomy on Europe is severely constrained, if not unfeasible.

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Abby Innes

**The Political Economy of State Capture in Central Europe**  
in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 52, Issue 1, January 2014 , 88-104

This article demonstrates that most new EU Member States experience serious problems of state capture. It argues that central European states cluster around two dominant modes of party competition. In the first, predominantly ideologically committed elites (Poland, Hungary, Estonia, Slovenia and Estonia) established relatively ‘electoral professional’ party competitions, only to face deepening fiscal constraints on mainstream ideological competition. Following the collapse of



the social democratic left, both Hungary and Poland experienced attempts to reassert political monopoly, i.e., 'party state capture'. In the second group (Czech Republic, Slovakia, Romania, Bulgaria and Latvia), more entrepreneurial political elites established 'brokerage' party systems, in which public policy remains a side-product of an essentially economic competition. All five states show high levels of 'corporate state capture' in which public power is exercised primarily for private gain. These findings contest the more optimistic expectations of the institutionalist literature on state-building and democratic consolidation.

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finn laursen

**The Politics of Ratification of EU Treaties**

*in European Political Science* , Volume 13, Issue 2 , 219-220

No abstract available

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Eyal Benvenisti and George W. Downs

**The Premises, Assumptions, and Implications of Van Gend en Loos: Viewed from the Perspectives of Democracy and Legitimacy of International Institutions**

*in European Journal of International Law*, vol. 25, issue 1 , 85-102

In its Van Gend en Loos judgment, the ECJ assigned citizens directly enforceable rights vis-à-vis their respective state executives, and authorized national courts to protect those rights. What explains the Court's suspicion of state executives as the sole actors to implement Community law (acting directly or through the Commission)? What justifies its confidence in the ability of the national courts to protect the individuals?

We submit that the ECJ was informed by the premise that national courts acting in unison could withstand political pressures and protect individuals while implementing the Treaty. Moreover, the ECJ understood that its interaction with national courts would put it in a position potentially to offer significant support for citizens of relatively weaker countries against various predatory policies employed by the more powerful states in the organization.

In this article we explore these premises and present evidence to support them. More generally, we argue that there is good reason to endorse this model of judicial activism as a means to ensure democracy as judged by the effective and informed participation of individuals in public decision-making that affects them – within international organizations. This judgment demonstrates the promise of greater interaction and coordination between national and international tribunals in preventing democratic failures at both the national and international levels. Although judicial intervention often pre-empts public deliberation, it can also encourage it; although it may operate to pre-empt the vote, it can also function to ensure it.

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Swoboda Hannes

**The Progressive Way Out of the Crisis**

in *Social Europe Journal*, Volume 7, Issue 2, Summer/Autumn 2013 , 10-13

The full text is free:

<http://www.social-europe.eu/pdf-editions/>

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Thomas Martha

**The Relationship between National Elections and the Delay in Transposition of E.U. Directives**

in *Politics & Policy*, Volume 41, Issue 6, December , 911-946

This article examines the relationship between national elections and the delay in transposition of E.U. directives. It posits that elections, on their own, and when compounded with other factors, significantly affect transposition. First, it argues that upcoming elections, in general, increase the likelihood of nontransposition of directives with transposition deadlines around election time. The article further contends that economic hardship in the year prior to an election increases the likelihood of nontimely transposition of directives with deadlines in that election year, and that complex directives with deadlines in an election year are also more likely not to be transposed on time. Finally, the article posits that a change in the ruling coalition reduces the likelihood of transposition delays. Empirical analysis finds that upcoming elections, economic hardship around election time, and directive complexity in the face of upcoming elections all increase nontransposition, while a change in the governing coalition decreases nontransposition.

Este artículo trata sobre la relación entre elecciones nacionales y el retraso en la transposición de directivas de la UE. Planteo que las elecciones por si mismas y en el interjuego con otros factores, afectan de manera significativa la transposición. Primero argumento que elecciones próximas a celebrarse, en general, incrementan la probabilidad de no transposición de directivas con transposición de fechas límite en el periodo electoral. Más adelante argumento que el malestar económico en el año previo a la elección incrementa la probabilidad de transposición desfasada en tiempo de directivas con fechas límite en ese año electoral y que directivas complejas con fechas límite en un año electoral también tienen mayor probabilidad de desfasarse en tiempo. Finalmente, planteo que un cambio en la coalición gobernante reduce la probabilidad de retrasos de transposición. El análisis empírico encuentra que elecciones venideras, malestar económico en año previo a la elección, y complejidad de directivas ante elecciones venideras incrementan todas la no transposición, mientras que un cambio en la coalición gobernante reduce la no transposición.

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Palmstorfer Rainer

**The Reverse Majority Voting under the 'Six Pack': A Bad Turn for the Union?**

in *European law journal*, Volume 20, Issue 2 , 186–203

The 'six-pack,' a set of six Union legislative acts that was adopted in November 2011, was one of the main Union responses to the current sovereign debt crisis. Aware of the weak performance of the Stability and Growth Pact and of



the underlying design faults of the Treaty provisions on the coordination of Member States' economic policies, in particular the multilateral surveillance procedure (Art 121 TFEU) and the excessive deficit procedure (Article 126 TFEU), the legislators were determined to strengthen the means of surveillance in this policy field. One step considered necessary to achieve this end was the introduction of reverse majority voting in the Council when the latter has to adopt, for example, sanctions in above procedures. This article will examine whether this voting method is compatible with the Treaties

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**Gergely Medve-Bálint**

**The Role of the EU in Shaping FDI Flows to East Central Europe**

**in Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 52, Issue 1, January 2014 , 35-51

East Central Europe's (ECE) recent record in accumulating FDI stock is notable even from a global perspective. While most scholarly works downplay the role of the European Union (EU) in this process, this article claims that in an attempt to manage the economic opportunities and threats that ECE posed after the regime change, the EU has actively shaped foreign capital inflows to the region. First, the EU triggered a liberal shift in ECE's FDI policies. Second, after enlargement, the EU has reinforced ECE's locational advantages through its practice of approving most of the incentive schemes offered to foreign investors. While investors mainly coming from the old EU Members began to dominate ECE economies, the region's heavy reliance on FDI has also produced a reverse effect: ECE investments have enhanced the global competitiveness of western European firms. To a certain extent, FDI has therefore transcended the traditional east-west divide.

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**Chaban Natalia, Elgström Ole**

**The Role of the EU in an Emerging New World Order in the Eyes of the Chinese, Indian and Russian Press**

**in Journal of European Integration**, vol. 36, n. 2, February , 170-188

One of the major global challenges that the EU currently faces is the establishment of a multipolar world order with Emerging Powers—Brazil, Russia India, China and South Africa—as prospective cooperation partners. News media is the key information gatekeeper. Therefore, this research probes the EU's place in the emerging world order by scrutinizing the visibility and framings of the EU's dyadic relations with China, India and Russia in the daily coverage of leading press in these three 'rising powers'. We investigate the importance newsmakers ascribe to the EU's dyadic interactions at the time of the Euro debt crisis in terms of volume, intensity and evaluation of EU representations and link this analysis to issue areas reported (political, economic, social, environmental or developmental). The results are discussed in the context of the importance of external perceptions studies for informed dialogue between modern-day 'Great Powers'.

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**Scholtena Miroslava , Scholtena Daniel**





### **The Sense and Nonsense of the EU Integration Debate**

in *European Review*, Volume 22 - Issue 02

The current financial crisis in the Eurozone has put the debate on EU integration back on the table. Yet, how does the debate on EU integration, particularly the arguments and ideals used in it, actually influence the process of EU integration? This article wishes to provide some food for thought by arguing the debate's irrelevance in furthering or hindering the EU integration process. It does so by discussing the role of the debate's arguments in shaping EU integration and by comparing the EU debate with the one had by the founding fathers of the US. The article shows the debate is beside the point largely because most steps in EU integration are driven by circumstances, events, or national interests, that even when one argument seems decisive it is likely to be elevated over others by circumstances, and that none of the debate's arguments hold an intrinsic value over others

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**Stéphanie Novak**

### **The Silence of Ministers: Consensus and Blame Avoidance in the Council of the European Union†**

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 51, Issue 6, November 2013 , 1091-1107

According to conventional wisdom, in areas where the Council of the European Union is supposed to decide by qualified majority voting, it does not vote but rather decides 'by consensus'. This article aims to explain why the Council does not vote and what 'consensus' means. Given that consensus is often used by international organizations and EU institutional bodies, it is important to explain how it differs from unanimity. The article argues that formal voting is avoided because it would disclose the identity of opponents and would be detrimental to the negotiation process. Furthermore, ministers tend not to register their opposition even when they remain unsatisfied with an adopted measure because they expect to be blamed by their constituencies for having failed to defend national interests. Consensus is not necessarily used to signal that a general agreement is reached. It sometimes results from a strategy of blame avoidance that conflicts with democratic accountability.

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**Jens Wisse**

### **The Structure of the 'EU'ropean Ensemble of State Apparatuses and Its Geopolitical Ambitions**

in *Geopolitics*, Volume 19, Issue 3 , 490-513

Against the backdrop of the international political and economic system's increasing fragmentation, this article attempts to analyse the geopolitical ambitions of the EU. Currently, the EU strives to become an independent global power. For this purpose, the EU tries to establish greater independence from the US and, to a certain degree, from its Member states. This is closely linked to (a) the emergence of the Euro as a currency competing with the US dollar for the status of the 'global reserve currency' and (b) the construction of a common foreign and 'security' policy. Taking the German literature on the political economy of the state and on the European Integration, insights from neo-Gramscian International Political Economy, and the 'scale debate' in Anglophone geography as point of departure, I analyse the



European ensemble of state apparatuses and demonstrate that these ambitions have failed, due to the status quo of a fragmented Europe.

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**Butler Stuart A.**

**The Struggle for Power: Britain and Euratom 1955–63**

in *International History Review (The)*, Volume 36, Issue 2 , 324-341

Although many historians have explored British reactions to the formation of supranational institutions on continental Europe, their work takes a very general view. The European Communities, made up of the European Economic Community (EEC), European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), and European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom) were however separate organisations founded by separate treaties, and the British responded differently to each. From early beginnings in 1955 it will become clear that most British officials were not enthused by the prospect of joining Euratom, believing that British advances in nuclear technology meant that membership would only serve as a ‘drag’ on already strained resources. British ministers however pushed for the wider picture to be taken into account and largely accepted that membership of Euratom was necessary if Britain were to join any of the Communities. Throughout 1955–63 Britain struggled to come to terms with its perceived decline and officials clashed as Britain arrived at a new balance between independence and integration.

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**Radu Carp**

**The Struggle for the Rule of Law in Romania as an EU Member State: The Role of the Cooperation and Verification Mechanism**

in *Utrecht Law Review*, vol. 10, issue 1 , 1-16

This article analyses the relations between the Cooperation and Verification Mechanism, the rule of law, and the principles of subsidiarity and proportionality in relation to Romania as an EU Member State. The European Commission has not provided a definition of the rule of law, but only a theoretical one. Despite this, the way it has influenced in practice many non-EU Member States that have a strong relationship with the EU is significant. The article raises the question whether the EU may demand from EU Member States like Romania that they respect the rule of law. The Cooperation and Verification Mechanism (CVM) was established in 2006, based on Romania’s Treaty of Accession. It monitors, by means of periodical Reports, compliance with the rule of law standards. The article analyses two Reports from July 2012 and January 2013, by relating their contents to the principles of proportionality, subsidiarity and the EU obligation to respect the constitutional norms of Member States. The conclusion is that the way the CVM works does not contradict these principles. These CVM Reports also mention the Constitutional Court and the People’s Advocate (the Romanian Ombudsman) because these institutions are considered by the European Commission to be fundamental for compliance with rule of law standards – combating high-level corruption and ensuring the independence of the judiciary. The conclusion is that the rule of law is not only a theoretical concept with different meanings at the national level, but that there is also an EU rule of law *acquis*, which is a specific part of the EU *acquis*.

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Rainer Bauböck

**The Three Levels of Citizenship within the European Union**

in *German Law Journal*, vol. 15, issue 5 , 751-763

European Union citizenship is derived from Member State nationality. This fact often has been considered a “birth defect” to be overcome by either disconnecting EU citizenship from Member State citizenship or by reversing the relationship in a federal model so that Member State citizenship would be derived from that of the Union. I argue in this essay that derivative citizenship in a union of states can be defended as a potentially stable and democratically attractive basic feature of the architecture of the EU polity where EU citizenship is perceived of as one layer in a multi-level model of democratic membership in a union of states such as the EU. This perspective is not a defense of the status quo, but rather allows for—or even requires—a series of reforms addressing a number of inconsistencies and democratic deficiencies in the current citizenship regime.

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Alina Mungiu-Pippidi

**The Transformative Power of Europe Revisited**

in *Journal of Democracy*, Volume 25, Number 1 , 20-32

Why has the EU succeeded in promoting democracy in the new member states but failed in promoting good governance? This essay seeks to answer this question first by distinguishing governance from political regimes, and second by exploring to what extent national governance—which is defined as the set of formal and informal institutions that determine who gets what in a given country—is susceptible to being improved by external pressure or intervention. It concludes that improving governance remains a challenge even for the democratic character of the European project.

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Bauer Michael W., Becker Stefan

**The Unexpected Winner of the Crisis: The European Commission’s Strengthened Role in Economic Governance**

in *Journal of European Integration*, vol. 36, n. 3, April, Special Issue: Coping with Crisis: Europe’s Challenges and Strategies , 213-229

Since the latest financial and economic crisis took hold of the European Union (EU), its economic governance architecture has been undergoing crucial changes. Research into the institutional consequences of these reforms is still fragmented — especially with regard to the function of the European Commission. This article seeks to fill this void by analysing the supranational executive’s role in the four areas that have witnessed the most important changes: financial stability support, economic policy surveillance, coordination of national policies and supervision of the financial sector. The empirical evidence suggests that the Commission continues to be a powerful player in EU economic governance, but its primary role is changing. While its agenda-setting power is decreasing, most decisions in economic governance depend on the Commission to make them work. With more and stronger implementation competences, it may be less visible. But it is not less important. This finding qualifies the degree of intergovernmentalism in economic governance.



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**Sir Alan Dashwood**

**The United Kingdom in a Re-Formed European Union**

in *European Law Review*, vol. 38, issue 6 , 737-756

This article focuses on the “Roadmap” towards the completion of Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) that was adopted by the European Council in December 2012; more specifically the issues that governments of the United Kingdom are liable to be faced with at different points in the journey by the members of the Euro Area towards full fiscal and economic union (assuming that progress towards that goal continues to be made and that, as seems probable, the United Kingdom chooses to remain aloof), and on ways of resolving those issues. Following the introduction, there is a section discussing the wide variety of legal and institutional arrangements specific to members of the Euro Area that exist already. The next section looks more closely at the three legal stages that the Roadmap envisages, and considers whether these are likely to entail amendments to the EU Treaties. The most substantial section, on the legal issues of remaining inside the Union but outside EMU, examines in turn: the immediate issue of possible “caucusing” by eurozone members, i.e. systematically voting together against important interests of the United Kingdom; the medium-term issue that the United Kingdom might be prevented from exploiting its potential veto over Treaty changes desired by eurozone members, in order to achieve its own re-negotiation objectives, by the expedient of resorting to an intergovernmental instrument along the lines of the Treaty on Stability, Coordination and Governance in the Economic and Monetary Union (TSCG); and the longer-term issue of how to establish institutional arrangements appropriate to complete fiscal and economic union, while enabling the United Kingdom and other nonparticipating Member States to remain as members of the European Union. The overall conclusion is that there are good reasons for optimism that solutions can be arrived at, though this will require patience, commitment and intelligent negotiating.

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**Grimmel Andreas**

**The Uniting of Europe by Transclusion: Understanding the Contextual Conditions of Integration Through Law**

in *Journal of European Integration*, vol. 36, n. 6, September , 549-566

Political science has discovered the European Court of Justice,’ as Armstrong notes in an article published 15 years ago, ‘[b]ut has it discovered law?’ Today, the answer to this question is an ambivalent one. Although political science has developed a certain sense of the structural necessities arising from the rules of law and the complexity of the judicial process in a multilevel governance system, it still lacks an approach that conceptualizes it as a self-contained framework of integration. Here, it will be argued that a contextualist approach could fill this gap in current research. From this perspective, the law itself — not, first and foremost, its most prominent actors — propels integration through a phenomenon that could be best described as a three-dimensional transclusion of the European legal order.

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**Toshkov Dimiter Doychinov**



**The dynamic relationship between asylum applications and recognition rates in Europe (1987–2010)**  
in *European Union Politics* , vol. 15, n. 2, June , 192-214

The intensity of asylum flows over the last 20 years represents a significant challenge to national and European policy making. This article studies the dynamic reciprocal effects between asylum applications and recognition rates in 29 European countries over 24 years. Furthermore, it explores the impact of the national economic and political context on these two aspects of asylum policy. Using a wide range of statistical models and approaches, the article reveals that asylum applications exert a negative effect on recognition rates, and recognition rates exert a positive effect on applications. However, despite their statistical significance, the effects are rather small and mostly related to between-country rather than within-country variation, which implies that they are of limited practical significance. Unemployment is only weakly related to recognition rates and not at all to application shares, while government positions favoring immigration and multiculturalism have no effect on asylum application shares and recognition rates.

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Vito Francesco

**The economic integration of Europe and the problem of international specialized communities**  
in *Rivista Internazionale di Scienze Sociali*, fasc. 3-4

This article focuses on the features and the working of the European Coal and Steel Community, seen as a first step in the ongoing process of European Integration. In Vito's view the integration process would bear many economic advantages not only for the high concentrated sectors of Steel and Coal, but also in agriculture and transportation. While not ignoring the complex adjustment problem arising from the closure of less efficient firms and the unemployment costs arising from it, Vito underlines economic and social advantages of the 1952 Paris Agreement for the economy as a whole: cost reduction; better terms of trade; technical improvements; development of capital equipment; new outlays for export production and international migration. Moreover the establishment of a common market in Europe would strengthen the sense of solidarity and trust in a common heritage of culture and values, laying down the foundations of a durable peace in Europe.

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Sadeh Tal

**The euro's effect on trade**  
in *European Union Politics* , vol. 15, n. 2, June , 215-234

This study argues that the euro area more than doubled trade among its members, but this process was delayed and fitful. The estimates in this article are close to those obtained by Rose and Frankel, despite the usage of methods developed by their critics. Furthermore, the euro area has increased the trade of its Mediterranean members more than the trade of other member states; it also raised trade with non-members by some 35%. The article innovates mainly by constructing a more appropriate control group to the euro area, applying better controls for the Single Market, estimating differences of trade, studying the effects of the euro on different member states, using quantile regression and naturally by relying on more recent data.



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**Sophie Robin-Olivier**

**The evolution of direct effect in the EU: Stocktaking, problems, projections**

*in International Journal of Constitutional Law*, vol. 12, issue 1 , 165-188

Focusing on the case law developed by the Court of Justice of the European Union since *Van Gend en Loos*, this article contends that three important shifts occurred concerning the effects of EU law in national courts since that case was decided. First, the existence of a particular category of (“direct effect”) EU norms, which implies a process of selection among EU law provisions, is no longer as problematic as the method of comparison and combination of norms in judicial reasoning that has become a vehicle for the penetration of EU law in courts. Second, the possibility for individuals to claim (subjective) rights on the basis of the Treaty is overshadowed by questions concerning obligations imposed by the Treaty on individuals, and more generally, on the methods through which this horizontal effect occurs. Third, the duty for national courts to apply EU law provisions directly (direct enforcement) is now coupled with one prior question that these courts have to address, and which has become much more sensitive than before in view of the growing centrality of fundamental rights’ protection in the EU system: the question of the applicability of EU and national (constitutional) law. Having examined these three shifts, the article concludes that it has become urgent to reconsider the effects of EU law in member states in order to avoid a decline of individual rights and freedoms resulting from EU law enforcement. Thus, “Revisiting *Van Gend en Loos*” leads to a reflection on the hypothesis, in which EU law should yield and national courts should be granted more discretion, when confronted with the resisting substance of national law (especially fundamental rights or freedoms protected by national constitutions).

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**Christopher Baker-Beall**

**The evolution of the European Union’s ‘fight against terrorism’ discourse: Constructing the terrorist ‘other’**

*in Cooperation and Conflict*, 49 (2) , 212-238

The purpose of this article is to explore the ways in which the European Union (EU)’s counter-terrorism discourse, the ‘fight against terrorism’, is constructed, and the ways in which it functions both rhetorically and in practice. It argues that ‘EU identity’ is constituted through and is central to the constitution of EU counter-terrorism policy. The approach taken is constructivist in nature, drawing on a discourse analysis of primarily European Council policy documents, as well as the reports and speeches of the EU Counter-Terrorism Co-ordinator. In particular, it identifies three strands of the discourse that, it is argued, play a key role in the construction of a terrorist ‘other’. These three strands include terrorism as crime and as an emotive act of violence; terrorism as an act perpetrated solely by non-state actors; and terrorism as a ‘new’ and ‘evolving’ threat. The article proceeds in three steps. First, it outlines the theoretical considerations that underpin this research, including its empirical application. Second, it demonstrates how each strand of the discourse is constructed. Third, it discusses the functioning of the discourse, including the contested nature of the ‘terrorism knowledge’ that underpins the EU’s counter-terrorism approach. The article concludes by reflecting on what this case study contributes to our understanding of EU counter-terrorism policy, as well as explaining how the notion of the terrorist ‘other’ could provide the basis for a future research agenda that deepens our understanding of how the identity of the EU is constituted.





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Favell Adrian

**The fourth freedom: Theories of migration and mobilities in 'neo-liberal' Europe**  
in *European Journal of Social Theory*, Vol. 17, No. 3, August 2014 , 275-289

Abstract

The article challenges the orthodoxy of current critical readings of the European crisis that discuss the failings of the EU in terms of the triumph of 'neo-liberalism'. Defending instead a liberal view on international migration, which stresses the potentially positive economic, political and cultural benefits of market-driven forces enabling movements across borders, it details the various ways in which European regional integration has enabled the withdrawal of state control and restriction on certain forms of external and internal migration. This implementation of liberal ideas on the freedom of movement of persons has largely been of benefit to migrants, and both receiving and sending societies alike. These ideas are now threatened by democratic retrenchment. It is Britain, often held up as a negative example of 'neo-liberalism', which has proven to be the member state that most fulfils the EU's core adherence to principles of mobile, open, non-discriminatory labour markets. On this question, and despite its current anti-immigration politics, it offers a positive example of how Europe as a whole could benefit from more not less liberalization.

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Outhwaite William

**The future of European democracy**  
in *European Journal of Social Theory*, Vol. 17, No. 3, August 2014 , 326-342

Abstract

Given that we have democracy of a kind in most of Europe, and that there seems a reasonable prospect of its survival in, and extension to the rest of, the sub-continent, this article asks whether and to what extent we also need European-level democratic politics and how we might hope to achieve this, against the background of the current crisis. This article examines the 'democratic deficit' in the EU and the tensions between its formal decision-making structures and the growth of what has been called 'executive federalism', and also between collective planning and deregulation.

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Deutschmann Christoph

**The future of the European Union: A 'Hayekian' regime?**  
in *European Journal of Social Theory*, Vol. 17, No. 3, August 2014 , 343-358



## Abstract

This article develops an assessment of the present-day European crisis management, referring to Wolfgang Streeck's recent interpretation of the European 'consolidation state' as an attempt to install a 'Hayekian' regime of liberalized transnational markets. This article arrives at a diagnosis different from Streeck's: if there has been a 'Hayekian' regime, it had already developed after the collapse of the Bretton Woods system in 1973 and the subsequent dismantling of capital controls in the USA and Europe. As it appeared in the financial crisis of 2007–2008, the ultimate practical test of the Hayekian vision was dramatically negative. European crisis management, as it is still largely occupied with the imperative to maintain the solvency of troubled Euro states vis-à-vis the capital markets, is not following a Hayekian script. Rather, it is confronted with the challenge of removing the debris of the collapse of the former Hayekian regime, taking the form of zombie banks and large uncovered capital claims. To master this challenge, not only intact European institutions and transnational cooperation in Europe would be required, but also much more democratic pressure from below.

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Armingeon Klaus, Ceka Besir

#### **The loss of trust in the European Union during the great recession since 2007: The role of heuristics from the national political system**

*in European Union Politics* , vol. 15, n. 1, March , 82-107

How can we explain the decline in support for the European Union (EU) and the idea of European integration after the onset of the great recession in the fall of 2007? Did the economic crisis and the austerity policies that the EU imposed—in tandem with the IMF—on several member countries help cause this drop? While there is some evidence for this direct effect of EU policies, we find that the most significant determinant of trust and support for the EU remains the level of trust in national governments. Based on cue theory and using concepts of diffuse and specific support, we find that support for the EU is derived from evaluations of national politics and policy, which Europeans know far better than the remote political system of the EU. This effect, however, is somewhat muted for those sophisticated Europeans that are more knowledgeable about the EU and are able to form opinions about it independently of the national contexts in which they live. We also find that the recent economic crisis has led to a discernible increase in the number of those who are disillusioned with politics both at the national and the supranational level. We analyze 133 national surveys from 27 EU countries by estimating a series of cross-classified multilevel logistic regression models.

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Antoine Mégie

#### **The origin of EU authority in criminal matters: a sociology of legal experts in European policy-making**

*in Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 21, Issue 2 2014 , 230-247

This article aims to show how experts in European law shaped the direction and content of European public policy in the area of criminal justice. Putting policy experts at the core of our analysis allows us to examine the meso level of policy-making processes directly, where we can study the actors that played a concrete role in providing political and



technical solutions during the drafting and adoption of European decisions. Our research focuses specifically on magistrates and senior civil servants who were actively involved in formulating and adopting the instruments of judicial co-operation (the Eurojust unit and the European Arrest Warrant). Through a sociological analysis of individual and collective actions of these legal professionals, we can explain how this branch of the EU was institutionalized and achieved its current form.

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**Ariadna Ripoll Servent**

**The role of the European Parliament in international negotiations after Lisbon**

**in Journal of European Public Policy** , Volume 21, Issue 4 2014 , 568-586

After the entry into force of the Treaty of Lisbon, the European Parliament (EP) can give or withdraw its consent to most international agreements. This new scenario calls for theoretical models that help us to better understand the roles and strategies of European Union (EU) institutions in international negotiations. Departing from 'two-level-games' and principal-agent models, this article examines three interrelated elements (levels of negotiations; decision-making stages; and strategies) to explain the first international negotiations under the consent procedure (SWIFT Agreement). This case shows how the EP made use of day-to-day decision-making to informally expand its formal veto powers. The EP is now capable of controlling the EU negotiator during both the agenda-setting and the negotiation stages. Its informal involvement is set to transform its relationship with the Council and their collective capacity to influence and control the Commission.

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**James P. Cross**

**The seen and the unseen in legislative politics: explaining censorship in the Council of Ministers of the European Union**

**in Journal of European Public Policy** , Volume 21, Issue 2 2014 , 268-285

Transparency in the legislative process of the European Union (EU) is important as it relates to citizens' ability to monitor their government representatives in negotiations. This article explores a particular aspect of transparency in EU legislative politics by focusing on whether negotiation records are released in a timely fashion so as to allow the public to monitor decision-makers. It examines the determinants of this process, and provides insight into the transparency and censorship policy of the EU as it is applied on a day-to-day basis. The findings suggest that there is significant variation in the application of the commitments to legislative transparency, and this variation can be explained by considering the role of actor preferences and political institutions in driving this process. In some cases, this leads to a confounding of the public's ability to monitor negotiators.

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**Lucia Quaglia**

**The sources of European Union influence in international financial regulatory fora**



in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 21, Issue 3 2014 , 327-345

The European Union is one of the world's largest financial jurisdictions, and after the global financial crisis has been increasingly active in international financial regulatory fora. What affects its ability (or otherwise) to shape international financial regulation? This analysis focuses at the EU level, arguing that the cohesiveness of the EU position has greater analytical leverage than alternative explanations based on market size, regulatory capacity and representation in international fora. Empirically, the article examines a variety of case studies of low, medium and high EU influence across the main segments of the financial sector (banking, securities markets and insurance) after the global financial crisis.

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Young Alasdair R.

**The value of pointillism? Integrating trade and development and the European Union as a global actor**  
in *Contemporary Politics*, Volume 20, Issue 1, 2014 , 118-126

As the contributions to this volume make clear, the intersection between the European Union's (EU) trade and development policies is populated by a diverse array of policies. The EU's selection of policies reflects, in part, the level of development of the developing country and competing understandings of how to best foster development. The contributions also hint at significant contributions to wider debates about the EU as a global actor, particularly the extent to which it is motivated by normative considerations and how affective it is in achieving its objectives. This article reviews the main findings of the contributions to this volume and advances some suggestions so as to enable a clearer picture to emerge that could more readily inform wider debates.

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Christian Rauh and Gerald Schneider

**There is No such Thing as a Free Open Sky: Financial Markets and the Struggle over European Competences in International Air Transport**

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 51, Issue 6, November 2013 , 1124-1140

Aviation is a prime example of a policy area where the clash over supranational regulatory responsibilities had pronounced economic repercussions. In this article, we examine the economic effects of the European Commission's struggle to obtain competences in international air transport. Stock market reactions to key events in the political conflict between 1995 and 2004 unravel whether investor beliefs about the distribution of power in the EU follow the basic conjectures of neofunctionalism, intergovernmentalism or institutionalism. The event studies show that particularly judicial proceedings and the involvement of the ECJ send credible integration signals to financial markets. This supports the hypothesis that investors consider the subtleties of the EU's decision-making apparatus carefully and only react to



developments that definitively alter the political regime and thus also the market situation. These findings are in line with an institutionalist interpretation of a reform that has radically changed the international aviation regime.

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Fassina Stefano

**Titanic Europa?**

in *ItalianiEuropei*, n. 1

No abstract available

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Bouillaud Christophe, Reungoat Emmanuelle

**Tous des opposants? De l'euroscpticisme aux usages de la critique de l'Europe**

in *Politique européenne*, n. 43, 2014/1, 9-45

Les oppositions aux projets d'intégration européenne sont aussi anciennes que les projets de construction communautaire eux-mêmes. Le « consensus permissif » (Lindberg et Scheingold, 1970) qui aurait accompagné l'intégration dans les années 1950-1980 oublie les débats qui eurent alors lieu dans la plupart des pays concernés. Toutefois, le souhait des gouvernements au cours des années 1980-1990 de dépasser...

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Squintani Lorenzo, Vedder Hans H.B.

**Towards Inverse Direct Effect? A Silent Development of a Core European Law Doctrine**

in *Review of European Community & International Environmental Law*, Volume 23, Issue 1, Special Issue: International Water Law, April, 144-149

In Salzburger Flughafen, the Court of Justice of the European Union extended the scope of the doctrine of direct effect to include one branch of a State being able to, without being asked to do so by a private party, rely on a provision of a Directive to impose an obligation upon another private party. The scope of this extension is difficult to determine due to the lack of the Advocate General's opinion, which could have clarified the administrative structure existing in Austria for the granting and legal review of environmental permits. This case note argues that Salzburger Flughafen can only be considered a positive development if it does not mean that a State can rely on direct effect vis-à-vis an individual. Therefore, this article pleads for a conservative interpretation of the case under which adverse repercussions on the rights of third parties, even if the repercussions are certain, do not justify preventing a Member State from relying on the provisions of a Directive against another emanation of itself. In other words, this case should be considered as an extension of the side effects of direct effect, and not as a limitation to the prohibition of 'inverse vertical direct effect'.

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Scholten Daniel, Scholten Miroslava

**Towards a European Division of Labour: Do Europe's Crises Highlight Structural Challenges to Sustainable Economic Growth in the Eurozone?**

in *European Review*, Volume 22 - Issue 03 , 382 - 387

The financial and economic crises of the last few years in many Southern Eurozone countries are generally studied individually, without reference to other such crises in the region. In this note, we argue that they may also be approached as symptoms of an underlying structural challenge facing the EU economy. In many ways the relationship between northern and southern Eurozone countries seems remarkably similar to typical economic centre–periphery relations, yet without the harmonizing role that a national government could play. The occurrence and combination of crises seems to be indicative of what one would expect from the adverse effects of centre–periphery relations among countries. Unfortunately, this would imply that the crises we are currently seeing are likely to continuously reoccur in the near future to the detriment of sustainable economic growth and political-economic stability in Europe.

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Flavia Jurje and Sandra Lavenex

**Trade Agreements as Venues for 'Market Power Europe'? The Case of Immigration Policy**

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 52, Issue 2, March 2014 , 320-336

In the absence of an international migration regime, the rising salience of migration issues and the limits of unilateral policies led the European Union to seek appropriate venues for co-operation with the sending and transit countries of migrants. Many of the newer relevant multilateral or regional venues are soft law frameworks. Conversely, trade agreements provide a formal, hard law instrument for inserting migration clauses. Based on a quantitative analysis of EU trade agreements and expert interviews, this article investigates how far the EU is engaging in strategic issue-linkage when including migration clauses in its trade agreements. Testing hypotheses derived from rationalist and institutionalist approaches, it thereby provides an empirical test of its acclaimed identity as 'trade power' or 'market power'.

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Heron Tony

**Trading in development: norms and institutions in the making/unmaking of European Union–African, Caribbean and Pacific trade and development cooperation**

in *Contemporary Politics*, Volume 20, Issue 1, 2014 , 10-22

This paper offers a contribution to recent debates on European Union (EU) external trade and development policy, with a specific focus on the African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) group of countries. The question asked is why the EU encountered such difficulties in the attempt to translate its normative preferences for freer trade and closer economic integration into a series of binding agreements? Drawing on both economic constructivist and historical institutionalist insights, it is argued that the case for reform initially rested on a strong convergence between institutions and ideas, enabling the EU to discursively present desired policy reforms as necessary to satisfy World Trade Organisation trade rules. However, in due course, the institutional dynamics behind the latter began to diverge from the EU's policy





preferences and blunt its norm-based argument – thus creating the space for transnational coalitions to, first, question and, ultimately, undermine aspects the EU's trade and development prospectus for the ACP.

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Boerger Anne , Rasmussen Morten

**Transforming European Law: The Establishment of the Constitutional Discourse from 1950 to 1993**  
in *European Constitutional Law Review*, Volume 10 - Issue 02 - , 199 - 225

European Court of Justice – The nature of European law – European Law Academia – Costa v. E.N.E.L. and Van Gend & Loos – Legal Service of the European Commission – How the constitutional discourse became dominant

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Liliana B. Andonova and Ioana A. Tuta

**Transnational Networks and Paths to EU Environmental Compliance: Evidence from New Member States**  
in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 52, Issue 4, July 2014 , 775-793

This article examines transnational environmental networks as an important and thus far under-studied mechanism that can influence the pathways toward compliance with European Union (EU) legislation in new Member States. The argument stipulates that transnational networks, on balance, increase the capacity and political leverage of Central and Eastern European states and societal actors to activate management and enforcement paths to compliance with EU environmental norms. The theoretical framework specifies the network assets and the mechanisms through which they can support the two paths to compliance. In the empirical section, this framework is used to examine the impact of transnational environmental networks on the compliance with EU biodiversity directives in two of the most recent Member States: Bulgaria and Romania.

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Balbastre Gilles

**Travail détaché, travailleurs enchaînés**  
in *Monde Diplomatique (Le)*, Avril

<http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/2014/04/BALBASTRE/50292>

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Gava Roy, Sciarini Pascal, Varone Frédéric

**Twenty Years After the EEA Vote: The Europeanization of Swiss Policy-Making**

in *Swiss Political Science Review - Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft - Revue suisse de science politique*, Volume 20, Issue 2, June 2014 , 197–207

No abstract available

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Gerard-René de Groot & Ngo Chun Luk

**Twenty Years of CJEU Jurisprudence on Citizenship**

in *German Law Journal*, vol. 15, issue 5 , 821-834

The history of the European Union has been fraught with constant friction between the sovereignty of the Member States and the supranational powers of the Union, with the Union gaining terrain in fields of law traditionally belonging to the Member States. Despite this tension, certain legal fields are steadfastly asserted as belonging to the Member States. Notably, Member States regulate the grounds of the acquisition and loss of nationality. The Treaty of Lisbon highlights that the nationality of Member States is scarcely governed by European Union law, if at all. The sole provision governing the relationship between Member State nationality and Union law, i.e., Article 20 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU) stresses the primacy of Member State nationality.

Reality, however, is often not as simple as such a cursory reading implies. European Union citizenship, once a mere complementary facet of the national citizenships, has transformed into an institution in its own right, forming a symbiotic relationship between the Member State nationality and the European Union.

This article traces the development of the European Union citizenship, beginning with its inception within the Treaty of Maastricht to the overwhelming judgment of the CJEU in *Rottmann* and beyond. On the basis of the trend established, this article also examines the possible ramifications of the European Union citizenship in the various Member States by formulating a list of principles concerning the loss and deprivation of nationality flowing therefrom, as well as from international law.

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Christoph Böhringer

**Two Decades of European Climate Policy: A Critical Appraisal**

in *Review of Environmental Economics and Policy* , Vol. 8, n°1 , 1-17

Climate change ranks high on the policy agenda of the European Union (EU), which considers itself a leading force in the battle against anthropogenic climate change. The EU is committed to the objective of limiting the rise in global average temperature to no more than 2°C above preindustrial levels to prevent dangerous anthropogenic interference with the climate system. This article provides a critical appraisal of two decades of EU climate policy. Based on the global nature of climate change, we present three criteria for sound unilateral action and evaluate current EU climate



policy against these criteria. We find that the actual implementation of EU climate policies is likely to make emission abatement much more costly than necessary. (JEL: H21, H23, Q58)

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**Pfaff William**

**Ukraine – der amerikanische Krieg**

in **Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik**, September, 2014 , 41-43

Die Situation in der Ukraine droht gegenwärtig von Tag zu Tag weiter zu eskalieren, nur noch wenig scheint Europa von einem offenen Krieg zwischen zwei souveränen Staaten zu trennen.

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**Lordon Frédéric**

**Un peuple européen est-il possible ?**

in **Monde Diplomatique (Le)**, Avril

<http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/2014/04/LORDON/50301>

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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**Heisbourg François**

**Un piano B per l'Unione**

in **Aspenia**, n. 65, giugno

No abstract available

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**De Petris Andrea**

**Un rinvio pregiudiziale sotto condizione? L'ordinanza del Tribunale Costituzionale Federale sulle Outright Monetary Transactions**

in **Federalismi**, Anno XII - Nr 4

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Massari Oreste

**Un terremoto elettorale e politico? No e sì**  
in *Federalismi*, Anno XII - Nr 11

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Franco Gallo  
**Una giustizia fiscale nell'Unione europea**  
in *Mulino (il)*, n.2 , 255-262

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**  
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CARMEN COLOMINA  
**Unas elecciones para reescribir Europa**  
in *Politica Exterior*, n.159

La crisis ha disuelto el consenso sobre las bondades del proyecto europeo y ha dejado una Europa de desequilibrios y liderazgos mediocres. Las elecciones pueden ser el punto de partida para una reforma que afronte el problema de legitimidad que erosiona la UE.

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Cornell Svante E.  
**Underestimating yourself: the EU and the political realities of the eastern neighbourhood**  
in *European View* , vol. 13, n. 1, June, special issue "A Changing Eastern Neighbourhood" , 115-123

No abstract available

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De Sousa Luis  
**Understanding European Cross-border Cooperation: A Framework for Analysis**  
in *Journal of European Integration*, vol. 35, n. 6, September , 669-687

European integration has had a dual impact on border regions. On the one hand, borders were physically dismantled across most of the EU's internal territory. On the other hand, they have become a fertile ground for territorial co-operation and institutional innovation. The degree of cross-border co-operation and organization achieved varies



considerably from one region to another depending on a combination of various facilitating factors for effective cross-border co-operation, more specifically, economic, political leadership, cultural/identity and state formation, and geographical factors. This article offers a conceptual framework to understand the growth and diversity of cross-border regionalism within the EU context by focusing on the levels of and drives for co-operation.

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Klaus Larres

**Une Europe démilitarisée ? Un regard américain**

in *Politique Etrangère*, Vol. 79, n°1 printemps

Le reproche adressé par les Américains aux Européens de négliger l'engagement de défense n'est pas nouveau, et il est souvent exagéré. Il a pris une ampleur nouvelle face à l'échec de l'Union européenne à se construire comme acteur stratégique et devant les coupes budgétaires engendrées par la crise de 2008. Pour inévitables que soient ces coupes, elles pourraient cependant menacer la capacité d'action des Européens en matière internationale, même pour les plus puissants d'entre eux.

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Souchon Pierre

**Une directive trop cruciale pour être débattue publiquement**

in *Monde Diplomatique (Le)*, Avril

<http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/2014/04/SOUCHON/50303>

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R. Daniel Kelemen

**Une gouvernance fédérale : mort et résurrection**

in *Pouvoirs*, n. 149, 135-149

La plupart des europhiles considèrent le fédéralisme comme une utopie réalisable à long terme, tandis que les eurosceptiques y voient une dystopie évitable. Mais le fédéralisme ne relève pas seulement de l'avenir de l'Union. Le modèle actuel de gouvernance de l'Union peut être considéré comme un système méfédéral, et les formes introduites en réponse à la crise de la zone euro ont renforcé le fédéralisme. Aujourd'hui, l'Union doit faire le choix de sa structure de gouvernance dans les domaines de la politique fiscale, du système bancaire, de la dette et de la démocratie, choix qui vont façonner le développement du fédéralisme européen pour les années à venir.

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Prieto Ctherine

**Union Bancaire, ou l art de se payer de mots**

in *Revue Trimestrielle de droit européen*, n. 1 , 3-6

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Mäkinen, Katja

**Union Citizenship Representing Conceptual (Dis)continuities in EU Documents on Citizenship and Culture**

in *Contributions to the History of Concepts*, Vol. 9, n°1 , 105-120

The question in this article is how citizenship is reinvented and recontextualized in a newly founded European Union after the launching of Union Citizenship. What kind of conceptions of citizenship are produced in this new and evolving organization? The research material consists of documents presented by EU organs from 1994 to 2007 concerning eight EU programs on citizenship and culture. I will analyze conceptual similarities (continuities) and differences (discontinuities) between these documents and previous conceptualizations in various contexts, including citizenship discussions in the history of integration since the 1970s as well as theories of democracy and nation-states. Based on the analysis of participation, rights, and identity as central dimensions of citizenship, I will discuss the relationship of Union Citizenship to democracy and nationality.

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Bruno de Witte

**Union européenne, zone Euro : quels gouvernements**

in *Pouvoirs*, n. 149 , 45-58

L'autonomie institutionnelle de la zone euro par rapport à l'ensemble de l'Union européenne est davantage marquée depuis le début de la crise des dettes souveraines. Des organes intergouvernementaux nouveaux et informels (l'Eurogroupe et le Sommet de la zone euro) ont été créés au sein du système institutionnel de l'Union européenne. Par ailleurs, les États de la zone euro ont conclu entre eux des traités et accords internationaux pour renforcer leur coopération en dehors du cadre institutionnel de l'Union. Cette autonomie institutionnelle reste cependant limitée, et les projets visant à développer une coopération plus poussée dans un cadre institutionnel propre à la zone euro resteront difficiles à réaliser.

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Karpen Ulrich





**Untergesetzliche Rechtssetzung und Europäisches Recht. Mazedonien auf dem Weg zur EU-Mitgliedschaft**  
in *Jahrbuch des öffentlichen Rechts der Gegenwart*, Band 62, 2014

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Angela Romano

**Untying Cold War knots: The EEC and Eastern Europe in the long 1970s**

in *Cold War History*, Vol. 14, n°2, 153-173

This article sheds new light on the interrelation between Western European integration and the Cold War by unveiling and bringing under scrutiny the active role of the EEC in East–West relations. It argues that the EEC's pro-active Eastern policy was pivotal in loosening Cold War constraints in Europe and engendering instead a new kind of intra-European relations. Relations between the EEC and socialist bloc countries grew more intense and diversified, irrespective of the renewed superpower confrontation. Not only were détente and integration compatible, they actually reinforced each other, and the EEC proved to be a major and successful promoter of the overcoming of the Cold War in Europe.

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Teodorescu Loredana

**Un'Europa più attraente per i migranti altamente qualificati: considerazioni sulla Carta Blu Ue**

in *Cittadinanza europea (La)*, Fascicolo 1 - 2013, 95-104

No abstract available

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Caterina Carta

**Use of metaphors and international discourse: The EU as an Idiot power, a deceptive Pangloss and a Don Juan in his infancy**

in *Cooperation and Conflict*, 49 (3), 334-353

This article looks at ways in which the EU's institutional representatives and individual civil servants of the Commission and the European External Action Service frame their discourse on the EU's international role and values. It proceeds as follows. Firstly, it introduces the data and methodology employed in Discourse Historical Analysis. Secondly, it presents a section to illustrate the metaphors that have been adopted to organise collected material. It identifies three main patterns of discourse-making and associates them with metaphors coming from the Western European literature tradition: two figures coming from Voltaire's *Candide* – *Candide* and *Pangloss* – and a character from a Mozart opera, *Don Giovanni*. Finally, the article focuses on perceptions of the EU's international actions and its core underlying values.



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J.H.H. Weiler

**Van Gend en Loos: The individual as subject and object and the dilemma of European legitimacy**  
in *International Journal of Constitutional Law*, vol. 12, issue 1 , 94-103

This essay examines, first, the reasons for the extraordinary impact and iconic status which are attached to Van Gend en Loos. It argues that the explanation lies in a confluence of structural factors and not in the “direct effect” doctrine simpliciter. It then looks at the “darker” side of the case—a proxy for governance—its contribution to a European narrative of efficiency which disregards the traditional mechanism of democratic legitimacy.

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Gualtieri Roberto

**Verso una dimensione politica dell'UE**  
in *ItalianiEuropei*, n. 2

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Bonvicini Gianni

**Verso una nuova procedura di nomina del Presidente della Commissione europea: i documenti della Commissione e del Parlamento europeo**  
in *Cittadinanza europea (La)*, Fascicolo 2 - 2013 , 111-117

No abstract available

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Bonvicini Gianni

**Verso una nuova procedura di nomina del Presidente della Commissione europea: i documenti della Commissione e del Parlamento europeo**  
in *Cittadinanza europea (La)*, Fascicolo 2 - 2013 , 111-117

No abstract available

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Marangoni Anne-Claire, Raube Kolja

**Virtue or Vice? The Coherence of the EU's External Policies**

in *Journal of European Integration*, vol. 36, n. 5, July , 473-489

A buzzword in the EU since four decades already, coherence is at the centre of the Lisbon Treaty. The risk of incoherence is deeply embedded in the institutional framework of EU external policies. Coherence is seen as a permanent quest, while incoherence carries a negative baggage. Goal-oriented coherence is expected to lead to the EU's effectiveness, legitimacy and credibility as an international actor, but this positive causality has not been questioned all too often in the literature. This paper aims to fill this void: why, to what extent and for which problems is coherence a 'miracle solution'? To what extent does coherence actually impact on the EU's international status? The paper will discuss different theoretical perspectives to the coherence debate. It aims to contribute to the theoretical understanding of coherence in EU external policies and to better explain EU efforts towards enhancing coherence.

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Cenk Aygül

**Visa Regimes as Power: The Cases of the EU and Turkey**

in *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political*, 38 (4) , 321-337,

This article examines the significance of labor mobility for capitalism and analyzes the visa regimes of the European Union (EU) and Turkey. After the fall of the Berlin Wall, labor mobility originating from Eastern Europe has been redirected to the West, taking the form of circular migrations and replacing the previous rotation system. While the new forms of circular mobility created insecure employment conditions for many people, it also required a visa regime to classify people when they arrive at the borders. Both nation-states and supranational organizations such as the EU continue to build regulatory capacities. The second half of the article examines the Schengen agreement and the ways in which French German sensitivities were "communitized." While other East European countries chose to be a part of the Schengen agreement's restrictive visa policies, this option was not possible for Turkey, which established a fully liberal regime.

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Török Csaba, Butler Eamonn, Gruber Károly

**Visegrád: The Evolving Pattern of Coordination and Partnership After EU Enlargement**

in *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 66, n. 3, Special issue: "Assessing Accession: Power, Influence and Representation -Central and Eastern Europe in the EU" , 364-393

Multilateral, subregional partnerships are one of the defining features of contemporary European politics. The 2004 enlargement of the European Union introduced a new partnership entity to the mix—the Visegrád Group of states, comprising the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia—which offers its members a useful model to discuss and represent common interests in a collective manner within the regional and international political landscape. The article provides a reflection on the evolution of the Visegrád Group of states since 2004. It examines four key policy



areas (institutional candidacy, energy policy, eastern neighbourhood and defence policy) where the group has either learned some difficult lessons or is seeking to apply those lessons. The article suggests that the Visegrád Group's greatest strength lies in its flexibility to become more responsive to the challenges it faces and it is likely therefore to remain appealing to its member states and to be a permanent feature within the wider cohort of European Union.

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Lefkofridi Zoe

**Vom Regen in die Traufe? Reflexionen über die Krise in Griechenland und in Europa  
in Oesterreichische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft** , Heft 2/2014 , 218-228

From Bad to Worse? Reflections on the Crisis in Greece and in Europe

The full text is free: <http://www.oezp.at/getMagazine.php>

What are the consequences of the radical measures taken in Greece since the beginning of the crisis? While discussing the positive and negative effects of the Troika therapy in Greece, this essay gives an overview of the political situation in Greece and Europe, and discusses the dangers for democracy in the EU.

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Schulmeister Stephan

**Von Amerika lernen. Roosevelts »New Deal« und die große Krise Europas  
in Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik**, August, 2014 , 46-54

Seit Mitte Juli verfügt die Europäische Union über einen neuen Kommissionspräsidenten: Jean-Claude Juncker. Zudem hat Italien unter Ministerpräsident Matteo Renzi die Ratspräsidentschaft übernommen. Neue Chancen also, die EU-Politik der letzten Jahre zu überdenken und die gravierenden Fehler im Bereich der Wirtschafts- und Finanzpolitik endlich zu korrigieren.

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McCormick John

**Voting on Europe: The Potential Pitfalls of a British Referendum  
in Political Quarterly** , Volume 85, Issue 2, April-June 2014 , 212-219

Abstract

As Britain prepares for a possible referendum on continued membership of the European Union, it is essential that more careful thought is paid to the dynamics of referendums. Polling data reveal the existence of a substantial knowledge deficit in the UK and other parts of the EU: large numbers of voters simply do not understand the EU. There is also reason to question the conventional view that voters can correct for such a deficit by using cues from opinion leaders



and the media. The experience of recent referendums in other EU member states suggests that many voters will take part in the proposed British referendum without independent and informed knowledge of the issues at stake, that many will have been swayed by partisan elite opinion, and that many will decide on the basis of their views about domestic politics rather than their views about Europe.

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Jan Komárek

**Waiting for the existential revolution in Europe**

in *International Journal of Constitutional Law*, vol. 12, issue 1 , 190-212

This essay argues, contrary to the widespread beliefs that prevailed after 1989, that the experience of post-communist countries and their peoples, both before and after 1989, can bring something new to our understanding of Europe's present predicament: sometimes as an inspiration, sometimes as a cautionary tale. The lessons offered by post-communist Europe concern some deeply held convictions about the very nature of the EU and its constitutional structure. Only if this experience is absorbed in Europe as its own will post-communist countries truly return to Europe—and Europe become united.

The cautionary tales of post-communist Europe concern the worrying consequences of the suppression of social conflicts "in the name of Europe." Such conflicts often get translated into identity politics, which in the context of European integration often turn against the Union. The second lesson concerns the ill fate of Havel's existential revolution. The attempts of some European constitutionalists to reform individualistic emphasis of the integration project are problematic for the same reason: they turn attention away from politics, where real solutions need to be found. This relates to the third suggestion made here: that the experience of living in a collective dream of socialism can be used as an inspiration rather than as something that needs to be erased from the collective memory of Europe.

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Welzer Harald

**Warum ich dieses Mal wählen gehe - Essay**

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 12, 2014 , 3-8

The full text is free:

<http://www.bpb.de/apuz/180360/europawahl-2014>

Die Überschrift dieses Beitrags ist irreführend. Ich gehe nämlich immer wählen, so auch bei der jüngsten Bundestagswahl. Im Vorfeld der Wahl im vergangenen September aber habe ich meine seit Jahrzehnten eingeübte Routine, mein Kreuzchen beim "kleinsten" aller verfügbaren "Übel" zu machen, nicht mehr ertragen, und ich habe im "Spiegel" und im "Kursbuch" zwei Essays geschrieben, in denen ich begründet habe, weshalb ich zu dieser Bundestagswahl meine Stimme nicht abgeben würde...



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Nicholas Crafts

**What Does the 1930s' Experience Tell Us about the Future of the Eurozone?**

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 52, Issue 4, July 2014 , 713-727

This symposium item belongs to a section headed: SYMPOSIUM: THE GREAT DEPRESSION AND THE EUROZONE CRISIS: LEARNING FROM THE PAST

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Stefan Theil

**What Red Lines, if Any, Do the Lisbon Judgments of European Constitutional Courts Draw for Future EU Integration?**

in *German Law Journal*, vol. 15, issue 4 , 599-635

The lingering European financial crisis continues to threaten the Eurozone and, in the opinion of German Chancellor Angela Merkel, the very survival of the European idea. With this apocalyptic rhetoric, it is easily forgotten that only nine years earlier Europe overcame a predicament that was, at the time, equally described as the most challenging in its history. Two failed referendums in Member States of the European Union (Member States)—namely, in France and the Netherlands—stopped the Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe (Constitutional Treaty) in its tracks and led to an extended “period of reflection” for Europe’s leaders. From this emerged a reboot of the Constitutional Treaty, now dubbed the Treaty of Lisbon, with few substantial changes, but more success throughout the ratification procedures. The final hurdle presented itself in the form of institutionally strong Constitutional Courts (CC) and Tribunals (CT) of the European Member States. Of these, the following were at one time or another seized with complaints against the ratification of the Lisbon Treaty: The Austrian Verfassungsgerichtshof (Austrian CC), the Belgian CC, the Ústavní soud České republiky (Czech CC), the French Conseil Constitutionnel (French CC), the German Bundesverfassungsgericht (German CC), the Hungarian CC, the Latvijas Republikas Satversmes tiesa (Latvian CC), the Polish Trybuna Konstytucyjny (Polish CT), and the Tribunal Constitucional de España (Spanish CT).

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Damian Chalmers and Luis Barroso

**What Van Gend en Loos stands for**

in *International Journal of Constitutional Law*, vol. 12, issue 1 , 105-134

Three transformational developments flowed from Van Gend en Loos: the central symbols and ideals of EU law; an autonomous legal order with more power than traditional treaties; and a system of individual rights and duties. The judgment also set out how each of these developments was to be deployed. The symbols and ideals were set out to proclaim EU authority rather than to go to what the EU did. What the EU did was, above all, government through law. The EU legal order was conceived, above all, therefore, as a vehicle for the expression of EU government. This, in turn,





shaped the allocation of individual rights which were predominantly granted only where they furthered the realization of the collective objectives of EU government. Conceiving EU law as governmental law also left a profound and negative effect on EU legal meaning. This became shaped by EU law being reduced to something to sustain activities valued by EU government rather than to provide a wider, more emancipatory imaginary.

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Melyantsou Dzianis

**What do Belarusians think about the EU and what can the EU do for Belarus?**

in *European View* , vol. 13, n. 1, June, special issue "A Changing Eastern Neighbourhood" , 49-57

No abstract available

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Innerarity Daniel

**What kind of deficit?: Problems of legitimacy in the European Union**

in *European Journal of Social Theory*, Vol. 17, No. 3, August 2014 , 307-325

Abstract

We are still unable to correctly identify the true crisis in Europe: whether it is a question of a lack of a demos or cratos; whether it is the democracy, legitimacy, or justice that is inadequate; whether we are facing a problem of intelligibility or of too little politicization. The article begins the analysis with three hypotheses: (1) none of the attempts to explain the crisis that focus on a single deficit or weakness seems satisfactory, so the discussion should focus on the way these types of deficiencies are expressed and the extent to which each one of them is involved. For this very reason, it makes no sense to entrust the entire solution to the strengthening of one single criterion (participation, effectiveness, or communication, for example). (2) Polarizing the legitimacy framework around two possibilities (input and output) seems to be a simplification that does not do justice to the intricate way in which the results and the procedures, effectiveness and consent are related in a democracy. (3) The resulting description cannot be less complex than that which it is attempting to describe, so the task of repairing EU legitimacy should be carried out through a sophisticated division of labor (between institutions, criteria, and values). The process of European integration may be one of the most interesting manifestations of a general problem in today's societies: how to reconstruct political authority to confront the new challenges of communal life.

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Kostakopoulou Dora

**When EU Citizens become Foreigners**

in *European law journal*, Volume 20, Issue 4 , 447-463



Although EU citizenship has matured as an institution, a combination of hope and caution ought to accompany the tale of its evolution. Contradictory processes of inclusion and greater equalisation coexist with exclusionary logics. These would have to be taken into account, and be addressed, by assessments of its present state and its future evolution. A focus on three key manifestations of state sovereignty, namely, the erasure of citizenship status, expulsion and the disappearance of individuals owing to extraordinary rendition, sheds light onto the edges of EU citizenship and the undesirable effects of untrammelled state power on the lives of individuals. Probing into the moments when EU citizens are treated as aliens or foreigners, and the troublesome ambiguities, tensions and limitations surrounding them, reveals the gaps in the protection of EU citizens and the constraints that stand in the way of change in the institutional scheme of things.

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**Kostovicova Denisa**

**When Enlargement Meets Common Foreign and Security Policy: Serbia's Europeanisation, Visa Liberalisation and the Kosovo Policy**

in *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 66, n. 1 , 67-87

During the process of visa liberalisation Serbia made significant and unexpected adjustments in its Kosovo policy, which demonstrate the European Union's leverage. Serbia's compliance on Kosovo cannot be explained either by rational institutionalism, which accounts for domestic change based on cost–benefit calculations, or sociological institutionalism, which predicts domestic adaptation based on convergence of norms and identities. Applying discursive institutionalism, this empirical study of Serbia's Europeanisation identifies discursive denial as a strategy of the Serbian elite in pursuing costly policy implementation. It contributes a novel perspective on 'shallow' Europeanisation by highlighting a lack of discursive reinforcement of adopted rules.

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**Theresa Kuhn & Florian Stoeckel**

**When European integration becomes costly: the euro crisis and public support for European economic governance**

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 21, Issue 4 2014 , 624-641

This article analyses preferences for European economic governance in the European sovereign debt crisis. We assess citizens' opinions on increased intergovernmental co-operation and supranational governance in the economic sphere. We argue that current efforts to tackle the euro crisis do not benefit the typical 'winners of European integration'. Moreover, European economic governance constitutes an even greater perceived threat to national identity, especially in the member states that fare well economically. Hypotheses are tested using multilevel analysis of Eurobarometer survey wave EB 75.3 (2011).

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**Eiki Berg and Martin Mölder**



**When ‘blurring’ becomes the norm and secession is justified as the exception: revisiting EU and Russian discourses in the common neighbourhood**

in *Journal of International Relations and Development*, Volume 17, Issue 4 , 469–488

his paper takes a closer look at the discourses of the EU and Russia in relation to the ground-breaking events in Kosovo (1999/2008) and the South Caucasus (2008) while digging deep into the discursive practices and contextual aspects of these conflicts. We will argue that, on a more abstract level, the EU and Russia were applying the same logic of discourse — either professing humanitarian concerns, including ‘responsibility to protect’, or emphasising ‘obligation to refrain’ — across these similar instances of intervention and secession declared to be exceptions by both. Across these cases, both actors were not only blurring the common understanding of these terms and the rules of their application in practice, but also advancing implicitly such blurring as, in fact, a norm. However, when the principles in relation to secession are blurred, it is easy to follow the examples of both Russia as well as the EU, depicting specific instances of secession selectively as exceptions and legitimating one’s essentially arbitrary behaviour vis-à-vis the professed international norms.

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Lamy Pascal

**Where is Europe going?**

in *Revue internationale et stratégique*, n° 94, 2014/2 , 30-37

On the eve of European elections in the spring of 2014, the question of Europe’s future is raised intently. Suffering from a deep legitimacy crisis, the European Union faces many challenges. However, if Europe ran out of fuel, its model appears still relevant. Leading to aims in terms of sense of belonging, growth and governance, the European elections could allow a revitalization and a renewal of interest for the European construction.

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Agustín José Menéndez

**Which Citizenship? Whose Europe?—The Many Paradoxes of European Citizenship**

in *German Law Journal*, vol. 15, issue 5 , 907-933

The three central theses of this article are as follows. First, “European citizenship” has become an unhappy misnomer. The set of rights and obligations that make up the status of European citizenship fall wide short the mark of those proper of citizenship in a normatively demanding sense. To put it differently, European citizenship is no citizenship. Second, European citizenship is rapidly becoming a dangerous misnomer. The “gap” between European citizenship and citizenship in a normative sense has been customarily accounted by reference to either the “embryonic” character of European citizenship (European citizenship will be a citizenship in the making) or to the innovative character of European citizenship (part of the radically new constitutional grammar of the post-national world in which we would have allegedly entered). But twenty years after the formal introduction of the status of European citizenship, and in the eight year of a deep and grave economic, social and political crisis, it has become increasingly evident that the gap between European citizenship and a normatively demanding conception of citizenship is not transitory, but structural. Some of the fundamental rights that make up the status of “European citizenship” do undermine the very ground on which a



normatively demanding conception of citizenship rests. In particular, the economic rights that are a crucial component of European citizenship (the four economic freedoms as constructed by the European Court of Justice and applied by the European Commission) undercut the collective goods that constitute the backbone of the Social and Democratic Rechtsstaat. Third, it is urgent that European citizenship is redefined in line with the normative ideal of citizenship in the Social and Democratic Rechtsstaat. This would require redefining European citizenship in the semblance of the Social and Democratic Rechtsstaat. For that purpose, what may well be...

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**John D Occhipinti**

**Whither the withering democratic deficit? The impact of the Lisbon Treaty on the Area of Freedom, Security and Justice**

in *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* , Volume 27, Issue 1 , 83-105

No abstract available

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**Kaija E. Schilde**

**Who are the Europeans? European Identity Outside of European Integration**

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 52, Issue 3, May 2014 , 650-667

What do we know about the relationship between Europe, the European Union and European identity? While national identity is a multifaceted phenomenon, European identity has been linked to the growth of the European Union. This article attempts to analyze some of the attributes of individuals with European identity in central and eastern Europe prior to EU accession by applying existing hypotheses on correlates of European identity. The phenomenon of identification with Europe prior to EU accession provides a window into understanding the identity mechanisms that inform the concept of European identity. The first Eurobarometer surveys measuring European identification in central and eastern accession states reported a puzzling finding: that more people, not less, identified with Europe than in existing EU states. An analysis of the Eurobarometer results provides counter-intuitive comparisons and contrasts between eastern and western Europe and uncovers potential mechanisms illustrating the content of contemporary European identity.

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**Sara B. Hobolt and James Tilley**

**Who's in Charge? How Voters Attribute Responsibility in the European Union**

in *Comparative Political Studies* , 47 (6) , 795-819

As an emerging federal system, the European Union (EU) divides decision-making powers between multiple levels of government. Yet little is known about how EU citizens attribute responsibility to the EU. In particular, do people hold the EU, rather than national governments, responsible for different policy outcomes, some of which are primarily decided at



the EU level? This article investigates the extent to which institutional differences and individual biases influence citizens' attribution of responsibility in the EU. We rely on unique survey data collected in all 27 EU member states to explore how citizens attribute responsibility across five different policy areas. Using a multilevel model of responsibility judgments, our findings show that while citizens' evaluations correspond to the institutional context, group-serving biases, related to support for the EU, have a more important role in shaping attributions of responsibility in the EU.

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Eva G. Heidbreder

**Why widening makes deepening: unintended policy extension through polity expansion**

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 21, Issue 5 2014 , 746-760

By analysing widening as the cause of deepening, the contribution examines unintended effects of enlargement. During the Eastern enlargement process, the European Commission was assigned competences vis-à-vis the candidate states which exceeded the powers formally conferred to it by the European Union acquis. During the pre-accession phase, the Commission thus implemented double standards that applied to candidate states but not to members. However, these special capacities did not expire in all policies, as expected. Theoretically, this raises the question: Under which conditions does policy-making lead to an increase of supranational capacities? The contribution concludes that widening produces systematic pressure for the deepening of supranational policy-making capacities. Whether such deepening persists depends not only on the interplay of actor preferences and institutional contexts, but to a decisive extent on the actual policy type that is institutionalized. Along these lines, the policy-making exercised in the most recent widening rounds did indeed cause deepening.

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R. Daniel Kelemen, Anand Menon & Jonathan Slapin

**Wider and deeper? Enlargement and integration in the European Union**

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 21, Issue 5 2014 , 647-663

This contribution presents an institutionalist account of the conditions under which widening either impedes or encourages deepening. We argue that the impact of widening on deepening depends on the position of the enlargement state relative to the preference distributions of existing member states. Also, we argue that while expanding to a laggard may in some cases create short-term gridlock, it may also provide the impetus for institutional changes that facilitate deepening over the long-term. We assess our argument empirically drawing on the European Union's own history and data on federal systems and international organizations.

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Sotirios Zartaloudis

**Wielding Soft Power in a World of Neglect: The Europeanization of Greek and Portuguese Public Employment Services**

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 51, Issue 6, November 2013 , 1178-1195



The Europeanization literature has extensively examined the influence of the European employment strategy (EES) on Member States' employment policies. However, two least-likely cases – Greece and Portugal – have been neglected in the literature. This article focuses on the activation of public employment services (PES), which has been one of the key elements of the EES. Based on a sample of 44 semi-structured interviews and primary and secondary document research on seven reform episodes during 1995–2009, it finds that the EES altered Greek and Portuguese employment policies by empowering policy entrepreneurs and, when the latter were absent, through European Social Fund financial conditionality. While the literature considers policy learning as the chief EES-Europeanization mechanism, little evidence is found herein to support such an explanation. The findings may be relevant for a number of EU policies based on voluntarism and EU funds, such as the new flagship EU initiative Europe 2020.

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Chalmers Adam W.

**With a lot of help from their friends: Explaining the social logic of informational lobbying in the European Union in *European Union Politics***, vol. 14, n. 4, December, 475-496

This article examines the informational advantages of interest group networking strategies and how these relate to the provision of policy-relevant information to EU decision-makers. Interest groups obtain a great deal of policy-relevant information through their network connections. In particular, weak tie networks are strong in terms of information sharing among network members. Well-informed groups are best positioned to provide much needed information to EU decision-makers and to thus influence the EU policy-making process. Using original survey and interview data, this article tests the extent to which weak tie strategies help interest groups provide information to the Commission, Parliament and Council. A central finding of this article is that strong ties, rather than weak ties, grant the most important informational advantages.

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Ehlers Kai

**Zankapfel Ukraine: Europäische versus Eurasische Union**

in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, Februar, 2014, 25-28

The full text is free:

<https://www.blaetter.de/archiv/jahrgaenge/2014/februar>

Die Proteste gegen die ukrainische Regierung spitzen sich zu: Am 19. Januar versammelten sich erneut mehr als 100.000 Demonstranten auf dem Kiewer Unabhängigkeitsplatz, um gegen Wiktor Janukowitsch zu protestieren – und gegen dessen Abkehr von einer engeren Zusammenarbeit mit der Europäischen Union. Dabei kam es erstmals im Laufe der seit Monaten anhaltenden Proteste zu größeren gewaltsamen Zusammenstößen zwischen militanten Demonstranten und den Sicherheitskräften.

Hier zeigte sich: Obwohl die Demonstrierenden darin einig sind, gegen wen sie protestieren, kann von einer gemeinsame Idee für die Zukunft der Ukraine keine Rede sein. Denn neben den beiden liberalen Parteien, der





Ukrainischen Demokratischen Allianz für Reformen unter Vitali Klitschko und der Vaterlandspartei der ehemaligen Regierungschefin Julia Timoschenko, beteiligt sich auch die rechtsradikale Swoboda an den Protesten. Deren Anhänger vor allem sind für die jüngsten gewaltsamen Ausschreitungen verantwortlich. Ob diese drei Parteien bis zu den nächsten Wahlen, die voraussichtlich im Jahr 2015 stattfinden werden, tatsächlich eine gemeinsame Strategie für die Ukraine entwickeln können, ist daher mehr als fraglich. Ganz zu schweigen davon, was das für das Land bedeuten würde.

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**Bsirske Frank, Busch Klaus**

**Zurück auf Los: Die Große Koalition und die Eurokrise**

*in Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, März, 2014, 95-102

Anfang 2014 scheint sich die Lage der Eurozone stabilisiert zu haben: Dank der Intervention der EZB seit dem Sommer 2012 konnte der Zusammenbruch der Währung abgewendet werden. Und 2014 wird nun nach einer zweijährigen Rezessionsphase sogar wieder mit moderatem Wirtschaftswachstum gerechnet; Irland und Spanien sind nicht länger auf ESM-Kredite angewiesen, und auch Portugal soll 2015 finanziell wieder auf eigenen Füßen stehen können.[1] Darüber hinaus sollen einige architektonische Reformen für eine größere wirtschaftliche und finanzielle Stabilität der Eurozone sorgen. Und dennoch: Aus dem Größten ist die Eurozone noch längst nicht heraus.

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**Schieder Siegfried**

**Zwischen Führungsanspruch und Wirklichkeit: Deutschlands Rolle in der Eurozone**

*in Leviathan. Berliner Zeitschrift für Sozialwissenschaft*, Heft 3, 2014

Deutsche Führung ist nicht gänzlich neu im außen- und europapolitischen Diskurs der Berliner Republik. Spätestens in der Eurokrise wurde deutlich, wie sehr die Bundesrepublik zur Führungsmacht in der Eurozone geworden ist. Doch inwiefern ist es gerechtfertigt, von Deutschland als Führungs- oder gar Hegemonialmacht zu sprechen? Unter Rückgriff auf Charles P. Kindleberger wird in diesem Beitrag eine konstruktivistische Sichtweise auf internationale Führung entfaltet und argumentiert, dass das deutsche Führungsproblem in der Eurozone weniger darin liegt, dass die Bundesregierung das bisherige Euro-Krisenmanagement maßgeblich geprägt hat. Problematisch ist vielmehr, dass die Bundesregierung aufgrund innerstaatlicher Interessen eine eigennützige Politik verfolgt und nur zögerlich bereit war und ist, besondere finanzielle Lasten und politische Pflichten zu tragen. Da politische Führung in der Eurozone in einem Gemeinschaftsumfeld ausgeübt wird, muss der Führungswille von Staaten – so die These – funktional mit der Bereitschaft zur Übertragung von staatlicher Souveränität und normativ mit Verantwortung und Solidarität gegenüber der EU einhergehen. Dass sich Berlin nach wie vor schwertut, im eigenen Interesse mehr finanzielle und politische Verpflichtungen für Europa zu übernehmen, stellt das eigentliche Führungsrätsel deutscher Euro-Rettungspolitik dar.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

**Sophie Jacquot & Tommaso Vitale**



**Law as weapon of the weak? A comparative analysis of legal mobilization by Roma and women's groups at the European level**

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 21, Issue 4 2014 , 587-604

This article is interested with the legal mobilization of transnational interest groups at the European level (European Union and Council of Europe). It compares the legal and political lobbying strategies of two umbrella organizations – the European Women's Lobby (EWL) and the European Roma and Travellers Forum (ERTF), which seek respectively to promote the rights of women and those of Roma – focusing on their interactions with European institutions and law. The article analyses the contrasted relationship of these groups to legal mobilization as a rights advancement strategy, shedding new light on how law can be strategically used by both strong and weak civil society actors. Beyond classical factors linked to organizational characteristics and identity, the differential usages of law by the two groups are explained by the role of strategic actors who adapt to the specificities of the system of governance in the two policy sectors – gender equality and anti-discrimination.

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Meunier Sophie

**'Beggars can't be Choosers': The European Crisis and Chinese Direct Investment in the European Union**

in *Journal of European Integration*, vol. 36, n. 3, April, Special Issue: Coping with Crisis: Europe's Challenges and Strategies , 283-302

Virtually non-existent five years ago, Chinese foreign direct investment (FDI) into Europe has surged spectacularly in recent years in an international context of declining FDI globally. While the stock of Chinese FDI in Europe is still minuscule, the flows show the rapidly growing interest of Chinese companies in being present in Europe, both through greenfield investment and through mergers and acquisitions. This surge of Chinese FDI occurred concomitantly to the explosion of the sovereign debt crisis in Europe and the general economic downturn in many countries of the European Union (EU). This paper asks whether the European crisis contributed to the surge of Chinese FDI in Europe. In particular, did this surge occur as a result of an explicit strategy formulated by governments in EU Member States in order to dig their countries out of the crisis? The main argument is that the crisis has provided Chinese investors with two types of bargains: economic bargains due to depressed prices and a greater number of assets for sale, and political bargains due to the lessened political resistance to deals that may have been objectionable in flusher times.

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Syuzanna Vasilyan

**'Moral power' as objectification of the 'civilian'/'normative' 'EUology': the European Union as a conflict-dealer in the South Caucasus**

in *Journal of International Relations and Development*, Volume 17, Issue 3 , 397-424

This article develops a new conceptual framework of 'moral power' by arguing that the 'civilian'/'normative' power Europe paradigms are insufficient for understanding the essence of the conflict resolution policy of the European Union (EU) in the South Caucasus. Analysing the conflicts of Abkhazia, South Ossetia and Nagorno-Karabakh, the study



reveals that until the August 2008 war, the EU was an incoherent actor in terms of the interplay among its institutions and member-states. The EU's policy has been devoid of a long-term peace-focused strategy, making it inconsequential; as a result, the EU has merely dealt with, rather than managed, the conflicts. Its rhetoric has been inconsistent with practice. Often the EU has subordinated its values to material and power-related interests. Moreover, the EU has hardly been normatively stable in its approach to the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. Bypassing inclusiveness until the launch of the Geneva talks pertaining to the Abkhazian and South Ossetian conflicts, the EU has not enjoyed much legitimacy by the de facto states. Whereas the EU has largely failed to resolve the South Caucasian conflicts, it has achieved partial success by putting a halt to the 2008 hostilities between Russia and Georgia. Overall, having faltered as a 'civilian'/'normative' power it still has to fare as a 'moral power'.

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Clements Ben, Nanou Kyriaki, Verney Susannah

**'We No Longer Love You, But We Don't Want To Leave You': The Eurozone Crisis and Popular Euroscepticism in Greece**

in *Journal of European Integration*, vol. 36, n. 3, April, Special Issue: Coping with Crisis: Europe's Challenges and Strategies , 247-265

This article analyses whether and how public opinion towards the European Union (EU) in Greece has changed in the context of the current Eurozone crisis. It provides the first detailed treatment of how the crisis has affected citizens' views in a traditionally pro-European member state. It examines whether public opinion has become more Eurosceptic and which societal groups have changed their views and in what direction. It uses data from Eurobarometer surveys conducted before and during the current crisis. Unsurprisingly, the findings show that negative sentiment towards the EU has increased across all social groups in recent years. However, we find a paradox of a decline in general support for the EU and an increase in support for the Euro. In a country seen as traditionally pro-European, Greek public opinion has fallen out of love with the EU, but it clearly does not want to leave the Eurozone or renounce membership altogether.

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Jullien François

**« Rester zen », ou d'une France qui n'affronte plus**

in *Debat (Le)*, n° 179, mars-avril , 92-100

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

Cucchetti Humberto

**«L'Action française contre l'Europe» Militantisme royaliste, circulations politico-intellectuelles et fabrique du souverainisme français**



in *Politique européenne* , n. 43, 2014/1 , 164 à 190

The history of Action Française (AF) since the end of World War II shows how this royalist organization has opposed successive governments' European policies. In spite of several crises and weak membership, AF's description of the European Union as an abandonment of national sovereignty has a legacy. To explain this legacy, it is essential to understand relations between royalism and sovereigntism among intellectuals and activists. We analyze the individual and collectives trajectories of AF members to show the circulation of ideas and persons inside this alternative field.

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Habermas Jürgen

**»Für ein starkes Europa« – aber was heißt das?**

in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, März, 2014 , 85-94

Am 2. Februar d.&#8201;J. referierte Jürgen Habermas auf Einladung des SPD-Vorsitzenden Sigmar Gabriel während der Klausurtagung der SPD-Spitze aus Parteivorstand, Bundesregierung und Ministerpräsidenten in Berlin-Hermannswerder. Der Vortrag, der eine kontroverse Diskussion auslöste, erscheint außer in den „Blättern“ in gekürzter Fassung in der französischen „Le Monde“ sowie in in der italienischen „La Repubblica“ und in der spanischen „El País“. – D. Red.

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Gammelin Cerstin, Löw Raimund

**»Jedem seine Scheiße«. Wie Angela Merkels nationaler Egoismus die EU aufs Spiel setzt**

in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, Mai, 2014 , 43-58

Der Euro scheint stabilisiert und Griechenland kehrt zurück an die Finanzmärkte: Man könnte den Eindruck gewinnen, Merkels Sparkurs habe Erfolg. Doch die Journalisten Cerstin Gammelin und Raimund Löw weisen minutiös nach, dass die Krise nur unter großer Gegenwehr Deutschlands bekämpft werden konnte – und dank des Einsatzes der EZB. Bis heute stünden deutsche Interessen einer effektiven Krisenbewältigung im Wege.

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Klaus Busch

**¿Una Europa «para todos»? La crisis de la UE y la Gran Coalición alemana**

in *Nueva Sociedad*, n. 250

Will anything change in German politics in relation to the European crisis with the incorporation of the Social Democrat Party (spd) into Angela Merkel's Grand Coalition? Although the spd proposed «a Europe for all» when in opposition, criticizing the austerity policies of the troika in favor of greater democratic control by Parliament, the governing alliance is far from making significant changes in German politics and is struggling for a European New Deal. The coalition's agreement shows the seal of chancellor Merkel and her finance minister Wolfgang Schäuble, and, apart from some



rhetorical insignificant figures, it doesn't contain almost any of the candidates presented in the spd's electoral platform.

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Chaltiel Florence

**À quoi sert l'Union européenne?**

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 579, juin , 325-327

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 6. The European unification process*

Christian Chavagneux

**Éditorial. Le retour d'une bulle sur les dettes publiques en Europe?**

in *Economie politique (L')*, n° 61, 2014/1 , Page 5 à 6

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Jäcklein Wolf

**... et dix menaces pour les peuples européens**

in *Monde Diplomatique (Le)*, Juin

No abstract available

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Eberhardt Pia

**A la rencontre des négociateurs européens**

in *Monde Diplomatique (Le)*, Juin

<http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/2014/06/EBERHARDT/50559>

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Fawaz Yusuf

**A structural change analysis of EU–Moroccan trade liberalisation and economic development between 1995 and 2010**

in *Journal of North African Studies* , Volume 19, Issue 3 , 413-432



In November 1995, the European Community launched the Barcelona Process, a comprehensive and multifaceted initiative aimed at strengthening political, economic, and social relations between the Community and neighbouring Southern Mediterranean States (MS). One of the initiatives introduced under the umbrella of this Process is the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership. Central to this Partnership is the creation of free trade agreements between the Community (and later the European Union) and each MS, and similar agreements between the MS themselves over the long term, in order to foster prosperity and engender socioeconomic development in the MS. This paper looks at one MS, Morocco, and refers to structural change theory in order to present a case that trade liberalisation is not the most appropriate strategy to help Morocco develop and attain better living standards. Specifically, trade liberalisation would inhibit Morocco's ability to diversify production and industrialise, which is a prerequisite to a successful developmental transition. The paper makes use of an international trade model to provide a theoretical explanation as to why liberalisation would encourage Morocco to specialise in producing and exporting agricultural products and light manufactures, both of which are unlikely to reap a substantial added economic value. This would prevent the Kingdom from attaining higher income levels and enhancing the living standards of its people.

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Héctor Casanueva

**ALC-UE : ¿Construir juntos el futuro? : lo que debemos superar para una efectiva asociación estratégica entre América Latina, Caribe y la Unión Europea**

in *Estudios internacionales* : revista del Instituto de Estudios Internacionales de la Universidad de Chile, Vol. 45, No. 176

No abstract available

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Daniel S. Hamilton

**America's Mega-Regional Trade Diplomacy: Comparing TTP and TTIP**

in *International Spectator (The)*, Vol. 49, No. 1

The United States is currently negotiating two massive regional economic agreements, one with 11 Asian and Pacific Rim countries and the other with the 28-member European Union. The Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) and the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) herald a substantial shift in US foreign economic policy as Washington turns its focus from the stalemated Doha Round of multilateral trade negotiations and scattered bilateral trade agreements to 'mega-regional' trade diplomacy. As the only party to both negotiations, Washington seeks to leverage issues in one to advance its interests in the other, while reinvigorating US global leadership.

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Simone Tholens

**An EU-South Mediterranean Energy Community: The Right Policy for the Right Region?**

in *International Spectator (The)*, Vol. 49, No. 2





The European Commission has spelled out its policy ambition for EU energy cooperation with the southern neighbourhood with plans for the establishment of an 'Energy Community'. Its communications make clear that an Energy Community should be based on regulatory convergence with the EU *acquis communautaire*, much in the same vein as the existing institution carrying the same name; the Energy Community with Southeast Europe. It is puzzling that the Commission insists on repackaging this enlargement concept in a region with very different types of relationships vis-à-vis the EU, especially when considering the lukewarm position of key stakeholders in the field. According to them, any attempt to introduce a political integration model in this highly sensitive issue area in the politically fragmented MENA region might run the risk of hurting the incremental technical integration process that has slowly emerged over the past few years.

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Butler Eamonn

**Assessing Accession: Power, Influence and Representation—Central and Eastern Europe in the EU**

**in *Europe-Asia Studies***, vol. 66, n. 3, Special issue: "Assessing Accession: Power, Influence and Representation -Central and Eastern Europe in the EU" , 353-358

No abstract available

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Beeson Mark, Wang Yong

**Australia, China, and the U.S. in an Era of Interdependence: Irreconcilable Interests, Inadequate Institutions? (**

**in *Asian Survey*** , Vol. 54, No. 3, May/June 2014 , 565-583

Tensions in the Asia-Pacific region are rising as a consequence of the U.S. "pivot" to Asia and China's increasingly assertive foreign policy. Other states in the region must try to reconcile potentially conflicting economic and strategic imperatives as a consequence. Australia illustrates these dilemmas. We ask what role regional institutions can play.

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Ramesh Thakur

**Australia's Engagement with Asia: Strategic or Transactional?**

**in *India Quarterly***, vol. 69, no. 4 , 335-350

The ebb and flow of coping with Australia's identity dilemma as a European settler society located on the geographical edge of Asia leads to bouts of agonising, excitement and temporising. This has been given particular cogency with the power shift underway from the trans-Atlantic to the Asia-Pacific. The 2012 White Paper set 25 national objectives to be met by 2025, with targets ranging from improving trade links and increasing scholarships to teaching priority Asian languages. But in this transactional embrace of Asia that highlights economic and trade links, gaps might open up between ambition and delivery, especially amidst continuing evidence of insensitivity to how Asians forge lasting relationships. Ties with China are dominated by trade but security concerns remain. Relations with India should improve



with the removal of the nuclear issue as an irritant and growing trade and tourist numbers. Japan remains an important trade and diplomatic partner. And geography and demography ensure that Indonesia is no less important to Australia than Asia's big three.

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Pawlak Patryk

**Chinese network diplomacy as a challenge for transatlantic partners  
in Asia Europe Journal**, vol. 12, n. 1-2, March , 95-108

For decades, a prevailing view has been that a very limited number of global issues can be resolved without the USA and European Union acting together. But in recent years, we have seen a growing body of scholarship addressing the question of the 'diffusion of power', 'the rise of the rest' or 'global zero'. With the financial crisis, questionable foreign policy choices and growing global competition from other international actors, both in terms of trade and ideas, the idea of the Western domination is increasingly questioned. At the same time, many international actors, including the European Union, are increasingly shifting—or 'rebalancing'—their attention towards China and other Asian markets introducing new dynamics to old alliances and relationships. Borrowing from the network analysis scholarship, this paper looks at the EU relationship with China through a conceptual lens of 'network power' and 'network diplomacy'. It applies this analytical lens to investigate the implications of EU–China relations for (1) the relations with the USA, (2) the relations with the ASEAN and (3) the effects of the trilateral EU–China–US cooperation on the region.

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Lorenzini Sara

**Comecon and the South in the years of détente: a study on East–South economic relations  
in European History Quarterly**, Volume 44, No. 2, April , 183-199

The article deals with the economic relations of the socialist bloc with less-developed countries in the 1960s and 1970s. It focuses on the economic policies envisaged by technocrats and policy-makers in the Comecon's Commission for technical assistance. It argues that the original formula based on autarky, whereby socialist aid aimed at building a clear alternative to the West and less-developed countries were advised to introduce Soviet-style planning, nationalisation and industrialisation, was progressively abandoned during détente. Doubts on the appropriateness of the Soviet model emerged, especially in Eastern European governments. Trade became increasingly crucial and the strategy of promoting an international division of labour based on mutual advantage turned into an obsession with importing strategic raw materials. In the mid-1970s, despite the official socialist view, the East pursued 'realist' policies that made sense in terms of economics rather than ideology. The myth of socialist modernity as a variant of industrial modernity had definitely collapsed, and socialist countries' participation in the Western-dominated world economy became a necessity. Eventually, the developing world became the place where a joint East–West co-operation could take place, often in the framework of the so-called trilateral co-operation, where Western Europe had a special role.

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**Men Jing, Pardo Ramon Pacheco**

**Convergence and divergence between the EU and China**

in **Asia Europe Journal**, vol. 12, n. 1-2, March , 1-3

The EU and China, the first and third largest economies in the world, launched a strategic partnership in 2003. From the onset, this partnership had two main objectives: deepening and broadening cooperation and enhancing bilateral collaboration on a wide range of policy areas at the global level. On the 10th anniversary of the partnership, this special issue seeks to provide a comprehensive analysis of the mechanisms, the evolution and current state of EU–China relations, and the divergence and convergence between them on a number of issues. The special issue includes articles setting out the historical and institutional background behind the EU–China partnership, examining their cooperation and problems in the economic, financial, climate change and security fields as well as in relation to third parties. In this way, this special issue covers the most important fields of policy coordination and cooperation between the EU and China.

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**Donald Kenyon & Pierre van der Eng**

**Defining the relationship between Australia and the European Union: is the framework treaty enough?**

in **Australian Journal of International Affairs**, Volume 68, Issue 2 , 225-242

Australia is currently negotiating a framework treaty with the European Union (EU) that aims at closer cooperation on a wide range of shared policy goals. The treaty is not expected to include trade-liberalisation commitments. This article queries why this is, given the importance of trade and business relations with the EU for Australia, and the fact that the EU exerts international influence primarily as a trade power, rather than a foreign and security policy power. Since 2006, the EU has also been negotiating 'new-generation' bilateral free trade agreements (FTAs), focusing on tariffs and regulatory non-tariff trade barriers. It has now committed itself to FTA negotiations with many of Australia's trade partners in Asia and the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. An FTA and a complementary framework treaty were concluded with South Korea in 2010, and the EU is currently negotiating a similar package with Canada. As Australia and Canada are comparable trade partners for the EU, the article argues that an FTA on the EU–Canada model could be a more effective avenue for Australia to achieve deeper engagement with the EU.

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**Bréville Benoît, Bulard Martine**

**Des tribunaux pour détrousser les Etats**

in **Monde Diplomatique (Le)**, Juin

<http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/2014/06/BREVILLE/50487>

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

**Wallach Lori M.**



**Dix menaces pour le peuple américain...**

in *Monde Diplomatique (Le)*, Juin

<http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/2014/06/WALLACH/50483>

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

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Quatrepoint Jean-Michel

**Du transpacifique au transatlantique**

in *Debat (Le)*, n° 178, janvier-février , 4-8

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Smith Michael

**EU-China relations and the limits of economic diplomacy**

in *Asia Europe Journal*, vol. 12, n. 1-2, March , 35-48

This paper addresses a key problem in EU-China economic relations: the capacity of the EU to exert leverage through its economic diplomacy in the context of key economic trends, policy dilemmas, and processes of governance. The paper begins by identifying key elements of the EU's economic diplomacy and their relationship to key functions: deliberation, representation, communication, and negotiation. It continues by reviewing key trends and challenges in EU-China economic relations, in terms of trade, finance/investment, and broader issues of economic performance, with special reference to the problems emanating from the current economic turbulence both in the EU and in the broader global political economy. It then identifies a number of key policy dilemmas for the EU in areas such as trade defense/trade promotion, environment/development, security/commercial priorities, investment/sovereignty, and explores these in terms of three key concepts: orientation, coordination, and effectiveness. In pursuing this analysis, the paper relates these trends and dilemmas to attempts to govern EU-China economic relations: public/private, bilateral/multilateral, and regulatory/political. In the final section of the paper, these efforts are evaluated in the context of the EU's economic diplomacy, with relation to key actors, processes, and outcomes and to the key functions of deliberation, representation, communication, and negotiation.

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Pardo Ramon Pacheco

**EU-China relations in financial governance: cooperation, convergence or competition?**

in *Asia Europe Journal*, vol. 12, n. 1-2, March , 63-77

The global financial crisis (GFC) and subsequent Eurozone sovereign debt crisis (ESDC) have made reform of the global financial governance regime a priority for governments around the world. Prior to the crisis, neoliberal policies



agreed between the European Union and the USA created a financial governance regime based on the principle of free operation of the market through the norms of market self-regulation, equal access to the market, and stability via institutional supervision. How will global financial governance look like after these crises? And what role can the EU and China play in shaping this regime? This article argues that as a result of the GFC and the ESDC, stability is becoming a second principle of global financial governance, along with the free operation of the market. Meanwhile, European and Chinese views regarding the norms, rules, and decision-making procedures designed to implement those principles do not differ as much as they used to. Thanks to interactions at the bilateral and multilateral levels, the EU and China now have knowledge regarding how the other understands the role and characteristics that financial governance should have. This is leading to convergence in some areas and cooperation in others. Concurrently, there are also areas of competition. Analysing all of these is essential to understand how global financial governance might evolve, given the central role that the EU and China now play in this regime.

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#### *Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

**Marx Axel, Wouters Jan, Moon Woosik, Rhee Yeongseop, Park Sunhee**

**EU–Korea relations in a changing world project: main results and recommendations**  
in *Asia Europe Journal*, vol. 12, n. 3, September , 231-250

The paper provides an overview of the most important results of a project on EU–Korea economic and regulatory relations funded by the European Commission. The paper first outlines the emergence and development of EU–Korea relations. In the second part, the paper presents the main findings clustered in three thematic areas. A first thematic area focuses on a discussion of the EU–Korea Free Trade Agreement. The second cluster analyzes EU–Korea cooperation on regulatory policies with a main focus on cooperation in the policy areas of security (arms trade and control), chemical regulation, environmental regulation, education, development cooperation and industrial policy. The third part focuses on EU–Korea cooperation concerning regional and international issues. In the third part, the paper presents the main recommendations which were formulated on the basis of the project.

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#### *Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

**Cristian Nitoiu**

**EU–Russia relations: Between conflict and cooperation**  
in *International Politics* , Volume 51, Issue 2 , 234-253

EU–Russia relations have often been considered in scholarship to be governed by the dichotomy between conflict and cooperation. Cooperation has often coexisted or overlapped with conflict on a significant number of issues and policy areas, making relations between the two actors very complex. This article explores the dichotomy between conflict and cooperation, highlighting the way it has influenced the two actors' policies towards the Eastern Neighbourhood. It posits that the difference between what the European Union (EU) says and what it does is desired and perpetuated both by Russia, the EU's member states and the countries within the Eastern Neighbourhood. Simultaneously, Moscow is unable to formulate a clear strategy for the Eastern Neighbourhood, which makes its approach geared at providing short-term incentives to corrupt politicians in the countries in the region not sustainable in the long term. In doing so, the article also aims to enquire into the potential for EU–Russia relations to move beyond the well-known



conflict–cooperation dichotomy.

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Günther Maihold

**En busca de sentido para el proceso iberoamericano. Entre el ocaso y la reforma**  
in *Nueva Sociedad*, n. 250

The Ibero-American process finds itself in a precarious situation, reflected by the absence of many Latin American presidents in recent summits. Beyond this formal syndrome, the Ibero-American relationship is profoundly wounded by the lack of consistent political projects, and the reduction of the relationship to cultural identity. Additionally the competition with European-Latin American summits has stolen much of the attraction of the Ibero-American process. However, the true challenge lies in making it less Spanish, independent from the ups and downs of internal Spanish politics and in generating a basis beyond the thin cultural base, which does not sustain an Ibero-American political presence in international relations.

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Schwartz Antoine

**Et Napoléon III a choisi le libre-échange**  
in *Monde Diplomatique (Le)*, Juin

<http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/2014/06/SCHWARTZ/50490>

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Chavier Jean-Marie

**Eurasie, le « choc des civilisations » version russe**  
in *Monde Diplomatique (Le)*, Mai

<http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/2014/05/CHAVIER/50421>

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Maria Eleonora Guasconi

**Europe and the Mediterranean in the 1970s. The Setting Up of the Euro-Arab Dialogue**  
in *Les Cahiers Irice*, n°10 , 163-175

The relationship between the European Union and the Mediterranean is deeply rooted in Europe's origins, history and identity. Two of the founding members of the European Community, France and Italy, both Mediterranean countries, for the historical and military legacy of their colonial past have always looked at this basin as an area in which to exert their





influence. According to a well-known...

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Kerr David, Xu Yanzhuo

**Europe, China and security governance: is there evidence of normative convergence?**

in *Asia Europe Journal*, vol. 12, n. 1-2, March , 79-93

Normative power can be defined as the ability to govern interdependencies by means of rules, regimes and compliance strategies. This paper presents two case studies in security governance—international responsibility to protect in Sudan and counter-proliferation policies towards Iran’s nuclear programme—to evaluate the degree of normative convergence between China and Europe. It concludes that there are still major differences between Europe and China on employing normative strategies in security governance but that both modes of governance and identities as security actors are mobile so that the trend is towards convergence, albeit with some distance still to travel.

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*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Tomasz Grzegorz Grosse

**Geoeconomic Relations Between the EU and China: The Lessons From the EU Weapon Embargo and From Galileo**

in *Geopolitics*, Volume 19, Issue 1 , 40-65

The merging of geopolitical and economic goals, known as geoeconomics, is becoming more and more frequently an important factor of state policies in the age of globalisation and the changing international order. The article offers an analysis of the EU-China relations seen within the increasingly valid geoeconomics perspective. It is focused on two case studies: armament embargo after 1989 Tiananmen Square protests and the Galileo system (a European system of satellite communication). The aforementioned cooperation has laid bare the weakness of European geopolitical thought. It has also demonstrated the supremacy of short-term economic goals of the European actors over strategic goals (both within the economic and the political spheres). In contrast with China, the EU does not possess a coherent geoeconomics strategy.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Halimi Serge

**ITTP: la trappola transatlantica**

in *CNS Ecologia politica*, nuova serie, n. 4, giugno

Full text available at

[http://www.ecologiapolitica.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2014/06/Halimi\\_Una\\_trappola\\_transatlantica.pdf](http://www.ecologiapolitica.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2014/06/Halimi_Una_trappola_transatlantica.pdf)

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**



*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Rossi Emilio

**Il destino dei BRICs: più differenze e meno crescita**

in *Aspenia*, n. 64, marzo

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Rajendra K. Jain

**India and ASEM: The Quest for Membership**

in *India Quarterly*, vol. 69, no. 4 , 351-366

Indian membership of the Asia–Europe Meeting (ASEM) represents an interesting case study of identity and exclusion of a major Asian country from a key interregional forum. Examining the vicissitudes of India's decade-long quest for membership of ASEM since its inception, this article highlights how the exclusionary definition of Asia in Western and Asian discourses kept India out of regional entities. It discusses the arguments of Asian and Western critics of Indian membership in ASEM and concludes that India's purposeful and constructive Look East Policy since the early 1990s and membership of the East Asian Summit facilitated Indian membership of ASEM.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Rajendra K. Jain

**India and ASEM: The Quest for Membership**

in *India Quarterly*, Vol. 69, n°4 , 351-366

Indian membership of the Asia–Europe Meeting (ASEM) represents an interesting case study of identity and exclusion of a major Asian country from a key interregional forum. Examining the vicissitudes of India's decade-long quest for membership of ASEM since its inception, this article highlights how the exclusionary definition of Asia in Western and Asian discourses kept India out of regional entities. It discusses the arguments of Asian and Western critics of Indian membership in ASEM and concludes that India's purposeful and constructive Look East Policy since the early 1990s and membership of the East Asian Summit facilitated Indian membership of ASEM.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Bitumi Alessandra

**Integrazione europea e relazioni transatlantiche, 1969-1975: alcune note sul dibattito storiografico**

in *Ricerche di Storia Politica*, numero 1, marzo , 41-54

The article discusses European and American historiography on the manifold crises of the 1970s and sheds light on the transformations of the Euro-American post-war order that occurred in that decade. The EC entered the decade with a



renewed sense of purpose and direction. Against the background of sound economic growth, Western European countries agreed to translate their economic prowess into political protagonism, trying to promote collective action in international affairs. This rising European consciousness included opposition to the American hegemony and Western European countries' attempts to play a more significant role within the Atlantic Community. The article reveals a broad historiographical consensus on the interpretation of the crisis of the 1970s: as particular as the moment was, however, it did not witness the abrupt end of the American century in Europe but rather the erosion of its hegemonic form as well as the emergence of the EC political challenge to the Cold War Atlantic compromise.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Ryan Curtis R.

**Jordanian Foreign Policy and the Arab Spring**

*in Middle East Policy*, Volume 21, Issue 1, Spring , 144-153

Full text available at <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/mepo.12064/pdf>

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Kang Suju

**L'instrument de soft law dans la relation Union européenne-Chine en matière de propriété intellectuelle**

*in Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 577, avril , 217-224

The bilateral dialogue established by the EU- China consensus in the framework of the strategic partnership since 2003 is a priority and vital instrument for the processing of the issue of the intellectual property area. Exchanges, interaction and talks between the two parties have been contained in texts resulting from dialogue meetings, referred to as non contractual concerted acts. Such soft law acts, whose effect is limited to a political commitment, do not limit their author's behaviour. Nonetheless, the review of the pre- negotiation function of the dialogue allows to show the pre- legal scope of the soft law instrument ; it has been used to prepare the launching of negotiations with a view to a new EU- China agreement in the area of geographical indications.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Bomberger Estelle

**La francophonie parlementaire : vocation culturelle et ambition politique**

*in Parlement(s): revue d'histoire politique*, n° 21

<http://www.parlements.org/revueparlements.html#21>

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Jennar Raoul Marc, Lambert Renaud



**La mondialisation heureuse, mode d'emploi**  
in *Monde Diplomatique (Le)*, Juin

<http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/2014/06/JENNAR/50482>

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Le Chaffotec Boris

**La politique régionale des États-Unis depuis la fin de la Guerre froide. Une nouvelle Frontière pour l'hémisphère occidental ?**

in *Histoire Economie et Société*, n°. 1, Mars , 104-116

Rompant avec la politique régionale de Guerre froide, George Bush lança un vaste projet d'intégration interaméricain devant conduire à l'émergence du premier hémisphère démocratique et libéral du monde. Approfondi et précisé par Bill Clinton, ce projet amènerait à la création d'une Zone de libre-échange des Amériques au début de l'année 2005. Pourtant, le succès de structures plus locales, comme le MERCOSUR, et la contestation grandissante face au modèle proposé par les États-Unis mena à un échec des négociations régionales et à un abandon du projet de ZLEA lors du Sommet des Amériques de Mar del Plata en 2005. Les États-Unis durent alors réorienter leur stratégie régionale afin de contourner une opposition principalement sud-américaine.

In contrast with the US Cold War regional policy, George Bush started a huge project of Inter- American integration which should lead to the birth of the first democratic and liberal hemisphere. Specified and deepened by Bill Clinton, this policy should bring about to the creation of a Free Trade Area of the Americas by 2005. However, the success of more local institutions, like MERCOSUR, and the growing opposition to the US model led to the failure of regional negotiations and to giving up the FTAA project during the Summit of the Americas in Mar del Plata in 2005. Then, the United States had to redefine its regional strategy to get round a mainly South American opposition.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Jean Carlo

**La sicurezza nel Mediterraneo**

in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, Vol. 80, n. 4, ottobre-dicembre , 499-519

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Chevènement Jean-Pierre

**Le partenariat transatlantique et l'avenir de la mondialisation**

in *Debat (Le)*, n° 178, janvier-février , 26-29



No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Gréau Jean-Luc

**Le triomphe programmé du modèle américain**

in *Debat (Le)*, n° 178, janvier-février , 22-25

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Halimi Serge

**Les puissants redessinent le monde**

in *Monde Diplomatique (Le)*, Juin

<http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/2014/06/HALIMI/50480>

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Jennar Raoul Marc

**Les trois actes de la résistance**

in *Monde Diplomatique (Le)*, Juin

<http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/2014/06/JENNAR/50494>

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Bertrand Xavier

**Les vrais enjeux d'un projet démesuré**

in *Debat (Le)*, n° 178, janvier-février , 16-21

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Trouvé Aurélie

**Lettre (imaginaire) de Tonsanmo à ses actionnaires**

in *Monde Diplomatique (Le)*, Juin



<http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/2014/06/TONSANMO/50492>

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Védrine Hubert

**Négocié avec fermeté et vigilance**

in **Debat (Le)**, N. 171, septembre-octobre 2012 , 9-15

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Morice Alain, Rodier Claire

**Politiques de migration et d'asile de l'Union européenne en Méditerranée**

in **Confluences Méditerranée**, N° 86 , 109-120

Dans le domaine des migrations, la Méditerranée est vue depuis ses rivages du nord, comme un péril constant. Les crises politiques et sociales sont dès lors révélatrices d'une inquiétude obsidionale dont la rationalité est problématique. Ce fut récemment encore le cas, à l'occasion des événements qui ont bouleversé la Tunisie et la Libye : confrontées à un flux de migrants Nord-Sud somme toute relativement faible, les politiques migratoires des pays européens et de l'Union européenne n'ont pas varié et ont continué à se fonder sur des critères de « maîtrise des flux » et d'externalisation des contrôles, y compris en ce qui concerne les réfugiés.

Plan de l'article

Une protection à distance contre le « risque migratoire » : la Méditerranée comme laboratoire de l'externalisation  
Le cas de la Tunisie après la révolution de janvier 2011  
La Libye, ou l'externalisation de la guerre aux migrants  
Les ambiguïtés fondamentales de la « politique euro-méditerranéenne »  
Euromed  
Les conférences 5 +5 et le processus euro-africain  
Les accords de réadmission

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Tomini Luca

**Reassessing Democratic Consolidation in Central and Eastern Europe and the Role of the EU**

in **Europe-Asia Studies**, vol. 66, n. 6, Special issue: "A Comparative Perspective on the State of Democracy in Central and Eastern Europe" , 859-891

Over the past two decades, the countries of Central and Eastern Europe have completed a long transition from





authoritarian rule, and joining the EU has been considered to be an indication of the end of the consolidation process. However, this path was anything but linear and in many cases it was marked by concentration and abuse of executive power, a systematic political patronage and a plebiscitary interpretation of democracy. In order to shed light on the meaning of these phenomena, this paper provides for an analysis of democratic consolidation in these countries by way of comparing the cases of Bulgaria, Poland and Slovakia.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Krige John

**Relations Europe États-Unis au XXI<sup>e</sup> siècle**

in *Revue Défense Nationale*, n° 771, Juin

Partant du rappel historique de la volonté de suprématie scientifique et technique américaine pendant la guerre froide et depuis, et rappelant la coopération nucléaire franco-américaine « par défaut » d'alors, l'auteur esquisse des pistes de coopération collaborative euro-américaine.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Il ritorno americano in Europa - intervista

Russel Mead Walter

in *Aspenia*, n. 65, giugno

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Pigeon Martin

**Silence, on négocie pour vous**

in *Monde Diplomatique (Le)*, Juin

<http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/2014/06/PIGEON/50491>

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Sanders Ronald

**The Commonwealth after Colombo: Can it Become Meaningful Again?**

in *Round Table (The): the Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs*, Volume 103, Issue 1

The Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting (CHOGM) held in Colombo in 2013 was attended by fewer than half the number of Heads of Government. The “retreat” – created as a private meeting of Heads with only the Secretary-General present – was even less well attended by Heads, some of whom left the Meeting early. In part, this



situation was due to the controversy that surrounded the hosting of the Meeting by the Sri Lankan government over its human rights record, but that is not the full explanation. In recent years, a North-South divide has crept into way that governments perceive the Commonwealth and its purposes. CHOGM itself has become devalued and has lost the special character that made it appealing to Heads. In arguing that the Commonwealth is in dire crisis, an initiative is proposed for the Commonwealth to be rescued at the 2015 CHOGM in Malta. A strong argument is made for a preparatory process involving Heads of Government representing Commonwealth regions and under the guidance of the Maltese Prime Minister to be launched immediately.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

**Marshall Peter**

**The Commonwealth in 21st Century Focus**

**in Round Table (The): the Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs**, Volume 103, Issue 3

This article examines the health, working and prospects of the Commonwealth from the perspective of the second decade of the 21st century. After a brief survey of the organisation's history from the London Declaration, it comments on the Eminent Persons Group, the Commonwealth Charter, the Sri Lanka Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting and the role and attitude of the British government. It argues, against some recent critics, that the Commonwealth is not an organisation in crisis but one that has reached its maturity and is getting its second wind.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

**Ingram Derek**

**The Commonwealth: Starved of Funds**

**in Round Table (The): the Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs**, Volume 103, Issue 4

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

**Tunstall Allcock Thomas**

**The First Alliance for Progress? Reshaping the Eisenhower Administration's Policy toward Latin America**

**in Journal of Cold War Studies**, Volume 16, Issue 1 - Winter , 85-110

The Eisenhower administration's policy toward Latin America is typically viewed as a failure. The general view is that by ignoring calls for increased economic aid and undermining governments suspected of harboring Communist sympathies, U.S. policymakers allowed relations with Latin American countries to deteriorate so much that Vice President Richard Nixon was almost killed during a goodwill tour. Belated efforts were then made to improve relations, but only the rise of Fidel Castro in Cuba and the Kennedy administration's embrace of modernization theory—the argument goes—saw a genuine change in U.S. attitudes. Using a wide variety of sources, including rarely studied personal papers and newly released oral histories, this article demonstrates that even before the Nixon trip a small group of experts on Latin America were determined to adjust attitudes in Washington. Understanding their impact and achievements casts fresh



light on the policies of the Eisenhower administration and the nature of hemispheric relations in the subsequent decade.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Field Frank

**The Forward March of the Commonwealth**

in **Round Table (The): the Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs**, Volume 103, Issue 4 , 375-382

This article decries the negativity which, in the opinion of the author, often characterises discussions on the Commonwealth. It is time, argues the author, to rejuvenate this 'largest free association of individuals and nations' and make it a vibrant force for global good. Of particular importance, he notes, is the need for the United Kingdom to strengthen its ties with the Commonwealth.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Di Turi Claudio

**The Trade Strategy of the European Union between 'Economic Regionalism' and Multilateralism: What Role for the New Generation Free Trade Agreements?**

in **Studi sull'integrazione europea**, anno IX, n. 1, gennaio-aprile , 81-102

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Afionis Stravos, Stringer Lindsay C.

**The environment as a strategic priority in the European Union–Brazil partnership: is the EU behaving as a normative power or soft imperialist?**

in **International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics**, Volume 14, Issue 1, March , 47-64

In 2007, Brazil entered the European Union's (EU) list of strategic partners; a token of recognition of the place Brazil occupies in current global affairs. Although promoting bilateral environmental convergence is a stated priority, cooperation between the EU and Brazil in this policy field is largely under-researched, raising interesting questions as to whether the current state of play could support EU claims for the normative orientation of its external environmental policy. Through an analysis of partnership activities in the fields of deforestation and biofuels, we suggest that while normative intentions may be regarded as a motivating force, critically viewing EU foreign environmental policy through a 'soft imperialism' lens could offer a more holistic understanding of the current state of bilateral cooperation. While the normative power thesis can be substantiated with regard to deforestation, we argue that by erecting barriers to shield its domestic biofuels production, the EU is placing trade competitiveness and economic growth above its normative aspirations. Subsequently, the partial adoption of sustainable development as an EU norm leads to policy incoherence and contradictory actions.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Richard Anne-Isabelle

**The limits of solidarity: Europeanism, anti-colonialism and socialism at the Congress of the Peoples of Europe, Asia and Africa in Puteaux, 1948**

in *European Review of History - Revue Européenne d'Histoire*, Volume 21, Issue 4 , 519-537

This article examines the claims to international solidarity and plans for a new world order of the Congress of the Peoples in Puteaux in 1948. In analysing the transnational networks at play, the article argues for the connection of historiographies of European co-operation, socialism and anti-colonialism. The congress organisers united these three strands through the idea of a socialist Third Force between the United States and the Soviet Union. However, this idea also marked the limit to the integration of these ideals, since the anti-nationalism, and particularly the anti-Stalinism that it implied, was unsustainable for many colonial delegates. Puteaux then shows how transnational solidarity in the late 1940s was checked by the uneven effects of the early Cold War and marked by lingering hierarchies. The networks at play and the limits to solidarity faced suggest continuity with the conferences in Brussels (1927) and Bandung (1955).

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Galiakberov Adel, Abdullin Adel

**Theory and practice of regional integration based on the EurAsEC model (Russian point of view)**

in *Journal of Eurasian Studies*, vol. 5, n. 2, July , 116-121

This article shows Russian point of view on the evolution of Eurasian integration as related to plans to create a Eurasian economic entity based on the EurAsEC model that began with the creation of the Customs Union and Common Economic Space. The article analyzes the legal theory of Russian authors of EurAsEC, based on a review of this integration and the legal documents of this process. The article details the institutional mechanism of the functioning of Eurasian integration and its legal characteristics, and gives a short legal history. The article shows that integration of post-Soviet countries based on EurAsEC is more successful than integration based on the CIS model despite the lack of supranational power of the institutions of EurAsEC.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Lambert Renaud

**Thé, petits gâteaux et idées lumineuses au palace Shangri-La**

in *Monde Diplomatique (Le)*, Juin

<http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/2014/06/LAMBERT/50489>

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Kearn Jr. David W.

**Toward Alliance or Ambivalence: A Theoretical Assessment of U.S.-India Relations**



in *India Review*, Volume 13, Issue 2 , 129-148

Utilizing prevailing International Relations theory, this article seeks to explain the conditions under which India and the United States can be expected to achieve deep, long-term, strategic cooperation that could culminate in a formal alliance. Specifically, it considers the insights and predictions of realist and liberal theories while also considering critical domestic level factors that may shape India's capacity to be a reliable and attractive partner. While dramatic progress has been made since the initial thawing of the Cold War relationship, this article concludes that the future is likely to be a mixed bag, as the recent Obama experience has reflected. Only the emergence of an overtly revisionist China is likely to drive New Delhi and Washington toward a traditional alliance.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Saint-Victor de Jacques

**Traité transatlantique : de « l'exception culturelle » à « l'exception civilisationnelle ». La leçon oubliée de Fernand Braudel**

in *Cité, philosophie, politique, histoire*, n. 56 , 171-175

No abstract available

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Scott David

**Trust, structures and Track-2 Dialogue in the EU-China relationship: resetting and resettling a 'strategic partnership'?**

in *Asia Europe Journal*, vol. 12, n. 1-2, March , 21-34

This article looks at matters of trust, of structures and of dialogue in the European Union (EU)-China relations. It argues that EU-China relations need resetting given the increasingly negative perceptions of China in Europe and given Chinese dissatisfaction with what it considers to be a degree of EU incoherence, incompetence and inconsistencies. Their 'strategic partnership' proclaimed in 2003 in many ways is rather empty and lacks much coordination of diplomacy. Their economic relationship while substantial is problematic and asymmetric in nature. However, restructuring the relationship through new dialogue mechanisms and agreements may settle their relationship along more pragmatic functional grounds. In particular, the creation in 2012 of a third High Level Dialogue, at Track-2 rather than Track-1 level, that of People-to-People (PPD), may reduce the 'trust deficit' in the still longer term. Consequently, the article seeks to contextualize and evaluate the rhetoric and substance surrounding the various dialogue meetings and structures emerging in 2012. It also considers the progress, or perhaps lack of progress, on concluding a Partnership and Cooperation Agreement (PCA). It concludes that one way forward is to de-politicize the partnership.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Halimi Serge

**Un piège transatlantique**



in *Monde Diplomatique (Le)*, Mars

<http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/2014/03/HALIMI/50200>

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Poulot Brice

**Une défense de la francophonie pour la défense de la France**

in *Revue Défense Nationale*, n° 766, Janvier

Les statistiques révèlent que 60 % des opérations militaires de l'ONU se sont déroulées ces dernières années dans la Francosphère. Fort de cette réalité, l'auteur propose de consolider la Francophonie en développant sa dimension militaire et en la dotant de projets forts, comme une brigade francophone multinationale, et en réinvestissant linguistiquement la défense européenne.

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**Section C) Regional integration processes**

*Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation*

Pepera Sandra

**Waiting for White Smoke? The Commonwealth's Search for New Leadership**

in *Round Table (The): the Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs*, Volume 103, Issue 4

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 1. Federalism*

Pistone Sergio

**A trent'anni dal Progetto Spinelli: un'iniziativa parlamentare a favore di una Costituzione federale europea**

in *Cittadinanza europea (La)*, Fascicolo 1 - 2014 , 37-60

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 1. Federalism*

Cangelosi Rocco, Cinquanta Raffaella

**Archivio. Storia dell'idea di Europa / Francesco Rossolillo federalista europeo**

in *Cittadinanza europea (La)*, Fascicolo 1 - 2013 , 75-93

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 1. Federalism*

Mueller Sean

**Conflicting Cantonalisms Disputed Sub-national Territorial Identities in Switzerland  
in Europe en formation (L<sup>1</sup>), n. 369, 2013/3 , 86-86**

The importance of constituent units for democratic federations, in general, and of the Swiss cantons for the Swiss Confederation, in particular, is beyond doubt. What is less clear, however, is how to solve conflicting views on the number and type of such units. The Swiss case offers two highly topical examples in this regard: the merger of the two 'half-cantons' Basel-City and Basel-Country, on the one hand, and the creation of a new canton encompassing canton Jura and the French-speaking area of canton Berne, on the other. In comparing different sub-national political identities at play in these two cases, the strength of 'cantonalism'—understood as attachment to and identification with a canton—in Switzerland in the 21st century is shown. Second, different manifestations of cantonalism are compared: centre-periphery in Basel, linguistic vs. religious in Jura. Finally, the similar direct-democratic pathways chosen to solve both conflicting understandings of cantonalism testify to the Swiss commitment to peaceful, negotiated and popularly sanctioned settlements.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 1. Federalism*

Squire Peverill

**Electoral Career Movements and the Flow of Political Power in the American Federal System  
in State Politics & Policy Quarterly, Vol. 14, No. 1 , 72-89**

I offer a novel way of documenting the flow of power between the state and federal governments. Rather than look at programs or expenditures, I examine the behavior of elected officials. Assuming that ambitious politicians gravitate toward the locus of political power, I track the flow of elected officials in the American federal system. Specifically, I look at the career paths of more than 12,000 individuals who served in the U.S. Congress between 1789 and 2012. By analyzing the movement of elected officials between the state and federal levels, I confirm the prevailing story line on the evolution of American federalism while generating a measure that can be used to assess the relative distribution of power in the system across time.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 1. Federalism*

Liam Anderson

**Ethnofederalism: The Worst Form of Institutional Arrangement...?  
in International Security, 39, Issue 1 , 165-204**

Scholars are divided on the merits of ethnofederalism as an institutional approach to the management of ethnically divided societies. For some, ethnofederalism is a potentially workable compromise between the demands for independence of territorially concentrated ethnic groups and the desire of a common state to preserve its territorial



integrity; for critics, it is a short-cut to secession and ultimate state collapse. The argument of critics is theoretically plausible, but an examination of the universe of post-1945 states with ethnofederal arrangements, both failures and successes, shows that ethnofederalism has succeeded more often than it has failed. Within this universe of cases, moreover, ethnofederalism has demonstrably outperformed institutional alternatives, and where ethnofederal systems have failed, they have failed where no institutional alternatives could plausibly have succeeded. The increasing enthusiasm among policymakers and practitioners for prescribing federal solutions to ethnic problems is both understandable and defensible in light of these findings.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 1. Federalism*

Tarr G. Alan

**Federalism and Identity: Reflections on the American Experience  
in Europe en formation (L'), n. 369, 2013/3 , 20-38**

Two centuries ago, Americans identified primarily with the states in which they lived, but today they view the United States as their primary loyalty. This article analyzes what produced this shift in political identity and explores its effect on American federalism. It identifies the various factors that have been proposed as creating political identity, looks at their operation (or non-operation) in the United States, and concludes with an assessment of the underpinnings of contemporary American federalism.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 1. Federalism*

Gardner James A.

**Federalism and Subnational Political Community  
in Harvard Law Review, Volume 127 - n. 4**

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 1. Federalism*

Gerken Heather K.

**Federalism as the New Nationalism: An Overview  
in Yale Law Journal (The), vol. 123 - n. 6**

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 1. Federalism*

Benz Arthur, Kropp Sabine



**Föderalismus in Demokratien und Autokratien – Vereinbarkeiten, Spannungsfelder und Dynamiken**  
in *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Politikwissenschaft* , Volume 8, Issue 1, June 2014 , 1-27

Abstract

Federalism is considered to be conducive to democracy and incompatible with autocracy. In democracies, federalism is established to limit state power and to augment citizens' opportunities to participate. Authoritarian regimes allow neither. Our paper assumes that the relationship between these three structural components is more complex than commonly supposed. In both autocracies and democracies, federalism generates tension between institutions and actors which impacts on the functioning and the dynamics of the political systems. By taking into account structural dilemmas and dynamics in 'multidimensional' systems, the interrelation between federalism on the one hand and democratic or authoritarian regimes on the other hand can be assessed more accurately. This article identifies formal and informal patterns that create (in-)compatibilities between democracy and federalism or that reinforce authoritarian tendencies. Subsequently, it elaborates the potential of federalism to enhance democracy in non-democratic countries. The article draws on the examples of Canadian and Russian federalism.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 1. Federalism*

**Bulman-Pozen Jessica**

**Partisan Federalism**

in *Harvard Law Review*, Volume 127 - n. 4

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 1. Federalism*

**Sturm Roland**

**The World of the German Länder**

in *Europe en formation (L')*, n. 369, 2013/3 , 53-70

German federalism is unitary in character, but the German Länder are diverse with regard to regional and sub-Länder identities, party politics, and economic development. Land constitutions allow, for example, differences between Land electoral systems, the degree to which political decisions are made by referendums, or the organization of public administration. Germany is a country of many traditions. It is culturally and economically much more diverse than politically. Cultural pluralism is the raw material for Land identities. Politically both the institutions of federalism and the national party system contribute to uniformity in German politics, although on the Land level party systems today as well as government coalitions are more diverse than ever before.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 1. Federalism*



Bußjäger Peter

**Very Small Worlds: The Austrian Länder as Constituent Units of the Austrian Federation in Europe en formation (L')**, n. 369, 2013/3 , 71-85

The Austrian Federal Constitution has not only established, but is also based on the 'small worlds' of the nine Länder. Even recent modifications of the Constitution have recognised the status of the Länder as not merely decentralized units of a state, which devolves certain powers to its subnational entities, but as entities with their own sovereignty. Nevertheless the legal status of the Länder is comparatively weak and Austria remains a highly centralized federation, especially regarding legislative competencies of the Länder. Cooperative federalism is an essential instrument for the Länder to overcome their subordinated role towards the federation. Federation and Länder often make use of instruments of formal cooperation (agreements on the ground of Art. 15a B-VG) and informal cooperation (Länderkonferenzen, in particular the conference of the Land governors).

The constitutional autonomy of the Länder enables them to establish their own political systems, at least to a certain extent. Recent dynamics show that the Länder make use of their powers to invent new instruments in specific areas, such as direct democracy or parliamentary control.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Pierre de Senarclens

**1914-2014 : nation et nationalisme**

in *Politique Etrangère*, Vol. 79, n°1 printemps

Les mobilisations de la Grande Guerre poussent leurs racines dans des imaginaires nationaux façonnés par le XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle dans les pays d'Europe. Le double traumatisme des guerres mondiales engendre le déclin des nationalismes et la mise en place de nouvelles logiques de reconstruction des sociétés. La mondialisation remet encore en cause l'étroit cadre national, mais la crise actuelle de l'Union européenne montre que la démocratie a quelque mal à s'émanciper du cadre de la nation.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Ypi Lea

**A Permissive Theory of Territorial Rights**

in *European Journal of Philosophy*, Volume 22, Issue 2, June 2014 , 288–312

Abstract

This article explores the justification of states' territorial rights. It starts by introducing three questions that all current theories of territorial rights attempt to answer: how to justify the right to settle, the right to exclude, and the right to settle and exclude with reference to a particular territory. It proposes a 'permissive' theory of territorial rights, arguing that the citizens of each state are entitled to the particular territory they collectively occupy, if and only if they are also politically committed to the establishment of a global political authority realizing just reciprocal relations. The article is developed by introducing some key features of the permissive theory and by explaining how such an account addresses the questions of settlement, exclusion and particularity in ways that significantly improve on existing rival accounts (most



prominently: acquisition theories, legitimacy-based theories and nationalist theories).

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

**Nacci Michela**

**A counter voice: Gustave de Beaumont and the theory of national characters**  
in *Revue Tocqueville - The Tocqueville Review*, Volume 35, Number 1 , 87-116

[http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/tocqueville\\_reviewla\\_revue\\_tocqueville/v035/35.1.nacci.pdf](http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/tocqueville_reviewla_revue_tocqueville/v035/35.1.nacci.pdf)

[http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/tocqueville\\_reviewla\\_revue\\_tocqueville/v035/35.1.nacci.html](http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/tocqueville_reviewla_revue_tocqueville/v035/35.1.nacci.html)

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

**Béland Daniel, Lecours André**

**Accommodation and the politics of fiscal equalization in multinational states: The case of Canada**  
in *Nations and Nationalism*, Volume 20, Issue 2, April 2014 , 337–354

Abstract

The politics of accommodation in multinational states sometimes features an important, yet often overlooked, fiscal dimension. In fact, the scholarly literature on the accommodation of nationalist movements emphasizes territorial autonomy, access to power and representation within central institutions, and the promotion of the state national identity, but it is virtually silent on how patterns of territorial fiscal redistribution, and more specifically programs of horizontal fiscal equalization, may contribute to accommodating sub-state nationalism. This article looks at the Canadian case and analyses the multidimensional relationship between equalization policy and Québécois nationalism. It explains how a key motivation behind the creation of Canada's fiscal equalization program in 1957 was to “end” the institutional and political isolation of Québec and how equalization may have, thereafter, contributed to making Québec's secession less appealing to a good number of Quebecers than it would have been in the absence of this program. Simultaneously, the article discusses how equalization may have contributed to a certain political backlash against Québec in the other provinces, thus providing mixed evidence in the assessment of the accommodation potential of equalization policy.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

**Paolo Dardanelli and James Mitchell**

**An Independent Scotland? The Scottish National Party's Bid for Independence and its Prospects**  
in *International Spectator (The)*, Vol. 49, No. 3

The September 2014 referendum is a milestone in Scotland's history. After 307 years of union with England and a 15-year experience with devolution, Scottish nationalism is within reach of its ultimate goal. Independence would be consensual and Scotland and the rest of the UK would retain multiple links. The EU dimension looms large in the debate



and is entangled with the UK's own review of its membership. Scotland's referendum is part of a wider trend seeing other 'stateless nations' in the democratic world pursuing independence. Even if opinion polls indicate voters will likely reject secession, Scotland's experience holds important lessons for the wider world.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Fox Karen

**An 'imperial hangover'? Royal Honours in Australia, Canada and New Zealand, 1917–2009**  
in *Britain and the World*, Volume 7, Issue 1: (March) , 6-27

New Zealand ceased to award the titles of 'Sir' and 'Dame' in 2000, joining Australia and Canada in what looked like the end of a process of change that all three countries had been implementing in their honours systems over the twentieth century, albeit at varying speeds. In each case, imperial British honours had been gradually discarded in favour of homegrown national ones, and the practice of conferring knighthoods and damehoods had ceased. In 2009, however, New Zealand's newly elected National government announced that titles were to be reinstated. While not a restoration of imperial honours in place of the country's relatively young national ones, the move put New Zealand out of step with Australia and Canada in terms of honours. This article traces the shifting relationships that Australia, New Zealand and Canada had with imperial honours over the twentieth century, and the steps by which each moved away from British honours towards their own national systems. In all three settings, changes were accompanied by debates over nationalism, independence and the endurance of historic ties to Britain. Through the case study of honours, this article offers a contribution to scholarly consideration of the process of de-dominionisation and the end of empire in the British World, and of the new nationalism that arose alongside and as part of that process.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Armstrong Angus, Ebell Monique

**Assets and liabilities and Scottish independence**  
in *Oxford Review of Economic Policy*, Volume 30 Issue 2 SUMMER 2014 , 297-309

This paper considers how the economically important assets, liabilities, and institutions in the UK could be divided if Scotland becomes an independent country. We find that on the basis of any reasonable division of existing assets and liabilities, Scotland would begin its independence with a substantial debt burden and less scope for risk-sharing with the rest of the UK. In order to reduce this debt burden, an independent Scotland would have to adopt a restrictive fiscal stance for many years. We estimate that Scotland would need to run primary surpluses of 3.1 per cent annually in order to achieve a Maastricht definition debt-to-GDP ratio of 60 per cent after 10 years of independence. This would be more restrictive than the fiscal tightening in the UK over the last 4 years.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Mohamed Warda

**Au grand jeu des nationalités. Femmes arabes, l'égalité bafouée**  
in *Monde Diplomatique (Le)*, Janvier





<http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/2014/01/MOHAMED/49992>

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Bréville Benoît

**Au grand jeu des nationalités. Pourquoi vous ne deviendrez jamais chinois**  
in *Monde Diplomatique (Le)*, Janvier

<http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/2014/01/BREVILLE/49983>

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Conversi Daniele

**Between the hammer of globalization and the anvil of nationalism: Is Europe's complex diversity under threat?**  
in *Ethnicities*, Vol. 14, n. 1

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Rico Guillem, Liñeira Robert

**Bringing Secessionism into the Mainstream: The 2012 Regional Election in Catalonia**  
in *South European Society & Politics*, Volume 19, Issue 2 , 257-280

Called two years ahead of schedule, the 2012 Catalan election was held in a context of economic recession, controversial austerity measures, growing political disaffection, and increasing popular support for Catalonia's independence. The election was mainly marked by the decision of the incumbent moderate nationalists to advocate for the region's secession from Spain, in the wake of a massive rally in support of the independence of Catalonia. In this article we report on the context, the campaign, and the results of the election, and assess the likely reasons why an unexpectedly high number of voters chose to defect from the incumbent. Additionally, we use survey data to investigate the rapid conversion of a substantial portion of the Catalan public to favour independence, formerly regarded as a rather extreme position, after the 2010 Constitutional Court's controversial decision to curtail the region's reformed Statute of Autonomy.

Full text available at <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/13608746.2014.910324>

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Cowling Lesley

**Building a Nation: The Sowetan and the Creation of a Black Public**  
in *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Volume 40, Issue 2 , 325-341



The Sowetan, a black readership newspaper established in the 1980s, grew to be the biggest circulation daily in South Africa in the 1990s. In the apartheid era, the Sowetan served disenfranchised urban black communities and promoted their interests in a society in which they were not democratically represented. The project was not simply oppositional to apartheid policies, but also engaged in and encouraged certain kinds of community endeavours, which it dubbed nation building. Led by its editor, Aggrey Klaaste, the newspaper engaged in an ongoing process of social re-imagining under this flag of nation building, partly through its editorial columns and partly by initiating and reporting on community projects. The Sowetan thus allowed a collective re-imagining of black public life that formed a counterweight to apartheid representations of black Africans and facilitated public engagement with questions of citizenship and nationhood long before the inception of South Africa's constitutional democracy. The story of the Sowetan illustrates the ways in which a newspaper can become an influential institution of public life.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Alexander-Davey, E.

**CONSTITUTIONAL SELF-GOVERNMENT AND NATIONALISM: HOBBS, LOCKE AND GEORGE LAWSON**  
in *History of Political Thought*, Volume 35, Number 3 , 458-484

The emphasis in contemporary democratic theory and in the history of political thought on the peculiarly abstract theory of popular sovereignty of Locke and his twentieth-century intellectual descendants obscures a crucial relationship between constitutional self-government and nationalism. Through a Hobbesian and Filmerian critique of Locke and an examination of the political writings of George Lawson (a seventeenth-century critic of Hobbes), the article shows the necessary connections between popular sovereignty, constitutionalism and a form of national consciousness that renders concrete the otherwise abstract and airy notion of the pre-political community to which government is to be held accountable, and, through a myth of national origin, memories of native traditions of self-government, and stories of heroic ancestors who successfully defended those traditions against usurpers and tyrants, gives substance to theories of constitutional government.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Montserrat Guibernau

**Catalan Secessionism: Young People's Expectations and Political Change**  
in *International Spectator (The)*, Vol. 49, No. 3

Various factors have triggered the recent shift from devolution to secession in Catalonia: the Aznar government's lack of response to demands for greater autonomy for Catalonia, the legal challenging of the 2006 Statute of Autonomy of Catalonia and, increasingly, economic arguments as Catalan society endures a harsh economic crisis. After evaluating the impact of the Spanish transition to democracy upon younger generations' expectations regarding the meaning and content of democracy in post-Franco Spain, it is argued that democracy based upon 'consensus' rather than 'majoritarian democracy' would be better suited to respond to national minorities' demands in Spain.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*



Castells Antoni

**Catalonia and Spain at the crossroads: financial and economic aspects**

in *Oxford Review of Economic Policy*, Volume 30 Issue 2 SUMMER 2014 , 277-296

In some large European countries, in recent decades, economic globalization has gone hand in hand with a powerful trend to political decentralization (this has been the case in the United Kingdom, France, Italy, and Spain). In Spain, and after years of apparent stability, the relations between Catalonia and Spain are experiencing troubled times. This paper examines particularly the main economic effects of both the staying together and the secession scenarios. Following the introduction, the second section reviews some aspects of the relations between Catalonia and Spain. The third and fourth sections analyse different scenarios with a particular focus on the main issues that the secession scenario raises. The fifth section contains a concluding remark.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Tischler Julia

**Cementing Uneven Development: The Central African Federation and the Kariba Dam Scheme**

in *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Volume 40, Issue 5, Special Issue: Narratives of Nationhood: Transformation and Contestation in Postcolonial Zambia , 1047-1064

Using the Kariba dam project as a case study, this article examines some of the biases and interdependencies of development planning in 1950s Northern Rhodesia in order to consider Zambia's trajectory into independence. The Kariba dam, a highly controversial hydro-electricity scheme in the short-lived Central African Federation, crystallises the ambivalent practices of building nations – materially, politically and ideologically. Colonial imbalances of development planning, most notably its 'urban bias', were bound to have a profound effect on the postcolonial period. I illustrate this, first with regard to Kariba's materiality. Given that infrastructures remain long after the planners and decision-makers leave, one must explore their potential for pre-structuring social change, including some types of change and excluding others. Secondly, Kariba is a prime example of the priorities in development politics that characterised both the colonial and postcolonial eras, particularly the neglect of rural populations in remote areas. At a more ideological level, the final section discusses how the dam project was contested by nationalist leaders and the resettled Gwembe Tonga peasants, drawing out the intricacies and ambiguities involved in 'resisting' a large-scale development project that promised to bring 'light and power for a nation'.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

W. SAWYER Stephen

**Ces nations façonnées par les empires et la globalisation. Réécrire le récit national du XIXe siècle aujourd'hui**

in *Annales: Histoire, Sciences Sociales*, 69e année, n. 1, janvier , 117-137

Le postulat de cette chronique est qu'il reste encore une grande vitalité au cadre national à l'ère de l'histoire globale et impériale. On peut lire les trois volumes de l'Histoire de la France contemporaine par Aurélien Lignereux, Bertrand Goujon et Quentin Deluermoz comme une nouvelle vague dans un projet historiographique qui cherche à se renouveler



: comment empêcher ce retour au national de n'être qu'un voyage nostalgique, n'ayant rien perdu de son charme et de son attrait populaire, mais qui semble mis à mal par des échelles historiographiques plus vastes ? En effet, les modalités radicalement neuves selon lesquelles s'imbriquèrent si profondément les échelles locale, régionale, impériale, océanique, hémisphérique et globale au cours du XIXe siècle résultèrent en partie de la construction et de la consolidation de l'État-nation moderne. Il est donc nécessaire, et c'est précisément ce qu'une lecture (qui est tout autant une interprétation) de ces volumes suggère, non pas de nous détourner de l'histoire nationale, mais de considérer en quoi celle-ci peut informer, aujourd'hui comme demain, les histoires impériale et globale à venir.

It is the postulate of the books discussed here, and this review, that there is still a great deal of life left in our hoary national frameworks in an age of global and imperial history. The three volumes of the *Histoire de la France contemporaine* by Aurélien Lignereux, Bertrand Goujon, and Quentin Deluermoz may be read as one more wave in a historiographical series that is in a profound process of renewal: How to prevent a trip back down the national from becoming yet another nostalgic journey that has lost none of its charm and popular appeal, but seems of a different era? The radically new ways in which the local, regional, imperial, oceanic, hemispheric, and global scales became so deeply enmeshed during the nineteenth century was due, primarily, and this is the essential point, to the construction and consolidation of the modern nation. What is necessary, and a reading (which is also an interpretation) of these volumes suggests precisely this point, is not a turning away from national history, but a serious consideration of how national histories have and will inform the imperial and global histories of tomorrow.

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#### ***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***

##### *Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Michael Harris Bonda, Vivian Miu-Chi Lun

#### **Citizen-making: The role of national goals for socializing children**

in *Social Science Research* , Vol. 44 , 75-85

The ecological, political, religious and economic constraints and opportunities characterizing a nation crystallize to set the agenda for socializing children, its future citizens. Parented accordingly, members of those nations would come to adopt the values, beliefs, skills and attitudes that constitute the requisite human capital to sustain that nation. This study reports on the profiling of 55 nations by two dimensions of the socialization goals for children extracted from the World Values Survey, viz., Self-directedness versus Other-directedness, and Civility versus Practicality. An affluent, less corrupt and more gender-equal society is associated with greater focus on Self-directedness and Civility. Both dimensions show convergent and discriminant validities in their correlation with nation-level psychosocial variables such as citizen subjective well-being, values, beliefs, pace of life and trust of out-groups. These dimensions are also shown to connect a nation's ecological construct to the outcomes of its citizens, adding a psychological–developmental perspective to examine nation-building and cultural transmission.

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#### ***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***

##### *Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Teper Yuri, Course Daniel D.

#### **Contesting Putin's nation-building: the 'Muslim other' and the challenge of the Russian ethno-cultural alternative**

in *Nations and Nationalism*, Volume 20, Issue 4, October 2014 , 721–741



Abstract

This article explains the crystallisation of a new Russian national discourse, shaped by a challenge posed to Putin's statist non-ethnic national model by a popularly formed ethno-cultural alternative, constructed through negation of the 'Muslim other'. The article describes this new and previously overlooked phenomenon of Russian nationalism and explicates the social mechanism behind its formation. The article concludes that when rampant corruption exists, generating a breakdown of legal order, the 'other' is defined through behaviour that deviates from accepted local norms, while the contrasting normative 'general public' is defined as 'Russian'. Such group definitions mean that the current process of Russian grass-roots exclusive national consolidation is based predominantly on culturally based behavioural codes, rather than on mere ethnic or religious affiliation, as is widely believed. Additionally, a conceptual landmark discourse shift from the question of Russia's mere plausibility as a nation-state to a focus on its ongoing definition is demonstrated.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2.Nationalism*

Barceló Joan

**Contextual effects on subjective national identity**

in *Nations and Nationalism*, Volume 20, Issue 4, October 2014 , 701–720

Abstract

Does the interaction between context and individual-level features affect political attitudes? By using the case of Catalonia, a receiver municipality of international and national migration since the fifties, this paper intersects a classic acculturation model and a newly reemerging literature in political science on contextual determinants of political behaviour to analyze how context affects subjective national identity. Results reveal that environment matters. The Percentage of Spain-born population in the municipality is statistically significant to account for variance in the subjective national identity, even after controlling for age, sex, origin, language and left–right orientation and other contextual factors. This conclusion suggests that researchers should not underestimate the direct effect of the environment on feelings of belonging in contexts of rival identities.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2.Nationalism*

Hearn Jonathan, Kukathas Chandran, Miller David, Yack Bernard

**Debate on Bernard Yack's book *Nationalism and the Moral Psychology of Community***

in *Nations and Nationalism*, Volume 20, Issue 3, July 2014 , 395–414

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2.Nationalism*

Urban Urs

**Deutschland – ein Sommermärchen? Bilder der Nation bei Heinrich Heine, Sönke Wortmann und Klaus Lemke**



in *Revue d'Allemagne et des Pays de langue allemande*, 45 (2013), 2 , 369–388

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2.Nationalism*

Barry Trank

**Diversifying external linkages: the exercise of Irish economic sovereignty in long-term perspective**  
in *Oxford Review of Economic Policy*, Volume 30 Issue 2 SUMMER 2014 , 208-222

Political independence is usually associated with an attempt to reduce economic dependency on the former dominant or colonial power. For most of the early period since Irish independence the attempt to reduce exposure to the UK was implemented through tariff protection and restrictions on foreign ownership. Inward orientation eventually ran out of steam, culminating in sustained emigration and deep recession in the 1950s. The genesis in the mid-1950s of Ireland's low corporation tax regime facilitated later trade liberalization and diversified the economy away from the UK. These developments facilitated the full convergence on UK and broader Western European living standards that was eventually achieved in the 1990s. From 1979 the UK would diverge from most of the rest of Western Europe on exchange-rate policy, and Ireland was forced to choose between the two. The resulting difficulties can be ascribed to design flaws in the European monetary project and Ireland's failure to recognize the constraints that the new regime imposed.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2.Nationalism*

Olivier Loubes

**D'un roman national, l'autre. Lire l'histoire par la fin dans les programmes de 1923 et de 1938**  
in *Histoire@Politique. Politique, culture, société*, n°21

In order to understand the deep upheavals undergone by history teaching in primary schools during the early 20th century, this teaching has been looked at from the vantage point of its ending and not from its beginnings. Rather than classically look at the starting point of the curriculum, with its apparently immutable confrontation between bellicose Gauls and civilising Romans, throughout the Third Republic, the article seeks to explore the meaning given to the history taught in schools by focusing on its end-point. The end of history, both as the ending of a narrative and as the purpose ascribed to this narrative, can then be seen to change quite radically. Indeed, far from showing history taught in a reassuringly unchanging fashion, focusing on a grand patriotic narrative that the debunking spirit of 1968 destroyed, the history taught to schoolchildren as early as the inter-war years can be seen to experience a serious shift. A close analysis of the 1923 and 1938 curricula, focusing on their end-dates, followed by their confrontation to the schoolwork of teachers and pupils, shows to what extent the Great War and then the failure of the League of Nations upset the traditional chronology. Doubly disenchanting, the patriotic narrative was thus first subordinated to peace in the 1920s then reorientated towards the people and work at the end of the 1930s.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2.Nationalism*





Huszka Beáta

**Framing National Identity in Independence Campaigns: Secessionist Rhetoric and Ethnic Conflict**  
in *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, Volume 20, Issue 2, 2014 , 153-173

Abstract

During secessionist mobilization in a multiethnic environment, the use of a discourse that excludes minorities can create internal enemies; meanwhile, co-opting minorities through inclusive framing can turn them into allies. From the standpoint of what sort of identity constitutes the basis of a nationalist movement, my fundamental argument is that the most crucial factor is whether there is a widespread perception of internal threat associated with the presence of a local minority. The chance of such perceptions of a threat emerging among the majority increases if the minority is politically linked to the center or a neighbor that is hostile to the movement. Yet, this explanatory model can show only a tendency depending on the structural setting; it cannot explain the timing and nature of identity shifts. I demonstrate that it is possible to include previously excluded minorities into the national collective through a reframing of national identity, and that the explanation of ethnic exclusion cannot be reduced to a simple ethnic security dilemma.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Kaplan Danny

**Freemasonry as a playground for civic nationalism**

in *Nations and Nationalism*, Volume 20, Issue 3, July 2014 , 415–435

Abstract

This article explores correspondences between the ideals of 'civic nationalism' (hereafter CN) and the practices of Freemasonry, a worldwide male fraternity. Freemasons practice an elitist stance of civilizing the self, translated into a collective mission of society-building. Though not a national movement, Freemasonry shares conceptual similarities with CN and was implicated in civic-national revolutions in the Americas and the Middle East. Drawing on ethnographic research on Israeli Freemasonry, the study explores Masonic sociability as a playground for practicing civic friendship and negotiating the inherent tensions of CN. Freemasons straddle between particularist and universalist understandings of fraternity, virtue and charity, which carry over to questions of citizenship, patriotism and nationalism. This boundary work over collective attachments represents a pragmatic attempt, not to resolve universalist and particularist preferences, but to contain and incorporate both within exclusivist Masonic practices. Far from marking the failure of CN, Masonic sociability illustrates its political significance, envisioning the nation as a social club of chosen friends.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Yu Haiyang

**Glorious Memories of Imperial China and the Rise of Chinese Populist Nationalism**

in *Journal of Contemporary China*, Volume 23, Issue 90, 2014 , 1174-1187

This article examines the emergence of distorted memories of Imperial China. Through popular online sites and media, populist nationalists have obtained exaggerated yet extremely sensational knowledge of Chinese history, which portrays



Imperial China as benevolent, strong and more advanced than the western world. Based on these distorted memories, they blame all diplomatic controversies on other countries—western nations for their imperialist exploitation and especially neighboring countries for their ungratefulness to the Chinese empire. Due to the declining appeal of communism, as well as the corruption and isolation of official academia, the Chinese government is under heavy pressure to follow the distorted memory and restore China's historical glory.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Vandeginste Stef

**Governing ethnicity after genocide: ethnic amnesia in Rwanda versus ethnic power-sharing in Burundi**

in *Journal of Eastern African Studies* , Volume 8, Issue 2, Special Issue: Rwanda under the RPF: Assessing twenty years of post-conflict governance , 263-277

A remarkable process of ethnic engineering has been taking place in neighbouring Burundi and Rwanda. After a failed democratization attempt in the early 1990s, both countries experienced an extremely violent transition process. Despite the many similarities between the two countries, they have adopted radically different approaches to address long-standing ethnic divisions. While Rwanda has opted for a policy based on ethnic amnesia and an integrationist policy centred around civic identity, Burundi has institutionalized its societal segmentation through ethnic power-sharing along the lines of Lijphart's consociational model. This comparative analysis explains the differences from two perspectives. On the one hand, in line with historical antecedents, ethnicity is engineered in a way that serves political elite interests. On the other hand, path dependency, in particular the modality of political transition in both countries, explains the notably divergent policies on ethnicity.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Pozzi Regina

**Guizot et l'Europe des nations : une âme aux différents caractères**

in *Revue Tocqueville - The Tocqueville Review*, Volume 35, Number 1 , 73-85

[http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/tocqueville\\_reviewla\\_revue\\_tocqueville/v035/35.1.pozzi.pdf](http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/tocqueville_reviewla_revue_tocqueville/v035/35.1.pozzi.pdf)

[http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/tocqueville\\_reviewla\\_revue\\_tocqueville/v035/35.1.nacci.html](http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/tocqueville_reviewla_revue_tocqueville/v035/35.1.nacci.html)

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Kostagiannis Konstantinos

**Hans Morgenthau and the Tragedy of the Nation-State**

in *International History Review (The)*, volume 36, Issue 3 , 513-529

The cardinal role of tragedy in Morgenthau's theory of international politics has hardly gone unnoticed. Indeed there is now a considerable corpus of literature that established the importance of tragedy as a central concept around which Morgenthau's theory revolved. This paper builds upon this already developed framework and employs tragedy not as an



analytical category but as a metaphor employed by Morgenthau to approach the nation-state. It is claimed that the idea of tragedy underpinned his notion of the nation-state inasmuch as it did his view of individual human beings. As such the notion of tragedy informed consistently Morgenthau's analyses of national tragedies that were like the self-defeating nationalism of Germany. It also informed his efforts to avert potential national tragedies from materialising as his attempts to influence US foreign policy demonstrated. It is finally claimed, that far from a descent into despair, Morgenthau's realism signified a conscious effort to go beyond the tragedy of the nation-state

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Basedau Matthias, Pierskalla Jan Henryk

**How ethnicity conditions the effect of oil and gas on civil conflict: A spatial analysis of Africa from 1990 to 2010 in Political Geography**, Volume 38, January , 1-11

In this article we investigate whether natural resource endowments, specifically oil and gas, and the political status of ethnic groups interact to increase or decrease armed conflict risk. We argue that political exclusion of ethnic groups should amplify, while monopoly power of ethnic groups should reverse the effects of oil and gas on conflict, as these groups can use revenues for patronage or repression. We use highly spatially disaggregated grid data from Africa (1990–2010) and match conflict events, oil and gas deposit locations and the political status of local ethnic groups to test our hypotheses. We find that differences in group status matter. While there is no strong amplification effect of ethnic group exclusion on oil and gas, above and beyond their conflict-increasing constituent effects, we find very clear and strong evidence for a conditioning effect for groups with a monopoly over national-level political institutions: Oil and gas in grid cells with powerful, nationally represented groups reduce conflict risk, while otherwise increasing the probability of violent conflict onset.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Tomlinson Jim

**Imagining the Economic Nation: The Scottish Case**

**in Political Quarterly** , Volume 85, Issue 2, April-June 2014 , 170-177

Abstract

The impending Scottish referendum on independence raises the question: what is a nation? This article addresses this question in terms of 'economic nationhood'. Tracing the development of the Scottish economy over the last century and a half, it shows how the extraordinarily 'globalised' economy of pre-1913 Scotland slowly evolved into a much more self-reliant entity. Today, Scotland has a de-industrialised and substantially de-globalised economy, with a very large public sector about which key decisions are made in Edinburgh. Scotland has become much more of an economic 'community of fate' than ever before in its modern history.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Bozkurt Umut, Trimikliniotis Nicos



**Incorporating a Class Analysis within the National Question: Rethinking Ethnicity, Class, and Nationalism in Cyprus**

in *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, Volume 20, Issue 2, 2014 , 244-265

Abstract

This article has two main aims. First, it aims to challenge the widespread narrative in Cyprus studies that presents ethnic identities as historically inevitable and natural. Rather, identities need to be conceptualized as socially constructed. The second aim of this article is to problematize the argument that ethnic or national groups are homogenous actors. It underlines the need to deconstruct these supposedly unitary actors by making use of a class-based conceptualization of the state. By using such a conceptualization, the article will focus on the period between 1878 and 1974. It will start with a concrete analysis of the class structure in the Cypriot society and then will trace how different classes in both communities positioned themselves vis-à-vis political structures of power and how these positionings paved the way to the division of the island.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2.Nationalism*

Ibish Hussein

**Indispensable but Elusive: Palestinian National Reunification**

in *Middle East Policy*, Volume 21, Issue 3, Fall , 31-46

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2.Nationalism*

Till Förster

**Insurgent Nationalism: Political Imagination and Rupture in Côte d'Ivoire**

in *Africa Spectrum*, Vol. 48, n°3

Non-separatist insurgents unable to overthrow a sitting government often face a problem successful rebellions can avoid: They are not the only players who can claim to be acting on behalf of the nation. They will have to imagine the nation in a new way that distinguishes them from the older, established nationalism usually promoted by the existing government. This new nationalism aims to legitimise their actions, but first and foremost it has to be attractive to the population in the region under insurgent control and later to others as well. Each camp, the government and the insurgent side, articulates its understanding of the nation to the other side. In the process, both sides often also adopt different forms of imagination to render the specifics of their nationalism more visible to their followers as well as to partisans in the other camp. This article analyses this political articulation by taking Côte d'Ivoire as an example.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2.Nationalism*

Brincker Benedikte

**Introduction to themed section on classical music and nationalism: studies into the political function of art**



in **Nations and Nationalism**, Volume 20, Issue 4, October 2014 , 603–605

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

**Nacci Michela**

**Introduction: The long life of characters**

in **Revue Tocqueville - The Tocqueville Review**, Volume 35, Number 1 , 7-26

[http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/tocqueville\\_reviewla\\_revue\\_tocqueville/v035/35.1.nacci01.pdf](http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/tocqueville_reviewla_revue_tocqueville/v035/35.1.nacci01.pdf)

[http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/tocqueville\\_reviewla\\_revue\\_tocqueville/v035/35.1.nacci01.html](http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/tocqueville_reviewla_revue_tocqueville/v035/35.1.nacci01.html)

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

**Roland Sarti**

**Italy on the 150th anniversary of national unity**

in **Journal of Modern Italian Studies** , Vol. 19, n°1 , 34-43

The five papers that follow were originally presented at the American Historical Association 127th Annual Meeting, New Orleans, January 2013 in a panel 'Italy on the 150th Centenary of National Unification: Issues of Unity and Identity', sponsored by the Society for Italian Historical Studies and hosted by the American Historical Association. Following the introduction and comments by Roland Sarti, the papers explore the celebrations of the anniversary (Giuliana Limiti and Mario Di Napoli), the South and its place in the anniversary (John Davis), Church and State (Frank J Coppa) and the international contexts of the celebrations (Giuseppe Monsagrati).

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

**Zelik Raul**

**Kataloniens Unabhängigkeit, Spaniens Ende?**

in **Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik**, Februar, 2014 , 21-24

Spanien kommt nicht aus der Krise. Zwar wuchs die Wirtschaft Ende 2013 erstmals seit Jahren wieder leicht, doch die Verarmung von großen Teilen der Gesellschaft hält an. Auch die Korruptionsskandale reißen nicht ab: Anfang des Jahres wurde die Kronprinzessin Cristina wegen Steuerhinterziehung und Geldwäsche angeklagt, der Schatzmeister der regierenden Partido Popular (PP) sitzt bereits im Gefängnis. Doch am unkontrollierbarsten scheinen wieder einmal die Minderheitenkonflikte.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

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Rivero Ángel

**La invención de la comunidad imaginada. Benedict Anderson y los malentendidos sobre las naciones y el nacionalismo**

in *Cuadernos de pensamiento político*, Número 42, Abril/Junio

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Agnew John

**Le piège territorial. Les présupposés géographiques de la théorie des relations internationales**

in *Raisons politiques*, n. 54 , 23-51

Quand bien même le pouvoir politique serait territorial, la territorialité n'implique pas nécessairement les pratiques d'exclusion mutuelle totale que lui attribuent les conceptions dominantes de l'État moderne. Cependant, dans les théories des relations internationales, lorsqu'il est question de la territorialité d'un État, la discussion est presque toujours menée dans les termes de la persistance ou de l'obsolescence d'un État territorial compris comme une entité inchangée et non dépendante des circonstances historico-géographiques variées. Cette approche est remise en question par les événements contemporains. La fin de la Guerre froide, la vélocité et la volatilité croissantes de l'économie mondiale et l'émergence de mouvements politiques hors du cadre des États territoriaux, suggèrent qu'il faut comprendre la territorialité des États dans un contexte historique. Les trois présupposés géographiques sur lesquels s'appuie la pensée orthodoxe (les États comme des unités fixes d'espace souverain, la polarité intérieur/étranger et les États comme des « conteneurs » des sociétés) aboutissent à un « piège territorial ».

English

The territorial trap: The geographical assumptions of international relations theory

Even when political rule is territorial, territoriality does not necessarily entail the practices of total mutual exclusion which dominant understandings of the modern territorial state attribute to it. However, when the territoriality of the state is debated by international relations theorists the discussion is overwhelmingly in terms of the persistence or obsolescence of the territorial state as an unchanging entity rather than in terms of its significance and meaning in different historical-geographical circumstances. Contemporary events call this approach into question. The end of the Cold War, the increased velocity and volatility of the world economy, and the emergence of political movements outside the framework of territorial states, suggest the need to consider the territoriality of states in historical context. Conventional thinking relies on three geographical assumptions (states as fixed units of sovereign space, the domestic foreign polarity, and states as "containers" of societies) that have led into the "territorial trap".

Plan de l'article

Espace et spatialité dans les sciences sociales

L'État territorial et la théorie des relations internationales

Souveraineté étatique et espace territorial

L'opposition entre l'intérieur et l'extérieur





L'État territorial, conteneur de la société  
Le piège territorial  
Des formes spatiales émergentes

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Marin Cécile

**L'acquisition de la nationalité à travers le monde**

in *Monde Diplomatique (Le)*, Janvier

<http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/cartes/nationalite>

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Chabrolle-Cerretini Anne-Marie

**L'approche anthropologique du caractère national chez Wilhelm von Humboldt**

in *Revue Tocqueville - The Tocqueville Review*, Volume 35, Number 1 , 55-71

[http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/tocqueville\\_reviewla\\_revue\\_tocqueville/v035/35.1.chabrolle-cerretini.pdf](http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/tocqueville_reviewla_revue_tocqueville/v035/35.1.chabrolle-cerretini.pdf)

[http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/tocqueville\\_reviewla\\_revue\\_tocqueville/v035/35.1.chabrolle-cerretini.html](http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/tocqueville_reviewla_revue_tocqueville/v035/35.1.chabrolle-cerretini.html)

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

David Lea

**Mediating international and domestic demands: mnemonic battles surrounding the monument to the fallen of the wars of the 1990s in Belgrade**

in *Nationalities Papers*, Volume 42, Issue 4, 2014 , 655-673

Abstract

In this article I present a decade-long affair over the erection of the Monument in Belgrade to those killed in the wars of the 1990s where the official Serbian policy was to manage its contested past through cover ups and cultural reframing rather than public acknowledgement. I demonstrate here that, though the open competitions to erect a monument dedicated to the fallen<sup>1</sup>

of the wars of the 1990s were an opportunity to negotiate different mnemonic agendas, the ruling political elite, as the dominant actor, promoted Serbian victimhood as it meant to bridge gaps in the opposing domestic and international demands. I suggest here that the mnemonic battle in present-day Serbia proves to be an exemplary case of how a post-conflict nation state mediates its contested past when caught in the gap between the domestic demands and those of international relations.



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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Schall Carly Elizabeth

**Multicultural iteration: Swedish National Day as multiculturalism-in-practice**

in *Nations and Nationalism*, Volume 20, Issue 2, April 2014 , 355–375

Abstract

This paper examines the creation of ‘national day’ in Sweden in order to understand how such a holiday works to shape the Swedish nation's relationship with diversity. Analyzing parliamentary debates and press coverage, the author finds that official national day coverage tends to invest the nation with progressive and multicultural meanings, foregrounding immigrant voices. However, this multiculturalism is polysemic, vague and subject to contestation, both from far right ‘traditionalists’ seeking to ‘protect’ Swedishness from outside influences and cosmopolitans who see the nation as outdated and dangerous. The creation of a new national holiday can be seen as a ‘democratic iteration’ wherein democracy is restated and reinvested with meanings, and new lines of cleavage are drawn, and also as a ‘multicultural iteration’ where multiculturalism is invested with new meaning. Finally, the author argues that multiculturalism benefits from polysemy in that the concept can then adapt to changing circumstances, and, thus, survive.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Mikel Xabier Aizpuru Murua

**Nacionalismo vasco, separatismo y regionalismos en el Consejo Nacional del Movimiento**

in *Revista de Estudios Políticos* , N. 164 , 87-113

Los años finales de la década de 1950 conocieron tanto en Cataluña como en Euskadi un nuevo impulso de sus respectivos movimientos nacionales. La Secretaría General del Movimiento organizó el año 1961 una serie de debates por escrito sobre dicha cuestión. La ponencia «Acción política y cultural para superar conceptos nacionalistas disgregadores» estudió la cuestión vasca, aunque sus conclusiones nunca se hicieron públicas. El debate se repitió en términos muy parecidos, en 1971 y 1973. Los intentos de los ponentes por contraponer un nuevo regionalismo a lo que ellos consideraban separatismo fracasó por las exigencias de la sociedad vasca y la negativa de las autoridades franquistas a reformar el modelo centralista del estado español.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Mattson Greggor

**Nation-State Science: Lappology and Sweden's Ethnoracial Purity**

in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Volume 56, Issue 2, April , 320-350

This paper introduces the concept of “nation-state science” to describe the scientific work of ethnoracial classification that made possible the ideal of the homogenous nation-state. Swedish scientists implicitly defined their nation for Continental Europeans when they explicitly created knowledge about the “Lapps” (today's Sámi/Saami). Nation was



coupled to state through such ethnoracial categories, the content of which were redefined as Sweden's geopolitical power rose and fell. These shifts sparked methodological innovations to redefine the Lapp, making it a durable category whose content was plastic enough to survive paradigm shifts in political and scientific thought. Idiosyncratic Swedish concerns thus became universalized through the scientific diffusion of empirical knowledge about Lapps and generalizable anthropometric techniques to distinguish among populations. What Sweden lost during the nineteenth century in terms of geopolitical power, it gained in terms of biopower: the knowledge and control of internal populations made possible by its widely adopted anthropometric innovations. Nation-state science helps unpack the interrelationships between state-building, nation-making, and scientific labor.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

**Mader Matthias, Pöttschke Jana**

**National Identities and Mass Belief Systems on Foreign and Security Policy in Germany in German Politics**, Volume 23, Issue 1-2 , 59-77

The article analyses how German citizens' national identities are linked to their belief systems regarding foreign and security policy. Previous research has pointed out that citizens' belief systems are not unconstrained, but organised hierarchically. Especially domain-specific predispositions have been shown to structure policy attitudes. Against the backdrop of the prominence national history is granted in public discourse, the article argues that in Germany national identities influence both predispositions and attitudes concerning foreign and security policy. Using data from a representative telephone survey of German adults, a structural equation model is used to test this hypothesis. The results show that different types of national identities have distinct effects on domain-specific predispositions and attitudes towards the German participation in the ISAF mission in Afghanistan.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

**Lajosi Krisztina**

**National stereotypes and music**

**in Nations and Nationalism**, Volume 20, Issue 4, October 2014 , 628–645

Abstract

Music became a marker of national identity in nineteenth-century Europe. Western art music consists of tonal systems that are universally intelligible, but certain rhythms and musical idioms have been associated with national styles. How, when, and why does a musical phrase or piece become national? What political and cultural circumstances contributed to the development of national styles and facilitated the emergence of resonant topographies? What was the relationship between music as cultural practice and nineteenth-century national thought as discursive space? These questions are addressed with a particular focus on verbunkos, which came to be characteristic of Hungarian national style, and on the Rákóczy's March which became famous thanks to Berlioz's Faust. This essay traces the complex process of cultural transfer through which these martial tunes of mixed ethnic origins have become emblematic of Hungarian music.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**



*Subsection 2.Nationalism*

Wood Steve

**Nations, national identity and prestige**

in *National Identities*, vol. 16, n. 2 , 99-115

Prestige is a concept or factor that receives relatively little sustained attention in the specialist academic work on nations, national identity and nationalism. It is, however, an implicit influence in much of this literature. Evidence, perspectives and insights, suggesting that prestige is a vital element in the psychological constitution of nations, emerge from a diverse range of sources.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2.Nationalism*

Carrier Neil, Kochore Hassan H.

**Navigating ethnicity and electoral politics in northern Kenya: the case of the 2013 election**

in *Journal of Eastern African Studies* , Volume 8, Issue 1, Special Issue: Kenya's 2013 elections: The triumph of democracy? , 135-152

In the 2013 elections, northern Kenya – previously seen as peripheral to national politics – took on great significance as a potential ‘swing’ region, and became the focus of much campaigning and strategizing by presidential and other candidates. It was also seen as a region especially at risk of violence given its history of ethnic politics and the new context of the devolved county system. This paper explores how the north's ethnic dynamics played out in 2013, looking in particular at case studies of three northern counties: Isiolo, Mandera and Marsabit. It traces the history of ethnic politics in these counties, and the strategies used to secure votes in 2013 through strategic alliance formation, exclusionary politics and the anointing of candidates by ‘councils of elders’. While such strategies were not uniformly successful, they led to a remarkable swing to the Jubilee Alliance of Uhuru Kenyatta and William Ruto in Mandera. Ruto's United Republican Party did especially well in the north, and he appears to have navigated the ethnic and clan politics of the north expertly, playing up his pastoralist background as he did so. While a success for Jubilee, the ethnic strategizing has had serious ramifications, especially in Mandera and Marsabit where exclusion has led to resentment and conflict.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2.Nationalism*

Senigaglia Cristiana

**Parliament and nation-building: Max Weber and the German state**

in *Parliaments, Estates & Representation*, Volume 34, Issue 1 , 76-94

The foundation of the German state in 1871 represents an interesting case of nation-building, since it accomplished political unity among different sovereign states already connected by language and culture. The considerations of Max Weber (1864–1920) are of particular relevance because they not only highlight the specific questions concerning the German nation, but they also apply to several fundamental issues about the formation of new political organizations. First of all, Weber stresses the difference subsisting between the political unity of a nation, which can also be attained in a short time, and the nation-building process, which is more lengthy and complex. In this respect, Parliament plays a



central role, because it is entitled to represent the interests of all members of a nation and it constitutes a functioning mediation between the state and the individuals. By analyzing the personality of Otto von Bismarck (1815–98) and the indisputable role played by him in founding and organizing the new state, Weber discovers the relevance of a charismatic leader especially for young nations, which is nevertheless accompanied by the tendency to the concentration of power. Thus, the function of the parliamentary system consists of granting a plurality of charismatic political leaders and at the same time in supervising them. In the course of time, Weber thinks of different reforms strengthening democratization and parliamentarization. On this subject, he argues that efficient technical solutions can be shared by different nations and then adjusted to particular needs. However, he also adds that institutional reforms can ensure better procedures, but they do not solve all political problems.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Fusaro Diego

**Particolarismo e universalismo nei «Discorsi alla nazione tedesca» di Fichte**  
in *Filosofia Politica*, numero 2, agosto 2014 , 227-246

The paper aims to show that the universalistic tone which permeates Fichte's early political texts is also present in those written after 1800, although from a different perspective. In particular, the Author focuses on the "Reden an die deutsche Nation", the text which scholars understand as the farthest from the universalist vocation of the young Fichte. Rather, in the "Addresses to the German Nation", the ultimate aim of Fichte's political philosophy consists in the emancipation of the whole human kind, although mediated by nationalistic particularism.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Zuev Dennis, Virchow Fabian

**Performing national-identity: the many logics of producing national belongings in public rituals and events**  
in *Nations and Nationalism*, Volume 20, Issue 2, April 2014 , 191–199

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Menchik Jeremy

**Productive Intolerance: Godly Nationalism in Indonesia**  
in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Volume 56, Issue 3, July , 591-621

Since democratization, Indonesia has played host to a curious form of ethnic conflict: militant vigilante groups attacking a small, socially marginal religious sect called Ahmadiyah. While most scholars attribute the violence to intolerance by radicals on the periphery of society, this article proposes a different reading based on an intertwined reconfiguration of Indonesian nationalism and religion. I suggest that Indonesia contains a common but overlooked example of "godly nationalism," an imagined community bound by a shared theism and mobilized through the state in cooperation with religious organizations. This model for nationalism is modern, plural, and predicated on the exclusion of religious



heterodoxy. Newly collected archival and ethnographic material reveal how the state's and Muslim civil society's long-standing exclusion of Ahmadiyah and other heterodox groups has helped produce the "we-feeling" that helps constitute contemporary Indonesian nationalism. I conclude by intervening in a recent debate about religious freedom to suggest that conflicts over blasphemy reflect Muslim civil society's effort to delineate an incipient model of nationalism and tolerance while avoiding the templates of liberal secularism or theocracy.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Hagmann Tobias

**Punishing the periphery: legacies of state repression in the Ethiopian Ogaden**

in **Journal of Eastern African Studies** , Volume 8, Issue 4, Special Issue: Politics and violence in eastern Africa: the struggles of emerging states, c.1940-1990 , 725-739

This article scrutinizes dynamics and legacies of state violence by the imperial and current government against civilians in the Ethiopian Ogaden, between 1960 and 2010. While conflict dynamics in eastern Ethiopia underwent significant changes in the past half-century, successive counterinsurgency campaigns employed strikingly similar military tactics against local communities. Combining historical accounts with oral testimonies collected among victims of state violence in the Ogaadeen Somali diaspora in the USA, this article draws attention to the distinct temporality and spatiality that emerges from repeat cycles of state violence.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Yablokov Ilya

**Pussy Riot as agent provocateur: conspiracy theories and the media construction of nation in Putin's Russia**

in **Nationalities Papers**, Volume 42, Issue 4, 2014 , 622-636

Abstract

This article studies the impact of conspiracy theories on post-Soviet Russian nation-building through the analysis of how the Pussy Riot trial was constructed by the Russian media. Conspiracy theory as a phenomenon is defined as a populist tool for relocation of power among different political actors, which creates identities and boosts social cohesion. This interpretation of conspiracy theories helps investigate how the media constructed the image of Pussy Riot and their supporters as a conspiring subversive minority, which threatened the Russian nation. The ability of conspiracy theory for swift social mobilization helped the authorities to strengthen the public support of its policies and model the Russian nation as ethnically and religiously homogeneous.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Dumitru Speranta

**Qu'est-ce que le nationalisme méthodologique ? Essai de typologie**

in **Raisons politiques**, n. 54 , 9-22





Cet article montre qu'il existe au moins trois versions différentes de nationalisme méthodologique que nous appellerons stato-centriste (la prééminence injustifiée accordée à l'État-nation dans les sciences sociales), territorialiste (penser l'espace comme découpé en territoires) et groupiste (comprendre la société comme la société de l'État-nation). Si ces trois versions sont logiquement distinctes, comme nous le montrerons, cette typologie représente un outil pour mieux évaluer le poids du nationalisme méthodologique dans les sciences sociales. Divisé en trois parties, cet article a pour objectif de montrer que : 1) les trois versions sont toutes présentes dans la littérature sur le nationalisme méthodologique, sans toujours être distinguées ; 2) le problème épistémologique que pose le nationalisme méthodologique est parfois confondu avec des questions ontologiques ou normatives concernant la mondialisation et les frontières étatiques ; 3) les trois versions de nationalisme méthodologique sont logiquement indépendantes les unes des autres, ce qui peut être illustré par quelques exemples.

English

What is methodological nationalism? An essay of typology

This article argues that there are at least three different versions of methodological nationalism: state-centrism (unjustified supremacy granted to the nation-state), territorialism (understanding space as divided in territories), and groupism (equating society with the nation-state's society). If these three versions are logically distinct, as it will be shown, the typology can serve as a tool to weight the influence of methodological nationalism in the social sciences. The paper has three sections arguing that 1) the three versions are all present in the literature on methodological nationalism without always being distinguished; 2) the epistemological problems raised by methodological nationalism are sometimes misunderstood as ontological or normative questions about globalization and national borders; 3) the three versions of methodological nationalism can be shown to be logically independent by a few examples.

Plan de l'article

Un débat, plusieurs définitions

Un débat épistémologique n'est ni politique, ni ontologique

Trois types de nationalisme méthodologique

Conclusion

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### ***Section D) Federalism as a political idea***

#### *Subsection 2. Nationalism*

**Fouéré Marie-Aude**

#### **Recasting Julius Nyerere in Zanzibar: the Revolution, the Union and the Enemy of the Nation**

in **Journal of Eastern African Studies** , Volume 8, Issue 3 , 478-496

In Zanzibar, the figure of Julius Nyerere is being recast in debates over sovereignty, belonging and nationhood. Unlike mainland Tanzania, where he is upheld as the Father of the Nation, the first president of Tanganyika and Tanzania is increasingly portrayed in Zanzibar as the Enemy of the Nation responsible for the Isles' predicament. This article gives insight into the terms, actors and circulation of this pejorative narrative in relation to two central historical events: the 1964 Revolution and the Union. It also shows how such anti-Nyererism mediates anxious concerns over cultural distinctiveness and Islam.



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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

**Qvortrup Matt**

**Referendums on Independence, 1860–2011**

**in *Political Quarterly*** , Volume 85, Issue 1, January-March 2014 , 57-64

There have been more than 50 independence referendums since the middle of the 19th Century when Texas, Virginia and Tennessee—albeit unsuccessfully—voted to leave the USA. A handful of plebiscites were held in each decade after 1945, but most independence referendums were held after the break-down of communism. Most have resulted in majorities for independence. However, such plebiscites have been rare in countries with established systems of democratic government and the results may not be a fair reflection of the views of the voters. When referendums have been held in democratic countries, they have often resulted in a no-vote (though Montenegro is an exception to the rule). Referendums have on a few occasions resulted in the exacerbation of ethnic conflict, such as in Bosnia-Herzegovina and in East Timor. But generally speaking referendums are not correlated with civil war; indeed, war resulted in only 13 percent of the cases.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

**Vines Emma**

**Reframing English Nationalism and Euroscepticism: From populism to the British Political Tradition**

**in *British Politics***, Volume 9, Issue 3 (September 2014) , 255-274

This article analyses Ben Wellings' recent contribution to the debate over the English Question, English Nationalism and Euroscepticism: *Losing the Peace*, and places it within the context of the British Political Tradition (BPT). Wellings develops the case for an English nationalism characterised by an opposition to European integration. Although this article is broadly in agreement with his central proposition that Euroscepticism is the most coherent expression of English nationalism, it takes issue with his secondary argument – that this nationalism is populist. Instead, this article reframes the case for Eurosceptic English nationalism in terms of a continued adherence to a BPT characterised by elitist ideas of responsibility and representation. Rather than being genuinely populist, the adoption of Eurosceptic attitudes by a growing section of the political class has been driven by a desire to perpetuate a political system that protects elite power and a culture of limited democratic participation. A study of Euroscepticism consequently offers evidence, not only of English nationalism, but also of the existence of a BPT that constrains and facilitates political action and development.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

**Leerssen Joep**

**Romanticism, music, nationalism**

**in *Nations and Nationalism***, Volume 20, Issue 4, October 2014 , 606–627

Abstract



In manifold ways, the stylistic and performative features and evolving genre conventions of nineteenth-century 'classical' music reflect the increasing grip of nationalism on cultural attitudes in Europe. Conversely, music could become an important medium for the expression and dissemination of nationalist ideals. A cross-national, European-wide survey of this interpenetration between musical and ideological developments is applied towards a tentative typological outline of 'musical nationalism'.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

**Bell David N. F.**

**Scotland and small country independence: the assessment**

in *Oxford Review of Economic Policy*, Volume 30 Issue 2 SUMMER 2014 , 189-207

This paper reviews some of the issues consequent on the formation of new states through secession. While its particular focus relates to the potential withdrawal of Scotland from the United Kingdom, it discusses preference heterogeneity as a potential cause of the break-up of states, relating that to recent developments in the economics of identity. It examines some macroeconomic issues, particularly debt and currency, and reflects on how these might influence secession. It examines alternatives—fiscal decentralization—to secession and considers the strategies that those arguing for and against secession may deploy. It also explains the structure of this issue, explaining how the different contributions come together.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

**Somers Kim, Vaillancourt François**

**Some economic dimensions of the sovereignty debate in Quebec: debt, GDP, and migration**

in *Oxford Review of Economic Policy*, Volume 30 Issue 2 SUMMER 2014 , 237-256

This paper shows that the quest for sovereignty in Quebec is explained by its role as the abode for a French-speaking minority in North America. It notes that there was no commonly agreed legal framework for the 1980 or 1995 referendums and that the attempt to impose one in 2000 has been rejected by Quebec. Using results from existing papers and original research, the paper shows that the quest for sovereignty can have an impact on the cost of financing the public debt of the entity doing this. It also shows that labour flows can be affected by the existence of a sovereignty movement. This GDP would be higher if the secessionist threat had not had an impact on the size of the labour force since the early 1970s.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

**Rüger Jan**

**Sovereignty and Empire in the North Sea, 1807–1918**

in *American Historical Review*, Volume 119, Issue 2, April , 313-338

In February 1916, Theodor Lührs volunteered to fight in the Great War. It was time, he felt, that he did his bit. The



Australian authorities were less convinced. Certainly, they desperately needed volunteers—two new infantry divisions were to be sent to Europe, and their ranks had to be filled. Lührs fitted the bill: he was the right age and had no medical conditions. But he was also German, or so the Department of Defence thought. For six months it discussed his case with other government departments, a case in which the terms “nationality,” “loyalty,” and “empire” seemed frustratingly conflicted. Lührs had been born in Heligoland, a British colony in the North Sea. In 1890, the island had been ceded to Imperial Germany. The inhabitants had been given the right to remain British subjects...

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

**Jeram Sanjay**

**Sub-state Nationalism and Immigration in Spain: Diversity and Identity in Catalonia and the Basque Country in Ethnopolitics**, Volume 13, Issue 3, 2014 , 225-244

This article builds on recent attempts to explain why sub-state nationalist parties in West Europe and North America pursue varying discourses and policies in response to immigrant-generated diversity. It analyses the dynamics of immigrant integration in two comparable cases of sub-state nationalism: Catalonia and the Basque Country. In contrast to the hypothesis that sub-state nationalism and immigration are inherently antagonistic, nationalist parties in both cases have experimented with multiculturalism to make diversity a new marker of national identity. The recent assimilationist turn in Catalonia, however, demonstrates that regional electoral competition can sometimes complicate matters of identity.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

**Adam Stuart, Johnson Paul, Roantree Barra**

**Taxing an independent Scotland**

**in Oxford Review of Economic Policy**, Volume 30 Issue 2 SUMMER 2014 , 325-345

If Scotland were to become independent it would gain considerably more control over its tax system than it currently enjoys. In this paper we consider the consequences of independence for the optimal design of a new Scottish tax system, an analysis which would also be of some relevance for considering the consequences for tax design of independence of other smaller nations. Scotland is different from the rest of the UK in some ways that are important for tax system design. Incomes are more equally distributed, for example. That is one reason why the progressive income tax currently raises less per head in Scotland than in the rest of the UK. It also suggests that there is less to be gained in terms of redistribution from sharply progressive taxation. Independence would create additional complexity for individuals and firms working or trading across borders. It could also put downward pressure on tax rates and our analysis suggests that optimal tax rates in an independent Scotland are likely to be lower than optimal rates in the UK as a whole. At the same time, the context of a substantial budget deficit will continue to put upward pressure on tax rates.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

**David Miller and Sundas Ali**

**Testing the national identity argument**



in *European Political Science* , Volume 6 - Issue 02 , 237-259

The national identity argument holds that a shared national identity is necessary to motivate citizens in democratic societies to pursue a number of goals, especially social justice. We review the empirical evidence for and against this claim, looking particularly at how national identities have been measured. We distinguish between studies that aim to compare the relative strength of identities cross-nationally and those that look at individual differences within one nation. We separate four dimensions of national identity: national attachment, national pride, critical vs. uncritical patriotism, and civic vs. cultural conceptions of identity. These are only weakly correlated with each other, and impact differently on support for social justice and the welfare state. Using case studies from the United States, Canada, and the United Kingdom, we suggest that the relationship between national identity and social justice varies between societies, and that a key factor is finding an appropriate balance between the strength of such identities and their inclusiveness.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2.Nationalism*

**Somogy Varga**

**The Marketization of Foreign Cultural Policy: The Cultural Nationalism of the Competition State**

in *Constellations*, Vol. 20, Issue 3, September , 442-458

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2.Nationalism*

**Jackson Ben**

**The Political Thought of Scottish Nationalism**

in *Political Quarterly* , Volume 85, Issue 1, January-March 2014 , 50–56

This article examines the key arguments and intellectual influences that have come together over recent decades to produce the case for Scottish independence. In particular, the article draws attention to three crucial, but discordant, ideological themes that have become recurrent features of Scottish nationalist discourse: an analysis of the British state indebted to the New Left; a surprising enthusiasm for the politics of the British labour movement; and a belief that we are witnessing the end of the era of absolute state sovereignty.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2.Nationalism*

**Rutland Peter**

**The Pussy Riot affair: gender and national identity in Putin's Russia**

in *Nationalities Papers*, Volume 42, Issue 4, 2014 , 575-582

Abstract

The Pussy Riot affair was a massive international cause célèbre that ignited a widespread movement of support for the jailed activists around the world. The case tells us a lot about Russian society, the Russian state, and Western



perceptions of Russia. It also raises gender as a frame of analysis, something that has been largely overlooked in 20 years of work by mainstream political scientists analyzing Russia's transition to democracy. It has important implications for how Western feminist categories can be applied to the Russian context. This introduction summarizes the main events associated with the trial of the three group members who were accused of staging a “punk prayer” performance in the Cathedral of Christ the Savior in February 2012. It also introduces the findings of the six papers that make up this special section.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

**Karlsson Erika, Towns Ann, Eyre Joshua**

**The equality conundrum. Gender and nation in the ideology of the Sweden Democrats**

**in Party Politics**, Volume 20, Number 2, Themed issue: Party adaptation and change and the crisis of democracy: Essays in honour of Peter Mair, March , 237-247

This article examines the gender ideology of the parliamentary radical right populist party (RRPP) – the Sweden Democrats. More specifically, the article analyses how the party integrates old nationalist ideas about the importance of traditional gender roles and male superiority for the stability and welfare of the nation with new nationalist ideas about Sweden as the most gender-equal nation in the world. Prior studies suggest that RRPPs have integrated gender equality as a policy measure against multiculturalism and immigration. Our analysis shows this to be true also of the Sweden Democrats. However, unlike prior scholarship, we argue that the integration of gender equality is a tenuous and difficult one, as nationalist ideologies generally rest on ideas of sexual difference and male superiority. While the Sweden Democrats claim to support gender equality in discussions of multiculturalism and immigration, the party is a fierce critic of gender equality in all other contexts.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

**Millard Gregory**

**The jealous god: A problem in the definition of nationalism**

**in Ethnicities**, Vol. 14, n. 1

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

**Brincker Benedikte**

**The role of classical music in the construction of nationalism: a cross-national perspective**

**in Nations and Nationalism**, Volume 20, Issue 4, October 2014 , 664–682

Abstract

This paper explores the role of classical music in the construction of nationalism in the twentieth century. It takes its point of departure in the Danish composer Carl Nielsen and analyses competing interpretations and receptions of his





works. The paper seeks to move beyond the single case study. Hence, it includes three additional cases: the Soviet composer Dimitry Shostacovich (particularly the reception of his 5th Symphony); the position of Paul Hindemith in the Third Reich; and finally the development in Aron Copland's oeuvre. In so doing, it aims to clarify the relationship between classical music and nationalism.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2.Nationalism*

**Basta Karlo**

**The state as a symbol or a means to an end: internal border changes in multinational federations**

**in Nations and Nationalism**, Volume 20, Issue 3, July 2014 , 459–480

Abstract

Federalism is an important institutional option for the management of difference in multinational states. A number of scholars have argued that the internal boundaries of such states should divide each constituent group into several federal units. In theory, boundary engineering of this type should activate cross-cutting cleavages, subvert secessionist movements and, ultimately, foster political integration and stability. This article, by contrast, demonstrates the conditions under which the subdivision of territorial units can destabilise polities. Where statehood is a central symbol in nationalist narratives of constituent groups, the fragmentation of the sub-state unit will be perceived as a threat to national identity of the group in question. The article compares former Yugoslavia and Nigeria, two cases in which such processes led to divergent outcomes.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2.Nationalism*

**Quiroga Alejandro**

**The three spheres. A theoretical model of mass nationalisation: the case of Spain**

**in Nations and Nationalism**, Volume 20, Issue 4, October 2014 , 683–700

Abstract

This article sets out a theoretical model of the processes of mass nationalisation. The paper is divided into three sections. The first part shows nationalisation as a process of identity transmission that includes messages (national narratives), channels (national agencies) and recipients (national individuals). The second section analyses the processes of identity transmission into three spheres of nationalisation: the official public sphere, the non-official public sphere and the private sphere. The last part looks at the process of mass nationalisation from below and reflects on the mechanisms of individual acquisition and reproduction of national identities on a daily basis. The general model of nationalisation presented here is developed in a deductive way and is applicable to a number of countries all over the world. In this article, I illustrate the general model by giving examples of mass nationalisations in Spain over the last two centuries.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2.Nationalism*



Young Robert

**Transition costs in secessions, with a brief application to Scotland**

in *Oxford Review of Economic Policy*, Volume 30 Issue 2 SUMMER 2014 , 392-405

This article demonstrates that the costs incurred in the process of a region becoming a sovereign state can be large enough to outweigh the long-term material benefits of independence. Transition costs consist of transaction costs, fiscal costs, and the cost of uncertainty. Their size depends crucially on whether the politics of the transition are cooperative. Game theory, however, shows that there are incentives for threats of non-cooperation and for the exercise of such threats. These considerations are applied, briefly, to the debate about Scottish independence. This includes a short analysis of how transition costs can be reduced. A final section inquires about possible transition benefits, which can consist of solidarity.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Travis Hannibal

**Ultranationalist Genocides: Failures of Global Justice in Nigeria and Pakistan**

in *International Journal on Minority and Groups Rights*, Volume 21, Issue 3 , 414-450

International law entered a period of accelerated change in the decade after the genocide of the Ibo people in Nigeria. By 1979, jurists had drafted much-needed reforms to international law in the areas of prohibited methods of war, the rights of refugees, and the infliction of severe pain to punish dissent or to discriminate on racial or religious grounds. These reforms, if implemented in good faith, provide a basis for international criminal tribunals to punish the widespread killing and abuse of civilians in non-international armed conflicts. International courts analysed few such conflicts in the decades after the Genocide Convention entered into force, despite the aim of the convention to prevent genocide by public or private actors, in time of war or peace, and by targeting a group in whole or in part. This article analyses the Ibo genocide in terms of the techniques used by the Nigerian army to destroy the Ibo ethnic group in substantial part, including massacres of Ibo civilians, imposition of widespread and disease epidemics on the Ibos, and rape of Ibos as a matter of policy. It surveys the influence of the Biafran genocide on the evolution of international norms relating to war crimes, refugees, and torture. The international community multiplied norms in lieu of enforcing them, in this case as in others.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Jensen Kristian Kriegbaum

**What can and cannot be willed: how politicians talk about national identity and immigrants**

in *Nations and Nationalism*, Volume 20, Issue 3, July 2014 , 563–583

Abstract

The ethnic-civic framework remains widely used in nationalism research. However, in the context of European immigrant integration politics, where almost all 'nation talk' is occurring in civic and liberal registers, the framework has a hard time identifying how conceptions of national identity brought forth in political debate differ in their exclusionary potential. This leads some to the conclusion that national identity is losing explanatory power. Building on the insights of Oliver Zimmer,



I argue that we may find a different picture if we treat cultural content and logic of boundary construction – two parameters conflated in the ethnic-civic framework – as two distinct analytical levels. The framework I propose focuses on an individual and collective dimension of logic of boundary construction that together constitute the inclusionary/exclusionary core of national identity. The framework is tested on the political debate on immigrant integration in Denmark and Norway in selected years. Indeed, the framework enables us to move beyond the widespread idea that Danish politicians subscribe to an ethnic conception of the nation, while Norwegian political thought is somewhere in between an ethnic and civic conception. The true difference is that Danish politicians, unlike their Norwegian counterparts, do not acknowledge the collective self-understanding as an object of political action.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Hogan Jack

**‘What Then Happened To Our Eden?’: The Long History of Lozi Secessionism, 1890–2013**

in **Journal of Southern African Studies**, Volume 40, Issue 5, Special Issue: Narratives of Nationhood: Transformation and Contestation in Postcolonial Zambia , 907-924

This article contributes to revisionist interpretations of Zambian history by exploring both the development of Lozi secessionism over the course of the twentieth century and its present manifestations. Starting with the origins of Lozi particularism in the challenges mounted by the Lozi elite to Northern Rhodesia's early colonial dispensation, it traces the dynamics of subsequent contests between the Lozi, colonial and imperial governments, and emerging African nationalists. Following the negotiations which culminated in the signing of the Barotseland Agreement on the eve of independence, the article describes the movement's postcolonial trajectory from its apparent collapse in the face of an antagonistic Zambian state to its resurgence following the end of the one-party state. Lozi secessionism draws deeply on notions of a powerful precolonial polity to articulate an alternative political vision, but, as this article contends, persistence of Lozi secessionism over the twentieth century, and into the twenty-first, does not reflect a primordial attachment to ethnicity and polity. It is instead a movement fed by a particularism bred of resentment and poverty. The course of Lozi secessionism over the twentieth century, and its persistence into the twenty-first, must be understood in light of this history and the ends to which successive generations of Lozi secessionists have put their interpretation of it in the face of changing political and economic circumstances.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Moore Gregory J.

**“In Your Face”: Domestic Politics, Nationalism, and “Face” in the Sino-Japanese Islands Dispute**

in **Asian Perspective**, Volume 38, Issue 2 , 219-240

While China's rising power is certainly an important variable in Sino-Japanese relations, it cannot explain either why the Diaoyu/Senkaku Islands dispute broke out anew in the fall of 2012 or why the Chinese response was so strong. China read Japan's move to nationalize the islands as an in-your-face move designed to show disrespect for China and make Japan's sovereignty over the islands a fait accompli. In this article I borrow from Robert Putnam's notion of twolevel games to argue that there are two levels of face politics going on in this case: one between domestic actors in Japan and in China, the other between the two countries. A solution to the territorial dispute can only be found when both sides' “face needs” are recognized and met at both levels of analysis.



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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Iskandar Zulkarnain

**“Playable” Nationalism: Nusantara Online and the “Gamic” Reconstructions of National History**

in *Sojourn: Journal of Social Issues in Southeast Asia* , Vol. 29, n°1 , 31-62

Nusantara Online is an Indonesian-made massively multiplayer online role-playing game that imaginatively reconstructs the history of the archipelago. As an “allegorithm” for the Indonesian nation, the game suggests a distinct model of digital nationalism, here dubbed “playable” nationalism. This concept captures the formulation of “Nusantara” as the idealized yet playful version of the Indonesian archipelago, a version emphasizing the principles of digital collaboration. The promotion of this model of “digital nationalism” as an egalitarian model of Indonesian popular nationalism has certain limitations.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 2. Nationalism*

Arrieta Alberdi Leyre

**¿Cuál es el himno de los vascos? El nacionalismo vasco y su simbología music**

in *Spagna Contemporanea*, anno XXII, n. 44

The article reflects upon the multiple identitarian sub-communities within the Basque nationalist milieu by looking at their musical expressions. After contextualizing the relationship between music and nationalism, the symbolic value of three Basque melodies (Gernikako Arbola, Eusko Abendaren Ereserkia and Eusko Gudariak) is explored, and so is the claim for their ownership on the part of the various nationalist groups. Finally, conclusions are drawn on the Basque musical symbology and on the role played by music in building the Basque national identity.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations*

Bresciani Marco, Dilettoso Diego

**Carlo Rosselli et les cultures françaises des années trente Entre socialisme, antifascisme et tyrannies**

in *Mil Neuf Cent*, n. 31 , 137-157

Les auteurs explorent les échanges intellectuels intervenus, de 1929 à 1937, entre l'économiste et politique italien Carlo Rosselli et trois intellectuels issus de l'École normale supérieure : Élie Halévy, Célestin Bouglé et Marcel Déat. L'interprétation théorique et pratique du socialisme des années trente anima les relations entre eux. L'analyse des différentes nuances du socialisme européen de cette époque constitue une approche originale qui veut dépasser les catégories historiographiques traditionnelles – « fascisme », « totalitarisme », etc.



Carlo Rosselli and the French cultural movements of the 30s. between socialism, anti-fascism and tyranny.

The authors examine the intellectual exchanges which took place from 1929 to 1937 between the Italian economist and politician Carlo Rosselli and three intellectuals from the École Normale Supérieure : Élie Halévy, Célestin Bouglé, and Marcel Déat. The theoretical and practical interpretation of 1930s socialism was the basis for the relationships among them. The analysis of the different declinations of European socialism of this period constitutes in itself an original historiographical approach, which goes beyond the former categories of “fascism” and “totalitarianism”.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations*

**Giorgio Grasso**

**Costituzione e Costituzionalismo in Carlo Cattaneo**

in *Nomos*, n. 1/2013

Accettando, qualche mese fa, con grande piacere l'invito di Fabio Minazzi a partecipare al Convegno odierno non avevo probabilmente valutato sino in fondo tutte le insidie che il tema concordato «Costituzione e costituzionalismo in Carlo Cattaneo» poteva presentare per il giurista costituzionalista, insidie che, toccando il metodo e il merito dell'argomento che dovrò affrontare, vanno immediatamente segnalate in esordio della relazione. Sì, perché un primo aspetto che mi sento di enfatizzare, con una relativa sicurezza, è che Carlo Cattaneo non sia (stato) uno degli autori maggiormente indagati dagli studiosi del diritto costituzionale, anche da parte di quelli che hanno affrontato un tema a lui assai caro, quello del federalismo.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations*

**Loriaux Sylvie**

**Deception, right, and international relations: A Kantian reading**

in *European Journal of Political Theory*, Vol. 13, No. 2, April 2014 , 199-217

Abstract

The general aim of this paper is to elucidate Kant's juridical understanding of the duty not to lie and to situate it within his account of 'The right of a state' and of 'The right of nations'. The first section will introduce the distinction Kant draws between two senses in which a liar can be said to wrong another, namely, 'materially' and 'formally'. The second section will be devoted to clarifying what Kant means by a 'formal wrong' (or a 'wrong in general'), by focusing on his use of this concept in the context of international relations. The third section will examine why a liar can be said to always do wrong 'formally'. And the fourth section will show that what holds for individuals also holds for states in their mutual relationships: they are never to deceive one another, not even when innocent lives are at stake, because doing so would 'subvert the right of human beings as such'.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations*



Niesen Peter

**Historisches Unrecht im Völker- und Weltbürgerrecht. Immanuel Kant über Krieg, Kolonialismus und die Rückgabe von Territorium**

in *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Philosophie*, Volume 62, Issue 3, July 2014 , 510–540

Abstract

In his writings on international and cosmopolitan law, Kant condemns all unlawful annexations and especially European expansionism. Although his late works develop a staunch anti-colonial position, they contain little advice on how historic injustice is to be set right, especially whether and how claims to the restitution of territory ought to be satisfied. In order to give a systematic answer to the question, I introduce a threefold distinction between stages of international law. It is then argued that while Kant is skeptical about restitutive rights and duties as a matter of natural international law, he defends restitutive duties on the level of transitional international law. It can also be shown that violations of cosmopolitan law trigger more stringent duties of restoration than violations of international law.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations*

Guderzo Giulio

**Isole per l'Europa: attualità del Manifesto di Ventotene**

in *Cittadinanza europea (La)*, Fascicolo 2 - 2013 , 103-109

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations*

Feld Lars P.

**James Buchanan's theory of federalism: from fiscal equity to the ideal political order**

in *Constitutional political economy*, Volume 25, Issue 3, September 2014 , 231-252

The distinct characteristic in James Buchanan's thinking about federalism in contrast to the traditional theory of fiscal federalism is his view about fiscal competition. In this paper, it is demonstrated that this thinking went through three stages. From the 1950s to the beginning of the 1970s, his analyses were well embedded in the traditional fiscal federalism literature and concerned with equity and efficiency issues. In the Leviathan approach starting from the mid-seventies, he considered competition between jurisdictions as a means to restrict Leviathan governments. In his interpretation of federalism as an ideal political order, Buchanan binds these perspectives together and adds a procedural view: Federalism enables citizens to exert political control, it raises their interest in politics because one vote has more influence, and it facilitates to act morally within their moral capacity.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations*

Searle John

**Kant and Philosophy in a Cosmopolitan Sense. Intentional and Social Phenomena, and their Place in Nature. An**





**interview by Gabriele Gava**

in *Studi Kantiani*, Anno XXVI, 2013

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations*

**Brandom Robert**

**Kant and Philosophy in a Cosmopolitan Sense. Kant's Normative Turn and its Hegelian Development. An interview by Francesco Lanzillotti**

in *Studi Kantiani*, Anno XXVI, 2013

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations*

**Rosenboim Or**

**L'impero della libertà. Imperialismo e internazionalismo nel pensiero liberale inglese, 1919-1936**

in *Contemporanea - Rivista di storia dell'800 e del '900*, numero 1, gennaio-marzo, 31-58

This article explores the post-imperial thought of three British liberal internationalists and analyses their reactions to the political crises of the 1930s. It reassesses the history of international relations by overcoming the "idealism-realism" dichotomy, and by reconsidering the role of empire in liberal thought. The essay focuses on Alfred E. Zimmern, John A. Hobson and Henry N. Brailsford, three leading thinkers who embodied different factions within British liberalism writ large. In the first part of the article the author looks at their interpretation of global economics, international law and world government, and shows that "empire" was a component of - rather than an obstacle to - their new internationalist order. In the second part, it is analysed their reactions to two international crises: Manchuria (1931) and Abyssinia (1935). Drawing on archival sources, as well as newspaper articles, this article adds nuance to our understanding of the continuities and contradictions in international thought, and reveals the discrepancies between theoretical arguments and reactions to current affairs. It would suggest that in the 1930s liberal internationalism unconsciously promoted a biased, anti-democratic concept of international leadership, assimilating some of the practices of imperialism that these thinkers condemned.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations*

**Berry David**

**Metamorphosis: The Making of Daniel Guérin, 1904–1930**

in *Modern and Contemporary France*, Volume 22, Issue 3

This article explores the early years of Daniel Guérin (1904–88), who from the 1930s onwards became known as a leading revolutionary socialist and campaigner for decolonisation, antimilitarism and homosexual liberation. It examines the 'making of Daniel Guérin' in two senses: (i) his transformation from a son of the grande bourgeoisie into a workerist



revolutionary and anti-imperialist; and (ii) Guérin's own retrospective representation of his early years through his autobiographical works, as well as interviews. Based on a close reading of these sources, his two novels as well as his private papers and other archival material including police reports, it provides fresh insights into the formative influences on his ideological development. Rather than focusing exclusively on the influence of his liberal, Dreyfusard family, or the impact of his relationships with working-class men or his experiences of colonial realities, it brings to light the influence on him of Tolstoy and of Gandhi, an influence which would inform a strong ethical core in his libertarian conception of socialism. The article also argues that despite the apparently protean nature of his political itinerary, there was in fact always an underlying ideological consistency to Guérin's libertarian Marxism.

Cet article explore la jeunesse de Daniel Guérin (1904–88), connu à partir des années 30 comme socialiste révolutionnaire et militant en vue de l'anticolonialisme, de l'antimilitarisme et de l'émancipation homosexuelle. Il s'agit d'examiner la 'création' de Daniel Guérin dans deux sens: (i) la transformation d'un fils de la grande bourgeoisie en militant révolutionnaire ouvrier; (ii) la façon dont Guérin lui-même a représenté sa jeunesse et sa 'métamorphose' dans ses écrits autobiographiques et dans des interviews. Prenant comme point de départ l'analyse de ces textes aussi bien que de ses deux romans, ses archives personnelles (y compris sa correspondance) et les archives de la police, l'article donne une meilleure compréhension des influences déterminantes sur l'évolution idéologique de Guérin. Plutôt que de se concentrer exclusivement sur l'influence de sa famille dreyfusarde et libérale, ou sur l'effet de ses relations homosexuelles avec de jeunes prolétaires ou de sa découverte des réalités coloniales, cette analyse met en évidence l'influence sur Guérin des écrits de Tolstoï et de Gandhi—influence qui sous-tendra une conception éthique du socialisme. L'article soutient aussi qu'en dépit de l'apparence protéiforme de l'itinéraire politique de Guérin, son marxisme libertaire a, au contraire, toujours été caractérisé par une certaine constance idéologique.

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#### **Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

##### *Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations*

Ramón Máiz Suárez

#### **Naturaleza, nación y república federal: el excepcionalismo norteamericano de Thomas Jefferson** in *Revista de Estudios Políticos* , N.162 , 13-28

El artículo analiza los principios teóricos republicano-federales de Jefferson, en buena medida compartidos con Madison, que pusieron en marcha la lógica de acción colectiva de una oposición política que, con la creación del partido republicano, posteriormente demócrata-republicano, originó el primer sistema de partidos norteamericano. El estudio se centra en tres problemas fundamentales del pensamiento del autor, los cuales, como se tratará de probar, se encuentran íntimamente imbricados: naturaleza, nación y república federal. Jefferson, partiendo de la naturaleza (como medio ambiente de la nación americana) transita a través de lo social (fisonomía rural de América) para desembocar finalmente en lo político (republicanismo federal congénito). El naturalismo de Jefferson resulta inseparable de su nacionalismo (norte)americano, y a la vez, como veremos, este nacionalismo deviene inescindible de su republicanismo federal. Este último se elabora a partir de dos ejes teóricos: 1) el republicanismo de base local y democracia participativa (las «repúblicas elementales» de los distritos (Wards) como complemento de la representación política; y 2) el federalismo descentralizado, firmemente defensor de los derechos de los Estados, frente a procesos de recentralización desde la Unión implementados por Hamilton («consolidation»).

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#### **Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

##### *Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations*



Kleingeld Pauline

**Patriotism, Peace and Poverty: Reply to Bernstein and Varden**  
in *Kantian Review*, Volume 19, Issue 02, July 2014 , 267-284

Abstract

In this essay I reply to Alyssa Bernstein and Helga Varden's comments on my book, *Kant and Cosmopolitanism*. In response to Bernstein, I argue that Kant's opposition to the coercive incorporation of states into an international federation should be interpreted as permitting no exceptions. In response to Varden, I clarify Kant's conception and defence of patriotism as a duty, and I show how Kantian cosmopolitans can rebut Bernard Williams's 'one-thought-too-many' objection. I also explicate why, given a specific feature of Kant's defence of the state's duty to provide poverty relief, an international federation can be seen to have an analogous duty.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations*

Varden Helga

**Patriotism, Poverty, and Global Justice: A Kantian Engagement with Pauline Kleingeld's Kant and Cosmopolitanism**

in *Kantian Review*, Volume 19, Issue 02, July 2014 , 251-266

Abstract

In this article I critically engage some of the philosophical ideas Kleingeld presents in *Kant and Cosmopolitanism*, namely patriotism, poverty and global justice. Against Kleingeld, I propose, first, that perhaps democracy is less important and affectionate love more so to both Kant himself as well as to an account that can successfully refute a Bernard Williams style 'one-thought-too-many' objection to Kantian patriotism; second, that guaranteeing unconditional poverty relief for all its citizens is constitutive of the minimally just state for Kant; and, third, that there seem to be more disanalogies between the domestic and the global public authorities in Kant's account of right than Kleingeld's interpretation allows for.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations*

Benjamin A. Kleinerman

**The Constitutional Ambitions of James Madison's Presidency**

in *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, Volume 44, Issue 1 , 6–26

Following Richard Neustadt, scholarship on the presidency tends to focus on presidents as single-minded seekers of political power. But, precisely because of the grandness of their political stage, presidents may, in fact, have constitutional ambitions concerning not how much power they will have but how they will wield their constitutional powers. James Madison's presidency provides an important case study of a president's constitutional ambitions. Entering office with constitutional concerns about the power of the presidency relative to the other branches, Madison used his own presidency and especially the War of 1812 to model a new type of constitutional office that he thought would fit better in the system of the separation of powers.



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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations*

Bernstein Alyssa R.

**The Rights of States, the Rule of Law, and Coercion: Reflections on Pauline Kleingeld's Kant and Cosmopolitanism**

in *Kantian Review*, Volume 19, Issue 02, July 2014 , 233-249

Abstract

Pauline Kleingeld argues that according to Kant it would be wrong to coerce a state into an international federation, due to the wrongness of paternalism. Although I agree that Kant opposes the waging of war as a means to peace, I disagree with Kleingeld's account of the reasons why he would oppose coercing a state into a federation. Since she does not address the broader question of the permissibility of interstate coercion, she does not properly address the narrower question of whether coercion to compel a state to join a federation can be permissible. I revise and supplement her arguments.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations*

Martin Deleixhe

**Une réévaluation du droit cosmopolitique kantien. La citoyenneté européenne comme transition du droit de visite vers le droit de résidence**

in *Revue française de science politique*, Vol. 64, n°1 février , 79-93

In his Perpetual Peace Project, Kant keeps stumbling upon the same theoretical issue : what legal architecture could maintain political communities under a same authority without depriving them from their sovereignty ? The answer to that question is to be found in a rather surprising place : in Kant's defence of a limited right to immigration. Kant's cosmopolitan right to hospitality is divided between an unconditional right to sojourn and the privilege of the residence. I will argue that the institutionalization of cosmopolitanism ultimately rests on a transnational communication made possible by the migrations flows and therefore requires a progressive blurring of this distinction between sojourn and residence. This paves the way to the reinterpretation of Kant's right to hospitality as the right for migrants to have access to an integration process.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations*

Hutton Alexander

**'A belated return for Christ?': the reception of Arnold J. Toynbee's A Study of History in a British context, 1934–1961**

in *European Review of History - Revue Européenne d'Histoire*, Volume 21, Issue 3

The negative reception of A Study of History at the hands of British historians has masked wider responses to the work in Britain which reflect major tensions within British society and wider attitudes towards the idea of civilisation, the British



Empire and religion. The highly critical response to the work from the majority of professional historians reviewing the book is indicative of major debates within British history writing, including the role of empirical and idealist interpretations of history, and the increasingly academic and scholarly role of the historian. Toynbee's position as a public voice and a celebrity historian in the 1950s, whose approach to history eschewed constraints of period or region, represented antithesis to the expanding historical profession and scholarly research. Arnold Toynbee's *A Study of History* was a weathervane for contemporary cultural and intellectual concerns of the era.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations*

Reid Colin W.

**'An Experiment in Constructive Unionism': Isaac Butt, Home Rule and Federalist Political Thought during the 1870s**

in *English Historical Review (The)*, Volume 129, Issue 537, April , 332-361

Federalism has a rich, if chequered, history within the political discourse of the British and Irish Isles. This article examines the political thought of one much misunderstood advocate of federalism, Isaac Butt, and the debate that his proposal to transform the British constitution prompted. It seeks to recast Butt, the founding father of Irish Home Rule, as a champion of the Union. Historians of Ireland, Britain and federalism, like many of Butt's contemporaries, struggle to position him within the spectrum of nineteenth-century political thought. The most important work on Isaac Butt and the early Home Rule movement in Ireland remains David Thornley's study from 1964, which skews its subject matter by framing Butt as representative of 'a curious imperial nationalism'. This article argues that there was nothing 'curious' about Butt's political thought, and that his conception of a distinct Irish identity within the broader rubric of the Union has been under-appreciated.

For Butt, Home Rule was the mechanism to bind Ireland to Britain and its Empire, thus resolving the ambiguities of the Act of Union of 1800. Butt's formulation of Home Rule in 1870 envisaged a federalised United Kingdom, which would have weakened Irish exceptionalism within a broader British context. The article positions Butt as representative of a constructive national unionism, and explores the implications of this for Ireland's relationship with British identity and the Union during the nineteenth century.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Nadia Urbinati

**La difficile rappresentanza in Europa**

in *Mulino (il)*, n.2 , 231-239

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Saade Jo

**La guerre de Sécession vue par les journaux français**

in *Bulletin de l'Institut Pierre Renouvin*, n. 39, printemps , 29-40



<http://www.cairn.info/revue-bulletin-de-l-institut-pierre-renouvin-2014-1-page-29.htm>

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Tenscher Jens

**A Matter of Timing? A Study of Regional Election Campaigns in Germany**

**in German Politics**, Volume 23, Issue 1-2 , 26-42

Unlike national elections, subnational levels of politics have rarely been the subject of research. The small number of investigations stem from the field of psephology. While these have supported the assumption that the national level exerts a time-dependent impact on regional voting behaviour, election campaigning's time-dependency has yet to be investigated. Against this backdrop, this article offers a unique longitudinal and quantitative investigation of election campaigns in Germany's federal states. Using campaign managers' perceptions as a basis, it discusses time-relevant effects on electoral campaigning with regard to the degree of regionalisation, emotionalisation, and personalisation.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Hafner-Burton Emilie M

**A social science of human rights**

**in Journal of Peace Research**, Volume 51, Number 2, March , 273-286

Why do governments abuse human rights, and what can be done to deter and reverse abusive practices? This article examines the emerging social science on these two questions. Over the last few decades, scholars have made considerable progress in answering the first one. Abuse stems, centrally, from conflict and institutions. Answers to the second question are more elusive because data are scarce and the relationships between cause and effect are hard to pin down. Lively debates concern the effectiveness of tools such as military intervention, economic policy, international law, and information strategies for protecting human rights. The evidence suggests that despite the explosion of international legal instruments, this strategy has had impact only in special circumstances. Powerful states play central roles in protecting human rights through sanctions, impartial military intervention, and other tools – often applied unilaterally, which suggests that there is an ongoing tension between the legitimacy of broad multilateral legal institutions and narrower strategies that actually work. The best approaches to managing human rights depend on the political organization of the abuser. Where strong centralized organizations are the problem, the best strategies alter the incentives of leaders at the top; where abuse arises from disarray, such as during civil war or fragile democratic transition, the key tasks include reducing agency slack and making organizations stronger and more accountable.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Palen Marc-William

**Adam Smith as advocate of Empire, c. 1870-1932**

**in Historical Journal (The)**, Volume 57 - Issue 01 - March , 179-198

This article examines how *The wealth of nations* (1776) was transformed into an amorphous text regarding the imperial





question throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Adam Smith had left behind an ambiguous legacy on the subject of empire: a legacy that left long-term effects upon subsequent British imperial debates. In his chapter on colonies, Smith had proposed both a scheme for the gradual devolution of the British empire and a theoretical scheme for imperial federation. In response to the growing global popularity of protectionism and imperial expansionism, the rapid development of new tools of globalization, and the frequent onset of economic downturns throughout the late Victorian and Edwardian eras, turn-of-the-century proponents of British imperial federation formed into a formidable opposition to England's prevailing free trade orthodoxy – Cobdenism – a free trade ideology which famously expanded upon the anti-imperial dimensions of *The Wealth of Nations*. Ironically, at the turn of the century many advocates for imperial federation also turned to Smith for their intellectual inspiration. Adam Smith thus became an advocate of empire, and his advocacy left an indelible intellectual mark upon the burgeoning British imperial crisis.

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#### **Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

##### *Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Picazo-Tadeo Andrés J., Castillo-Giménez Juana, Beltrán-Esteve Mercedes

#### **An intertemporal approach to measuring environmental performance with directional distance functions: Greenhouse gas emissions in the European Union**

in *Ecological Economics*, Volume 100, April , 173-182

The impact of economic activity on the environment is a matter of growing concern for firm managers, policymakers, researchers and society as a whole. Building on previous work by Kortelainen (2008) [Dynamic environmental performance analysis: A Malmquist index approach. *Ecological Economics* 64, 701–715], we contribute an approach to assessing intertemporal environmental performance at the level of the management of specific pollutants, as the result of change in eco-efficiency and environmental technical change, which identify catching-up with best available environmental practices and eco-innovation, respectively. In doing so, we use Data Envelopment Analysis techniques, directional distance functions and Luenberger productivity indicators. Our approach is employed to assess environmental performance in the emission of greenhouse gases in the European Union-28 over the period 1990–2011. The main result is that environmental performance has been boosted by environmental technical change rather than by increases in eco-efficiency, although with certain differences among air pollutants. Accordingly, policy measures aimed at enhancing eco-efficiency are recommended to improve environmental performance in European countries regarding greenhouse gas emissions.

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#### **Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

##### *Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Porrás Ileana

#### **Appropriating Nature: Commerce, Property, and the Commodification of Nature in the Law of Nations**

in *Leiden Journal of International Law*, Volume 27 - Issue 03 , 641 - 660

This article explores the structural link between international law's long-standing doctrinal commitment to commerce and its inability to act decisively on behalf of the environment. One of the fundamental rights the early authors of *jus gentium* discovered was the right to engage in commerce. Francisco de Vitoria, Alberico Gentili, and Hugo Grotius each drew on and applied a providentialist theory of commerce. The doctrine held that Providence distributed scarcity and plenty across the earth so that peoples could not be self-sufficient, but would need to go in search of one another in order to acquire what they lacked. Commerce imagined in its pure form of reciprocal, mutually beneficial exchange would be the



means to bring separated mankind to friendship. The embrace of the providentialist doctrine by these early exponents of the law of nations, carried forward by Emer de Vattel, set the stage for international law's longstanding commitment to international commerce, viewed (despite all the distortions) as a virtuous activity that tends to the common good. The doctrine's additional legacy was the installation of a view of nature as commodity. The providentialist doctrine of commerce, adopted by the early authors of international law, remains embedded in the structure of international law and cannot easily be dislodged. Until this doctrine is dislodged, however, international law will continue to be hobbled in its ability to address the urgent task of protecting the natural environment.

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#### **Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

##### *Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Dervin Fred

#### **Au-delà du nationalisme méthodologique : l'interculturel sans essentialisme**

in *Raisons politiques*, n. 54 , 121-132

Cet article programmatique vise à proposer une nouvelle définition de l'interculturel capable de résister aux sirènes du nationalisme méthodologique. L'interculturel est une notion polysémique qui pose de plus en plus de problèmes pour décrire notre postmodernité. C'est notamment pour son association quasi systématique avec le nationalisme méthodologique (« culture nationale ») que la notion est critiquée. Dans cet article, nous proposons de questionner l'interculturel mais aussi d'examiner et de problématiser les nouvelles formes de « -ismes » qui sont apparus ces dernières années pour remplacer le nationalisme méthodologique. L'article propose quelques arguments pour sortir de l'impasse.

English

Beyond methodological nationalism: The intercultural without essentialism This article is programmatic. The "intercultural" is a polysemic notion which is increasingly problematic when it is used to describe postmodernity. Its association with the idea of methodological nationalism ("national culture") has led to its critique. In this article, I question the "intercultural" and examine and problematise new forms of "-isms" that have appeared recently in order to replace methodological nationalism. I propose a few arguments which could help to solve some of these issues.

Plan de l'article

Introduction

1. Interculturel, culture et nationalisme méthodologique
2. Une autre forme de « nationalisme méthodologique » : la « diversité de façade » du multiculturalisme
3. Vers de nouveaux essentialismes méthodologiques ?
4. L'interculturel au-delà des « -ismes » méthodologiques

Conclusion



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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Hoewer Melanie**

**Beyond the ethno-national divide: intersecting identity transformations during conflict**

**in Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power**, Volume 21, Issue 5, 2014 , 448-465

This article examines intersecting processes of boundary formation and change during periods of conflict in Chiapas and Northern Ireland in a comparative fashion. It provides new approaches to the studies of boundaries, of intersectionality and of identity change. Looking at female activists' collective identity narratives reveals the interrelation of different processes of identity change and solidarity formation during ethno-national conflict. Those processes are determined by differences in female activists' perceptions of and positioning towards different levels of society and by spaces for bridging those boundaries. In order to enhance our understanding of ethno-national conflicts, we need to examine intersecting identity categories in relation to social change and highlight underlying and interacting processes at different levels of society that obscure and deny the existence of the gender category.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Vanhulst Julien, Beling Adrian E.**

**Buen vivir: Emergent discourse within or beyond sustainable development?**

**in Ecological Economics**, Volume 101, May , 54-63

This paper sets out to review the content of Buen vivir ('good living') as an emergent discourse, reflecting on its genesis and contributions to the sustainability debate, as well as on incipient attempts at its institutionalization. First, we briefly revisit criticisms to the development discourse and then engage in deeper exploration of the status of its direct descendant: sustainable development (SD). Next, we consider the Latin-American position in the discursive field of SD and the situation of Buen vivir vis-à-vis SD. Drawing on the traditional repository of the continent's indigenous cultures, this discourse has been theorized in the academic sphere and translated into normative principles that have started to permeate the public, but also the political sphere, especially in Ecuador and Bolivia. In this article we refer to Buen vivir as the contemporary discursive reelaboration of the Quechua concept Sumak Kawsay and similar principles from other indigenous peoples. It includes both the idea of interdependence between society and nature and a conception of the universal as a plurality. Lastly, we outline some inbuilt tensions of the Buen vivir discourse, but also its dialogic potential with several variants of the heterogeneous discursive field around the idea of SD.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Toscano Roberto**

**C'era una volta l'America Latina**

**in Aspenia**, n. 64, marzo

No abstract available



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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Petmesidou Maria, Guillén Ana M.**

**Can the Welfare State as We Know It Survive? A View from the Crisis-Ridden South European Periphery**

**in South European Society & Politics**, Volume 19, Issue 3, Special Issue: Economic Crisis and Austerity in Southern Europe: Threat or Opportunity for a Sustainable Welfare State? , 295-307

South European countries have been hit hardest and longest by the post-2008 economic crisis. This has brought their welfare states under acute strain. Unmet need has sharply increased while significant welfare reforms and (more or less) deep cuts and changes in social spending have been prominent in the repertoire of the crisis management solutions implemented by the governments (under European Union constraints and the strict rescue-deal requirements for Greece and Portugal). This introduction briefly reviews reform trends prior to and during the crisis in order to highlight convergent and divergent paths among the four countries and outline the major questions addressed by the contributions to this volume.

Full text available at <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/13608746.2014.950369>

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Dong Lisheng**

**Chinese Perceptions of the European Union**

**in Journal of Contemporary China**, Volume 23, Issue 88, 2014 , 756-779

This article uses survey data collected in 2010 and conducts a systematic comparative analysis of the perceptions of the EU by the Chinese general public and the elite. Most ordinary Chinese citizens do not understand the EU very well, but their impressions of the EU are very positive and they also hold good expectations for the future of China–EU relations. The Chinese elites and ordinary citizens differ significantly in terms of ‘favoring the EU’ or ‘favoring Russia’. The multivariate model indicates that EU travel experience, annual income level and Internet dependence have significant positive effects on ‘favoring-EU’ feelings. Those who have EU travel experience, higher levels of annual income and greater opportunities to obtain information via the Internet are more likely to be ‘favoring-EU’.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Wapner Paul**

**Climate Suffering**

**in Global Environmental Politics**, Volume 14, Issue 2, May , 1-6

Mitigation and adaptation represent the two main ways the world is responding to climate change. However, a third response is being practiced by the most vulnerable: widespread suffering. No matter how much we mitigate or adapt to climate change, pervasive suffering is inevitable. In fact, it is already being experienced throughout the world. This article reports on interviews conducted with subsistence farmers living on the frontlines of climate change in northern



India in the spring of 2013. It relates the ways in which sustained drought and then punishing rains wreaked hardship on the farmers, and the ways farmers endured such challenges. By relating farmers' tales and describing how this experience personally influenced the researcher, the article offers and invites reflection on the many meanings of climate suffering.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Davoudi Simin**

**Climate change, securitisation of nature, and resilient urbanism**

**in Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy**, Volume 32, Issue 2, April , 360-375

Climate change is a powerful reminder of the interdependencies of the human–nature relationship and the fallacy of the modernist assumption about our ability to tame nature for our exploitation with little or no consequences. However, it is argued that such reflexivity is being subverted by the dominant discourses of climate change which portray: nature as risk, our relation to it in terms of security, and the quest for urban resilience as emergency planning. By construing nature as a threat to rather than an asset for cities, they signify a departure from sustainability discourses. They represent a hark back to a premodern conception of human–nature relations that was centred on what nature does to us rather than what we do to nature. Seeing nature as risk ushers in deep concerns with security. The ‘risk society’ becomes entwined with the security society. This paper examines the political implications of this discursive shift and argues that, as securitisation becomes the hegemonic discourse of our time, the postpolitics of hope, which underpinned sustainability, is giving way to the postpolitics of fear which underlies climate change.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Balanche Fabrice**

**Communautarisme en Syrie : lorsque le mythe devient réalité**

**in Confluences Méditerranée**, n. 89 , 29-44

Plus le conflit se prolonge et plus la population syrienne se replie sur les structures traditionnelles que sont le clan et la communauté. La défense de la communauté et du clan prime sur les idéologies et les revendications politiques. Les minorités confessionnelles (20 % de la population) soutiennent globalement le régime car leur survie est menacée, en particulier la communauté alaouite qui a beaucoup à perdre. L’opposition armée au régime provient des classes populaires arabes sunnites (65 % de la population), quand la bourgeoisie demeure fidèle au régime. Quant aux Kurdes (15 % de la population), ils travaillent à la construction d’une région autonome, préférant un Bachar el Assad affaibli à une domination arabe sunnite forte. Les minorités confessionnelles et les Kurdes ne croient pas aux promesses de l’opposition de garantir leurs droits. Certes, les minorités, comme tous les Syriens, souhaitent des réformes démocratiques en Syrie, mais pas au prix de leur marginalisation, voire de leur élimination.

Plan de l'article

La fragmentation de la communauté arabe sunnite

Quand le monolithe alaouite fait front

La solidarité des minorités



Les druzes sont passés de l'attentisme à l'auto-défense  
La désillusion révolutionnaire des ismaéliens  
Les chiïtes duodécimains, premières victimes des jihadistes  
Les chrétiens et la peur de connaître un sort à l'irakienne  
Les Kurdes et l'objectif autonomiste  
Vers un scénario à l'irakienne ?

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Markussen Thomas, Reuben Ernesto, Tyran Jean-Robert

**Competition, Cooperation and Collective Choice**

in **Economic Journal**, Volume 124, Issue 574, February 2014 , 163-195

The ability of groups to implement efficiency-enhancing institutions is emerging as a central theme of research in economics. This study explores voting on a scheme of intergroup competition, which facilitates cooperation in a social dilemma situation. Experimental results show that the competitive scheme fosters cooperation. Competition is popular but the electoral outcome depends strongly on specific voting rules of institutional choice. If the majority decide, competition is almost always adopted. If likely losers from competition have veto power, it is often not, and substantial gains in efficiency are foregone.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Mueller Dennis C.

**Constraining Leviathan**

in **Constitutional political economy**, Volume 25, Issue 1, March 2014 , 88-102

This article commemorates James M. Buchanan and his contributions to public choice and constitutional political economy. It focuses on what Buchanan had to say about constraining the State, or as he often referred to it, Leviathan. It concentrates on a handful of his major works that I think capture important elements of his thinking. It discusses Buchanan's writings on public debt and government deficits; the size of the state; federalism; and taxation, among other things. It is argued that the main emphasis in Buchanan's work as it pertained to constraining the State was to include provisions in the constitution that could achieve this end. These included a balanced budget amendment, rules governing the expansion of the money supply, constraints on the types of taxes that could be levied, linking expenditure proposals to the taxes that would finance them, earmarked taxes, and a generality principle, which would avoid a majority coalition's exploitation of a minority. The article also includes a discussion of the current constitutional crisis in the United States.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Startin Nicholas

**Contrasting Fortunes, Differing Futures? The Rise (and Fall) of the Front National and the British National Party**





in **Modern and Contemporary France**, Volume 22, Issue 3 , 277-299

Since the early 1980s the Front National (FN) has been a significant feature on the French political landscape, performing consistently in national, local and European electoral settings. The party has consolidated its position in terms of votes cast as the third largest in France with Marine Le Pen polling over 18% of the vote in the first round of the 2012 presidential elections. More recently the party were victorious in the 2014 European elections, polling just short of 25% and underlining Marine Le Pen's status as the 'leader' of the contemporary Far Right in Europe. This progression is in contrast to the electoral evolution of the British National Party (BNP), which, under the leadership of Nick Griffin, has struggled to make an impact in the national electoral context and, after reaching a peak at the 2009 European elections where it won two seats in the Strasbourg chamber, fell away in the 2014 contest polling just over 1% of the vote. By concentrating primarily on 'supply-side' theories of the rise of the Far Right, the purpose of this paper is to account for the dramatically contrasting electoral fortunes of the two parties and to explain the electoral longevity and durability of the FN in contrast to the BNP. It examines the importance of 'supply-side' variables such as national tradition, political opportunity structures, charismatic leadership and the role of the media in order to account for their contrasting fortunes. In short, the article aims to contribute to the burgeoning debate about the rise (and durability) of Far Right parties in Europe.

Depuis le début des années 80, le Front national (FN) tient un rôle important dans la politique française grâce à ses bons résultats autant dans les élections nationales que locales et européennes. Lors du premier tour des élections présidentielles de 2012, au cours duquel Marine Le Pen a obtenu près de 18% des voix, le parti a consolidé son statut de troisième plus grand parti de France. En mai 2014, une nouvelle page s'est tournée avec la première victoire du FN sur le plan national. Avec près de 25% des suffrages exprimés, le parti des Le Pen devenait le plus grand parti français sur le plan européen, et Marine Le Pen la chef de file de l'extrême droite sur le continent. De l'autre cote de la Manche, le British National Party (BNP) n'a pas bénéficié du même élan. Avec Nick Griffin à sa tête, le parti n'a eu qu'un impact limité réalisant un score de seulement 1%, et n'a pas réussi à gardé les deux élus obtenus au parlement européen en 2009 . En se basant sur les 'théories de l'offre', le but de cet article est donc d'expliquer les trajectoires contraires des deux partis. En examinant les variables telles que la tradition nationale, la structure d'opportunités politiques, le rôle du leadership charismatique et celui des médias, cet article va élucider le pourquoi du succès et de la longévité du FN, comparé au déclin de son homologue britannique. Le présent article se veut donc une contribution au débat grandissant sur la montée et la durabilité de l'extrême droite en Europe.

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#### **Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

##### *Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**CATHERINE GOETZE and BERIT BLIESEMANN de GUEVARA**

#### **Cosmopolitanism and the culture of peacebuilding**

in **Review of International Studies (The)**, Volume 40 - Issue 04 , 771-802

Cosmopolitanism has been argued to be a crucial component of peacebuilding, both with regard to its aims as well as its staff. In a universalist-liberal understanding of the concept, cosmopolitanism is the optimal mind frame for peacebuilders to rebuild post-war societies, due to the tolerance, justice-orientation, and neutrality regarding local cleavages that the concept entails in theory. This article argues, however, that cosmopolitanism cannot be understood outside of its social context, therefore requiring sociological empirical analyses. Drawing on three such sociological concepts, namely elite, glocal, and localisable cosmopolitanism, the article analyses empirically through interviews with peacebuilders in Kosovo whether and in which form these international civil servants display cosmopolitan worldviews. The study concludes that while in theory the localisable variant would be best suited to contribute to locally sensitive, emancipatory peacebuilding,



this form of cosmopolitanism is absent in practice. Given the novel, exploratory character of this analysis of hitherto uncharted terrain, the article also discusses in detail how the findings were obtained and in how far they are generalisable.

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### **Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Delpla Isabelle**

#### **Cosmopolitisme ou internationalisme méthodologique in *Raisons politiques*, n. 54 , 87-102**

Critiquer le nationalisme méthodologique c'est d'abord s'attaquer à un mythe de l'intériorité politique qui laisserait croire que c'est en soi et par soi que l'Etat se constitue indépendamment de l'étranger et des étrangers. Mettre en évidence les phénomènes transnationaux de mondialisation, à l'instar du cosmopolitisme méthodologique, contribue à contrer de telles illusions solipsistes. Toutefois, la critique du nationalisme méthodologique est insuffisante lorsqu'elle reconduit un tel mythe par une ignorance ou une négligence des normes de droit international. C'est manifeste dans les recherches sur les migrations de populations. Coupant à travers nationalisme et cosmopolitisme méthodologique, cet article propose donc un internationalisme méthodologique qui, contre ce mythe de l'intériorité, prend en compte l'immanence de l'international dans le national. Cette proposition méthodologique, ici limitée à sa dimension critique du nationalisme méthodologique, est ensuite développée en une expérience de pensée montrant la possible coextensivité du national avec l'international et les relations étrangères. La critique du nationalisme méthodologique est donc d'autant plus pertinente et efficace qu'elle envisage la constitution internationale des phénomènes étatiques.

English

Methodological cosmopolitanism or internationalism

Criticizing methodological nationalism first amounts to attacking a myth of political interiority which would suggest that the state exists in itself and by itself, independently from foreign countries and foreigners. Highlighting the transnational phenomena of globalization, as the methodological cosmopolitanism does, helps to counter such solipsistic illusions. However, the critique of methodological nationalism is insufficient when it duplicates such a myth by ignorance or neglect of norms of international law. This is obvious in research on population migration. Cutting through methodological nationalism and cosmopolitanism, this paper proposes a methodological internationalism, that, against the myth of interiority, takes into account the immanence of the international in the national. This methodological proposal, here limited to its critical dimension against methodological nationalism, is then developed into a thought experiment showing how the national can be coextensive with the international and foreign relations. The critique of methodological nationalism is all the more relevant and effective that it takes into account the international constitution of state phenomena.

Plan de l'article

I. Critique du solipsisme politique et immanence de l'international

L'immanence de l'international et la justice des gens

II. Internationalisme méthodologique

Le transfrontalier, le transnational et l'international



La critique des identités nationales et du mythe du retour par les sciences sociales  
La négligence du droit international

III. Expérience de pensée des allers et retours  
Le départ ou le retour dans le pays X  
Les implications du dispositif : Un rapport initial à l'étranger

Reformuler les questions

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Descombes Vincent

**Crises d'identités**

in *Monde Diplomatique (Le)*, Février

<http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/2014/02/DESCOMBES/50108>

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Kim So Young, Wolinsky-Nahmias Yael

**Cross-National Public Opinion on Climate Change: The Effects of Affluence and Vulnerability**

in *Global Environmental Politics*, Volume 14, Issue 1, February , 79-106

Climate change has emerged as one of the most important issues of the twentyfirst century. Recent opinion polls show rising public awareness of climate change. Yet considerable cross-national variation exists in the intensity of public concern and in public willingness to pay for addressing climate change. Drawing on twelve multinational surveys, we examine two aggregate conditions—a country's affluence and its vulnerability to climate risks—as key factors underlying cross-national differences in public support for and commitment to costly climate policies. In contrast to the post-materialism thesis, we find “strong” concern about climate change to be higher in developing countries. Contrary to expectation, climate vulnerability had little effect on public concern, but did have significant impact on some measures of personal commitment and support for climate policies. The analysis indicates that, in most countries examined, high concern about climate change is only beginning to translate into personal commitment to action.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Patrick Clastres

**Culture de paix et culture de guerre. Pierre de Coubertin et le Comité International olympique de 1910 à 1920**

in *Guerres mondiales et conflits contemporains*, n°251 , 95-113

If Pierre de Coubertin's ambition was initially to make French youth more manly, he did not consider sport as a warmongering instrument. Quite the reverse, sport competitions were to serve the cause of peace. This did not prevent



Coubertin from becoming a patriotic activist as soon as the war began. If he praised the patriotism of the French people, he denounced what he considered the “sectarianism” of the clergy in their participation in the “Union sacrée”. His articles on physical education and war, and his patriotic Decalogue to French youth, were his contribution to final victory. In 1918, it is the triumph of sport that he celebrated. In his opinion, the diffusion of sport among the working class could serve as a barrier against communist expansionism. If the first postwar Olympic Games (Antwerp, 1920) were for Coubertin games dedicated to peace, he nevertheless agreed to the provision that temporarily excluded the Central Powers, while making a careful distinction between the imperial power of William II and Germany and its allies.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Cavallo Alberto, Neiman Brent, Rigobon Roberto**

**Currency Unions, Product Introductions, and the Real Exchange Rate**

**in Quarterly Journal of Economics (The)**, Volume 129 Issue 2 May 2014 , 529-595

We use a novel data set of online prices of identical goods sold by four large global retailers in dozens of countries to study good-level real exchange rates and their aggregated behavior. First, in contrast to the prior literature, we demonstrate that the law of one price holds very well within currency unions for tens of thousands of goods sold by each of the retailers, implying good-level real exchange rates often equal to 1. Prices of these same goods exhibit large deviations from the law of one price outside of currency unions, even when the nominal exchange rate is pegged. This clarifies that the common currency per se, and not simply the lack of nominal volatility, is important in reducing cross-country price dispersion. Second, we derive a new decomposition that shows that good-level real exchange rates in our data predominantly reflect differences in prices at the time products are first introduced, as opposed to the component emerging from heterogeneous passthrough or from nominal rigidities during the life of the good. Further, these international relative prices measured at the time of introduction move together with the nominal exchange rate. This stands in sharp contrast to pricing behavior in models where all price rigidity for any given good is due simply to costly price adjustment for that good.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Rietveld Elise**

**Debating multiculturalism and national identity in Britain: Competing frames**

**in Ethnicities**, Vol. 14, n. 1

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Hirons Mark**

**Decentralising natural resource governance in Ghana: Critical reflections on the artisanal and small-scale mining sector**

**in Futures**, Volume 62A , 21-31



his paper critically examines the impact of decentralisation on contemporary and future governance arrangements in Ghana's artisanal and small-scale mining (ASM) sector. The sector, while providing valuable employment in rural areas, is beleaguered by environmental and social issues. Proponents of decentralisation argue that re-distributing decision-making authority leads to more responsive, transparent and efficient natural resource management. The analysis presented here, however, demonstrates how weak decentralisation has exacerbated the complex, conflictual and clandestine nature of local resource politics surrounding ASM. If future decentralisation reforms are going to reverse this trend and improve the governance of ASM in Ghana, then facilitating the participation of traditional authorities is imperative. It is argued that doing so requires addressing the reticence regarding the role of chiefs in resource governance; simply ironing out existing technical issues with decentralisation reforms is unlikely to improve the social and environmental performance of ASM in the country. In light of the chronic resource management deficiencies in Ghana, epitomised in the ASM sector, fostering frank political debates on resource governance is becoming urgent.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Carleton Alexandra

**Defining Peoples under the ICCPR and African Charter: Identification of Collective Claims to Natural Mineral Wealth**

*in International Journal on Minority and Groups Rights*, Volume 21, Issue 2 , 131-177

Mineral and other natural resource wealth belong to the people who live on the land in which such natural wealth resides. This is articulated in Article 1(2) of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) but is often compromised or forgotten entirely when governments and multinational extractors make deals to mine this wealth, dispossession and loss of culture almost an afterthought. Surprisingly, this article has been given little legal or other attention and certainly not of any scope sufficient to delineate which 'peoples' are entitled to contest access to and control over such natural wealth. Remedying this may provide marginalised groups with a strong foundation for collective legal claims to reassert control over and management of their mineral and other natural resource wealth. In turn, this may reduce the occurrence of plunder and extraction which takes place with little consideration for those who live on the land and the dispossession which often accompanies it. This article seeks a theoretical discussion of the issues involved in defining 'peoples', including collective rights, representation by the state and autochthony.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Hegre Håvard

**Democracy and armed conflict**

*in Journal of Peace Research*, Volume 51, Number 2, March , 159-172

The article reviews the literature on the relationship between democracy and armed conflict, internal as well as interstate. The review points to several similarities between how democratic institutions affect both conflict types. It summarizes the main empirical findings and discusses the most prominent explanations as well as the most important objections raised to the finding, empirically and theoretically. To a large degree, the empirical finding that pairs of democratic states have a lower risk of interstate conflict than other pairs holds up, as does the conclusion that consolidated democracies have less conflict than semi-democracies. The most critical challenge to both conclusions is the position that both democracy and peace are due to pre-existing socio-economic conditions. I conclude that this



objection has considerable leverage, but it also seems clear that economic development is unlikely to bring about lasting peace alone, without the formalization embedded in democratic institutions.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Cheeseman Nic, Lynch Gabrielle, Willis Justin

**Democracy and its discontents: understanding Kenya's 2013 elections**

in *Journal of Eastern African Studies* , Volume 8, Issue 1, Special Issue: Kenya's 2013 elections: The triumph of democracy? , 2-24

In the months leading up to Kenya's general election in March 2013, there was much concern – both within Kenya itself and internationally – that political competition would trigger a fresh wave of ethnic violence. However, the 2013 elections passed off largely peacefully, despite an unexpected presidential result and fact that the losing candidate, Raila Odinga, appealed the outcome to the Supreme Court. This article argues that Kenya avoided political unrest as a result of four interconnected processes. A dramatic political realignment brought former rivals together and gave them an incentive to diffuse ethnic tensions; a pervasive 'peace narrative' delegitimized political activity likely to lead to political instability; partial democratic reforms conferred new legitimacy on the electoral and political system; and a new constitution meant that many voters who 'lost' nationally in the presidential election 'won' in local contests. This election thus provides two important lessons for the democratization literature. First, processes of gradual reform may generate more democratic political systems in the long-run, but in the short-run they can empower the political establishment. Second, sacrificing justice on the altar of stability risks a 'negative peace' that may be associated with an increased sense of marginalization and exclusion among some communities – raising the prospects for unrest in the future.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Duvold Kjetil, Berglund Sten

**Democracy between Ethnos and Demos: Territorial Identification and Political Support in the Baltic States**

in *East European Politics and Societies*, vol. 28, n. 2, May , 341-365

Much of the political science literature suggests that a cohesive political community is advantageous—if not a precondition—for a stable democracy. Forging a cohesive community is obviously a more complex matter in a multi-ethnic setting. This article will consider the prospects of building political communities in the Baltic countries—three countries that, to various extents, struggle to balance ethnic pluralism, nation building, and democracy. The article examines the relationship between political community and democracy from a theoretical perspective, followed by an outline of the nation-building strategies taken by Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania after re-establishing independence in the early 1990s. Drawing on survey data, we use territorial attachment to tap the sense of political community in the three countries. Notably, our figures disclose that most of the Russian-speaking minorities in Estonia and Latvia identify themselves as "Russians," and not at all with the country they reside in. This suggests that the contested issue of citizenship rights in the two countries has not been particularly conducive for creating cohesive political communities. We then move to the political regime and set out to examine the character of regime support in the three countries. Can we envisage solid support for democracy and its institutions in the absence of a cohesive political community? As it appears, regime support is not contingent on territorial identity. Our data disclose that many Baltic inhabitants draw a clear distinction between their own experiences with different political systems and what they perceive as relevant





regime options today.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Poggio Pier Paolo**

**Democrazia e ambiente. Una contraddizione "occidentale"**

in *CNS Ecologia politica*, nuova serie, n. 2, gennaio

Full text available at <http://www.ecologiapolitica.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2014/01/Poggio.pdf>

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Ludovic Desmedt**

**Dettes et fiscalité des jeunes Etats-Unis : les oppositions entre les Pères fondateurs**

in *Economie politique (L')*, n° 61, 2014/1 , 7

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Obama Barack**

**Difendere la libertà è un nostro dovere**

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLVI, numero speciale n. 174, aprile-primavera , 249-252

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Brown Stephen, Readdatz Rosalind**

**Dire consequences or empty threats? Western pressure for peace, justice and democracy in Kenya**

in *Journal of Eastern African Studies* , Volume 8, Issue 1, Special Issue: Kenya's 2013 elections: The triumph of democracy? , 43-62

This paper examines Western countries' pressure – or lack thereof – for peace, justice and democracy in Kenya. It analyzes the period since the 2008 National Accord, which defused the 2007–08 post-election crisis, focusing on the lead-up to and immediate aftermath of the 2013 elections. The paper draws extensively on interviews conducted in 2008, 2010, 2012 and 2013 with Western officials based in Nairobi, as well as informed Kenyans. It argues, first, that recent Western pressure is the latest iteration of a consistent pattern of donors not enforcing stated conditions for future support, causing diminishing returns. Second, donors not only have been reluctant to use potential leverage over the Kenyan government, but also have consistently underestimated it and erred by publicly threatening to use it only at the least strategic moment and not when it could have been most effective. Third, Western officials have continued to make



short-term decisions favoring stability or peace that actually undermine basic principles of democracy and justice.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Piergiorgio Corbetta and Rinaldo Vignati

**Direct Democracy and Scapegoats: The Five Star Movement and Europe  
in *International Spectator (The)*, Vol. 49, No. 1**

Italy is one the most europhile countries in the European Union. Nevertheless, as surveys show, over the last few years anti-European sentiments have increasingly surfaced among Italian citizens. Furthermore, there is now an important novelty regarding the relation between Italy and Europe: the Five Star Movement, a new party that expresses a peculiar and contradictory position towards Europe. Its leader, Beppe Grillo, sometimes advocates more, not less, unification, but he also proposes a referendum on Italian membership of the euro. Moreover, Grillo's blog frequently lends its voice to the choir of openly anti-European sentiment. Indeed, Grillo's call for direct democracy is plebiscitarian and his positions contribute to the weakening of a European project that is already facing grave difficulties of its own.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Craig Borowiak

**Disorienting Cosmopolitanism: Democratic Accountability and the Politics of Disruption  
in *Constellations*, Vol. 20, Issue 3, September , 372-387**

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Garmann Sebastian

**Do government ideology and fragmentation matter for reducing CO2-emissions? Empirical evidence from  
OECD countries**

in *Ecological Economics*, Volume 105, September , 1-10

This paper empirically examines whether government ideology and government fragmentation have influenced the process of CO2-emission reductions in the time period 1992–2008. Using data from 19 OECD countries, I find that (1) right-wing governments are associated with emission reduction to a smaller extent than center and left-wing governments and (2) emissions are higher the more parties are in government. On the other hand, the distinction between majority and minority governments has no significant influence on emissions.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Guccio Calogero, Pignataro Giacomo, Rizzo Ilde

**Do local governments do it better? Analysis of time performance in the execution of public works**



in **European Journal of Political Economy**, Volume 34, June 2014 , 237-252

This paper aims at analysing the time performance of infrastructure procurement based on the characteristics of the contracting authorities involved. We focus on the execution stage, which is crucial for the efficient provision of public works and their planned benefits. An empirical analysis, based on data drawn from a large sample of Italian public works, is developed. The main result is that the local governments seem to be less efficient in the management of the execution process, as they suffer from longer delays than the central government. This phenomenon was more severe for small municipalities and when the contract was mainly financed with external resources. The result is relevant for understanding whether decentralization matters in the execution of public works and for discussing the policy implications in terms of the organisation of the public works sector.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Sunga Lyal S.**

**Does Climate Change Worsen Resource Scarcity and Cause Violent Ethnic Conflict?**

in **International Journal on Minority and Groups Rights**, Volume 21, Issue 1 , 1-24

Does climate change create conditions in which ethnic groups, particularly in developing countries, become more likely to struggle for scarce resources which can then spur ethnically motivated violence and serious atrocities? Or is the relation between climate change and atrocities, if there is one, far more complex and perhaps indirect? How should climate change be viewed as a risk factor for the onset of violent ethnic conflict? What practical relevance could climate change effects have on early warning and prevention of serious human rights violations including crimes against humanity and genocide? The author first considers whether climate change science warnings deserve to be taken seriously before reviewing empirical studies focussing on the supposed link between climate change and ethnic conflict. Second, he argues that it is valuable to treat climate change as a possible risk factor for ethnic conflict situations in which crimes against humanity or genocide might be perpetrated, and to reflect upon early warning and prevention in this connection. The author then sets out five considerations that research on the question of a causal link between climate change and ethnic conflict should take into account.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Luzi Jacques**

**Du catastrophisme lucratif au totalitarisme vert ? Une lecture de 1984, de George Orwell**

in **Ecologie et politique**, n. 48, Résister à l'ère du temps accéléré. Totalitarisme vert, écoféminisme , 125-141

George Orwell's 1984 was published in 1949. Although Orwell seems not to have had the feeling that the progressive dynamic of the modern industrialism leads to the depletion of the vital resources, his famous book can be considered as the acceptable description of a totalitarianism of scarcity. By exploring this reading of 1984, this article seeks to show where the current takeover of ecology within a "green" capitalism is leading, and, in so doing, to emphasize the urgency to integrate the environmental concerns in a social project based on autonomy.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**



*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Hornborg Alf

**Ecological economics, Marxism, and technological progress: Some explorations of the conceptual foundations of theories of ecologically unequal exchange**

in *Ecological Economics*, Volume 105, September , 11-18

Almost regardless of ideological persuasion, the seemingly self-evident concept of “technological progress” inherited from early industrialism is resorted to as an article of faith serving to dispel the specter of truncated growth. The increasingly acknowledged threats of peak oil and global warming are thus generally countered with visions of a future civilization based on solar power. I discuss this technological scenario as a utopia that raises serious doubts about mainstream understandings of what “technology” really is. Technological utopianism raises difficult but fundamental analytical questions about the relation between thermodynamics and theories of economic value. While Marxism and some ecological economics share the ambition of grounding notions of economic value in physical parameters, notions of economic value and physical processes should be kept analytically distinct.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Sato Sora

**Edmund Burke's Ideas on Historical Change**

in *History of European Ideas*, Volume 40, Issue 5 , 675-692

Burke's view of history is an aspect of his thought that has been largely neglected by scholars, despite the wide recognition of its importance. In Burke's view, history, led by providence and by a human nature designed by God, is necessarily progressive. It is, nevertheless, human beings who are largely responsible for building their nations. A variety of civilisations could be generated if people governed a nation in harmony with its peculiar manners and circumstances. Nations can, however, be unstable, because their fortunes fluctuate. Although Burke was very familiar with—and influenced by—several different traditions of historiography, his ideas on history should also be seen as the product of his own reflections.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Lynch Gabrielle

**Electing the ‘alliance of the accused’: the success of the Jubilee Alliance in Kenya's Rift Valley**

in *Journal of Eastern African Studies* , Volume 8, Issue 1, Special Issue: Kenya's 2013 elections: The triumph of democracy? , 93-114

Against a history of a divided Kalenjin/Kikuyu vote and election-related violence, and a contemporary context of high levels of inter-communal mistrust and intervention by the International Criminal Court (ICC), this article explains the Jubilee Alliance's success amongst Kalenjin and Kikuyu voters in the Rift Valley in the 2013 election. To do this, it examines the pre-election context, election results in Kalenjin- and Kikuyu-dominated areas, local political debates, and election campaigns to reveal how the ‘Uhuruto’ team persuaded local residents to support this seemingly unlikely political marriage in all six elections. It is argued that the alliance used existing and emergent communal narratives of justice and competition to recast socio-economic and political debates in a way that persuaded the majority of Kalenjin



and Kikuyu to support Jubilee – and to vote against Raila Odinga and the Coalition for Reform and Democracy (CORD) – as a way to protect and further their individual and collective interests. In making this argument, particular attention is given to relations between community members, and to popular support and investment in peace; negotiations between Uhuru and Ruto, and Kalenjin ‘hosts’ and Kikuyu ‘guests’; the reinterpretation of the ICC as a performance of injustice; and successful presentation of ‘Uhuruto’ as a youthful team that could bring about peace and meaningful change as compared with an old, vengeful, incumbent Odinga Odinga.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Alain Durré and Philippe Ledent**

**Escaping the macroeconomic trilemma: the Belgian two-tier foreign exchange system under Bretton Woods in *European Review of Economic History*, Volume 18 Issue 1 February 2014 , 39-56**

In introducing a two-tier foreign exchange market under the Bretton Woods system, the Belgian monetary authorities aimed to insulate the domestic currency from (speculative) capital flows. By thus escaping the macroeconomic trilemma, they should have been able in practice to avoid taking account of foreign exchange developments in the determination of the monetary policy interest rate. The goal of this paper is to test this assumption empirically. Using a Taylor-rule approach, the paper shows that towards the collapse of the Bretton Woods system the volatility of the spread between the two segments of the foreign exchange market played a growing role in the determination of the monetary policy interest rate.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Denny Elaine K, Walter Barbara F,**

**Ethnicity and civil war**

**in *Journal of Peace Research*, Volume 51, Number 2, March , 199-212**

If a civil war begins, it is more likely to be initiated by an ethnic group than any other type of group. We argue that ethnic groups, on average, are likely to have more grievances against the state, are likely to have an easier time organizing support and mobilizing a movement, and are more likely to face difficult-to-resolve bargaining problems. We further argue that each of these factors was likely due to three pre-existing patterns associated with ethnicity. First, when political power is divided along ethnic lines, ruling elites can disproportionately favor their own ethnic group at the expense of others. This creates grievances that fall along ethnic lines. Second, ethnic groups tend to live together in concentrated spaces, sharing the same language and customs, and enjoying deep ties with ethnic kin. This means that ethnic groups, if they are aggrieved, will have an easier time mobilizing support to demand change. Third, the fact that ethnic identity tends to be less elastic than other types of identity means that credible commitments to any bargain – before and during a conflict— will be more difficult to make. The result is that ethnic groups will have a greater number of reasons, opportunities, and incentives to mobilize and fight than non-ethnic groups.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Krasner Stephen, Risse Thomas**



**External Actors, State-Building, and Service Provision in Areas of Limited Statehood: Introduction**  
in *Governance*, Volume 27, Issue 4, October , 545–567

This article introduces the themes and arguments of the special issue. While virtually all polities enjoy uncontested international legal sovereignty, there are wide variations in statehood, that is, the monopoly over the means of violence and the ability of the state to make and implement policies. Areas of limited statehood are not, however, ungoverned spaces where anarchy and chaos prevail. The provision of collective goods and services is possible even under extremely adverse conditions of fragile or failed statehood. We specify the conditions under which external efforts at state-building and service provision by state and nonstate actors can achieve their goals. We focus on the extent to which external actors enhance the capacity (statehood) of authority structures in weak states, or directly contribute to the provision of collective goods and services, such as public health, clean environment, social security, and infrastructure. We argue that three factors determine success: legitimacy, task complexity, and institutionalization, including the provision of adequate resources.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Le Héron Edwin

**Fed versus BCE, l'histoire d'un enjeu démocratique**  
in *Economie politique (L')*, n° 61, 2014/1 , Page 95 à 95

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Evans Adam

**Federalists in name only? Reassessing the federal credentials of the Liberal Democrats: An English case study**  
in *British Politics*, Volume 9, Issue 3 (September 2014) , 346-358

Of the main UK political parties, the Liberal Democrats have been unique in their commitment to federalism. This federalism stretches to the Liberal Democrats' organisational structure and constitution and to their vision for the structure of the United Kingdom as a whole. A decade after devolution, and with proposals for further reform of the constitution, one might imagine that these federal beliefs would see the party placed at the vanguard of these constitutional debates. Looking in more detail at the party's organisational and ideational federalism, however – and with particular emphasis on the party's organisational and ideational English Questions – produces a very different picture, leaving the party on many fronts vulnerable to charges of being federalist in name only.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Goodwin Matthew J.

**Forever a False Dawn? Explaining the Electoral Collapse of the British National Party (BNP)**  
in *Parliamentary Affairs* , Volume 67, Issue 4, October , 887-906





On 3 May 2012, voters went to the polls to elect councillors in 131 local authorities in England, members of the Greater London Assembly and mayors in London, Liverpool and Salford. Coverage of the elections focused on the performance of an increasingly unpopular coalition government and an upsurge of support in the polls for the radical right UK Independence Party. One quieter story of the campaign concerned the extreme right British National Party (BNP), and the question of whether the 30-year old party would prove able to stem an electoral decline that followed a failed breakthrough attempt at the 2010 general election.<sup>1</sup> Assessing the performance of the BNP at the 2012 elections, and the extreme right more generally, this article charts the decline of the former and examines the increasing fragmentation of the latter. After providing an agency-based explanation for why the BNP—once the most successful extreme right party in British history—returned to the electoral wilderness and changed strategy, the article concludes by considering the implications of the party's decline for an increasingly chaotic and diverse extreme right scene.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Bhandari Surendra**

**From External to the Internal Application of the Right to Self-Determination: The Case of Nepal**  
in *International Journal on Minority and Groups Rights*, Volume 21, Issue 3, 330-370

Even until a few decades ago, international law and its principles could hardly be contemplated as playing catalytic roles in fashioning the rights of people at domestic levels. Today a number of international instruments do not only constitute the rights of people, but also people are giving much prominence to rights enshrined in international law and demanding their implementation at domestic levels. In this context, Nepal presents a noteworthy case, especially in regard to the protection and promotion of the rights of minority groups, ethnic groups, and indigenous people at the domestic level in consonance with international laws related to the rights of self-determination. Against this background, this paper examines the issue of the right to self-determination, its external and internal application, its epistemology, and problems associated with its implementation in the context of state restructuring in the post-conflict period of Nepal.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Bernardi Emanuele, Bernardi Leonardo**

**Giovanni F. Malagodi tra Europa, Stati Uniti e Gran Bretagna**

in *Ventunesimo Secolo. Rivista di Studi sulle Transizioni*, Anno XIII, n. 33, "La diplomazia all'alba della Guerra Fredda", febbraio

This selection of documents, both published and unpublished, covering the period 1957-1976, allows for a deepening of the understanding of the national and international activities of Giovanni Malagodi.

Malagodi, as the Liberal Party's secretary and Liberal International's president during the Cold War, met with the most senior officials in both the US administration and the government of the United Kingdom.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Kuzdas Christopher, Wiek Arnim**



## **Governance scenarios for addressing water conflicts and climate change impacts**

in *Environmental Science & Policy* , Vol. 42, October , 181-196

Scenarios that portray alternative governance regimes may help support positive change in regions that face persistent water problems. Here, we explore this proposition using the case of Guanacaste, Costa Rica – a region that faces water conflicts and climate change impacts. We developed five alternative scenarios using a formative and participatory approach with system, consistency, and diversity analyses, and visualization. In one scenario, water conflicts surfaced due to opaque governance not accounting for communities that opposed suspect alliances of agencies and developers. In another, challenging contexts overwhelmed fragmented governance causing dissent; which contrasted with another scenario where engaged and vertically accountable governance schemes fit the unique dry tropical regional context and collectively mitigate problems. Governance though, in a return to historical precedent, could alternatively function through top-down schemes to safeguard rural lifestyles; or, operate minimalist schemes that fill only technical roles. The scenario building process facilitated diverse stakeholders to collaboratively explore and articulate alternative water governance schemes. The practical value of the scenarios, however, we found to depend on efforts before and after the study and the successful integration of the scenarios with those efforts. Previous water governance research in the region facilitated partnerships, trust, and active participation in the scenario building process. Timely follow-up demonstrated the real-time application of the scenarios as reference points to help craft strategies that aim to transition current governance toward sustainable alternatives. Governance scenarios, if integrated with a broader transformational planning process, can be a constructive step toward articulating and implementing sustainable water governance schemes. In Guanacaste they helped revitalize coordination and encouraged experimentation through new water governance efforts in the region.

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### **Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Dressela Björn

#### **Governance, Courts and Politics in Asia**

in *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, Volume 44, Issue 2, 2014 , 259-278

It is widely argued that an empowered judiciary supports better governance by strengthening the rule of law and helping to make government more accountable and stable, but how solidly that reasoning is based in fact has not been carefully analysed. As recent events in Asia illustrate, apparently similar constitutional choices about courts can have very different effects on political life and ultimately governance. To address the relative lack of empirical observation and more closely investigate the nexus between courts and governance, this article first presents a basic typology of judicial politics and then applies it to Thailand, Singapore, Korea and Japan. The intent is to: (1) provide a much-needed and more nuanced view of the unfolding judicialisation phenomenon; and (2) urge closer attention to how specific patterns of judicial behaviour in Asia relate to dimensions of governance. The study thus offers an opportunity to illuminate larger issues at the intersection of judicial engagement and political governance and to advance a theoretical understanding of both.

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### **Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Nardin Terry

#### **Historian or Philosopher? Ian Hunter on Kant and Vattel**



in **History of European Ideas**, Volume 40, Issue 1, Special Issue: The Humanities in Australia: Reflections on the Work of Ian Hunter , 122-134

Ian Hunter's essay pursues several lines of argument, one explicit and the others not. The first is that of an historian correcting the mistaken view among Kantian commentators that Kant's conception of international justice had displaced Vattel's as the dominant one in nineteenth- and twentieth-century international thought. The second, which is not acknowledged, is that of a philosopher entering a debate over the relative cogency of the two conceptions. To accomplish this unacknowledged philosophical task, Hunter exaggerates the importance of Kant's metaphysics in his treatment of international justice and understates the element of *raison d'état* in Vattel's casuistical ethics. The subtext in both lines of argument is criticism, political rather than either historical or philosophical, of Kant's effort to articulate principles of international justice, together with implicit advocacy of Vattelian ethics as a corrective to Kantian ideology.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Knudsena Ann-Christina L., Gram-Skjoldagera Karen**

**Historiography and narration in transnational history**

in **Journal of Global History**, Volume 9 - Issue 01 - March , 143-161

The 'transnational turn' has been one of the most widely debated historiographical directions in the past decade or so. This article explores one of its landmark publications: The Palgrave dictionary of transnational history (2009), which presents around 400 entries on transnational history written by around 350 authors from some 25 countries. Drawing on narrative theory and the sociology of knowledge, the article develops an extensive quantitative and qualitative analysis of the most prominent narrative structures that can be found across the Dictionary, thus piecing together a coherent historiographical portrait of the book's many and multifarious entries. In doing so the article wishes to demonstrate a possible methodology for analysing the growing body of reference works – in the form of dictionaries, encyclopaedias, and handbooks – that are currently mushrooming in expanding research areas across the social sciences and the humanities such as international relations, governance, and globalization studies.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Max Blechman; Anita Chari;Rafeeq Hasan**

**Human Rights Are the Rights of the Infinite: An Interview with Alain Badiou**

in **Historical Materialism** , Vol. 20, n°4 , 162-186

In seeking to found a 'new political logic', Badiou argues that we can only retrieve the political sense of concrete negation through its subordination to a prior field of affirmation: i.e. the opening of a new possibility inside a given historical situation, or 'the event', that may be politically realised through the creation of a 'new subjective body' consisting in the social affirmation of those new possibilities. Revolutionary politics is therefore said to rest on a synthesis of, on the one hand, democracy in the sense of spontaneous mass-political irruption, and, on the other, a prescriptive elaboration of the ramifications of the event. The discussion then turns to the question of strategy – outside and against the politically moribund State-form – and his reconfiguration of political universality vis-à-vis the formulations of classical Marxism. Badiou counterposes capitalist ideology's implicit anthropology of self-interested animals to his own of subjects embodied in a generic truth-procedure and its concomitant model of political rights, where what is



ultimately at stake is 'the complete transformation of the form of . . . difference, of the way the difference exists' rather than a materialist dialectics of antagonistic contradiction. The interview concludes with Badiou clarifying his relationship to Lacanian psychoanalysis as an essential but by no means exhaustive conceptual armoury for understanding the relation between subject and event.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Motesharrei Safa, Rivas Jorge, Kalnay Eurgenia

**Human and nature dynamics (HANDY): Modeling inequality and use of resources in the collapse or sustainability of societies**

in **Ecological Economics**, Volume 101, May , 90-102

There are widespread concerns that current trends in resource-use are unsustainable, but possibilities of overshoot/collapse remain controversial. Collapses have occurred frequently in history, often followed by centuries of economic, intellectual, and population decline. Many different natural and social phenomena have been invoked to explain specific collapses, but a general explanation remains elusive.

In this paper, we build a human population dynamics model by adding accumulated wealth and economic inequality to a predator–prey model of humans and nature. The model structure, and simulated scenarios that offer significant implications, are explained. Four equations describe the evolution of Elites, Commoners, Nature, and Wealth. The model shows Economic Stratification or Ecological Strain can independently lead to collapse, in agreement with the historical record.

The measure "Carrying Capacity" is developed and its estimation is shown to be a practical means for early detection of a collapse. Mechanisms leading to two types of collapses are discussed. The new dynamics of this model can also reproduce the irreversible collapses found in history. Collapse can be avoided, and population can reach a steady state at maximum carrying capacity if the rate of depletion of nature is reduced to a sustainable level and if resources are distributed equitably.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Blackstock Kirsty L, Waylen Kerry A, Marshall Keith M, Dunglinson Jill

**Hybridity of representation: insights from river basin management planning in Scotland**

in **Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy**, Volume 32, Issue 3, June , 549-566

The relationship between governance and representation is examined using the development of river basin management plans (RBMPs) in Scotland as a case study. We used a longitudinal ethnographic approach to explore the (1) remit and rationale for representation choices; (2) representative characteristics and claims; and (3) influence of nonparticipating interests on representatives. The invite-only 'advisory group' members represent a network of state, private, and third-sector interests. The members make claims to represent others on the basis of authority, accountability, shared identity, and epistemic values. These claims are made for specific although often multiple and overlapping constituencies. These representation claims suggest that representative, rather than traditional, legitimacy is being defended. However, members were also concerned about how the RBMP advisory groups coexisted with traditional and direct democratic processes. The results need to be considered within the overall system of environmental governance within Scotland, the UK, and Europe. The findings are relevant to multiple fields of



environmental management, including protected area management and coastal management.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Yeatman Anna

**Ian Hunter's Civil Philosophy**

**in History of European Ideas**, Volume 40, Issue 1, Special Issue: The Humanities in Australia: Reflections on the Work of Ian Hunter , 110-115

Ian Hunter's normative commitment is to civil philosophy. His sustained critique of metaphysical philosophy is to be understood in the context of his proposition that civil and moral philosophy are at war. Since civil philosophy is the only guarantor of social peace, the stakes are high.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Maiolini Mario E.

**Il Mediterraneo cuore della politica estera italiana**

**in Affari Esteri**, Anno XLVI, numero speciale n. 174, aprile-primavera , 363-375

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Fracchiolla Domenico

**Il duro trattato di pace**

**in Ventunesimo Secolo. Rivista di Studi sulle Transizioni**, Anno XIII, n. 33, "La diplomazia all'alba della Guerra Fredda", febbraio

Alberto Tarchiani, a political diplomat appointed by the Italian government at the end of the Second World War, was a key figure in the Italian approach to the problem of peace. The research deals with the political presumptions and consequences, as well as the military situation, that pull Italy into the grouping of the western countries. The role Tarchiani played in all the main questions at stake, as they emerged during the peace treaty negotiations, is analyzed. The study outlines the policy of rapprochement with the US. An extensive research activity has been conducted at the Italian Diplomatic Archives, the De Gasperi private archive, the National Archive in Rome, and the US National Archives in College Park, Washington DC. The result is a massive amount of documentation outlining the close relationship between the US administration and Italy.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Pizzimenti Eugenio, Bardi Luciano

**Il finanziamento pubblico ai partiti e lo sviluppo dei partiti europei (2004-2012)**



in *Polis*, n. 2, agosto 2014 , 163-192

The aim of this paper is to investigate the effects on European political party organisations (PpEIs), and on their party system, of Reg. 2004/2003's implementation. Regulation (EC) 2004/2003 defines the role of PpEIs and the requirements needed for party eligibility to receive funding from the European Union. The provisions of the Regulation may well be able to consolidate more effectively the various party components operating at European level. However, while the literature on the funding of party organisations suggests that rules and regulations have a tendency to promote organisational convergence, the Eu Regulation set only a generic organisational pre-requisite for PpEIs. In addition, the generally positive picture provided by the statute is counterbalanced by provisions which keep the PpEIs in a subordinate position with respect to their national components and the parliamentary groups. Our investigation follows two main trajectories: an in-depth comparative analysis of PpEI statutes and internal regulations; and a critic review of Regulation 2004/2003 provisions and its impacts on the balance of powers between PPELs and national political parties. The goal of this contribution is to shed some light over the state of the art of the building process of a more effective and autonomous transnational party system.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Giaconi Marco**

**Il grande gioco dell'Ucraina**

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLVI, numero speciale n. 174, aprile-primavera , 333-338

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Maiolini Mario E.**

**Il ruolo della Turchia in Asia**

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLVI, numero speciale, n. 173, gennaio-inverno , 102-118

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Jean Carlo**

**Il sistema Asia-Pacifico e le nuove strategie militari**

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLVI, numero speciale n. 174, aprile-primavera , 379-388

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*





Lilyblad Christopher Marc

**Illicit Authority and Its Competitors: The Constitution of Governance in Territories of Limited Statehood in Territory, Politics, Governance**, Volume 2, Issue 1 , 72-93

This article examines how governance in territories of limited statehood (TOLS) subjected to 'illicit authority' is constituted and whether non-governmental organizations (NGOs) could emerge as viable alternatives. Accordingly, it first proposes a constitutive framework for analyzing how an indeterminate actor-type assumes authority in TOLS, stipulating that public or private actors can institutionalize governance by asserting primacy in three contexts: coercive violence, socioeconomic security, and social legitimation. Second, Rio de Janeiro's favelas provide an empirical basis for investigating authority in TOLS, demonstrating that illicit authority derives from relative preeminence within the three contexts and thus enables the institutionalization of endogenous social order. The third section evaluates the feasibility of establishing NGO governance in TOLS by drawing empirically from ongoing state-led 'pacification' efforts in Rio's favelas. The pursuant analysis exposes NGOs' comparative disadvantage in the context of violence and thus proposes three 'hybrid structures' enabling NGOs to overcome this violence deficit. The conclusion indicates that primacy within the three governance contexts allows illicit authorities to establish institutions that sustain governance. NGOs, meanwhile, must first overcome their violence deficit to help enact competing institutional arrangements, reduce violence, and enhance human security in TOLS.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Guilhot Nicolas

**Imperial Realism: Post-War IR Theory and Decolonisation in International History Review (The)**, Volume 36, Issue 4 , 698-720

The paper reviews the record of realism in IR theory in relation to the process of decolonisation. It argues that despite being traditionally set against imperial adventures and opposed to the kind of idealism in which they are usually coated, realism was remarkably silent about decolonisation, at a time when most commentators thought that the emergence of newly independent countries was a more portentous event than even the cold war. It explains this silence by the structure of the post-war debate on decolonisation, largely monopolised by modernisation theorists and often confined to the precincts of international organisations, but also by the fact that IR theory had built-in arguments against the unlimited extension of sovereignty that allowed its practitioners to advocate a pragmatic support for imperial powers and

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Sadhana Bery

**Imprisoned Imaginaries: Whiteness and Nation of Islam in Borderlands**, Vol. 12, n°2

White supremacy, through its control of epistemic and ontological conditions, colonizes the social imaginaries of nonwhite antiracist movements, imprisoning them within the racial onto-epistemic regime of whiteness. I argue that by reworking, rather than rejecting, racial ideologies, the movements authenticate and enforce racial thinking that complies with the naturalized and normalized racial/racist logics of whiteness. They get ensnared within the contradiction of liberation/entrapment: between the liberating potential of an antiracist and self-affirming ideology and entrapment within



the falsity and limitations of an ideology based on race. This article uses Nation of Islam, a Black Nationalist racio-religio-political organization, as a case study because its subscription to racial ideology enables a liberatory social imaginary, creates a community that mitigates black social death, and generates a valorized black ontology but it also constricts its dreams of the future, preempts non/anti-racial alternatives, and entraps it in the imaginary it opposes. This examination prompts a discussion about whether race, as an ontological and political category, can be rejected prior to the dismantling of white supremacy.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Debusscher Petra, Hulse Merran**

**Including Women's Voices? Gender Mainstreaming in EU and SADC Development Strategies for Southern Africa**

in **Journal of Southern African Studies**, Volume 40, Issue 3 , 559-573

This article examines gender mainstreaming in European Union (EU) development policy towards southern Africa. The aim is to detect how gender (in)equality in southern Africa is framed by the EU, and the extent to which this overlaps with Southern African Development Community (SADC) and civil society framing of gender (in)equality. We also explore potential reasons for the overlap and mismatch of frames. Using the methodology of critical frame analysis, EU policy programming documents are analysed and compared to SADC's Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan, and civil society texts on gender equality. We conclude that the EU approach to gender mainstreaming in its development aid towards southern Africa is to a large extent instrumentalist, predominantly integrationist and only partially participatory. Gender mainstreaming is framed as a way of more effectively achieving existing policy goals, and civil society groups are poorly integrated in the drafting process. Although the EU approach has significant overlap with the frames used by SADC, the latter seem to hold a broader, more holistic conception of gender mainstreaming. A major gap exists between civil society organisations' views on gender (in)equality and those expressed by the EU. This gap might be harmful for the relevance of EU policies and may compromise their effectiveness.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Jordan Andrew, Huitema Dave**

**Innovations in climate policy: the politics of invention, diffusion, and evaluation**

in **Environmental Politics**, Special Issue: Volume 23, Issue 5, Special Issue - Innovations in Climate Policy: The Politics of Invention, Diffusion and Evaluation, September , 715-734

The governance of climate change is in flux. In the understandable rush to explore what is filling the governance gaps created by gridlock in the international regime, scholars risk under-appreciating the capacity of states to engage in policy innovation at national and sub-national levels. Based on a review of existing concepts and theoretical explanations for (in)action at this level, we make the case for adopting a more holistic approach to understanding policy innovation, covering the source of new policy elements ('invention'), their wider entry into use ('diffusion'), and their projected and/or real effects ('evaluation'). The analytical and methodological challenges that arise from integrating these three perspectives are systematically explored and integrated into a new analytical framework used in the other contributions to this volume to explore more fully the politics of invention, diffusion, and evaluation in specific areas of mitigation and adaptation policy.



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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Murphy Roger**

**Institutional Reforms and Moravian Identity in the Czech Republic  
in *East European Politics and Societies*, vol. 28, n. 3, August , 559-592**

In the first federal and national elections after the collapse of communism in Czechoslovakia, supporters for Moravian autonomy achieved significant levels of representation and obtained nearly a quarter of the vote in Moravia itself. This movement was short-lived. The Czech Republic would not become a federal state and the Moravian movement disintegrated. Scholars have suggested that the Moravian movement was a temporary phenomenon linked to the collapse of communism. It is argued in this article that the economic, historical and cultural bases for a Moravian movement pre-date the post-communist euphoria. Instead, the decline of the movement can be attributed in part to governmental decisions motivated by a fear of further state disintegration after the creation of the Czech Republic and Slovakia. Institutional changes with the creation of the Senate and the Kraj have been explained by party politics and by Czech–EU relations. In this article, it is argued that these reforms were also motivated by a desire to weaken Moravian identity. The Moravian autonomy movement has collapsed but economic, historical, and cultural distinctions remain. Furthermore, despite these reforms, there are differences in the electoral behavior of Moravians and Bohemian that could serve as the potential base for future regional mobilization.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Puga Diego, Trefler Daniel**

**International Trade and Institutional Change: Medieval Venice's Response to Globalization  
in *Quarterly Journal of Economics (The)*, Volume 129 Issue 2 May 2014 , 753-821**

International trade can have profound effects on domestic institutions. We examine this proposition in the context of medieval Venice circa 800–1600. Early on, the growth of long-distance trade enriched a broad group of merchants who used their newfound economic muscle to push for constraints on the executive, that is, for the end of a de facto hereditary Doge in 1032 and the establishment of a parliament in 1172. The merchants also pushed for remarkably modern innovations in contracting institutions that facilitated long-distance trade, for example, the colleganza. However, starting in 1297, a small group of particularly wealthy merchants blocked political and economic competition: they made parliamentary participation hereditary and erected barriers to participation in the most lucrative aspects of long-distance trade. Over the next two centuries this led to a fundamental societal shift away from political openness, economic competition, and social mobility and toward political closure, extreme inequality, and social stratification. We document this oligarchization using a unique database on the names of 8,178 parliamentarians and their families' use of the colleganza in the periods immediately before and after 1297. We then link these families to 6,959 marriages during 1400–1599 to document the use of marriage alliances to monopolize the galley trade. Monopolization led to the rise of extreme inequality, with those who were powerful before 1297 emerging as the undisputed winners.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*



Demals Thierry, Hyard Alexandra

**Is Amartya Sen's sustainable freedom a broader vision of sustainability?**

in *Ecological Economics*, Volume 102, June , 33-38

For several years now, the theme of sustainable development (thereafter "SD") has been approached through the capability approach (CA). Recently this notion has been used by Sen to propose a redefinition of SD in terms of "sustainable freedom" (SF), meaning: enjoying the actual freedom to choose a standard of living rather than another without affecting negatively the freedom of generations to come. For Sen, this concept is aimed at broadening current understanding of SD. This article seeks to show that Sen's broader concept of sustainability whilst it generates many questions has not actually expanded the concept itself.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Crowder George, Griffiths Martin

**Islam, Islamism, and Post-Islamism: Rediscovering Politics after the War on Terror**

in *Australian Journal of Politics & History* , Volume 60, Issue 1, March , 110-124

Over the past twenty years, an influential body of conservative scholarship has focused on the alleged conflict between Islam and the West. Following widespread criticism of this scholarship, a number of commentators have revived its core assumptions to claim that the real conflict is between liberal democracy within Muslim societies and the political ideology of Islamism. In this article we trace the evolution of this scholarship, and suggest that recent empirical developments in the Muslim world suggest the potential for post-Islamist parties to successfully adapt to the demands of democratic competition within Muslim societies. In this context, the emerging conflict is not between Islam and the West, or Islamism and the West, but between two very different discursive practices within the Muslim world that invoke Islam for radically different purposes.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Becker Anna

**Jean Bodin on Oeconomics and Politics**

in *History of European Ideas*, Volume 40, Issue 2 , 135-154

Challenging the common conception of Jean Bodin as an 'anti-Aristotelian' thinker, this article places Bodin's political thought in the context of oeconomics—the science, or art of the household—as it had developed in medieval and Renaissance commentaries on Aristotle's practical philosophy. The article argues that he thereby took part in a longstanding discussion in European political thought which saw the household as possessing a political dimension. Bodin's thought on the family is central to both his universal claims pertaining to his notion of the political and his more particular interest in sovereignty and the origins of absolutism. The article explores Bodin's analysis of the household as the starting point of his inquiry into the nature of a commonwealth and the foundation of his conception of the state; it examines the relationship of la police and l'oeconomie in detail, and argues that the conjugal relationship is the determinant for Bodin's conception of absolute rule and of the origins of supreme power.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Lévy Bernard-Henri

**L'Europa impari a non avere paura**

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLVI, numero speciale n. 174, aprile-primavera , 275-277

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

de Medici Marino

**L'Ucraina e il nuovo bipolarismo**

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLVI, numero speciale n. 174, aprile-primavera , 328-332

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Georges-Henri Soutou

**L'héritage de la Grande Guerre : États souverains, mondialisation et régionalisme**

in *Politique Etrangère*, Vol. 79, n°1 printemps

La Grande Guerre modèlera nombre de pratiques et de normes du xx<sup>e</sup> siècle. La prééminence économique et sociale de l'État s'y confirme, comme la montée de valeurs nouvelles : l'universalité des Droits de l'homme, la construction collective d'une sécurité jusqu'ici dépendante d'alliances bilatérales, l'élaboration de normes juridiques universelles... La Grande Guerre nous lègue à la fois un État-nation réaffirmé et la possibilité de son dépassement dans l'organisation régionale et internationale.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Filippini Caterina

**La Crimea: da repubblica autonoma dell'Ucraina a repubblica della Federazione di Russia?**

in *Federalismi*, Anno XII - Nr 6

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*



Stürmer Michael

**La Germania e la politica di difesa**

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLVI, numero speciale n. 174, aprile-primavera , 376-378

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Verderame Giovan Battista

**La crisi dell'Ucraina dopo l'annessione della Crimea alla Russia**

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLVI, numero speciale n. 174, aprile-primavera , 297-304

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Salleo Ferdinando

**La crisi dell'Ucraina. Prove per un nuovo equilibrio mondiale**

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLVI, numero speciale n. 174, aprile-primavera , 278-296

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Jean Carlo

**La geopolitica sudamericana in movimento**

in *Aspenia*, n. 64, marzo

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Giacconi Marco

**La guerra in Siria e le sue geopolitiche**

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLVI, numero speciale, n. 173, gennaio-inverno , 119-123

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*





Lévy Bernard-Henri

**La lezione di Kiev all'Occidente**

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLVI, numero speciale n. 174, aprile-primavera , 269-271

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Ianni Alessia

**La politica e i 'media' nelle primavere arabe**

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLVI, numero speciale, n. 173, gennaio-inverno , 124-132

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Jean Carlo

**La ripresa dei negoziati sul nucleare iraniano**

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLVI, numero speciale, n. 173, gennaio-inverno , 89-96

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Cabras Bruno

**La scomparsa di Nelson Mandela**

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLVI, numero speciale, n. 173, gennaio-inverno , 150-154

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Jacques Fontanel

**Le commerce international est-il un facteur de paix ?**

in *Politique Etrangère*, Vol. 79, n°1 printemps

La théorie du « doux commerce » de Montesquieu n'a cessé d'être débattue. Ses plus virulents opposants ont été les marxistes, pour qui les échanges commerciaux entre économies capitalistes procèdent de l'exploitation du prolétariat et conduisent à l'impérialisme et à la guerre. La chute du bloc communiste n'a pas clos la controverse. Aujourd'hui, certains économistes affirment que l'interdépendance est un facteur de stabilité, tandis que d'autres soutiennent qu'elle favorise la montée des tensions.



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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Deléage Estelle

**Le mouvement Slow Food : contretemps de l'accélération temporelle ?**

in *Ecologie et politique*, n. 48, Résister à l'ère du temps accéléré. Totalitarisme vert, écoféminisme , 49-59

This article examines the ambivalences of the Slow Food movement, especially in regards to its relationship to time. Founded in 1986 in Italy by a small group of Left-wing activists, the movement has expanded to become an international structure of nearly 100 000 members. Today, Slow Food highlights both the slow time of a localized agricultural production and of shared meals, and the fast time specific to the society of the spectacle.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Haller Henri

**Le protestantisme allemand et la création de la République fédérale d'Allemagne (1945–1949)**

in *Revue d'Allemagne et des Pays de langue allemande*, 46 (2014), 1 , 35–50

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Napolitano Giorgio

**Le scelte fondative della politica estera italiana**

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLVI, numero speciale n. 174, aprile-primavera , 236-248

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Helena Tyrväinen

**Les musiciens finlandais à Paris au tournant des xix<sup>e</sup> et xx<sup>e</sup> siècles : dans les remous du cosmopolitisme et du nationalisme**

in *Relations internationales*, n°156 , 3-19

Passage through France played an important part in the careers of the three Finnish musicians whose itineraries are studied in this article. The soprano singer Aino Ackté (1876-1944) was hired by the Opéra, while the Jewish-born Ida Ekman (1875-1942), also a soprano, appeared as a soloist of the Concerts Colonne. Uno Klami (1900-1961) was the most successful of the Finnish composers who made their debuts in the inter-war era. This article analyses the nationalist as well as cosmopolitan ways of thinking which guided their professional activities in Paris. The rise of French nationalism during the first decades of the 20th century will thus be revealed.



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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Verney Susannah, Bosco Anna

**Living Parallel Lives: Italy and Greece in an Age of Austerity**

in **South European Society & Politics**, Volume 18, Issue 4, Special Issue: Protest Elections and Challenger Parties: Italy and Greece in the Economic Crisis , 397-426

The economic crisis has triggered a process of political convergence between Italy and Greece. The simultaneous downfall of the Italian and Greek governments, following the public withdrawal of European confidence in their ability to handle the crisis, was followed by the establishment of technocrat-led governments based on parliamentary 'super-majorities' and then by 'protest elections', marked by unprecedented levels of electoral volatility. By apparently ending bipolarism, the crisis has completely changed patterns of national government formation and resulted in experiments with unusual government types. Both political systems have entered a transitional phase whose outcome is anything but certain, especially in the continuing context of economic crisis.

Full text available at <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/13608746.2014.883192>

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Salleo Ferdinando

**Lo scenario internazionale nel 2014**

in **Affari Esteri**, Anno XLVI, numero speciale, n. 173, gennaio-inverno , 19-32

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Takao Yasuo

**Local Levels of Participation in Japan's Foreign Aid and Cooperation: Issues Arising from Decentralized International Cooperation**

in **Asian Survey** , Vol. 54, No. 3, May/June 2014 , 540-564

This study will examine the determinants of local Japanese government involvement in decentralized international cooperation by taking an actor-specific approach to three outstanding cases: Shiga Prefecture, Kitakyushu City, and Yokohama City. It will look beneath the aggregate relationships to more qualitative evidence of localized motives for Japanese cooperation with developing countries.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Vergani Matteo

**Local political subcultures and party activism in Italy: The case of the Democratic Party**



in **Party Politics**, Volume 20, Number 3, May , 381-390

While there are relevant studies on both local political subcultures and party activism in Italy, the literature misses the relations between these two social and political phenomena. This article aims at bridging the lacuna by presenting a typology of the local branches of the Italian PD (Democratic Party) based on the relationship between the features of party activism and the local political subcultures. Four types of local PD branch emerge: the 'showcase' branch, the 'administrative' branch, the 'company' branch and the 'committee' branch. The article discusses each type, while drawing on 40 in-depth interviews collected during field research. Insights into the relationship between local political subcultures and party activism in Italy are offered.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Chibber Vivek**

**L'universalisme, une arme pour la gauche**

in **Monde Diplomatique (Le)**, Mai

<http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/2014/05/CHIBBER/50380>

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Bordignon Fabio**

**Matteo Renzi: A 'Leftist Berlusconi' for the Italian Democratic Party?**

in **South European Society & Politics**, Volume 19, Issue 1 , 1-23

Matteo Renzi's rise to the leadership of the Democratic Party brings to the heart of the centre-left the leadership model imposed upon the Italian scene by Berlusconi in the early 1990s. A post-ideological, anti-political and innovative type of leadership, which has proved to be highly effective in attracting electoral support and media attention. Yet a type of leadership that clashes with the cultural and organisational roots of the centre-left. The article frames the experience of the new party Secretary, focusing on his political history, public narrative and style of communication.

Full text available at <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/13608746.2014.887240>

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Michalopoulos Stelios, Papaioannou Elias**

**National Institutions and Subnational Development in Africa**

in **Quarterly Journal of Economics (The)**, Volume 129 Issue 1 February 2014 , 151-213

We investigate the role of national institutions on subnational African development in a novel framework that accounts for both local geography and cultural-genetic traits. We exploit the fact that the political boundaries on the eve of African independence partitioned more than 200 ethnic groups across adjacent countries subjecting similar cultures, residing in homogeneous geographic areas, to different formal institutions. Using both a matching type and a spatial regression discontinuity approach we show that differences in countrywide institutional structures across the national border do not



explain within-ethnicity differences in economic performance, as captured by satellite images of light density. The average noneffect of national institutions on ethnic development masks considerable heterogeneity partially driven by the diminishing role of national institutions in areas further from the capital cities.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Roudometof Victor**

**Nationalism, globalization and glocalization**

in **Thesis Eleven**, vol. 122, June , 18-33

This article offers a reassessment of the relationship among nationalism, globalization and glocalization. Conventionally, globalization is viewed as a historically recent challenge to the nation. It is argued that globalization, in contrast, is a long-term historical process. The emergence and perseverance of the nation is linked to outcomes of global processes, such as the experience of globality. Two conceptual links among the nation-form, historical globalization and cultural glocalization, are presented to demonstrate the salience of this perspective. First, globalization's dialectic of homogeneity and heterogeneity influences the nation in a two-fold manner: whereas cultural and institutional isomorphism causes the homogenization of national symbols and institutions, cultural glocalization preserves the specificity of individual national identities. Second, transnational nationalism has played an important role in shaping the nation through the construction of various categories of 'aliens' and the subsequent pressure put onto cultural groups to adjust their identities vis-à-vis the nation-state.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Beck Ulrich**

**Nationalisme méthodologique – cosmopolitisme méthodologique : un changement de paradigme dans les sciences sociales**

in **Raisons politiques**, n. 54 , 103-120

Cet article montre que le nationalisme méthodologique est remis en question par les processus de « cosmopolitisation de la réalité » produits par la prise de conscience globale des crises et des risques qui ne sont ni confinés, ni intelligibles au niveau national. L'article clarifie la notion de cosmopolitisme méthodologique qui doit être distinguée à la fois du cosmopolitisme normatif et d'autres manières de répondre à la différence. Les processus de cosmopolitisation sont décrits au travers de sept thèses qui éclaircissent les conditions de possibilité d'une société imaginée cosmopolite.

English

Methodological Nationalism – Methodological Cosmopolitanism: A paradigm shift in social sciences

This article argues that methodological nationalism is at odds with the "cosmopolitisation of reality" produced by a global awareness of crises and risks which are neither confined, nor intelligible, at a national level. The article clarifies the notion of methodological cosmopolitanism which is to be distinguished from both normative cosmopolitanism and other ways to cope with difference. The processes of cosmopolitisation are described in seven theses which untangle the



conditions of possibility of a cosmopolitan imagined community.

Plan de l'article

1. Introduction : la cosmopolitisation de la réalité
  2. Manières de gérer la différence : racisme, universalisme, nationalisme, multiculturalisme, cosmopolitisme
  3. La critique du nationalisme méthodologique
  4. La distinction cruciale entre le cosmopolitisme normatif et la cosmopolitisation empirique-analytique
- Conclusion

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Obama Barack**

**Nelson Mandela Lincoln dell'Africa**

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLVI, numero speciale, n. 173, gennaio-inverno , 10-14

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Messina Franco Maria**

**Nelson Mandela ovvero 'il mito dell'eroe'**

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLVI, numero speciale, n. 173, gennaio-inverno , 155-165

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Lévy Bernard-Henri**

**Non credete alle bugie di Putin**

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLVI, numero speciale n. 174, aprile-primavera , 272-274

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Scheibel Joseph**

**Opportunities in Crisis: Iraq's Steps Toward Inclusion**

in *Middle East Policy*, Volume 21, Issue 3, Fall , 145-153





No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Bardi Luciano, Bartolini Stefano, Trechsel Alexander**

**Party adaptation and change and the crisis of democracy**

**in Party Politics**, Volume 20, Number 2, Themed issue: Party adaptation and change and the crisis of democracy: Essays in honour of Peter Mair, March , 151-159

This article is the introduction to a special issue of articles written in honour of Peter Mair. The general theme of the issue is party adaptation and change, which is traced here through an analysis of contributions by Peter Mair as an individual author or with co-authors. The result is an assessment of the current state of the art of what can be cumulatively considered Peter Mair's theory of party adaptation and of the debate it has generated up to and including the contributions included in the special issue itself.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Parkins John R, Sinclair A John**

**Patterns of elitism within participatory environmental governance**

**in Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy**, Volume 32, Issue 4, August , 746-761

A close examination of venues for participatory environmental governance reveals highly constrained settings for citizen engagement. This situation is documented within the broader social milieu by Skocpol as a narrowing of public life which is characterized in this paper by professional, stakeholder, and elitist forms of participatory environmental governance. Case-study evidence is presented from three different governance settings in Canada (environmental assessment, land-use planning, and forest management) identifying two distinct types of elitism: elite representation by design and elite representation by procedure. Two options are presented as a response to this analysis. One option involves accepting elitism by strengthening the linkages between stakeholders and constituencies, and the other option involves fighting elitism by drawing on modes of community-based decision, deliberative activism, and promoting research that highlights the consequences of environmental elitism.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Oliver P. Richmond**

**Peace Formation and Local Infrastructures for Peace**

**in Alternatives: Global, Local, Political**, 38 (4) , 271-287,

The interaction of processes of state formation, liberal peacebuilding and statebuilding and localized practices of peacemaking—or what might be called peace formation—offer the prospect of forms of peace that may be both locally and internationally legitimate. Post-liberal and hybrid forms of peace influenced by local patterns of politics, based on contextual social, cultural and historical, norms, identities, and material resources, as well as cognizant of international norms, not to mention power, may represent a more accurate characterization of the results of peace processes



worldwide. This article examines local processes of peace formation and emerging peace infrastructures.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Kitaoka Shinichi**

**Peace in the Modern Era and the Right of Collective Self-Defense**

in *Asia Pacific Review*, Volume 20, Issue 2, 2013 , 81-95

The argument for constitutional revision has been ongoing in the post-war era but until now no action has been taken. The focal point in the discussion has been Article 9. This article argues that Japan's peace posture has not been guaranteed by Article 9. The article then turns to the right of collective defense and whether reinterpretation of Article 9 language is required in the current security environment. The conclusion calls for active and specific dialogue to resolve this issue in a timely manner.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Gleditsch Nils Petter, Nordkvelle Jonas, Strand Håvard**

**Peace research – Just the study of war?**

in *Journal of Peace Research*, Volume 51, Number 2, March , 145-158

The concept of peace has been under discussion in peace research from its start over 50 years ago. This article reviews the debate on broader and narrower conceptions of peace and investigates empirical patterns in the first 49 volumes of *Journal of Peace Research*, with some comparisons with *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. Negative peace, in the sense of reducing war, was the main focus in peace research from the inception. But positive peace, in the sense of cooperation or integration, has also always been on the peace research agenda, as reflected in the contents of both journals. Over time, a larger share of the articles in JPR has 'violence' or related terms in the title, while the incidence of the word 'peace' is fairly stable. Furthermore, articles on peace generally have fewer citations than those with violence-related terms. A broad concept of peace, as encouraged by the definition of positive peace as the reversal of structural violence, was popular in peace research for a decade or so, but has largely evaporated. To some extent, peace research has returned to its original agenda, although the main attention has shifted from interstate war to civil war and to some extent to one-sided and non-state violence. Articles dealing with patterns of cooperation, the traditional meaning of positive peace, now tend to address the liberal agenda and ask how they can foster a reduced probability of violence. Despite the 'gender gap', the increasing share of female authors in the journal appears to have had little influence on these developments although it may well have had other effects.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Malmvig Helle**

**Power, Identity and Securitization in Middle East: Regional Order after the Arab Uprisings**

in *Mediterranean Politics*, Volume 19, Issue 1 , 145-148



In 1998 Barnett argued against the grain of realist IR theory, contending that 'the conflicts between Arab governments have concerned the norms of Arabism and not the balance of power'. Ever since, the debate on regional order has been marked less by realist perspectives based on materialist understanding of power, and more by pragmatic middle positions as can be found with the English School, Historical Sociology and soft constructivist approaches. This piece will argue along the same lines, contending that norms and identity politics remain central to the study of Middle East regional politics, also in the post-2011 era. In a second move it will however also suggest that the rise of identity politics and heightened regional insecurity related to these identities, calls for an introduction of insights from securitization theory.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Owen Mark

**Preparing for the Future: Reassessing the Possibility of Violence Emanating From Tibetan Exile Communities in India**

in *India Review*, Volume 13, Issue 2 , 149-169

In his 1997 analysis of the history of Tibetan and Chinese relations (*The Snow Lion and the Dragon*), Melvyn Goldstein advised in his concluding chapter that Tibetans were unlikely to indefinitely put up with the Chinese occupation of Tibet without resorting to violence. However, despite continuing speculation, more widespread or sustained campaigns of violence have largely failed to materialize. The principle objectives of this study are to establish why the scale of violence that Goldstein warned about has so far failed to emerge; and to assess whether existing evidence supports or undermines claims that violence may in the future emanate from Tibetan exile communities in India. It will be argued that previous analyses have been premised on a relatively narrow assessment of the situation and context, and that a more informed and nuanced evaluation of the potential for future violence requires comprehensive analysis of a much wider range of factors.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Kissinger Henry A.

**Quel ponte di Kiev tra Est ed Ovest**

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLVI, numero speciale n. 174, aprile-primavera , 265-268

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Bianchi Lorenzo

**Radicalismo e cosmopolitismo**

in *Giornale Critico della Filosofia Italiana*, Fascicolo III. Settembre-Dicembre 2013

No abstract available



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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Frank Matthew, Reinisch Jessica**

**Refugees and the Nation-State in Europe, 1919–59**

in **Journal of Contemporary History**, Volume 49, n. 3, July , 477-490

This special issue examines how refugees and refugee crises were defined and managed by European nation-states in the four decades after the end of the First World War. Our introduction sketches out the broad historical canvas of the refugee problem in Europe and highlights a number of overarching themes of and comparisons between the papers.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Maurici James, Mills Alistair**

**Regina (Buckinghamshire County Council and others) v. Secretary of State for Transport**

in **Review of European Community & International Environmental Law**, Volume 23, Issue 2, Special Issue: International and European Chemicals Regulation, July , 275-280

The United Kingdom Supreme Court has considered the requirements of environmental impact assessment and strategic environmental assessment in the context of a high speed rail scheme to be introduced by parliamentary procedure. The case is important for its detailed analysis of how parliamentary processes relate to the requirements of European Union environmental law. The Supreme Court has also made revealing comments about its view of the proper relationship between the domestic and European legal order.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Carrère Céline**

**Regional Agreements and Welfare in the South: When Scale Economies in Transport Matter**

in **Journal of African Economies**, Volume 23 Issue 3 June 2014 , 321-345

By taking into account scale economies in transport, this paper challenges the accepted pessimistic view that regional preferential trade agreements (PTAs) between developing countries are harmful in welfare terms. In this paper, we assume the adoption of new transport technology when trade increases and show that, given the standard effect of a PTA on regional trade, the welfare would be higher than that usually claimed due to the induced effect on the regional transport network. Moreover, there is evidence that with such sunk costs in transportation, the sequence of trade liberalisation matters: the free trade achieved under a regional PTA would lead to permanently higher welfare than the one achieved under multilateral liberalisation. A standard model of inter- and intra-industry trade is used and augmented by a 'hub-and-spoke' transport network structure, where transport costs depend on the distance between trade partners, the volume of trade and the level of development. Under a plausible parameterisation for scale economies in transport, regional liberalisation will have persistent effect on trade flows through an irreversible effect on regional transport costs that improve welfare.



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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Arellano Cristina, Bai Yan

**Renegotiation Policies in Sovereign Defaults**

in *American Economic Review*, Vol. 104 No. 5, May 2014 , 94-100

This paper studies an optimal renegotiation protocol designed by a benevolent planner when two countries renegotiate with the same lender. The solution calls for recoveries that induce each country to default or repay, trading off the deadweight costs and the redistribution benefits of default independently of the other country. This outcome contrasts with a decentralized bargaining solution where default in one country increases the likelihood of default in the second country because recoveries are lower when both countries renegotiate. The paper suggests that policies geared at designing renegotiation processes that treat countries in isolation can prevent contagion of debt crises.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Sato Jin

**Resource Politics and State-Society Relations: Why Are Certain States More Inclusive than Others?**

in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Volume 56, Issue 3, July , 745-773

Why do some states resort to more exclusive top-down management of natural resources, while others tend to be more inclusive and solicit participation from civil society? By rejecting the simple characterization of the state within the narrow spectrum of “weak” and “strong,” this article investigates resource-mediated relations in the peripheral social groups that the state has sought to transform as part of the process of modernization. Focusing on Siam and Japan, I highlight alternative explanations based on ethnicity and labor, bureaucratic mindset, and agro-ecological conditions. I argue that the more embedded nature of the labor force in resources sectors made it necessary for the Japanese government to engage with marginal people, whereas the enclave nature of such sectors in Siam allowed elites to establish a distinctively exclusive system. While the Japanese state quickly learned to accommodate people at the fringes through its recognition and acceptance of existing customs in the management of resources, and even facilitated the creation of local organizations such as forest unions, the Siamese were consistently more exclusionary and even oppressed indigenous groups living at the state's territorial periphery. Resource interventions targeted at the fringes of land and society in Japan and Siam produced lasting effects on state-society relations that have extended far beyond their original intention of securing resource procurement. Understanding the historical roots of such relations offers a fresh perspective from which to explain why state inaction prevails in the present debate on state devolution in Thailand.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Wolf Reinhard

**Rising Powers, Status Ambitions, and the Need to Reassure: What China Could Learn from Imperial Germany's Failures**

in *Chinese Journal of International Politics (The)*, Volume 7 Issue 2 , 185-219



This article focuses on the ominous parallels between the rise of Germany before World War I and China's ongoing ascendance. It will demonstrate that concerns about national status strongly affected both the fateful escalation of the 1914 crisis and the growing antagonisms of the years preceding. Special emphasis will be given to the role that mutual 'misrecognition' played in the gradual deterioration of Anglo-German relations. The consequences of Germany's excessive fixation on status are highly relevant for contemporary China, due to the startling similarities between both countries' domestic and international settings. If China wants to avoid the policy errors that led to the Kaiserreich's self-encirclement it needs to pay more attention to dangerous feedbacks among ongoing power shifts, maritime security dilemmas and extravagant public status concerns. China should do more to ensure that external trust in its benign intentions grows faster than its international ambitions and military power. This requires, among other things, an early settlement of ongoing territorial disputes, a toning down of jingoistic domestic discourses, enhanced leeway for speakers advocating international cooperation, and higher investment in multilateral institutions. Beijing's partners, for their part, must encourage such self-binding policies by facilitating China's rise in status, specifically by giving Beijing a greater say in these institutions.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Ison Ray, Grant Andrea, Bawden Richard

**Scenario praxis for systemic governance: a critical framework**

**in Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy**, Volume 32, Issue 4, August , 623-640

Scenario praxis, critically explored as the theory-informed practice of scenarioing, is proposed as a modality for institutionalising knowing within a systemic governance framework. Framing and institutional considerations associated with a constructivist inquiry-based learning approach that might open capacity for innovation in future scenarioing praxis are outlined to complement and counterbalance positivist-oriented evidence-based approaches. Drawing on espoused theoretical and epistemological commitments, background literature, researcher experience, and our framing choices, we describe a heuristic device for use ex post to critically examine accounts of past scenario development, or ex ante to generate scenarios. The heuristic and its process of generation are designed for use in context-sensitive ways suited to the systemic governance of climate change adaptation and similar situations that can be framed as 'wicked' or uncertain.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Verderame Giovan Battista

**Scontro di civiltà o fine della storia?**

**in Affari Esteri**, Anno XLVI, numero speciale, n. 173, gennaio-inverno , 75-88

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Kenis Annelee, Lievens Matthias

**Searching for 'the political' in environmental politics**





in **Environmental Politics**, Volume 23, Issue 4, July , 531-548

Situating the 'post-ecologist turn' within the framework of post-politics, we not only investigate why environmental issues are so easily represented in consensual and technocratic terms, but also seek avenues for repoliticisation. We thereby try to avoid the pitfall of a voluntaristic or substantively normative approach to what repoliticisation can mean. By pointing to the subtle polemic on a meta-level which lurks beneath even the most consensual discourse, a potential starting point for repoliticisation is uncovered, which also enables a political rereading of the 'post-ecologist turn'. Finally, we argue that the same characteristics that make the environmental question liable to depoliticisation can also turn it into a field of politicisation par excellence.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Jenne Erin K., Bieber Florian

**Situational Nationalism: Nation-building in the Balkans, Subversive Institutions and the Montenegrin Paradox in Ethnopolitics**, Volume 13, Issue 5, 2014 , 431-460

The history of Montenegrin nation-building goes against the expectations of many institutionalist theories of nationalism, which generally hold that national institutions increase collective sentiments of national identity. Although during the period of socialist Yugoslavia, Montenegro had an institutional endowment similar to that of other republics—including a constitution, parliament, government, flag, republican borders, and academy of arts and sciences—the proportion of self-identified Montenegrins actually declined from 91% at the start of the socialist period to 44.5% in the most recent census. This occurred despite the fact that Yugoslav elites built up Montenegro's national institutions over these decades; it also runs against the expectations of many institutionalist theories of nationalism that predict constant—or even heightened—national consciousness as a group's institutional endowment increases. Municipal-level census data in Montenegro are examined over time to show that neither national institutions nor elite efforts to mobilize upon them succeeded in generating a robust Montenegrin identity. The evidence here provides preliminary support for a theory of 'situational nationalism', according to which the fate of national projects depends on the wider identity environment. Despite elite efforts to build nations along certain lines, people choose their identities in the context of an ever-changing field of political and identity conflicts at the international and domestic levels in a fluctuating 'marketplace of ideas'. It is concluded that identity conflicts in the wider neighborhood place significant constraints on the success of any given nation-building project.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Bresciani Marco

**Socialism, Antifascism and Anti-Totalitarianism: The Intellectual Dialogue (and Discord) between Andrea Caffi and Nicola Chiaromonte (1932–1955)**

in **History of European Ideas**, Volume 40, Issue 7, Special Issue: Thinking about Intellectual History , 984-1003

This article reconstructs the personal and intellectual friendship between two cosmopolitan intellectuals: Andrea Caffi (1887–1955) and Nicola Chiaromonte (1905–1972), who met while in exile in Paris in 1932. After a brief recapitulation of their previous biographies, and an overall presentation of their participation in the revolutionary antifascist group 'Giustizia e Libertà' (GL) in the thirties, this article provides a detailed analysis of their dialogues and disagreements in



the forties and fifties on the topics of socialism and revolution, antifascism and anti-totalitarianism, utopia and history. Particular attention is devoted to their contribution to the debates in the antifascist journal of GL (published in Paris, 1932–1935) and in the radical journal of Politics (published in New York, 1944–1950). Examined closely, the friendship between Caffi and Chiaramonte appears as a sequence of convergences and divergences, understandings and ruptures, which reflect the tensions and lacerations of the European civil war and its post-war legacy (intertwined with and overlapping the cultural Cold War). Looked at again from a distance, however, it reveals a fundamental intellectual unity—a profound apolitical affinity in a century of radical politics which had fed wars, revolutions

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Brian Callan

**Something's wrong here: transnational dissent and the unimagined community**  
in *Contemporary Social Science* , Vol. 9, n°1 , 106-120

Based on ethnographic research in 2011–2012 this paper explores the production of a transnational community through various dissenting practices in Israel–Palestine. In a critique of instrumental and structural approaches to transnational dissent, from micro-level framing processes to the macro-level concepts like Global Civil Society (GCS) and networks, it builds understandings of the affective dimensions of protest and proposes that a transnational community is being produced through a shared feeling of wrongness. Drawing upon recent reassessments of community conceptualisations [Amit, V., & Rapport, N. (2002). *The trouble with community: Anthropological reflections on movement, identity and collectivity*. London: Pluto; Djelic, M.-L., & Quack, S. (Eds.). (2010a). *Transnational communities: Shaping global governance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Rapport, N., & Amit, V. (2012a). *Community, cosmopolitanism and the problem of human commonality (anthropology, culture and society)* (Kindle.). London: Pluto Press], this paper asks why the moral actors from GCS limit their imagined community in spatial terms. In a world of movement, where the everyday practice of community is as likely to be defined through shared worldviews as it is through shared place, the challenge is to ask how we may engage in recognising and re-imagining transnational activism as not merely an episodic and instrumental *gesellschaft* but as a praxis of fluid, interconnected and self-reproducing *gemeinschaften*.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Barreyre Nicolas, Verdo Geneviève

**Souveraineté et territoire : enjeux et perspectives**

in *Annales: Histoire, Sciences Sociales*, 69e année, n. 2, juin , 307-311

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Aguar Mark, Amador Manuel, Farhi Emmanuel, Gopinath Gita

**Sovereign Debt Booms in Monetary Unions**

in *American Economic Review*, Vol. 104 No. 5, May 2014 , 101-06



We propose a continuous time model to investigate the impact of inflation credibility on sovereign debt dynamics. At every point in time, an impatient government decides fiscal surplus and inflation, without commitment. Inflation is costly, but reduces the real value of outstanding nominal debt. In equilibrium, debt dynamics is the result of two opposing forces: (i) impatience and (ii) the desire to conquer low inflation. A large increase in inflation credibility can trigger a process of debt accumulation. This rationalizes the sovereign debt booms that are often experienced by low inflation credibility countries upon joining a currency union.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Tüysüzö&#287;lu Göktürk

**Strategic Depth: A Neo-Ottomanist Interpretation of Turkish Eurasianism**  
in *Mediterranean Quarterly*, Volume 25, Number 2, Spring , 85-104

The change in Turkish foreign policy in the twenty-first century's second decade has its origin in the approach referred to by Turkish foreign minister Ahmet Davutoglu as Strategic Depth. Because it aims to give Turkey status as a Eurasian power, this approach has been described as neo-Ottomanism, referencing the geographic extent of the Ottoman Empire. Because of its intrinsic pragmatism and the geographical region that is its focus, Strategic Depth has been influenced by Eurasianist thought in Russia. But the Strategic Depth approach differs from Russian Eurasianist ideas because it refuses to place itself in conflict with Western civilization and instead positions Turkey as a bridge between Western and Muslim civilizations. To this extent, Strategic Depth may be described as a conservative interpretation of Turkish Eurasianism.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Rega Carlo, Bonifazi Alessandro

**Strategic Environmental Assessment and spatial planning in Italy: sustainability, integration and democracy**  
in *Journal of Environmental Planning and Management*, Volume 57, Issue 9 , 1333-1358

This paper investigates the application of Strategic Environmental Assessment (SEA) to spatial planning in Italy. We discuss SEA effectiveness by focusing on three main dimensions: sustainable development, environmental policy integration and democratic governance. The methodology includes the analysis of 27 SEA reports and interviews with key actors. Findings suggest that SEA is beginning to insinuate ecological rationality and improving environmental policy integration across planning levels and disciplinary boundaries. SEA also leads to progress in transparency and communication, whereas the actual involvement of the public in decision making is still weak. Future developments may address the potential contribution of SEA to focusing planning on long-term, shared, visions of socio-ecological systems.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Samford Steven, Ortega Gómez Priscila

**Subnational politics and foreign direct investment in Mexico**  
in *Review of International Political Economy*, Volume 21, Issue 2, 2014 , 467-496



Focusing on Mexico, this article makes two departures from existing studies of the determinants of foreign direct investment (FDI): (1) it disaggregates investment into three types (resource-, market- and efficiency-seeking); and (2) it models variation in investment subnationally, across the 32 Mexican states. Using panel data for foreign investment between 2000 and 2009, we find that the predictors of subnational variation in investment go beyond simple geographic and economic conditions and include factors such as local political party control, social stability and the perceived effectiveness of state authorities. Moreover, the three types of investment are shaped by distinct social, political and economic dynamics. Insofar as the location and type of foreign investment can affect economic development and inequality within – and not just between – countries, the subnational distribution of investment is of consequence for both academics and policy makers.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Toft Monica Duffy**

**Territory and war**

in **Journal of Peace Research**, Volume 51, Number 2, March , 185-198

In the past four decades scholars have produced a large literature on the relationship between territory and war. What is clear is that territory has been and will continue to be a core issue in explaining the escalation and onset of war and that territory has peculiar features that impact whether and how a conflict evolves and ends, and the nature of the peace that follows. These dynamics have received significant consideration theoretically and empirically. Although research initially centered on interstate wars, focus broadened to include intrastate or civil wars. On the methodological side, scholarship has taken a quantitative shift. The article concludes that both theorizing and empirical testing have become increasingly sophisticated.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Paesani Paolo, Rosselli Annalisa**

**The Case for a Supra-national Control on Commodities in the post WWII World: Novel Perspectives from FAO and Kaldor Archives**

in **History of Economic Thought and Policy**, 2014, volume 3, issue 1 , 5-30

Commodity markets are characterized by high price volatility, inefficient resource allocation and the cyclical reappearance of excessive surpluses and shortages. Historically, these problems and their relevant socio-economic implications have been tackled by means of protectionist measures at the national level, with cartels among producers or, in some rare cases, with international agreements among producers and consumers of a single commodity. At the end of World War II, however, a number of ambitious projects were put forth by multilateral organizations and by individual economists. These projects (e.g. World Food Board, International Commodity Clearing House, International Commodity Reserve Currency) aimed at overcoming traditional commodity problems by means of supra-national institutions and the coordinated management of all the main commodities within a unified scheme capable of combining stable prices and abundant supplies. The goal of this paper is to reconstruct some of these proposals, their theoretical underpinnings and the debate they roused. In particular, we intend to focus on the role played by the Food and Agriculture Organisation and by the experts who were involved in its projects. While individual contributions by some economists belonging to this group of experts have been widely investigated in the literature, their reciprocal influences



and the relevant intellectual and historical context have received much less attention. Recent important publications bearing on this question and the re-opening of FAO archives add new angles on and insights into this issue

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Mondon Aurelien

**The Front National in the Twenty-First Century: From Pariah to Republican Democratic Contender? in Modern and Contemporary France**, Volume 22, Issue 3 , 301-320

The impressive result obtained by Marine Le Pen in the 2012 presidential elections has raised many questions regarding her ability to break the glass ceiling which many had thought unreachable for the Front National (FN). For some, this progression in the polls was a consequence of the softening of the discourse of the party and Le Pen moving away from her father's more radical stance. However, the fact that this rise came after five years of Sarkozy's presidency should not be underestimated, and the context following Sarkozy's 2007 election can be seen as partly responsible for the FN reaching new heights. What this article will argue is that the new status acquired by the FN in 2012 was dramatically facilitated by the campaign by the Union pour un Mouvement Populaire (UMP), which continued the legitimisation of the Le Pens' party rhetoric and allowed it to enter the selective category of respectable, 'democratic' and 'republican' parties. To highlight this development, this article will focus on three themes: the exaggerated state of crisis, the use of populism and the vilification of Islam through the use of neo-racist rhetoric by both the UMP and the FN.

Les résultats impressionnants obtenus par Marine Le Pen lors de l'élection présidentielle de 2012 ont démontré que le Front National (FN) avait dépassé un nouveau seuil. Pour certains, cette progression était le résultat du processus de modération et du délaissement des techniques plus radicales de Jean-Marie Le Pen. Bien que la stratégie de Marine Le Pen fût un succès, les cinq années de présidence sarkoziste ont également joué un rôle prépondérant dans la poussée électorale du FN. Cet article va montrer que la nouvelle stature du FN a en fait été facilitée par la campagne de l'Union pour un Mouvement Populaire (UMP), qui a poursuivi sa légitimation du parti des Le Pen, et lui a permis de rentrer dans la cour des partis 'démocratiques' et 'républicains'. Pour étudier ce développement, cet article va se concentrer sur trois thèmes de campagne déterminants: un sentiment de crise exagéré, une utilisation abusive du populisme, et la stigmatisation de l'Islam grâce à une rhétorique néo-raciste.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Ravna Øyvind

**The Fulfilment of Norway's International Legal Obligations to the Sámi – Assessed by the Protection of Rights to Lands, Waters and Natural Resources in International Journal on Minority and Groups Rights**, Volume 21, Issue 3 , 297-329

During the two last decades of the 20th century, Norway has undertaken several commitments pursuant to international law that protect Sámi lands, culture, language and way of life. Norway's 1988 constitutional amendment framed after the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) Article 27 and the ratification of the International Labour Organization (ILO) Convention no. 169 concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries in 1990 are the most prominent of these. The adoption of the 1999 Norwegian Human Rights Act incorporating the ICCPR as internal Norwegian law should also be mentioned. This article examines how Norway complies with the international legal obligations the country has undertaken to protect the indigenous Sámi culture, in relation to land-based renewal



resources, marine resources, and mineral resources.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Katz Mark N.**

**The International Relations of the Arab Spring**

**in Middle East Policy**, Volume 21, Issue 2, Summer , 76-84

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Green Abigail**

**The Limits of Intervention: Coercive Diplomacy and the Jewish Question in the Nineteenth Century**

**in International History Review (The)**, volume 36, Issue 3

This paper argues that exploring diplomatic responses to the Jewish question casts new light on the purpose of humanitarian intervention within the international system during the nineteenth century. It contrasts international responses to the question of Jewish minority rights in Morocco and Romania during the 1860s and 1870s, with particular reference to the Congress of Berlin (1878) and the Conference of Madrid (1880). The former resulted in a Treaty endorsing the principle of religious equality in the Ottoman Empire and the emerging nation-states of the Balkans, while the latter resulted only in a non-binding Declaration in favour of religious freedom. Thus the international system favoured humanitarian intervention in the Christian polity of Romania but not in the Muslim polity of Morocco: a conclusion that complicates assumptions about humanitarian intervention as essentially directed by Christian powers against the Muslim Ottoman Empire. Paradoxically, diplomatic attempts to enforce religious equality in the Ottoman Empire and the emerging Christian states of the Balkans reflected a willingness to recognise these powers as fully fledged members of the emerging international system, provided that they adopted certain constitutional norms. Morocco was given greater latitude, because diplomats and Western observers ultimately believed it incapable of making this leap.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Morris Ian**

**The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers: China, the European Union, and the United States in the Twenty-First Century**

**in Europe en formation (L')**, n. 370, 2013/4 , 3-25

The only way to understand the dynamics driving Euro-Asian relations is by looking at long-term history. Over the last 15,000 years, geography has driven social development upward at different speeds in different parts of the world; but simultaneously, rising social development has constantly changed what geography means. For most of the last 15,000 years, Europe was a mere periphery to the great centres of power in Asia. Only after AD1400 did rising development give Europe crucial geographical advantages, and between about 1500 and 1900, Europe came to dominate the world.





Its success, however, changed the meanings of geography once again, and by 1900 wealth and power were shifting across the Atlantic to North America—only for American domination to change the meanings of geography even further, and for wealth and power to shift across the Pacific to East Asia. Europe's current peace and prosperity depend on its position within the American-dominated global order, and the rise of East Asia in the twenty-first century will confront Europe with extremely difficult strategic choices.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Chouinarda Stéphanie**

**The Rise of Non-territorial Autonomy in Canada: Towards a Doctrine of Institutional Completeness in the Domain of Minority Language Rights**

*in Ethnopolitics*, Volume 13, Issue 2, 2014 , 141-158

This article studies the claims for non-territorial autonomy (NTA) of Canada's francophone minority communities (FMCs)—encompassing the over one million French-speaking citizens that live outside the province of Québec—before the courts since the adoption of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. The findings show that Canadian courts have sought to apply principles of NTA to accommodate FMCs by extending the Canadian language rights regime in order to apply some principles of non-territorial autonomy, in the form of 'institutional completeness'. In so doing, the courts have opened the door to a legal recognition of positive group rights for this minority.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Miller Manjari Chatterjee**

**The Un-Argumentative Indian?: Ideas About the Rise of India and Their Interaction With Domestic Structures in India Review**, Volume 13, Issue 1 , 1-14

While India is internationally acknowledged as a rising power, there is a surprising lack of responsive ideas and discussion about India's rise within the country. This stands in sharp contrast to China, the other rising power, where domestic discussions of China's rise are expansive and broad ranging, and often seek to shape international perceptions of China. This article argues that India does not respond to international discourse about its rise as prolifically as China because of the benign content of international ideas about its changing status, as well as a statist domestic structure that is resistant to ideational diffusion.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Huggins Robert, Luo Shougui, Thompson Piers**

**The competitiveness of China's Leading Regions: Benchmarking Their Knowledge-based Economies**

*in Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie (Journal of Economic & Social Geography)* , Volume 105, Issue 3, July , 241-267

China's spectacular economic growth has been spatially uneven, with much development occurring in eastern coastal areas. In particular, three metropolitan 'super-regions' have become China's most competitive knowledge-based



economies, consisting of the Pearl River Delta, the Yangtze River Delta, and the Bohai Gulf Region. This paper benchmarks the competitiveness of these regions, with a view to exploring which region is best positioned to become the most dominant knowledge-based economy over time. Through the theoretical lens of dynamic comparative advantage, it is shown that each region has hugely increased its competitiveness through improvements in the capacity to absorb and diffuse knowledge. It is further shown that due to multi-dimensional advantages the Yangtze River Delta, incorporating the Shanghai metropolis, is best positioned to become the dominant hub of China's future knowledge economy. It is concluded that China's leading regions will require further economic policy adjustments in order to secure their future competitiveness.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Crook Malcom, Dunne John**

**The first european Elections? Voting and imperial State-Building under Napoleon 1802-1813  
in Historical Journal (The), Volume 57 - Issue 03 - september , 661-697**

This article establishes the significance of elections held in the annexed departments of the Napoleonic Empire from 1802 to 1813. It thus represents an original, and perhaps surprising, contribution to recent debate on the nature of Napoleonic imperialism, in which attention has shifted from core to periphery, and away from purely military matters. The electoral process under this authoritarian regime has been alternately neglected or derided, especially where the newly created departments of the Low Countries and parts of Germany and Italy are concerned. However, extensive archival research demonstrates that it was taken extremely seriously by both regime and voters, especially outside metropolitan France. These 'First European Elections', as they may be dubbed, took place in regular fashion right across the Empire and are studied here on a transnational basis, which also involves the metropolitan departments. Though open to all adult males at the primary level, they were not exercises in democracy, but they did create some rare political space which local people were not slow to exploit for their own purposes. Above all, they served as a means of integrating 'new Frenchmen', particularly members of indigenous elites, into the Napoleonic system.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Griffiths Ryan**

**The future of self-determination and territorial integrity in the Asian Century  
in Pacific Review (The) , Volume 27, Issue 3, 2014 , 457-478**

The twentieth century saw the rise of two important and interrelated norms. The first is the norm of self-determination, which advances the right of stateless nations to govern themselves. The second is the norm of territorial integrity, which upholds the principle that political borders should be respected. A consequence of these norms has been an increase in secessionism, a decline in conquest, and a proliferation of states. This paper will examine the development of these norms, their interrelationship, and their prospects for the future. Attention will be given to three important questions: (1) Under what conditions does a norm endure beyond a power transition? (2) How likely is an ascendant China or India to support the norms? (3) What does a power transition and the corresponding support of these norms augur for the future of secession, conquest, and the number of sovereign states?

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Andersen Dannemand, Rasmussen Lauge Baungaard

**The impact of national traditions and cultures on national foresight processes**

in *Futures*, Volume 59 , 5-17

This paper addresses the influence of national traditions, styles or culture on the use of foresight in decision-making processes. Inspired by sociologists' contributions on national culture, the paper demonstrates that two dimensions of national culture, power distance and uncertainty avoidance, are useful in the characterisation of the context in which national foresight exercises are carried out. The paper is based on two Danish cases: The Danish Government's Globalisation Strategy, from 2005, and the Danish Research 2015 process, from 2008, which focus on priority settings for strategic research.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Lentz Christian C.

**The king yields to the village? A micropolitics of statemaking in Northwest Vietnam**

in *Political Geography*, Volume 39, March , 1-10

The village in Vietnam has long been subject of scholarly inquiry and site of state power. Too often held apart, these two observations together inform this investigation of statemaking in the Northwest highlands and micropolitical relations between agencies and villages. Essentialized village and state ideas are idioms of power in and around socially diverse communities of Biên Ph. Embedding these communities in ruling relations locates ideological dimensions of statemaking, such as abstract notions of village and state, in their generative contexts. Tracing idioms back to conflicted power relations engages modern forms of governmentality to reconceptualize political tactics, strategies, and technologies as ideologically generative practices. Demarcation, for example, is a state tactic that produces multiple ethnic, sovereign, and spatial boundaries—ideological forms that pose hazards for researchers and subaltern subjects alike. Drawing on ethnographic data, I explore my access to and denial from village field sites to position the researcher amidst the same power relations under study.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Opalo Kennedy

**The long road to institutionalization: the Kenyan Parliament and the 2013 elections**

in *Journal of Eastern African Studies* , Volume 8, Issue 1, Special Issue: Kenya's 2013 elections: The triumph of democracy? , 63-77

What explains the emergence of a relatively strong legislature in Kenya in a region characterized by “rubber stamp” parliaments? And how do the results of the 2013 election affect the chances of continued strengthening and institutionalization of the Kenyan legislature? This paper addresses these questions by situating the evolution of parliamentary strength and institutionalization in Kenya in the context of the country's political history since independence. The argument advanced is that although the codification of the gains in parliamentary strength and independence only began to take place in the late 1990s, the process that led to the realization of these gains goes back



to the first parliament after independence. The paper also analyzes the impact of the constitutional requirement of 50% plus one in the presidential race on party structures in different parts of the country. The findings suggest that while the 2013 elections were marked by a heightened sense of inter-regional alliance-building for the presidential race, at the sub-national level the effective number of parties increased in all regions relative to the 2007 election, with the exception of the Central Region.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Jarrod Hayes & Patrick James**

**Theory as Thought: Britain and German Unification**

**in *Security Studies*, Volume 23, Issue 2 , 399-429**

Inspired by Rudra Sil and Peter Katzenstein's call for analytic eclecticism and making use of newly available, previously classified archival documents, we distill the essential logics of realism, neoliberal institutionalism, and constructivism and examine their role in shaping the debates amongst British policymakers in the context of German unification in 1989-90. We find that, although all the theoretical logics help shape the policymaking surrounding unification, none stands alone as a basis for understanding social reality. Indeed, all functioned together as British policymakers thought in terms of theory to make sense of German unification. The logic of realism clearly played an important role in shaping the perceptions of top British leadership, particularly Margaret Thatcher, of German unification as a problem. But realism did not determine the solution to the "problem." Instead, British policymakers drew on the logic embedded in neoliberal institutionalism, turning to institutions to manage the unification process. The reason for this can be found in the role of constructivist logics-particularly identity and rhetorical entrapment-that constrained British policymakers to cooperative policy options. By taking this approach, this article makes several important contributions. First, it sheds light on British policy during a critical historical moment. Second, it significantly improves understanding regarding Germany's historical and current place in Europe. Third, it ties major theoretical traditions together through a foreign policy analytical approach, and in the process suggests that many of the theoretical boundaries separating scholars are overdrawn. Finally, the article pushes international relations scholars to keep in mind the complex relationship between reality and theory. In the final analysis, bringing to bear these three perspectives highlights the complexity of the processes that produced British policy-and by extension those that shaped German unification-as well as the importance of breaking free of the strictures of the ideas versus materiality debate.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Orr Graeme, Gauja Anika**

**Third-Party Campaigning and Issue-Advertising in Australia**

**in *Australian Journal of Politics & History* , Volume 60, Issue 1, March , 73-92**

Large-scale issue-advertising by third parties appears to be increasing in Australia. This article analyses recent official data on political expenditure, and situates such campaigning in historical perspective with case studies of the bank nationalisation, Medibank, WorkChoices and mining tax campaigns. The success of the latter two campaigns illustrates the potential for well-resourced sectors to employ what has traditionally been seen as an "outsider" tactic. The various drivers of the phenomenon are discussed, including evolving trends in political engagement and the media, and fluctuations in perceptions of governmental strength or weakness. The most distinctly Australian aspect of the



phenomenon is the tendency in recent decades for governments and third parties to engage in a “call-and-response” cycle of issue-advertising.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Hynes William

**To what extent were economic factors important in the separation of the south of Ireland from the United Kingdom and what was the economic impact?**

in **Cambridge Journal of Economics**, Volume 38 Issue 2 March 2014 , 369-397

The impact of British rule casts a long shadow over Irish history. While nationalist historians tended to blame Union with Britain for all the economic ills of the 19th century (O'Brien, 1921), recent re-evaluations of both historical and recent Irish economic performance have been cause for a reappraisal of the economic relations between Ireland and Britain (Cullen, 1969; Kennedy and Johnson, 1996). The extent to which economic factors were important in Ireland's withdrawal from the United Kingdom will be examined in this paper. A secondary aim is to assess the economic consequences of independence in the interwar period. There were many economic reasons up to 1913 as to why Ireland should separate. UK policy was determined by majority voting and policies were suited to the needs of industrial workers in Britain, rather than agricultural workers in Ireland. This led to increased spending beyond the means of Ireland which caused transition difficulties on independence. Finally the consequences of separation in the north and south of Ireland are examined. Evidence suggests that separation led to short term economic difficulty. In the longer run the south benefited from independence due to weakness in British institutions and the incentive structures created during the interwar period.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Runhaar Hens, Driessen Peter, Uittenbroek Caroline

**Towards a Systematic Framework for the Analysis of Environmental Policy Integration**

in **European Environment/Environmental Policy and Governance**, Volume 24, Issue 4, July/August , 233-246

Environmental policy integration (EPI) refers to the incorporation of environmental concerns in non-environmental policy sectors. EPI aims to avoid conflicts between environmental and other policy objectives and to enhance environmental policy by directly targeting the driving forces of environmental degradation. In practice, however, the potential of EPI has not been fully utilized. Scientific knowledge of EPI is found in several, largely isolated, bodies of literature (on EPI, climate policy integration and environmental impact assessment/strategic environmental assessment) and does not provide an adequate answer to the question of what EPI strategies work, where and why. A systematic framework based on comparative empirical research is required to contribute to more effective EPI strategies. In this paper we formulate a research agenda for the development of such a framework on the governance of EPI that is robust, i.e. builds on other theories of environmental governance and policy change and that envisages large-scale, international comparative empirical analysis.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*



Balmas Meital, Rahat Gideon, Sheaffer Tamir, Shenhav Shaul R

**Two routes to personalized politics. Centralized and decentralized personalization in Party Politics**, Volume 20, Number 1, January , 37-51

This article describes two opposing types of political personalization: centralizing and decentralizing personalization. The first implies the centralization of political power in the hands of a few leaders, while the latter indicates a diffusion of group power among its components: individual politicians. We start by proposing definitions of the types and subtypes of centralized and decentralized personalization and review the literature in search of evidence of their occurrence. We then demonstrate the usefulness of the proposed typology by examining personalization trends in various aspects of Israeli politics and conclude with a discussion of the challenges that personalization set for liberal democracies.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Ferraris Luigi Vittorio

**Una Russia necessaria per l'Europa**

*in Affari Esteri*, Anno XLVI, numero speciale n. 174, aprile-primavera , 344-356

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Peter J. Verovšek

**Unexpected Support for European Integration: Memory, Rupture, and Totalitarianism in Arendt's Political Theory**

*in Review of Politics (The)*, Volume 76 - Issue 03 , 389-413

Collective memory is an important source of social stability, allowing human beings and political communities to integrate new experiences into existing narrative frameworks. In addition to sustaining individual and group identities, remembrance can also maintain cycles of hatred. Building on Arendt's political theory, I present an alternative interpretation of memory as a resource for political change following historical ruptures. This constructive reading focuses on the ability of communities to create new futures out of the shattered pieces of the past. For Arendt, the experience of totalitarianism was a caesura that made nationalist histories, and the nation-state that came with these interpretations of the past, untenable. Following such breaks, communities must reconstruct the past into new narratives. Arendt's unexpected early support for European integration—despite its supranational, technocratic, and economic qualities—is an example of how memory can function as a resource for political transformation in the aftermath of historical ruptures.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Carnaghi Benedetta

**Virginia d'Albert-Lake, une Américaine dans la Résistance. Aspects internationaux et rôle des femmes dans les réseaux**





in *Bulletin de l'Institut Pierre Renouvin*, n. 39, printemps , 113-127

<http://www.cairn.info/revue-bulletin-de-l-institut-pierre-renouvin-2014-1-page-113.htm>

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Hatchondo Juan Carlos, Martinez Leonardo, Sosa Padilla César**

**Voluntary sovereign debt exchanges**

in *Journal of Monetary Economics*, Volume 61, January 2014 , 32-50

We show that some recent sovereign debt restructurings were characterized by (i) the absence of missed debt payments prior to the restructurings, (ii) reductions in the government's debt burden, and (iii) increases in the market value of debt claims for holders of the restructured debt. Since both the government and its creditors are likely to benefit from such restructurings, we label these episodes as "voluntary" debt exchanges. We present a model in which voluntary debt exchanges can occur in equilibrium when the debt level takes values above the one that maximizes the market value of debt claims. In contrast to previous studies on debt overhang, in our model opportunities for voluntary exchanges arise because a debt reduction implies a decline of the sovereign default risk. This is observed in the absence of any effect of debt reductions on future output levels. Although voluntary exchanges are Pareto improving at the time of the restructuring, we show that eliminating the possibility of conducting voluntary exchanges may improve welfare from an ex ante perspective. Thus, our results highlight a cost of initiatives that facilitate debt restructurings.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Greenwood Scott**

**Water Insecurity, Climate Change and Governance in the Arab World**

in *Middle East Policy*, Volume 21, Issue 2, Summer , 140-156

No abstract available

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Tribe Keith**

**What is Social Economics?**

in *History of European Ideas*, Volume 40, Issue 5 , 714-733

During the 1950s at the latest, Max Weber became a 'founding father' of sociology, chiefly on the basis of a restricted set of canonical writings and without any consideration of his wider relationships to law, economics and politics. During the last ten years of his life he was responsible for a major collaborative work, the *Grundriss der Sozialökonomik*—Outline of Social Economics. The title was of his own choosing; and so it might well shed new light on his work if we consider how this work was organised, and how *Economy and Society*, written as a contribution to this handbook, was intended to form part of it.



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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Bechhofer Frank, McCrone David**

**What makes a Gael? Identity, language and ancestry in the Scottish Gàidhealtachd**  
in **Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power**, Volume 21, Issue 2, 2014 , 113-133

Scholars know far less about 'national identity' than 'nations' and 'nationalism'. The authors argue that the concept is sociologically important and briefly discuss its relationship with language. They examine empirically how people living in the Gàidhealtachd, the area of Scotland associated with Gaelic language and culture, whether they are Gaelic speakers or not, whether incomers or not, go about their territorial identity business. The article shows how respondents' Gaelic identity relates to their British and Scottish identity; how people living in the Gàidhealtachd assess putative claims to a Gaelic identity based variously on language, residence and ancestry; and how they see the balance between 'cultural' and 'political' elements in Gaelic. The authors argue that to study 'what makes a Gael?' highlights the key role territorial identity plays in connecting social structure to social action, and also that identity provides a set of meanings and understandings through which people experience social structure and feel empowered to act.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**Moser Christoph, Rose Andrew K.**

**Who benefits from regional trade agreements? The view from the stock market**  
in **European Economic Review**, Volume 68, May 2014 , 31-47

The consequences of regional trade agreements (RTAs) on countries' welfare are disputed. In this paper, we assess these effects using stock returns from a recent data set that spans over 200 RTA announcements, 80 economies, and 20 years. We measure the effects of news concerning RTAs on the returns of national stock markets, after adjusting these returns for international stock market movements. We then link these abnormal returns to features of the RTA members and the agreements themselves. We find strong evidence of the natural trading partner hypothesis; stock markets rise more when RTAs are signed between countries that already engage in high volumes of trade. Stock markets also rise more when poorer countries sign RTAs, and when RTAs are signed with smaller partners. We also find no evidence that capital markets expect significant trade diversion effects.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

**López Ramón, Palacios Amparo**

**Why has Europe Become Environmentally Cleaner? Decomposing the Roles of Fiscal, Trade and Environmental Policies**  
in **Environmental & Resource Economics**, Volume 58, Issue 1, May , 91-108

This paper examines the role of fiscal policy, trade and energy taxes on environmental quality in Europe using disaggregated data at the monitoring station level for the 12 richest European countries spanning the period from 1995 to 2008. Our estimations show that fiscal policies and energy taxes are important determinants of pollution through



various mechanisms. We find that increasing the share of fiscal spending in GDP and shifting the emphasis towards spending in public goods and against non-social subsidies significantly lower the concentrations of sulfur dioxide and ozone but not nitrogen dioxide. At the same time, energy taxes reduce nitrogen dioxide concentrations but have no effect on ozone and sulfur dioxide. Finally trade openness has a direct effect on sulfur dioxide but no effect on nitrogen dioxide or ozone. Our estimates account for time-varying unobserved heterogeneity.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Henry Aaron James

**William Petty, the Down Survey, Population and Territory in the Seventeenth Century  
in Territory, Politics, Governance, Volume 2, Issue 2 , 218-237**

This paper interrogates Sir William Petty's Down Survey of Ireland (1655) as an historical episode where population and territory emerged before the epoch of governmentality. By analyzing the Down Survey as an earlier moment when population and land were enjoined, this paper makes two key arguments. First, the Down Survey brought people and land together as enjoined objects through a practice of ratio, a means to both classify and quantify land and people. Second, while a number of scholars have suggested territory is a relation grounded in biopolitics and governmentality, the Down Survey presents an historical episode that departs from this set of relations. Rather, the form of territory that emerges in Petty's thinking following the Down Survey aggregates people as ratio and, as such, produces a notion of territory grounded in preventative politics. I conclude by suggesting we need to reconsider the effectiveness of studying territory through the periodization of governmentality.

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**Section D) Federalism as a political idea**

*Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous*

Freitag Ulrike

**'Cosmopolitanism' and 'Conviviality'? Some conceptual considerations concerning the late Ottoman Empire  
in European Journal of Cultural Studies, Vol. 17, No. 4, August 2014 , 375-391**

Abstract

In this article, I argue that the concept of 'conviviality', at least in a non-elitist understanding, allows us to pay closer attention to the conditions under which people of different ethnic, linguistic, religious and national backgrounds and of all social strata managed to live together peacefully in the late Ottoman Empire. This phenomenon, which can be observed in port cities in particular, has often been discussed under the term of 'Ottoman cosmopolitanism'. The latter term, both in its wider usage and in the historiography linked to the Ottoman Empire, has become heavily laden with moral precepts often originating in particular Western, liberal ideas. I will argue here that 'cosmopolitanism' and 'conviviality' can be seen as complementing each other, the former tendentially (albeit not exclusively) focussing more on elite interactions and emphasising the interactions of people of different ethnic and religious origin, the latter opening a window onto the quotidian practices of everyday interactions by people regardless of their origin. Evidently, there are large areas of overlap between both concepts; nevertheless, it might be useful to separate them heuristically.