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Federal Pluralism in Belgium

in *Federalist Debate (The)*, Year XXVI, n. 3, November

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D'Atena Antonio

NATIONAL UNITY BETWEEN SUPRANATIONAL INTEGRATION AND REGIONAL GOVERNMENTS

in *Italian Papers on Federalism*, 1/2014

The essay examines, with reference to Italy, the dialectical tensions subsisting in the multi-level system consisting of the national State, the Regions and the European Union. It is divided into two parts, respectively, entitled "Unity versus Autonomy" and "Integration versus Autonomy." The discussion highlights the evolution of these dialectical tensions and the rapprochement between the Italian and the European system, with a trend to replace the "competence on competence" of the upper level with the principle of subsidiarity.

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Zoran Oklopcic

Provincializing Constitutional Pluralism

in *Transnational Legal Theory*, vol. 5, issue 3 , 331-363

This paper adapts the idea of constitutional pluralism outside the EU, its 'regional comfort zone'. Starting with claims of ultimate constitutional authority in the former Yugoslavia, it offers an account of provincialised constitutional pluralism—pluralism marked by the recursive proliferation of the claims of ultimate authority, as well as the external



constituent presence that manages them. Provincialising constitutional pluralism means not only describing its travails in the periphery, but also situating it within theoretical debates, in normative and constitutional theory. What emerges from this encounter is the respect for the recursive proliferation of constitutional pluralism, and a suggestion of a 'self-ironic' ethos on the part of the radical challengers to the status quo. Finally, provincialised constitutional pluralism speaks back to the 'core': those who fight for it ought to have tools at their disposal to advance their vision at the core's sites of political decision making.

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Gerken Heather K.

Slipping the Bonds of Federalism

in *Harvard Law Review*, Volume 128 - n. 1

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Patricia Popelier

Subnational multilevel constitutionalism

in *Perspectives on federalism*, vol. 6, issue 2 , E1-E23

The embedment of states in a multilevel government environment created by rulebased international organizations, also impacts upon the position of subnational entities in federal and quasi-federal states. In this multilevel government environment, subnational constitutionalism is not merely defined by the power of subnational authorities to adopt their own constitution, but also by the power to define their position in relation to other layers of authority. This is in particular true for EU member states, considering the intensity of the European integration process. The European, national and subnational systems are thus intertwined. (Quasi-)federal constitutional systems adopt different strategies, ranging from a centralist to a dualist approach. A comparative analysis, using indicators for measuring these approaches, provides us with prototypes for a centralist approach (the UK), a gate-keeper approach (Germany) and a dualist approach (Belgium). At the same time, these indicators can be used to refine the model for the positioning of legal systems on a gliding scale from unitary to con-federal states.

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Sharei Mahmoud Shahriar

The Creation of a Global Parliament and the Fear of Veto

in *Federalist Debate (The)*, Year XXVII, n. 1, March

No abstract available



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Subsection 1. The theory of federation

Benjamin F. Gussen

The Evolutionary Economic Implications of Constitutional Designs: Lessons from the Constitutional Morphogenesis of New England and New Zealand

in *Perspectives on federalism*, vol. 6, issue 2 , E319

This paper examines the constitutional morphogenesis of New England and New Zealand to determine the effects on their respective economic development—specifically in terms of economic complexity. New England had revolted against a dominion that limited the local autonomy of its colonies; alternatively, almost 200 years later, New Zealand abolished a quasi-federal provincial system in favour of a unitary state. Constitutional economics, through the works of its founding father, James Buchanan, is employed to explain the effects of these constitutional choices. The paper argues that empowering local government is the key to economic prosperity in a globalising world, where the role of the nation-state is increasingly marginalised. Nourishing local autonomy is important for constitutional aspirations.

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Manning John F.

The Means of Constitutional Power

in *Harvard Law Review*, Volume 128 - n. 1

No abstract available

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Subsection 2. Constitutional reform

Drake Ian J.

Federal Roadblocks: The Constitution and the National Popular Vote Interstate Compact

in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, vol. 44, n. 4, Fall , 681-701

The National Popular Vote (NPV) interstate compact proposes to change the presidential election system from a state-based federal system to a national popular vote system. NPV proponents contend states can implement the compact without federal governmental authorization. This article addresses the constitutional questions of whether the NPV must obtain Congress's approval and whether Congress has the constitutional authority to grant such approval. In addressing these questions, I review U.S. Supreme Court precedents and constitutional history and find the NPV is the type of compact the Supreme Court would conclude requires congressional approval. Most importantly, I contend Congress is constitutionally unable to grant approval of this compact and the Supreme Court will play an integral role in making this determination.

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Gros Damien

La réforme du Sénat canadien : considérations politiques et constitutionnelles avant l'avis de la Cour suprême
in *Revue du droit public et de la science politique en France et à l'étranger*, n. 6 , 1725-1750

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Sarah Lambrecht

Movement towards a Flemish Constitution: the Charter for Flanders, another failed attempt?
in *Perspectives on federalism*, vol. 6, issue 2 , E141-E163

A Constitution for Flanders has been preoccupying Flemish politicians and scholars for over twenty years. On 23 May 2012, the majority parties presented in the Flemish Parliament the Charter for Flanders. Since Flanders only has embryonic constitutionmaking power, this is not a proposal for a Constitution but merely a proposal for a resolution. As a (non-binding) resolution, the Charter has no legal implications, but rather an important political value. First, the text reveals a strong connection with the EU. The Charter's drafters interwove the fundamental right provisions in the Belgian Constitution with those in the Charter of Fundamental Rights for the European Union, which resulted in an expansive fundamental rights catalogue. Furthermore, the Charter contains a clear political commitment; 'it gives the impetus to a Constitution of Flanders in the framework of the constitution-making Flanders ought to acquire'. The Charter's preamble also confirms that Flanders is a nation with its own language and culture. The lack of participation of opposition parties and citizens in the drafting process was met with fierce criticism. The dossier slumbered in the competent commission without any parliamentary debate for two years. In 2013, the Christian Democratic Party announced that the dossier would be reactivated. However, this did not occur before the 'Mother of all elections' (regional, federal and European elections) in May 2014. As a consequence, the proposal for a Charter expired. It is unclear if the new Flemish Government composed of the Flemish-Nationalists, the Liberals and Christian-Democrats will revive the Charter for Flanders. Hopefully, this reactivation will at least be accompanied with intense parliamentary debates and textual clarifications. Especially, since the drafters consider the Charter a steppingstone to a (legally binding) Constitution for Flanders.

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Subsection 2. Constitutional reform

Werner Reutter

Multilevel Systems and Sub-National Constitutional Politics in Germany: a Qualitative Comparative Analysis
in *Perspectives on federalism*, vol. 6, issue 2 , E215-243

Are sub-national constitutional politics shaped by multilevel structures or by subnational factors? That is the question I am tackling with in this paper. In order to answer this question I will examine 23 decision-making processes in German Länder and try to find out how far their outcome has been determined by multilevel and / or sub-national factors. Notably, I will refer to three policy areas in which the two levels of the German federal system interact in different ways. While the Basic Law determines the sub-national constitutional space with regard to capital punishment and the debt brake comprehensively and in detail, the Länder have significant constitutional leeway



with regard to European integration. In addition – and maybe even more importantly – the paper explores unknown methodological territory. I apply a new empirical tool to the research question at hand by using Qualitative Comparative Analysis (QCA). Qualitative – or Configurational – Comparative Analysis is supposed to better contextualize the effects of causes for an outcome than conventional quantitative methods. Overall the study will bring to the fore that as far as political science is concerned the analysis of constitutional politics in the German Länder is still in its infancy. We have to refine our theoretical models and improve our empirical tools. Only then we will be able to better understand how the multilevel system, party politics, and constitutional features impact on sub-national constitutional politics.

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Broschek Jörg

Pathways of Federal Reform: Australia, Canada, Germany, and Switzerland

in **Publius: The Journal of Federalism**, vol. 45, n. 1, Winter , 51-76

Applying a historical-institutionalist framework, this article systematically explores the patterns of institutional reform in four federations (Australia, Canada, Germany, and Switzerland) since the early 1990s. The article finds that the historical legacy of a federal system has an effect on the overarching reform goal (strengthening self-rule versus shared rule), as well as the scope (focused versus comprehensive) and mode (constitutional versus nonconstitutional) of reforms. Reforms in Australia and Canada were primarily concerned with pathologies such as unilateralism and duplication of competences and had as their main goal to strengthen shared rule. Reforms in Germany and Switzerland were initiated to disentangle both tiers of government by strengthening self-rule.

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Lecours André

The Question of Federalism in Nepal

in **Publius: The Journal of Federalism**, vol. 44, n. 4, Fall , 609-632

In 2012, a Nepali Constituent Assembly tasked with drafting a federal constitution was dissolved after four years of wrangling over federalism issues. This article develops three explanations for why federal structures have yet to take shape in Nepal. It argues that consensus on federalism hides a reluctance by key actors to build a federal system; that while some political forces want federal structures based on ethnic identities, two of the three main political parties have little appetite for “identity-based federalism”; and that political actors hold antagonistic ideas about federalism and what it should achieve. More broadly, the article speaks to cases of “holding together” federalism stemming from previously unitary states.

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Mila Versteeg and Emily Zackin

American Constitutional Exceptionalism Revisited

in **University of Chicago Law Review**, vol. 81, issue 4 , 1641-1707



The US Constitution is a global outlier. Its omission of positive rights, its brevity, and its remarkable duration and stability make it exceptional by global standards. The uniqueness of this venerable document has spurred a passionate debate over America's constitutional exceptionalism.

In this Article, we show that not all of American constitutionalism is nearly so distinctive. Over the past two centuries, Americans not only wrote the federal

Constitution, but they have also written 149 state constitutions and approved thousands of amendments to those constitutions. Those state constitutions are also an essential part of the American constitutional tradition and yet are unexceptional by global standards.

We draw on original data based on our own hand coding of all state constitutions ratified between 1776 and 2011 to provide the first systematic comparison of US state constitutions to the world's national constitutions. Using these data, we highlight three features of state constitutions that should prompt reconsideration of America's constitutional exceptionalism. First, like most of the world's constitutions, state constitutions are rather long and elaborate documents that set out government policies in painstaking detail. Second, like most of the world's constitutions, state constitutions are frequently amended or overhauled. Third, like most of the world's constitutions, state constitutions contain positive rights relating to, for example, education, labor, social welfare,

and the environment. Thus, at the state level, Americans have written their constitutions much like everyone else.

Our findings invite reconsideration not only of America's alleged constitutional exceptionalism but also of the nature of state constitutions. State constitutions are frequently derided for falling short of the example set by the federal Constitution and dismissed as statutory rather than constitutional in character. Our analysis suggests that the defining features of state constitutions do not merely represent a subnational mode of constitution making but characterize national and subnational constitutions alike. Moreover, these features represent an underappreciated mechanism of constitutional design that emphasizes flexibility and specificity over the entrenchment of broad statements of principles.

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Todd Hataley and Christian Leuprecht

Asymmetric decentralization of the administration of public safety in the Canadian federal political system in Canadian Public Administration, vol. 57, issue 4 , 507-526

Canada's federal political system has to reconcile differences over the balance between shared rule and self-rule concerning two bedrock principles of the constitutional government: the rule of law and democratic oversight of the exercise of the power of the state to ensure that it is not usurped. The hallmark of the administration of multilevel security governance in Canada is horizontal and vertical differentiation of diverse territorial and non-territorial community values, preferences, interests and values has given rise to the asymmetric decentralization. This article maps the historical and constitutional roots, and then draws on examples in a survey of its institutional structure across three levels of government. It concludes by discussing the governance challenges that shared sovereignty and mismatched jurisdictional authorities pose for the effective and efficient provision of public safety in Canada.

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Patrick T. Hickey

Beyond Pivotal Politics: Constituencies, Electoral Incentives, and Veto Override Attempts in the House



in *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, Volume 44, Issue 4 , 577–601

Veto override attempts offer an ideal opportunity to study the president's influence in Congress. A bill's content is identical during final passage and veto override votes, yet some members of Congress vote differently on these two roll-calls. This article focuses on those members of Congress who switch their votes to join, or defect from, the president's coalition during veto override votes. The empirical analysis investigates veto override attempts from 1973 to 2011 to determine which members of Congress are most likely to change their votes during veto overrides. I find that the president's ability to win, or keep, members' support on veto override votes is determined in part by members' electoral incentives and the president's strength in members' constituencies. In particular, the president's strength in members' constituencies makes presidential party members more likely to join the president's veto override coalition and also makes opposition party members more likely to defect from the president's veto override coalition. Accounting for the influence of constituencies and electoral incentives augments party-based and ideology-based theories of congressional behavior and thus helps build richer, more comprehensive, and more accurate theories of member behavior.

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Irene Sobrino Guijarro

Constitutional bases in the federal conflict over access to health care of undocumented immigrants in Spain
in *Perspectives on federalism*, vol. 6, issue 2 , E191-E214

In Spain, over the last thirty years, the powers of “Autonomous Communities” to guarantee welfare and social rights have witnessed exponential proliferation. Such expansion has occurred within the wider processes governing the transfer of powers from the central level and the consolidation of the political autonomy of “Autonomous Communities.” For instance, the vast majority of legislative powers in the social sphere are allocated to different levels of government according to a shared pattern, whereby the central level establishes framework legislation to be complemented and implemented by each of the “Autonomous Communities”. However, the practical difficulties of determining the scope of legislative competences within such a shared logic are a permanent source of intergovernmental and constitutional conflict in Spain.

This paper seeks to analyse some of the constitutional coordinates that frame the federal tensions that have arisen from the last national legal reform, which have drastically curtailed the right to free health care for undocumented immigrants in Spain. The Spanish case illustrates the efforts of the Constitutional Court to conciliate unity and diversity in the legal design of health care, and highlights the crucial constitutional role of the subnational levels of government in preserving social inclusion policies in a context of general welfare retrenchment.

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Michiel Luchtman and John Vervaele

European Agencies for Criminal Justice and Shared Enforcement (Eurojust and the European Public Prosecutor's Office)

in *Utrecht Law Review*, vol. 10, issue 5 , 132-150

European agencies are playing an increasing role in the criminal judicial area. When it comes to the applicable law for



their investigative acts, the picture is not that European, but rather a vague mix of some European and mostly national law. This results not only in great legal uncertainty as to the enforcement powers that can be used and their modalities, but also to increasing conflicts of law when it comes to the applicable safeguards and judicial review in the common area of freedom, security and justice (AFSJ). How should shared enforcement in this area be designed and implemented in order to achieve the goals of the AFSJ (effective crime control in conformity with human rights)?

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Bonoli Giuliano, Champion Cyrielle

Federalism and Welfare to Work in Switzerland: The Development of Active Social Policies in a Fragmented Welfare State

in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, vol. 45, n. 1, Winter , 77-98

This article is concerned with the impact that federal structures have on the development of welfare to work or activation policies. More precisely, it argues that the incentives and the risks associated with a division of responsibilities among different jurisdictions may constitute an obstacle to broad reforms that promote labor market participation of nonworking benefit recipients. This argument is illustrated with a case study discussing policy responses to a massive rise in caseloads among social assistance recipients in Switzerland. We conclude that the lack of a fundamental reform was the consequence of the incentives provided by the federal structure of the program. These incentives have both encouraged cost shifting among jurisdictions and discouraged involvement of federal level policy makers in a bigger reform.

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Lide E. Paterno

Federalism, Due Process, and Equal Protection: Stereoscopic Synergy in Bond and Windsor

in *Virginia Law Review*, vol. 100, issue 8 , 1819-1873

Few constitutional themes have galvanized popular political factions—and, consequently, have been perceived to be in natural tension with each other—as much as federalism, on one side, and the substantive due process and equal protection doctrines, on the other. The concepts have assumed these polarized and competing public associations through their practical interactions over the twentieth century, often serving as both the targets and the weapons of charges of judicial activism. However, the Supreme Court's recent opinions in *United States v. Windsor* and *Bond v. United States*, read together, reveal an attempt to reconcile these two seemingly disparate constitutional themes. Specifically, Justice Kennedy's writings in both cases suggest an ironic conservative salvaging of the fundamental interest strand of the equal protection doctrine. In this modern take on the doctrine that first gained popularity under the more liberal Warren and Burger Courts but attracted little attention since, an individual's fundamental interest in the rights created by her state within its reserved powers is fused with equal protection concerns to motivate a heightened tier of judicial scrutiny. This Note argues that such "stereoscopic synergy" may serve as a value-free, representation-reinforcing judicial mechanism: It provides a framework by which courts may correct defaults in the political process's protection of minorities' interests when federal law discriminately recognizes validly enacted state regulations based on the suspect or quasi-suspect class of the burdened individuals. This same analysis can be applied to advance causes championed on opposite ends of the political spectrum, such as medical marijuana use and private



gun ownership. As such, this conservative twist on a historically liberal concept disrupts the popular culture's perception of federalism and substantive due process-equal protection as necessarily conflicting doctrines.

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Curtis A. Bradley

Federalism, Treaty Implementation, and Political Process: Bond v. United States
in *American journal of international law*, vol. 108, issue 3 , 486-496

In *Bond v. United States*, the U.S. Supreme Court disallowed the prosecution of a domestic poisoning case under legislation that implements the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production, Stockpiling and Use of Chemical Weapons and on Their Destruction. In doing so, a majority of the Court declined to address constitutional issues concerning the relationship between the national government's treaty power and the U.S. federal system of government. Instead, the majority resolved the case by applying a presumption that federal statutes do not intrude on traditional areas of state authority, such as the prosecution of local crimes, absent a clear indication that Congress intended that result. This interpretive presumption may have implications for how other treaty-implementing legislation is construed, and also for how such legislation is drafted in the United States in the future.

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Flavio Guella

Il "collegamento sufficiente" tra disposizione nazionale e ordinamento UE quale perdurante condizione di applicabilità dei diritti fondamentali

in *Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo*, no. 3 , 1161-1170

Case note, CJEU, case C-206/13, Cruciano Siragusa (6 March 2014)

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Filippo Fontanelli

Implementation of EU law through domestic measures after Fransson: the Court of Justice buys time and in European Law Review, vol. 39, issue 5 , 682-700

In 2014, the Court came to terms with the application of the Charter of Fundamental Rights to domestic measures in the wake of *Fransson*. The five cases discussed here provide an overview of the Court's subsequent interpretation of the "implementation" link between EU law and national measures, required for the Charter to apply. Arguably, the Court is playing by ear and eludes the real legal riddle: how to determine with certainty the application of EU law at large in a specific case. Because the application of the Charter depends on the application of EU law, this issue deserves more attention. In particular, the precise notion of the application of EU law could help to identify non-preclusion cases, i.e. those in which EU law applies to, but does not prohibit, domestic measures. Only in these cases does the Charter have added value as an autonomous standard of review.



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Miroslava Scholten, Annetje Ottow

Institutional Design of Enforcement in the EU: The Case of Financial Markets

in *Utrecht Law Review*, vol. 10, issue 5 , 80-91

Enforcement of EU law has become increasingly 'Europeanized'. But how is and can it be organized in the integrated legal order of the EU to promote effective enforcement? In light of the recent institutional and substantive changes in the area of EU financial markets regulation, this article identifies four models (S, M, L, and XL models) of enforcement of EU law. It discusses the possibilities and challenges to effective enforcement of each of such models and the major trade-offs which policy-makers face at the EU and national levels when designing enforcement frameworks, namely centralization vs. decentralization (an institutional perspective) and harmonization vs. differentiation (substantive and procedural perspectives). It argues that at least a minimum degree of institutional centralization is necessary to promote the uniform enforcement and implementation of EU policies in a Union with 28 legal systems. The more specific details, such as specific institutional shape of centralized bodies (should it be a network, an agency or an EU institution?) and of the distribution of functions between the national and EU level are better addressed on a case-by-case basis in light of the political, economic, and social characteristics of the sector at stake.

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Víctor J. Vázquez Alonso

La Corte Suprema norteamericana y el federalismo del bienestar. A propósito del juicio de constitucionalidad de la reforma sanitaria

in *Revista de derecho politico*, no. 90 , 135-176

This article studies the doctrinal and judicial debate on the constitutionality of the Health Care Reform passed by the U. S. Congress. After exposing the foundations of the reform, the article focuses on the new profiles of the American cooperative federalism that stem from the interpretation that the Supreme Court has done in the *National Federation of Independent Business v. Sibelius* of three key clauses for the evolution of the territorial distribution of powers in the U. S. A: the Commerce Clause, the Necessary and Proper Clause and the Spending and Taxing Clause. Furthermore, this article reflects on which should be the degree of deference of judges to the legislator when it comes to enforce the rules of territorial power in judging the constitutionality of laws with particular democratic relevance. In light of the libertarian criticism on the reform, the article ends with an analysis on how the categories of federalism are increasingly displacing the Bills of Rights in the defense of certain economic freedoms in front of federal social programs.

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Andrea Turturro

La reiterata violazione del giudicato costituzionale come «atto contrario alla Costituzione» ex art. 126 della Carta: spunti di riflessione

in *Regioni (Le)*, n. 3 , 509-560



No abstract available

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Leunig Sven, Träger Hendrik

Landesinteressen, Parteipolitik, „Parteidruck“ – der Bundesrat im Fokus divergierender Interessen
in *Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft*, Heft 1-2, 2014

Interests of the Laender, Partisan Politics, Party Pressure – the Bundesrat in the focus of diverging interests

For decades a debate has raged in political science, the media and in politics, namely, whether partisan politics have superseded the genuine interests of the Laender in the German Bundesrat. This article first deals with the question which methodological approach or which research design is likely to offer an answer to the problem. We suggest a sequential use of, first, quantitative methods, and second, qualitative case studies which amend the results of the former. We used this approach for those cases in which the conference committee between Bundestag and Bundesrat was invoked between 1990 and 2005, as well as for selected law making processes during that time frame. Our results support the thesis that the Laender interests were marginalized by partisan politics only in rare instances.

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Astrid Épiney

Le champ d'application de la Charte des droits fondamentaux: l'arrêt Fransson et ses implications
in *Les Cahiers de droit europeen*, vol. 50, issue 2, 283-303

No abstract available

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Hennessey Jessica

Loss of control: legislature changes and the state–local relationship
in *Constitutional political economy*, Volume 25, Issue 4, December 2014, 407-433

There are a variety of methods that state legislatures can use to pass legislation which relates to municipalities. This paper explores why, how and when states changed their constitutions from allowing special legislation for municipalities to requiring general laws which would apply to all municipalities. Historians have put forward several explanations for why special legislation was harder to maintain as the nineteenth century progressed. A new way of framing the story is presented here by considering how the passage of special legislation was maintained through a logroll; legislators formed a coalition to vote on each other's local legislation. As the size of the legislature expanded and the composition of the legislature changed, it may have been harder for legislators to maintain a coalition in order to logroll each other's proposed local legislation. The previous theories along with the new one presented here are empirically tested. Evidence suggests a link between the size of the state legislature and the probability of instituting general legislation for municipalities, indicating that one motivation for adopting general laws was the dissolution of a stable logroll.



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Tridivesh Singh Maini

Making of Foreign Policy: Punjab - New Delhi - Islamabad

in *Indian Journal of Federal Studies*, n. 26 , 21-31

Foreign Policy originally falls within the constitutional competence of the federal government. But regionalisation process and coalitional compulsion have critically impacted the making of foreign policy of India. 'Commercial diplomacy' and 'constituent diplomacy' have allowed Indian states to play assumingly critical, but constructive role in the formulation of foreign policies. States are directly negotiating with foreign firms to attract foreign direct investments. Border regions are shaping bilateral or multilateral relations with subcontinental states. The present study selects Punjab as case in point. One finds overwhelming consensus across the political spectrum within the state for an improved relationship with Pakistan in general and Pakistani Punjab in particular.

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Kyriacou Andreas P.

Morral-Palacín Noemí, Regional Inequalities and the Electoral Success of Regional Parties: Evidence from the OECD

in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, vol. 45, n. 1, Winter , 3-23

Income inequalities across regions will tend to engender redistributive conflicts about the territorial distribution of resources. The salience of territorial redistribution in the context of regional inequalities is likely to mobilize support for regional parties in national elections since territorial redistribution is decided at the national level. Thus, regional inequalities will favor the electoral success of regional parties in national-level elections. In this article we report evidence consistent with this argument based on an original data set that captures the electoral fate of regional parties in national contests across twenty-two OECD countries. Our results are robust to the use of different estimation methods as well as the consideration of the confounding influence of other factors which may affect the electoral fortunes of regional parties.

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Edoba B. Omoregie

National Health Law in Nigeria: Federalism and Subsidiarity Questions

in *Indian Journal of Federal Studies*, n. 26 , 33-48

On 19 May 2011, National Assembly of Nigeria passed a legislation regulating the national health system, affecting severely the principles of federalism and subsidiarity as have been established under the present constitution of the country. To put differently, the instant legislative intervention undermines the federal character as it seeks to nationalise provisions of health services in the country. It is argued that health services as a legislative item is a residuary matter which only the states can legislate upon. It is further contended that the enactment in all probabilities is likely to upset



constitutional distribution of powers among governing units.

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Kleiner Samuel

Note: The Commander-in-Chief and the United Nations: Why the President Can Use the United Nations Security Council as the Constitutional Basis for Military Operations Short of War

in *Yale Journal of International Law (The)*, Volume 39, Issue 2

This Note argues that the U.S. President can utilize military force for operations “short of war” based on a U.N. Security Council Resolution without congressional authorization. In the post-WWII era, Presidents have relied on U.N. Security Council resolutions to argue that they have the constitutional power to use military force without Congress. In the Korean War and the Gulf War, the President argued that the Executive had the power to launch a full-scale war based on a U.N. Resolution without going to Congress. In interventions in Somalia, Haiti, Bosnia, and Libya, the President has argued that the Executive has the power to use military force short of war to uphold the U.S. national interest in enforcing a U.N. Security Council Resolution. However, no scholar has examined this issue in over fifteen years. This Note argues that the President has the constitutional power to conduct military operations “short of war” without congressional authorization if the military action is based on a U.N. Security Council Resolution.

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

Marloes van Rijsbergen

On the Enforceability of EU Agencies’ Soft Law at the National Level: The Case of the European Securities and Markets Authority

in *Utrecht Law Review*, vol. 10, issue 5 , 116-131

The delegation of more and more soft regulatory powers to EU agencies occurs in an increasing number of policy areas, e.g. aviation, medicines and financial services. Although the growing scope of the delegation of public authority to agencies is said to be necessary to enhance the effectiveness of EU policies, it raises doubts concerning the legitimacy of agencies and their decisions at the same time. This article aims to contribute to the ongoing discussion on EU agencies’ regulatory powers by uncovering the problematic aspects which the application and enforcement of soft law rules of EU agencies may induce at the national level. Furthermore, it adds new elements to the wider reflection on the function and status of soft law within the EU. Ultimately, it argues that further procedural and good governance guarantees are required in order to ensure both the legitimacy and effectiveness of the soft regulatory powers of EU agencies. It does so by taking one of the European Supervisory Authorities (ESAs), namely the European Securities and Markets Authority (ESMA), as an illustrative example of how the establishing regulations of newer EU agencies proceed in the direction of the institutionalisation and proceduralisation of soft law rule-making.

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



Pozen David E.

Self-Help and the Separation of Powers

in *Yale Law Journal (The)*, Volume 124, Issue 1

Self-help doctrines pervade the law. They regulate a legal subject's attempts to cure or prevent a perceived wrong by her own action, rather than through a mediated process. In their most acute form, these doctrines allow subjects to take what international lawyers call countermeasures—measures that would be forbidden if not pursued for redressive ends. Countermeasures are inescapable and invaluable. They are also deeply concerning, prone to error and abuse and to escalating cycles of vengeance. Disciplining countermeasures becomes a central challenge for any legal regime that recognizes them.

How does American constitutional law meet this challenge? This Article contends that a robust set of unwritten, quasi-legal norms shapes and constrains retaliation as well as cooperation across the U.S. government, and it explores how these conventions of self-help correspond to regulatory principles that have emerged in public international law. Re-envisioning intragovernmental conflict through the lens of self-help gives us new descriptive and critical purchase on the separation of powers. By attending to the theory and practice of constitutional countermeasures, the Article tries to show, we can advance familiar debates over legislative obstruction and presidential adventurism, and we can develop richer models of constitutional contestation within and beyond the branches.

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

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Anoeska Buijze

Shared Regulatory Regimes through the Lens of Subsidiarity: Towards a Substantive Approach

in *Utrecht Law Review*, vol. 10, issue 5 , 67-79

This contribution explores the division of regulatory and enforcement competences between the EU and the Member States on a general level. It provides some substantive criteria that can facilitate the judicial review of compliance with the principle of subsidiarity. Alternatively, these criteria can be used to provide a more convincing argumentation for the exercise of shared competences at the EU level. In addition, it addresses developments that have led to the Europeanisation of almost all policy fields and that will likely lead to further Europeanisation even when the principle of subsidiarity is conscientiously adhered to.

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

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Laura Wissink, Ton Duijkersloot, Rob Widdershoven

Shifts in Competences between Member States and the EU in the New Supervisory System for Credit Institutions and their Consequences for Judicial Protection

in *Utrecht Law Review*, vol. 10, issue 5 , 92-115

The Single Supervisory Mechanism (SSM) is a striking example of the tendency within the EU to transfer decisive, regulatory and enforcement powers to the EU level. The SSM involves a complex system of mixed administration in order to ensure effective banking supervision within the Eurozone. Whereas such mixed administration might be



necessary in order to achieve effective cross-border supervision, it also creates legal uncertainties due to the different legal orders involved. In this paper, the effect of the mixed administration on formal and substantive judicial protection is discussed.

The paper analyses the right of access to the courts in the case of common procedures and certain ECB decisions. Furthermore, it is examined whether the ECB and national competent authorities have adequate powers to carry out supervision within the SSM. Lastly, the paper pursues the issues with regard to substantive judicial protection in greater depth, in particular the right of respect for the home and the rights of defence.

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Daley Dorothy M., Mullin Megan, Rubado Meghan E.

State Agency Discretion in a Delegated Federal Program: Evidence from Drinking Water Investment

in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, vol. 44, n. 4, Fall , 564-586

This article examines the use of discretion by state agencies in the context of multilevel policy. Research on agency discretion assumes that discretion represents a departure from legislative intent. However, Congress may delegate authority to promote policy innovation. Using data on investment in drinking water infrastructure from 2000 to 2008, we examine the relationship between agency discretion and functional expertise in implementing the Drinking Water State Revolving Fund program. We focus on two areas where states can exercise discretion: (i) projects not related to compliance with federal law and (ii) support to small water systems. Our results indicate that agency expertise influences investment, but problem severity reduces differences across agencies. Initial choices over agency design affect how states adapt federal programs to meet state needs.

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

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Gabriel A. Moens, John Trone, Ermanno Calzolaio

The Legislative Principle of Subsidiarity: a Meaningful Restriction upon the Legislative Power of the European Union?

in *Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo*, no. 2 , 563-580

The principle of subsidiarity is a judicially enforceable legal principle in the European Union (EU) legal system. Although it is used in the judicial review of EU legislative acts, the relevant Treaty provisions risk to be emptied of their meaning as a result of the approach adopted by the European Court of Justice (CJEU) in their interpretation. This paper deals with the more promising application of the principle in the EU legislative process. In particular, the paper reviews the reliance of the parliaments of the Member States on this principle in their involvement with the EU legislative process. The paper asks the question whether this reliance has the potential of serving as a meaningful and effective legislative safeguard of subsidiarity.

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Primus Richard

The Limits of Enumeration



in **Yale Law Journal (The)**, Volume 124, Issue 3 - 2014

According to a well-known principle of constitutional interpretation here identified as the “internal-limits canon,” the powers of Congress must always be construed as authorizing less legislation than a general police power would. This Article argues that the internal-limits canon is unsound. Whether the powers of Congress would in practice authorize any legislation that a police power would authorize is a matter of contingency: it depends on the relationship between the powers and the social world at a given time. There is no reason why, at a given time, the powers cannot turn out to authorize any legislation that a police power would. This Article explains why setting aside the internal-limits canon is consistent with the interests of federalism, with fidelity to the Founding design, and with the text of the Constitution.

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

David B. Spence

The Political Economy of Local Vetoes

in **Texas Law Review**, vol. 93, issue 2 , 351-413

As the controversy over fracking continues to sweep the nation, many local communities have enacted ordinances banning the practice, creating conflicts between these ordinances and statewide regulation schemes. This has given rise to state–local preemption challenges within state courts. In this Article, Professor Spence analyzes these conflicts, focusing on the best way to distribute the costs and benefits of fracking and how courts have attempted to address these distributional concerns. He begins by describing the conflicts between state law and local ordinances and the court decisions that have resolved these preemption issues. He next discusses how future takings claims would affect the distribution of the costs and benefits of fracking.

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Abigail B. Molitor

Understanding Equal Sovereignty

in **University of Chicago Law Review**, vol. 81, issue 4 , 1839-1882

No abstract available

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

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

Werner Vandendbruwaene

What Scope for Subnational Autonomy: the Issue of the Legal Enforcement of the Principle of Subsidiarity

in **Perspectives on federalism**, vol. 6, issue 2 , E45-E73

The transformation of a patchwork of Westphalian nation-states into a multi-level legal order where competences and responsibilities interlock, brings about the fundamental question as to who should do what? This paper argues that the principle of subsidiarity is one of the key components of a system of multilevel governance. Subsidiarity is commonly



assumed to require power to reside 'as close to those affected as possible', but, from a legal perspective, requires the allocation and exercise of competences to adhere to the optimization of relative efficiency and democratic legitimacy in the specific case at hand. The paper will start with construing a legal conception of subsidiarity and how said principle performs a crucial function in securing legitimacy in a context of multilevel governance. Subsidiarity can thus help ascertaining the scope of subnational autonomous decision-making, if based on the set of arguments pertaining to efficiency and democratic legitimacy that together construe subsidiarity.

The second part of the paper addresses the problem of legal enforcement. Increasingly, subsidiarity surfaces in constitutional texts, but its enforcement remains anemic. It is widely held in the literature - and judicial praxis - that subsidiarity is constitutionally underenforced, and supposedly rightly so since it is but a political rule, either nonjusticiable or very marginally. I will argue that subsidiarity is a legal principle, and will demonstrate through comparative studies how precisely it can and ought to be enforced.

From a comparative study of subsidiarity-like clauses such as art. 72 II of the German Grundgesetz, the 'peace, order, and good government' clause of the Canadian Constitution Act, article 118 of the Italian Constitution, and article 5(3) of the Treaty on the European Union, I'd like to engage with the possible strategies for enforcement, which include Better Regulation programs, procedural mechanisms such as the EU protocol n. 2, and judicial review. These mechanisms, and their interaction, further the compliance with the principle of subsidiarity.

The conclusion will highlight possible future improvements to the enforcement of the principle of subsidiarity at the general level, and as applied to the EU. A better enforcement of subsidiarity may help determining a more justified scope of autonomous exercise of powers by governmental levels - subnational levels included.

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

Subsection 4. The legislative branch

Marco Goldoni

Reconstructing the early warning system on subsidiarity: the case for political judgment

in *European Law Review*, vol. 39, issue 5 , 647-663

The Early Warning System (EWS) has been understood as a device for two functions: enhancing the democratic quality of EU law-making and improving subsidiarity review. After having criticised the two most common interpretations of the EWS as a deliberative exercise or as an advisory mechanism, the article proposes to look at the function of the EWS from the perspective of European integration. In this way, a different light is shed on the role of national parliaments. It is suggested that, in light of three factors (legal, practical and political), national parliaments ought to apply the EWS in a political rather than strictly formal way and they should use the EWS for protecting the constitutional essentials of their domestic orders.

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

Subsection 4. The legislative branch

Matteo Cosulich

Sulla possibile estensione della recente giurisprudenza costituzionale (sent. n. 1 del 2014) alle legislazioni elettorali regionali. Vita e destino dei tre porcellini, post «porcellum»

in *Regioni (Le)*, n. 3 , 471-508

Sommario: 1. Introduzione. - 2. La sent. n. 1 del 2014: profili processuali. - 2.1. Modalità di accesso alla Corte. - 2.2. Tipologia della sentenza. - 3. (segue): profili sostanziali. - 3.1. Premio di maggioranza. - 3.2. Voto di preferenza. - 4.



Conclusioni: tanta paglia, un po' di legno, qualche pietra.

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

Subsection 4. The legislative branch

Greene Jamal

The Supreme Court as a Constitutional Court

in *Harvard Law Review*, Volume 128 - n. 1

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

Subsection 5. The executive branch

Emery Yves , Giauque David, Rebmann Frédéric

The slow transformation of Swiss federal administrative elites

in *International Review of Administrative Sciences* , Vol. 80, No. 4 , 687-708

This article sets out to study the profile of Swiss administrative elites at federal level by showing how their profile has evolved in the light of what has come to be known as the wave of New Public Management (NPM), which has benefited from a very fertile ground in Switzerland. These elites correspond to a specific institutional order, in relation to specific organizational structures and workings, and have specific characteristics in terms of career paths and academic background. However, the administrative reforms that have been rolled out since the 1980s have transformed the institutional order within which executives of the federal administration evolve. This article analyses the extent to which these transformations have had an impact on the characteristics of these elites, through indicators such as academic capital, social capital, and career path within and outside the administration. The results show a slow but significant transformation in the profiles of these elites towards an increasing managerialization, reflecting that of the context in which they evolve.

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Zimmermann Hubert

A Grand Coalition for the Euro: The Second Merkel Cabinet, the Euro Crisis and the Elections of 2013

in *German Politics*, Volume 23, Issue 4, Special Issue: The Merkel Government and the German Election of 2013 , 322-336

This article argues that the reaction of the second Merkel government to the sovereign debt crisis in the Eurozone was conditioned by informal and formal policy commitments that were put into place by the preceding CDU/CSU and SPD Grand Coalition after the financial crisis of 2007/08. The decisions were shaped by a cross-party consensus among Christian Democrats and Social Democrats about the causes for the good performance of the German economy in the past decade. Both parties also shared the determination to save the euro and to preserve the integrity of the Eurozone. As a result, an informal Grand Coalition emerged in 2011/12 which shaped Germany's policy reactions during the euro crisis down to the details. One important consequence of this development was that the euro bailout measures and the ensuing reforms of the institutional framework of the Eurozone did not become decisive issues during the Federal



elections of 2013, despite their unpopularity among the voters.

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Schoen Harald, Greszki Robert

A Third Term for a Popular Chancellor: An Analysis of Voting Behaviour in the 2013 German Federal Election in German Politics, Volume 23, Issue 4, Special Issue: The Merkel Government and the German Election of 2013 , 251-267

The 2013 federal election led to a considerable change in the German party system. Yet Chancellor Merkel secured a third term, once again, as chancellor of a grand coalition. This analysis shows that Angela Merkel was much more popular than her SPD challenger, Peer Steinbrück. Moreover, she was perceived as somewhat more representative of the values and policies of the party she stood for than her competitor. What is more, the candidates' perceived representativeness conditioned the impact of candidate preferences on vote choice in complex ways. As a result, support for Angela Merkel was likely to translate into votes for the CDU/CSU, whereas support for Peer Steinbrück did not easily earn SPD votes. The article thus concludes that, in contrast to her challenger, Angela Merkel was an electoral asset for her party. The CDU/CSU's impressive result in the 2013 federal outcome can thus be interpreted, to some extent, as reflecting its leader's popularity.

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Frank Bandau & Kathrin Dümig*

Administering the Inherited 'Employment Miracle': The Labour Market Policy of the Second Merkel Government in German Politics, Volume 23, Issue 4, Special Issue: The Merkel Government and the German Election of 2013 , 337-352

Contrary to most other OECD countries, the German labour market remained almost unaffected by the consequences of the global financial crisis and experienced a strong and steady recovery. Thus, after their victory in the elections of 2009, the economic conditions for the bourgeois parties to shape labour market policy according to their preferences were rather favourable. After exploring the causes of the German 'employment miracle', this article summarises the relevant labour market policies introduced by the black–yellow coalition. We argue that, apart from some important exceptions, the second Merkel government did not pursue a decidedly market–liberal policy agenda. Instead, primarily due to the low problem load, the government mainly readjusted some of the existing policy instruments. Therefore, German labour market policy between 2009 and 2013 can rather be described as an administration of the inherited 'employment miracle' than an active pursuit of a discrete policy agenda.

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Rixen Thomas

Ambitious Goals, Deficient Output: Tax and Fiscal Policies of the Conservative–Liberal Government, 2009–13 in German Politics, Volume 23, Issue 4, Special Issue: The Merkel Government and the German Election of 2013 , 304-321

Tax policy was at the heart of the Merkel II government's reform agenda. The CDU/CSU and FDP promised significant tax cuts and simplifications of the tax system. During their term, however, they remained the least active of all German



governments of the last four decades. Why? This article argues that a combination of factors relating to the dynamics of electoral competition and structural problem pressure can explain this outcome: The new constitutional debt brake and the Euro Crisis foreclosed the traditional 'solution' of glossing over the conflict within the coalition between its economically liberal constituency (FDP and parts of CDU/CSU) and pro-welfare state constituency (other parts of CDU/CSU) by combining tax reductions with continued high spending. The result was a devastating loss for the FDP in the 2013 elections, and a victory for the CDU/CSU which profited from positioning itself as a moderate and stabilising political force in uncertain times of crisis.

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Zohlnhöfer Reimut, Engler Fabian

Courting the Voters? Policy Implications of Party Competition for the Reform Output of the Second Merkel Government

in **German Politics**, Volume 23, Issue 4, Special Issue: The Merkel Government and the German Election of 2013 , 284-303

Understanding party competition as a 'political market', we explore its characteristics during the second Merkel government, 2009–13. On the demand side, analysing opinion polls and the Länder election results, we find that the outcome of the next Bundestag election was uncertain. Thus, electoral competition was likely to be intense. On the supply side, opposition parties presented credible alternatives to government policies with regard to social as well as environmental policy. Regarding the Euro crisis, however, a consensus across the established parties existed. Studying three of the most salient policy issues, we identify party competition as a crucial determinant of decision-making. While the debate on minimum wages was substantially shaped by party competition, resulting in 'anticipatory obedience', nuclear energy only became affected by electoral considerations after the 'Fukushima shock' which resulted in a major policy shift. Regarding the response to the Euro crisis, however, party competition was essentially suspended.

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Welsh Helga A.

Education, Federalism and the 2013 Bundestag Elections

in **German Politics**, Volume 23, Issue 4, Special Issue: The Merkel Government and the German Election of 2013 , 400-414

The cycle of introducing and recalibrating reforms has become a hallmark of German education policy; progress in updating institutions and policies and educational outcomes is dogged by chronic problems. The drivers of change have been a medley of interests, actors, and socio-economic conditions. Institutional change has blended with established policy-making patterns and a move towards greater ideological pragmatism. Due to its national significance, education is prominently positioned in coalition agreements that precede the formation of a new government but plays a marginal role in federal election campaigns. Its treatment in the 2013 coalition agreement between the CDU/CSU and the SPD reaffirms continuity in broad policy goals; the omission of important questions exposed ongoing battles over jurisdiction that are closely tied to conflicts over authority and funding. The results fit a pattern in which flexible policy adjustments and fund distribution result from negotiations among interlocking networks of policy entrepreneurs.

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



Subsection 5. The executive branch

Wendler Frank

End of Consensus? The European Leadership Discourse of the Second Merkel Government during the Eurozone Crisis and Its Contestation in Debates of the Bundestag (2009−13)

in German Politics, Volume 23, Issue 4, Special Issue: The Merkel Government and the German Election of 2013 , 446-459

This article investigates the political discourse on the resolution of the Eurozone of the second Merkel government and its political contestation in plenary debates of the Bundestag. The empirical part demonstrates the high relevance of normative arguments in the debate, both for the case made by the government parties for a Stability Union and related concepts of austerity and economic reform, and for the competing discourse by the opposition parties for investment and debt mutualisation in the Eurozone. Moreover, the analysis reveals that a strong value- and identity-based commitment to European integration continues to be supported by all political parties in the Bundestag. To conclude, the final section discusses party political and institutional factors to explain why the political contestation of the European leadership by the Merkel government in the Bundestag played only a very limited role at the federal election in September 2013.

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Huß Christian

Energy Transition by Conviction or by Surprise? Environmental Policy from 2009 to 2013

in German Politics, Volume 23, Issue 4, Special Issue: The Merkel Government and the German Election of 2013 , 430-445

With the inauguration of the new federal government in 2009, many Germans were afraid of a rollback in energy and climate policy. Indeed, Christian democrats and liberals extended the operational lifespan of nuclear power plants but also continued with the previous green energy policy, known as Energiewende (energy transition). Beginning with a strong ideological separation, the Fukushima accident in Japan provoked a u-turn in nuclear policy, leading the government to abandon the lifespan extensions and to intensify the implementation of Energiewende, which became one of the core policy projects of the Merkel II cabinet then. Moreover, a new kind of consensus atmosphere was established which helped to settle some controversial environmental problems. Albeit policy outcomes concerning Energiewende were rather mixed, energy and climate policy was a rather low ranking issues during the federal election campaign in 2013.

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Saalfeld Thomas, Zohlnhöfer Reimut

From 'Dream Team' to 'Marriage of Convenience'? An Introduction

in German Politics, Volume 23, Issue 4, Special Issue: The Merkel Government and the German Election of 2013 , 237-250

This introduction connects some of the main themes covered in this special issue on Chancellor Merkel's second coalition cabinet, which was formed in October 2009 and ended with the electoral collapse of the FDP in the Bundestag election of September 2013. It starts by setting out an interesting 'puzzle': the parties forming the coalition of 2009–2013 (CDU, CSU and FDP) had expressed a strong preference for this coalition in the run-up to the election of 2009. Despite their seeming agreement in many policy areas, the coalition formed in 2009 faced tough negotiations and conflicts between the parties from the beginning. The economic crisis the preceding government faced between 2005 and 2009



and unforeseen events during the course of the CDU/CSU–FDP coalition 2009–2013 (e.g. the Euro crisis and the Fukushima environmental disaster) had altered the policy agenda in important ways and rendered the former ‘Christian–Liberal reform project’ obsolete.

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Dyson Tom

German Defence Policy under the Second Merkel Chancellorship

in **German Politics**, Volume 23, Issue 4, Special Issue: The Merkel Government and the German Election of 2013 , 460-476

The CDU/CSU/FDP coalition (2009–13) has witnessed the emergence of three important changes in the international security environment: the US ‘Asia Pivot’, the global financial crisis and the fallout from Germany’s backseat role in the Libya crisis. This article examines how German defence policy has adapted to this changing context. It explores the reforms which have taken place to the Bundeswehr’s structure and military capability procurement process under defence ministers Karl-Theodor zu Guttenberg and Thomas de Mazière. The article also looks at German policy toward defence cooperation through CSDP and NATO. The article finds that while some important changes have been enacted to German defence policy, Germany is failing to properly adapt to the changing strategic environment. The article concludes by examining key defence policy challenges facing the government over the 2013–17 legislative period and the implications of the analysis for theoretical debates on German defence policy.

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Henninger Annette, von Wahl Angelika

Grand Coalition and Multi-Party Competition: Explaining Slowing Reforms in Gender Policy in Germany (2009–13)

in **German Politics**, Volume 23, Issue 4, Special Issue: The Merkel Government and the German Election of 2013 , 386-399

Since 2005, the Christian Democrats (CDU) modernised family and labour market policy by supporting gender equality. Recent explanations trace this back to their competition with the Social Democrats (SPD) for female voters. What is missing from these accounts is a discussion of coalition dynamics. We argue that the drive for modernisation faltered under Angela Merkel’s second term for three reasons: (1) coalitional dynamics in the new Conservative–Liberal coalition; (2) the traditionalist CSU wanted to distinguish itself from the moderate impulses of the CDU; and (3) the CDU reacted by moving away from its former ‘social democratisation’. As a result, gender equality policies in the family and labour market slowed and developed increasing inconsistency by indicating not only openness for modern but also emphasising conservative ideas. Despite the inherent contradictions this appealed to many different voters and contributed to a substantial victory for the CDU in the federal election of 2013.

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Bandelow Nils C., Hartmann Anja

Health Policy Prior to the German Federal Election of 2013: The Party Political Marginalisation of a Previously Central Topic in Election Campaigns



in **German Politics**, Volume 23, Issue 4, Special Issue: The Merkel Government and the German Election of 2013 , 371-385

The discussion on how to finance the Statutory Health Insurance (SHI) repeatedly appeared prominently in the political discussions of previous election campaigns for the German Bundestag. However, in 2013 this topic remained only marginal. The recent marginalisation of health policy is closely linked to the political processes and results inherent to a health ministry having the FDP at its helm from 2009 to 2013. The effects of several fundamental reforms introduced during this period closely follow the disputed market orientation of the liberal democratic thought and rendered the corresponding results. However, this was hardly perceived in public and the political discussion was distracted from health policy. The most ambitious project of the FDP and of parts of the Christian parties was the introduction of a health premium. Actually the CSU opposed its realisation. Other policies even contrasted the goals of the FDP.

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Víctor Cuesta-López

Intergovernmental relations in Spain and the United Kingdom: the institutionalization of multilateral cooperation in asymmetric polities

in **Perspectives on federalism**, vol. 6, issue 2 , E299-E318

Considering their dynamic and asymmetric character, the Spanish and British territorial constitutions seem particularly suitable for a comparative analysis. As regards the framework for intergovernmental relations (IGR), the traditional pattern of cooperation in both countries has been mainly limited to bilateral and ad hoc interactions between the central government and the government of each devolved territory. Even if asymmetry incentives bilateral IGR, Spain and Great Britain have followed parallel paths in order to institutionalize multilateral cooperation. This paper offers a comparative approach to the evolution of IGR in Spain and the UK and, particularly, to the progressive institutionalization of the multilateral ministerial meetings (the Sectoral Conferences in Spain and the Joint Ministerial Committees in the UK). The paper also analyses the recent developments of the Spanish IGR (formalization of bilateral committees; enhanced cooperation for the governance of the long-term care services) and the prospects for their implementation in the UK.

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Ludger Helms

Is there a presidentialization of US presidential leadership? A European perspective on Washington

in **Acta Politica**, Volume 50, Issue 1 , 1–19

This article revisits the different notions and concepts of 'presidentialization' that have held an exceptionally prominent status in recent comparative European politics but have conspicuously failed to capture the attention of the American political science community. It then applies a slightly amended version of the influential conceptual framework suggested by Thomas Poguntke and Paul Webb to the analysis of presidential leadership in the United States to demonstrate the analytical usefulness of the concept beyond the family of parliamentary democracies. This stock-tacking exercise reveals that there are some manifestations of presidential leadership that could in fact be described as 'presidentialization' and others that are better characterized as 'de-presidentialization'. Interestingly, the recent developments towards a less 'presidentialized' mode of politics and leadership seem to have been induced by the



institutional incentives of the presidential system.

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

Subsection 5. The executive branch

William W. Newmann

Kennedy, Johnson, and Policy toward China: Testing the Importance of the President in Foreign Policy Decision Making

in **Presidential Studies Quarterly**, Volume 44, Issue 4 , 640–672

While scholars may be pleased with parsimonious models of the presidency in which institutional variables determine presidents' decision-making structures, veteran policy makers argue that scholars miss the essence of decision: people make decisions. This article tests the impact of the president as a variable. The transition from Kennedy to Johnson is a case where all variables remained the same, except the occupant of the Oval Office. Study of the impact of a new president on decision making toward China helps define the influence of both institutional and presidential-centered variables as well as the importance of senior presidential advisors.

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BRENDAN J. DOHERTY

Presidential Reelection Fundraising from Jimmy Carter to Barack Obama

in **Political Science Quarterly**, VOLUME 129 - NUMBER 4 , 585-612

BRENDAN J. DOHERTY analyzes President Obama's unprecedented reelection fundraising. He discusses the implications of these developments for governance, for the president's role as party leader, for Obama's second term in the White House, and for future presidents.

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

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Lorenz Astrid, Riese Dorothee

The Ambiguity of Veto Power in Coalitions: German Liberals' Role as a Watchdog in Justice and Home Affairs and their Failure to Sell Stalemate as Success in the Federal Elections of 2013

in **German Politics**, Volume 23, Issue 4, Special Issue: The Merkel Government and the German Election of 2013 , 415-429

The article demonstrates that the rigid use of veto capacity in coalitions causes risks for re-election. Justice was a high-salience domain of the German Liberal Democratic Party (FDP), which occupied this portfolio in its coalition with the Conservative majority in the federal legislative period from 2009 to 2013. By analysing several legislative projects the article shows that their contents or non-adoption were an effect of liberals' vetoes. This policy-seeking strategy provoked conflicts within the coalition and stalemate making it impossible to realise popular measures that would have enhanced the Liberals' reputation and the importance of the domain for the voters who were mainly interested in economic and social policy. Moreover, the Liberals' vetoes led to a loss of support from its major coalition partner in the pre-election campaign. Thus governmental parties have to trade off policy and vote-seeking goals in order to get re-elected.



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Schmidt Manfred G.

The Policy of Strategic Demobilisation: The Social Policy of the Christian Democratic–Liberal Coalition, 2009–13 in German Politics, Volume 23, Issue 4, Special Issue: The Merkel Government and the German Election of 2013 , 353-370

This article addresses two research questions: which course did the CDU, CSU–FDP coalition government choose to follow in social policy from 2009 to 2013? And what relationships exist between social policy in this period and the Bundestag election in 2013? The analysis of primary and secondary data reveals both continuity and discontinuity in social policy in the 17th legislative period of the Bundestag. The decisions and non-decisions on social protection and labour market regulation in this period mirror a wide variety of determinants. These include partisan effects, electoral cycles, co-governing judges and anonymous social policy of market forces. The data also suggest that the CDU/CSU has been relatively successful in its strategy of ‘asymmetric demobilisation’, the strategy of changing its social policy profile to one more similar to that of its social democratic opponent, in order to demobilise the SPD’s voters rather than mobilising them. More ambivalent has been the electoral outcome of the FDP’s role in social policy. The FDP’s first foray into leading a large welfare state ministry, the Federal Ministry of Health, in 2009 to 2013 did not prove to be a winning proposition for the Liberals electorally. Social policy in general and welfare state recalibration in particular thus seem to be an electorally especially risky project for a liberal party such as the FDP.

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Steven P. Nawara

Who Is Responsible, the Incumbent or the Former President? Motivated Reasoning in Responsibility Attributions

in Presidential Studies Quarterly, Volume 45, Issue 1 , 110–131

This article establishes that transitions of power from one presidential administration to the next can act as a source of uncertainty regarding whom citizens view as responsible for national conditions. I argue that citizens confront this ambiguity in a partisan manner when making responsibility attributions of credit and blame. Using the economy and the Iraq War as examples, ordinary partisans frequently ascribe responsibility using motivated reasoning by crediting the president of their own political party for perceived successes and blaming the president of the opposite party for perceived failures.

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Anna Gamper

Constitutional Courts, Constitutional Interpretation, and Subnational Constitutionalism

in Perspectives on federalism, vol. 6, issue 2 , E24-E44

This paper analyzes the impact of courts and different systems of judicial review on subnational constitutional autonomy. Focus is put on the question on which interpretive guidelines courts may draw when they assess the compatibility of



state constitutions with the federal constitution and whether there is potential for interpretive federalism in subnational constitutional contexts. Three cases where subnational constitutional provisions were respectively dealt with in civil law and common law jurisdictions with different forms of constitutional review have been selected: The first case relates to the Austrian Constitutional Court's views on subnational direct democracy. The second case discusses the Spanish Constitutional Court's decision on the Catalanian Statute. Thirdly, the paper examines US federal courts' decisions which have recently prevented a constitutional amendment of the Oklahoma Constitution. While the arguments and methodology used in these decisions cannot be generalized, they nevertheless raise awareness for the tensions between federalism and judicial interpretation.

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Flavio Guella

Il pluralismo giurisdizionale nel Regno Unito: la devolution alla prova del "potere giudiziario"

in *Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo*, no. 3 , 1071-1111

The article deals with the topic of judicial power and devolution in the United Kingdom, analysing the relationship between, on the one hand, pluralism of substantive law produced or traditionally recognized in Scotland and Northern Ireland and, on the other, the system of courts. Therefore, the first part regards the constitutional frame of courts, evaluating how much it is structurally separated by the centre (in particular for Scotland, with a territorial Court of last instance), and how much it can eventually be culturally separated by the "English Common Law". The second part analyses the role of the existing single central jurisdiction on devolution, controlling the level of pluralism in devolution assemblies' Statute Law; such part is devoted to consider how much the spaces for differentiations are protected or reduced by the concrete application of jurisdiction on so-called "devolution issues". More in detail, the role of the new Supreme Court as a last (and special) instance for devolution problems is evaluated, both in connection with the older Privy Council functions and, in depth, analysing the concrete use of its jurisdiction in the case-law. As a conclusion, it has to be underlined the complexity of the role of the judiciary power in determining the model of territorial autonomy, besides the plurality of factors that contributes to a pluralism or unitary friendly approach in the adjudication on devolution. To this purpose, the last paragraphs develop a general comparison of the judiciary power influence on the frame of government (considering different national constitutional experiences, to contextualize the most recent evolution of the UK model in a general theory of "judicial federalism").

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David Ordóñez Solís

La configuración del Espacio Judicial Europeo

in *Cuadernos europeos de Deusto*, n. 50 , 105-139

The European judicial area has been built on the European Communities insofar as the preliminary ruling procedure between National judges and the European Court of Justice (ECJ) was in force. However, since 1999 an area of freedom, security and justice has been established by the Treaty of Amsterdam, and in this framework the civil and criminal judicial cooperation was set up. The Treaty of Lisbon ended the distinction between community and intergovernmental pillars in the European Union (EU). The European judicial area has been developed through legislations transforming traditional conflict of law treaties into community or EU



regulations; establishing new cooperation procedures in criminal or civil matters (arrest warrant and protection measure in civil matters); harmonising procedures (European order for payment procedure and orders freezing property or evidence) and approximating national legislations mediation procedure in civil matters and the right to interpretation and translation in criminal proceedings). Meanwhile the ECJ has softened the pillars architecture and has remarked that the principles of confidence and mutual recognition are the cornerstone of the judicial cooperation in civil and criminal matters. Moreover, the ECJ is the guarantee of a high European standard regarding fundamental rights protection according to the EU Charter and case-law established by the European Court of Human Rights.

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Simone Benvenuti

National Supreme Courts and the EU Legal Order: Building a European Judicial Community through Networking in Perspectives on federalism, vol. 6, issue 1 , E1-E28

This article discusses the role of national supreme courts in the development of the European legal order, moving from a hierarchical to an interaction account of the relationship between legal systems. It first focuses on supreme courts' self-perception as European courts. For that purpose, it analyzes the loose understanding by national courts of the obligation to refer a question according to article 267 TFUE. This is done by looking not just at actual judicial practice, but more in general at the elaboration of a common understanding on the matter within transnational judicial networks. The article then contends that for national courts to assume responsibility in the development of the European legal order, extra-judicial interaction is necessary. It describes the contribution of judicial networks to the potential development of European judicial communities as a pre-condition for an integrated European legal order. It concludes by stressing the need for stronger empirical accounts in this field of research.

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Matthew E. K. Hall

Testing Judicial Power The Influence of the U.S. Supreme Court on Federal Incarceration in American Politics Research, 43 (1) , 83-108

The U.S. Supreme Court is traditionally thought to hold little influence over social or political change; however, recent evidence suggests the Court may wield significant power, especially with regard to criminal justice. Most studies evaluate judicial power by examining the effects of individual rulings on the implementation of specific policies, but this approach may overlook the broader impact of courts on society. Instead, I adopt an aggregate approach to test U.S. Supreme Court power. I find that aggregate conservative decision making by the Court is positively associated with long-term shifts in new admissions to U.S. federal prisons. These results suggest the Court possesses significant power to influence important social outcomes, at least in the context of the criminal justice system.

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Behnke Joachim

The New Electoral Law – or: Good Things Don't Always Come to Those Who Wait

in **German Politics**, Volume 23, Issue 4, Special Issue: The Merkel Government and the German Election of 2013 , 268-283

In the year 2008, the German Federal Constitutional Court ruled that the formerly applicable Electoral Law was unconstitutional due to the effect of the so-called 'negative voting weight'. After a five-year debate, the new Electoral Law was passed in spring 2013, according to which the following parliamentary elections were conducted in autumn. This new law mainly fulfils the regulations laid down by the Constitutional Court, although not to their full extent. Through the introduction of adjustment mandates for overhang mandates, the proportional representation between the parties represented in the German Parliament Bundestag was guaranteed for the first time. At the same time, however, an abundance of new problems such as a procedural return which is hard to reason, and the risk of a severely inflated Bundestag, are created.

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Routray Sanjeev

The Postcolonial City and its Displaced Poor: Rethinking 'Political Society' in Delhi

in **International Journal of Urban and Regional Research**, Volume 38, Issue 6 , 2292-2308

Partha Chatterjee has produced a compelling analysis of political modernity in India. This article evaluates the significance of his conceptualization of 'political society' for understanding political practices in Delhi by looking at three issues: the relevance of proof of identification documents and various enumeration-related practices for proving citizenship; a court case concerning the resettlement of a particular population in Delhi; and the role of popular intermediaries from the community in channeling the political energies of poor people. I argue that Chatterjee's theoretical contribution allows for a contextual analysis of the specificity of political experience in India if we treat his schematic formulation heuristically, by focusing on its analytical strengths rather than ideal prescriptive standpoints. His ideas about the enforcement of bourgeois norms, subaltern collective practices, and hegemonic liberal state institutions allow us to go beyond a culturalist analysis of political society. In particular, they help us understand how the experience of democracy reflects the locational disadvantages of various groups. Further, while state institutions, including the judiciary system, protect the interests of dominant groups, they also respond to various forms of exclusion. My empirical findings corroborate Chatterjee's arguments concerning political society while also raising critical points for rethinking his theoretical framework.

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Tutt Andrew

Treaty Textualism

in **Yale Journal of International Law (The)**, Volume 39, Issue 2

In the immediate aftermath of the Supreme Court's landmark 2008 ruling in *Medellín v. Texas*, critics attacked the Court's holding as deeply inconsistent with the original understanding of treaty interpretation. This Article carefully reexamines the interrelationship between the late-eighteenth century law of nations, the framing and ratification of the



federal Constitution, and the practices of the early Supreme Court. In uniting these threads, it reveals a link—patent and remarkable—between the late eighteenth-century law of nations, the Constitution’s decision to vest treaty interpretation in the judiciary, and the methods of treaty interpretation employed by the Supreme Court in the early republic.

Textual treaty interpretation—textualism in all but name—was thought to be a requirement of the law of nations at the time of the Constitution’s adoption. The Constitution’s Framers—who knew the law of nations’ interpretive rules—invested treaty interpretation in the judiciary for precisely this reason, designing the federal judiciary to allow independent and expert judges to interpret treaties textually even if that meant that such interpretations went against the interests of the United States. The Supreme Court, through the end of the Marshall era, did precisely as the Framers intended, holding to a muscular textualism, citing often to interpretive rules embedded in the law of nations as it did so.

Ultimately, this historical reexamination uncovers a fascinating story about the interplay between interpretive expectations and constitutional and institutional design. The law of nations’ requirement that treaties be interpreted textually allowed the young United States the opportunity to bind its own hands and thereby obtain the credibility necessary to deal with European powers on equal footing. Vesting treaty interpretation in the judiciary meant the United States’ treaty commitments would be honored as a matter of positive law. But this strategy depended in no small measure on an ability to signal to other nations precisely how those treaties would be interpreted. The law of nations’ requirement that treaty interpretation be rule-bound and textual made the United States’ decision to invest treaty interpretation in the judiciary more than an illusory promise. It assured other nations their commitments would be honored according to international maxims of interpretation well-settled and widely-known.

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James L. Gibson and Michael J. Nelson

You have free access to this content: *Is the U.S. Supreme Court's Legitimacy Grounded in Performance Satisfaction and Ideology?*

in *American Journal of Political Science*, Volume 59, Issue 1, 162–174

Bartels and Johnston have recently presented evidence suggesting that the legitimacy of the U.S. Supreme Court is grounded in the ideological preferences and perceptions of the American people. In addition, they offer experimental data purporting to show that dissatisfaction with a single Court decision substantially diminishes the institution's legitimacy. These findings strongly break with earlier research on the Court's institutional support, as the authors recognize. The theoretical implications of their findings are profound. If the authors are correct that legitimacy is strongly dependent upon satisfying the policy preferences and ideological predilections of the American people, the essence of legitimacy is fundamentally transformed. Consequently, we reinvestigate the relationships among ideology, performance satisfaction, and Court legitimacy, unearthing empirical findings that diverge markedly from theirs. We conclude with some thoughts about how the Court's “countermajoritarian dilemma” can be reconceptualized and recalculated, once more drawing conclusions sharply at odds with those of Bartels and Johnston.

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Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Toboso Fernando

Asymmetric decentralisation, economic cycle, regional and local government’s borrowing in Spain



in *Acta Oeconomica*, Volume 64, Number 4/December 2014 , 441-461

This paper investigates the evolution of sub-central government borrowing in Spain over the period 1996–2011. The arguments and figures provided show that the intense process of political and fiscal decentralisation that took place over the 1990s and 2000s did not lead to higher debt ratios in terms of GDP at these tiers of government until 2007. Although a kind of overspending bias was in effect until the late 2000s, the paper shows that the evolution of GDP and tax revenues provided regional and local governments with enough resources to vigorously pursue their devolved public policy responsibilities and still keep their debt ratios under control. However, since 2008, when the world financial crisis broke out, the situation has changed dramatically. Even though the crisis originated in the financial sector, the paper concludes by stressing the importance of creating incentives and setting controls through institutional arrangements characterising multilevel government for all tiers of government to save in periods of economic growth in order to confront the impact of recession once it comes.

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M. Mercè Darnaculleta Gardella

Conseqüències institucionals de la limitació del deute públic a les Comunitats Autònomes i als LÄnder. Una anàlisi comparada dels mecanismes de control de l'estabilitat presupostària a Espanya i Alemanya

in *Revista d'Estudis Autònomic i Federals*, no. 20 , 174-213

Aquest article té per objectiu analitzar, des d'una perspectiva del dret comparat, els mecanismes de control establerts per garantir el compliment de la limitació constitucional del deute públic a Espanya i Alemanya. En concret, s'analitzen la Llei alemanya de creació del Consell d'Estabilitat per a la prevenció de situacions de crisis pressupostària, en comparació amb la Llei orgànica d'estabilitat pressupostària i sostenibilitat financera, posant l'accent especialment en el procediments, els mitjans d'intervenció i els òrgans encarregats de fer complir els límits de dèficit estructural establerts per la Unió Europea. Aquesta anàlisi comparada permet contrastar dues maneres ben diferents d'afrontar les obligacions imposades per la Unió Europea en matèria de limitació del deute públic en els estats compostos. En el cas alemany, el legislador federal assumeix que l'obligació de compliment dels límits d'endeutament i de dèficit públic correspon tant a la Federació com als Länder i sotmet ambdós nivells d'administració territorial al control del StabilitätsRat, que és un òrgan de participació conjunta. En el cas espanyol el legislador estatal sotmet els nivells territorials no estatals i, en concret, les comunitats autònomes, a un estricte control per part del Ministeri d'Hisenda i limita a funcions merament consultives el paper del Consell de Política Fiscal i Financera. D'aquesta manera no només no es dona una resposta satisfactòria als eventuais incompliments per part de l'Administració de l'Estat, sinó que s'estableixen importants desequilibris en la relació entre l'Estat i les comunitats autònomes.

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Javier Bilbao

Del mercado único a la Unión Monetaria: ¿hacia una política económica común?

in *Cuadernos europeos de Deusto*, n. 50 , 51-76

Rather than linear, the evolution of European economic governance has experienced some qualitative jumps in the conferring of competences for economic intervention between common and national institutions. These structural



changes have ostensibly brought Member States closer to a common economic policy by means of 3 stages: Common Market, Economic Community and Monetary Union. However, a complex and asymmetric system of interrelationships has been developed revealing the common denominator of the European project to have been the complete construction of the internal market, and all measures considered necessary have been implemented to this end, although provoking additional commitments in different economic policies. Thus it can be said that the European construction project—particularly its social dimension—has been subordinated to some shared economic goals.

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Koen Lenaerts

EMU and the EU's constitutional framework

in *European Law Review*, vol. 39, issue 6, 753-769

The law on Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) has undergone a dramatic overhaul, the consequences of which are not limited to that specific area of EU law but affect the constitutional balance on which the European Union is founded. After providing a brief overview of the reforms carried through, this contribution focuses on two important changes affecting the European Union's constitutional framework, namely a new method of action that may be qualified as "semi-intergovernmental" co-operation and the creation of European Supervisory Authorities. Next, it evaluates the constitutional implications that flow from these reforms from an institutional, a substantive and a dynamic perspective. Finally, if further integration is the right avenue to pursue in order to avoid new financial crises, it is submitted that new reforms of EMU must be grounded in two main principles, i.e. first, that greater financial solidarity should be made conditional upon compliance with stricter EU rules, and secondly, that the creation of fiscal authority at EU level requires appropriate democratic legitimacy and accountability of decision-making. In particular, if future reforms grant redistributive powers to the European Union, the latter would take political decisions that can only be adopted in a forum where each and every European citizen feels represented.

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Alberto Vega García

El principio constitucional de solidaridad interterritorial en España y en Alemania: aplicación y límites

in *Revista d'Estudis Autònoms i Federals*, no. 20, 214-277

El present estudi analitza l'aplicació del principi constitucional de solidaritat interterritorial a Espanya i a Alemanya centrant-se en la qüestió dels seus límits. Inicialment es presenta el cas d'Espanya, incloent tant les comunitats autònomes de règim comú com les forals i prestant especial atenció als límits a la solidaritat que va introduir l'Estatut d'autonomia de Catalunya, i que en part van ser declarats inconstitucionals pel seu caràcter unilateral. Aquestes previsions estatutàries s'havien inspirat en gran mesura en els principis seguits a Alemanya, com el de prohibició d'anivellament total o el d' "ordinalitat", motiu pel qual la segona part de l'article analitza la normativa d'aquest país i la seva interpretació per la jurisprudència constitucional. En general, la situació existent actualment a tots dos estats no és tan dispar, ja que, malgrat la sentència del Tribunal Constitucional sobre l'Estatut, el sistema de finançament aprovat el 2009 continua aplicant aquests principis. Tanmateix, a diferència del que succeeix a Alemanya, a Espanya destaca l'asimetria provocada per l'escassa contribució dels territoris forals a la solidaritat, aspecte que resulta injustificat i que per tant s'hauria de corregir.



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Dietmar Braun and Philipp Trein

Federal dynamics in times of economic and financial crisis

in **European Journal of Political Research**, Volume 53, Issue 4 , 803–821

The global economic and financial crisis is a challenge for all governments, but particularly for federal states because divided and/or shared territorial powers make federations susceptible to coordination problems in fiscal policy making. This article explores the effects of the ongoing crisis on federal relations. Three kinds of problems that may become the cause of federal tensions and conflicts are evoked: opportunism of subgovernments, centralisation and erosion of solidarity among members of the federation. Our analysis of fiscal policies and federal conflicts of 11 federations between 2007 and the present reveals three kinds of coordination problems: shirking in the use of federal government grants, rent-seeking in equalisation payments, and over-borrowing and over-spending. Our results show that shirking remained limited to few cases and occurred only in the first part of the crisis. However, rent-seeking and over-borrowing and over-spending led to a reduction of solidarity among subgovernments and to increased regulation of the fiscal discretion of the members of the federation. Subsequently, tensions in federal relations increased – although only in one case did this challenged the federal order.

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Renuka Tyagi

Fiscal Federalism in India: An Overview

in **Indian Journal of Federal Studies**, n. 26 , 75-87

The efficiency and equity implications of Indian fiscal transfer system have been a subject of considerable scrutiny, yet the problems have persisted. The multiplicity of agencies making transfers often work at cross purposes, and this makes achievement of objectives difficult. Although the transfers are formula based, they are not targeted to offset fiscal disabilities of the states. The FC formula for tax devolution is based predominantly on general economic indicators. The plan assistance to the states is also based on general economic indicators rather than fiscal disabilities. The worrisome issue pertaining to the transfer is its nature which generates disincentives for fiscal management of states. The grants recommended by the FC are based on the estimated post tax devolution gaps in the non- plan current budgets of the states. It has been pointed out that this ‘fiscal surgery’ has only contributed to widening ‘budgetary gaps’ year after year at the state level. The distinction made between plan and non-plan transfers has also segmented the budget with adverse consequences on fiscal management. Further, the proliferation of specific purpose transfers has led to inefficiency in expenditure management.

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Sorens Jason

Fiscal federalism, jurisdictional competition, and the size of government

in **Constitutional political economy**, Volume 25, Issue 4, December 2014 , 354-375



Fiscal federalism is commonly held to reduce the size of government, but how does it do so: through shrinking the welfare state, cutting government consumption, or reducing public investment? This paper examines tax competition under fiscal federalism through the lens of imperfect competition theory, derives new empirical implications from different theories of fiscal federalism, and tests those hypotheses with new variables and data. Cross-national statistical results show that jurisdictional competition under fiscal federalism is associated with reductions in the administrative expense of government but not the size of the welfare state. Moreover, the apparent impact of fiscal federalism with a high degree of jurisdictional competition is larger than that estimated in previous research. Once the models have been appropriately specified, the United States is no longer an outlier among high-income democracies on either government consumption or social spending. Close examination of the data reveals that some fiscally federal systems better approximate a “market-preserving model” and others a “capital-privileging” or “state-corroding” model.

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Dabrowski Marek

Fiscal or bailout union. Where is the EU/EMU's fiscal integration heading?

in *Revue de l'OFCE*, N° 132, 2014/1 , 17-49

The European debt crisis triggered a debate on the lacking components of the EU and EMU integration architecture. Many believe that a common currency requires closer fiscal and political integration as a condition for its survival. This opinion is not necessarily supported by the experience of other monetary unions, especially those created by sovereign states. On the other hand, the current EU integration architecture already contains several elements of fiscal union. Furthermore, in several important policy areas such as financial supervision, defense, security, border protection, foreign policy, environmental protection, and climate change, the centralization of tasks and resources at the Union level could offer increasing returns to scale and a better chance to address pan-European externalities. This applies to the entire EU, not only to the Eurozone.

Each variant of fiscal integration must be based on sound foundations of fiscal discipline. Market discipline, i.e., the danger of sovereign default, supplemented by clear and consistently enforced fiscal rules is the best solution to this problem. Unfortunately, since 2010, the “no bail out” principle has been replaced by a policy of conditional bailout of governments in fiscal trouble. Some proposals, such as eurobonds or the lender of last resort to governments, go even further in this direction, and threaten to build a dysfunctional fiscal union.

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Davide Paris

Il Titolo V alla prova dei piani di rientro: delegificazione dei principi fondamentali e asimmetria fra Stato e Regioni nel rispetto delle procedure di leale collaborazione

in *Regioni (Le)*, n. 1-2 , 203-226

No abstract available

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Luca Antonini

**Il cosiddetto federalismo fiscale. Un giudizio d'insieme su una riforma complessa
in Regioni (Le), n. 1-2 , 15-48**

No abstract available

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Flavio Guella

**Il principio negoziale nei rapporti finanziari tra livelli di governo
in Regioni (Le), n. 1-2 , 131-174**

No abstract available

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

**L'autonomia finanziaria degli enti territoriali di fronte ai vincoli europei ed alla riforma costituzionale sul
«pareggio di bilancio»
in Regioni (Le), n. 1-2 , 49-80**

No abstract available

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

**La Belgique face à la règle d'or budgétaire: sur l'incorporation de l'article 3, § 1, du Traité de stabilité, de
coopération et de gouvernance au sein de l'ordre juridique belge
in Revue belge de Droit constitutionnel, n. 2 , 177-196**

No abstract available

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

**La Cour consitutionnelle allemande et la politique monétaire
in Les Cahiers de droit europeen, vol. 50, issue 2 , 267-281**

No abstract available



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Luca Gori

La difficoltà di punire e di premiare. Note a proposito del d.lgs. n. 149 del 2011, fra federalismo fiscale e giurisprudenza costituzionale

in **Regioni (Le)**, n. 1-2 , 175-202

No abstract available

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Gianfranco Cerea

La legge delega sul federalismo fiscale e la sua coerente applicazione alle autonomie speciali

in **Regioni (Le)**, n. 1-2 , 81-130

No abstract available

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

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Matteo Barbero

Le Regioni e il Patto di stabilità; interno: da soggetti passivi ad un possibile futuro da protagonisti

in **Regioni (Le)**, n. 1-2 , 227-242

No abstract available

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Buzzacchi Luigi, Turati Gilberto

Optimal Risk Allocation in the Provision of Local Public Services: Can a Private Insurer be Better Than a Federal Relief Fund?

in **CESifo Economic Studies**, Volume 60 Issue 4 December 2014 , 747-779

We study the institutional solutions needed in a decentralized framework to cope with the potential adverse welfare effects caused by localized negative shocks, that impact on the provision of public services and that can be limited by precautionary investments. We consider first a public relief fund to cover these 'collective risks'. We analyse the underinvestment problem stemming from the moral hazard of Local administrations, when investments are defined at the local level and are not observable by the Central government that manages the relief fund. We then examine the potential role of private insurers in solving the underinvestment problem. Our analysis shows that the public fund is almost always a better institutional arrangement with respect to the private insurance solution, but competitive private insurers can improve social welfare in the presence of Central government's soft budget constraints problems, especially when the number of Local administrations is large



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Sauquet Alexandre, Marchand Sébastien, Féres José Gustavo

Protected areas, local governments, and strategic interactions: The case of the ICMS-Ecológico in the Brazilian state of Paraná

in *Ecological Economics*, Volume 107, November , 249-258

Various conservation initiatives have been implemented in developing countries with increasing involvement on the part of local governments. A concern in entrusting decisions to local governments is that the effectiveness of the conservation instrument can be threatened by interactions among these local governments. We examine this concern with respect to an ecological fiscal transfer mechanism, the ICMS-Ecológico, implemented in Brazil in the early 1990's in order to reduce biodiversity loss. The mechanism enables states to reward municipalities for the creation and management of protected areas. We describe this mechanism, present a conceptual framework aimed at understanding the potential sources and consequences of interactions among local governments on the effectiveness of a decentralized mechanism aimed at promoting the creation of protected areas, and propose an empirical application using a Bayesian spatial Tobit model. Our empirical investigation on the creation of protected areas in the state of Paraná between 2000 and 2010 reveals strategic substitutability in municipalities' conservation decisions. This finding also leads us to discuss the issue of identification of a negative spatial lag coefficient when there is a positive spatial error correlation.

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

Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Schatzenstaller Margit

Reform options for the EU's system of own resources

in *Revue de l'OFCE*, N° 132, 2014/1 , 327-355

In the negotiations on the EU's budget for 2014 to 2020 member countries almost exclusively focused on individual direct benefits in terms of net financial positions. Indirect benefits from EU membership, EU enlargement and introduction of the euro as well as benefits from EU expenditures other than direct transfers to member states (i.e. expenditures with "European value added", which indirectly benefit all member states and the EU as a whole, e.g. expenditures for research and development, education, green technologies and energy) were neglected. As a result potential indirect benefits from expanding the overall volume of the EU budget volume, to adjust it to the growing challenges the EU is facing, played a minor role in individual countries' views on a desirable EU budget: as did the "European value added" which could be realised by a shift of expenditures away from expenditure categories mainly benefiting individual countries directly (e.g. common agriculture payments) to expenditure categories which indirectly benefit member states and the EU as a whole (e.g. expenditures for research and development, education, or green technologies and energy).

A fundamental reform of EU expenditures towards a sustainable structure requires a fundamental reform of the EU's system of own resources. Only by replacing a substantial part of national contributions by own EU taxes can the narrow focus on financial flows to and from the EU budget be broadened to include also indirect benefits for individual member countries and the EU as a whole. After reviewing the most important deficits of the EU's current system of own resources, the paper establishes criteria for "good" EU taxes and applies these to a number of candidates for EU taxes



(e.g. a tax on financial transactions or on carbon dioxide emissions) to assess their suitability as new revenue sources for the EU.

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Francesco Bilancia

Spending review e pareggio di bilancio. Cosa rimane dell'autonomia locale?

in *Revista d'Estudis Autonomics i Federals*, no. 20 , 60-95

Des de la crisi financera mundial de 2007-2008, la banca privada ha estat rescatada per la intervenció financera pública dels estats, cosa que ha portat molts estats europeus a la vora d'una crisi econòmica greu, amb forts desequilibris en els seus deutes sobirans. Amb l'entrada en vigor de l'anomenat pacte fiscal de la Unió Econòmica i Monetària, alguns estats europeus han modificat la seva Constitució per fer front als problemes financers i pressupostaris que pateixen, tractant també de reduir la despesa pública de les institucions locals. La Constitució italiana va ser modificada el 2012, principalment per la introducció del principi d'equilibri estructural dels pressupostos públics com a regla general per a qualsevol de les institucions públiques i autoritats locals. Això ha donat lloc a una major rellevància de la dimensió macroeconòmica en l'avaluació de les polítiques públiques, com a conseqüència del fet que els conceptes de la ciència econòmica hagin impregnat els preceptes constitucionals, i està conduït des de principis de 2012 a l'elaboració de programes específics per a l'ambiciosa revisió de la despesa pública. L'assaig analitza tots aquests temes des d'una perspectiva tant jurídica com institucional, a més de macroeconòmica, especialment a través de la reconstrucció del significat preceptiu i normatiu del concepte revisió de la despesa pública.

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Antonini Luca

THE FINANCIAL AUTONOMY OF REGIONS: A DECISIVE BUT NEGLECTED CHAPTER IN ITALIAN INSTITUTIONAL SYSTEM

in *Italian Papers on Federalism*, 2/2014

Financial autonomy represents a decisive but neglected chapter in our institutional system, still deadlocked in an attitude which doesn't foster the principle of responsibility.

It is necessary to recall this issue by considering the Italian specific situation, which by one side is only feasible with a several fiscal federalism, and where by the other side the parasitical drifts are no more acceptable.

The research for new solutions is absolutely needful in this moment due to the new constitutional dimension which relates with resources, rights and democratic governance patterns.

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Gabrisch Hubert, Staehr Karsten

The Euro Plus Pact Competitiveness and external capital flows in the EU countries

in *Revue de l'OFCE*, N° 132, 2014/1 , 287-325



The Euro Plus Pact was approved by 23 EU countries in March 2011. The Pact stipulates a range of quantitative targets meant to strengthen competitiveness and convergence with the ultimate aim of preventing the accumulation of unsustainable financial imbalances. This paper uses Granger causality tests and vector autoregressive models to assess the short-term linkages between changes in the relative unit labour cost and changes in the current account balance. The sample consists of data for 27 EU countries for the period 1995–2012. The main finding is that changes in the current account balance precedes changes in relative unit labour costs, while there is no discernable effect in the opposite direction. This suggests that the divergence in the unit labour cost between the countries in Northern Europe and countries in Southern and Central and Eastern Europe prior to the global financial crisis partly was the result of capital flows from the core of Europe to its periphery. The results also suggest that measures in the Euro Plus Pact to restrain unit labour costs may not have immediate effects on possible current account imbalances.

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

Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Michael D. Arena

The Legal Framework Governing Sovereign Debt and Borrowing in the United States and European Union
in *Columbia Journal of European Law*, vol. 20, issue 3 , 283-305

The United States and European Union—the two prime producers of public debt instruments take starkly divergent legal approaches to managing sovereign debt and borrowing. In the United States, the bifurcation of the federal budgeting process from the procedures for limiting total public debt results in marginal incentives for fiscal discipline. Instead of imposing accountability mechanisms on policymakers that actively compel balanced budgets and sovereign debt reduction, the U.S. regime simply necessitates periodic increases to the federal debt ceiling to avert default pushing serious reconsideration of fiscal policy into the future. In comparison, the European Union's Fiscal Compact introduces prospective fiscal rules that bind Member State governments to budgetary discipline under both domestic and international law. Under this regime, Member State policymakers must maintain balanced budgets and minimize sovereign debt on a perpetual basis. Unlike the U.S. debt ceiling, therefore, the Fiscal Compact affirmatively incentivizes long-term fiscal sustainability, albeit at the cost of Member State budgetary sovereignty. Given the fundamentally distinct macroeconomic circumstances in these jurisdictions, however, neither approach is optimal. This Note argues that in the United States, the empowering combination of monetary independence, a strengthening economic recovery, and the low yields produced by the markets' near-insatiable appetite for U.S. government obligations should spur policymakers to implement fiscal rules akin to those in the Fiscal Compact. The United States' problem is not the aggregate level of debt, but rather the structural disincentives to achieving long-term fiscal sustainability. In Europe, however, where sovereign debt crises are ongoing, the economic recovery remains fragile, and monetary independence is nonexistent, the Fiscal Compact is a recipe for crippling austerity in the short-to-medium-term. While fiscal rules are a prudent and far-sighted policy for the future, the European Union should consider relaxing the fiscal restrictions of the existing Compact to mitigate the immediate social and economic costs of a sovereign debt hangover.

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

Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Mathieu Catherine, Sterdyniak Henri

Towards a better governance in the EU?
in *Revue de l'OFCE*, N° 132, 2014/1 , 9-16



The 10th EUROFRAME Conference on economic policy issues in the European Union was held in Warsaw on 24 May 2013. The Conference topic was: "Towards a better governance in the EU?". Twelve of the papers given at the Conference are released in this issue of the Revue de l'OFCE/Debates and Policies. The euro is a unique experience in modern economic history. Can a single currency be shared between countries...

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

Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)

Avaro Maylis, Sterdyniak Henri

Banking union: a solution to the euro zone crisis?

in Revue de l'OFCE, N° 132, 2014/1 , 193-241

In June 2012 European Council launched the banking union as a new project expected to contribute to solve the euro area crisis. Is banking union a necessary supplement to monetary union or a new rush forward? A banking union would break the link between the sovereign debt crisis and the banking crisis, by asking the ECB to supervise banks, by establishing common mechanisms to solve banking crises, and by encouraging banks to diversify their activities. The banking union project is based on three pillars: a Single Supervisory Mechanism (SSM), a Single Resolution Mechanism (SRM), a European Deposit Guarantee Scheme (EDGS). Each of these pillars raises specific problems. Some are related to the current crisis (can deposits in euro area countries facing difficulties be guaranteed?); some other issues are related to the EU complexity (should the banking union include all EU member states? Who will decide on banking regulations?), some other issues are related to the EU specificity (is the banking union a step towards more federalism?); the more stringent are related to structural choices regarding the European banking system. Banks' solvency and ability to lend, would depend primarily on their capital ratios, and thus on financial markets' sentiment. The links between the government, firms, households and domestic banks would be cut, which is questionable. Will governments be able tomorrow to intervene to influence bank lending policies, or to settle specific public banks? An opposite strategy could be promoted: restructuring the banking sector, and isolating retail banking from risky activities. Retail banks would focus on lending to domestic agents, and their solvency would be guaranteed by the interdiction to run risky activities on financial markets. Can European peoples leave such strategic choices in the hands of the ECB?

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

Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)

Miklaszewska Ewa, Mikończyk Katarzyna, Pawłowska Małgorzata

Do safe banks create safe systems? Central and Eastern European banks' perspective

in Revue de l'OFCE, N° 132, 2014/1 , 243-267

The aim of this paper is to contribute to the discussion on the anticipated long-term impact of the post-crisis regulatory environment on bank stability and efficiency, with a focus on Central and Eastern European (CEE) banks. The main research question is whether relatively stable CEE banks, operating in an unstable global environment, will be negatively affected by post-crisis European regulatory architecture. To answer this question, this paper analyses how CEE banks performed in two different periods: the pre-crisis period of dynamic credit market expansion and the period of global economic slowdown after 2008 crisis. Bank efficiency and performance is measured using DEA methodology, competitive conditions' measures (H-statistics) and Z-score index.



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

Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)

Piergiorgio Gawronski

La Bce di fronte alla Grande crisi (con un commento di Macroeconomicus)

in *Mulino (il)*, n.5 , 795-809

No abstract available

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

Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)

Blot Christophe, Creel Jérôme, Hubert Paul, Labondance Fabien

Les enjeux du triple mandat de la BCE

in *Revue de l'OFCE*, N° 134, 2014/3 , 175 à 186

Le consensus qui prévalait sur le rôle des banques centrales s'est fissuré. La poursuite du seul objectif de stabilité des prix est aujourd'hui insuffisante pour assurer la stabilité macroéconomique et financière. Un nouveau paradigme émerge dans lequel les banques centrales doivent à la fois veiller à la stabilité des prix, à la croissance et à la stabilité financière. Les évolutions institutionnelles récentes de la BCE vont dans ce sens puisqu'elle se voit confier la surveillance micro-prudentielle. En outre, la conduite de la politique monétaire dans la zone euro montre que la BCE est aussi restée attentive à l'évolution de la croissance. Mais, si la BCE poursuit de fait un triple mandat, la question de la bonne articulation entre ces différentes missions continue de se poser. La coordination entre les différents acteurs en charge de la politique monétaire, de la régulation financière et de la politique budgétaire est primordiale et fait défaut dans l'architecture actuelle. Par ailleurs, certaines pratiques doivent être clarifiées. La BCE a joué un rôle de prêteur en dernier ressort (des banques et dans une moindre mesure des États) sans que cette fonction ne lui soit précisément attribuée. Enfin, dans ce nouveau schéma, la BCE souffre d'une illégitimité démocratique, renforcée par le rôle croissant qu'elle joue dans la détermination de l'équilibre macroéconomique et financier de la zone euro. Il nous semble important que la BCE soit plus explicite au regard des différents objectifs poursuivis et qu'elle mette en œuvre les conditions d'une coopération étroite avec les instances budgétaires et de régulation financière. Enfin, nous appelons à la création ex nihilo d'un organe de contrôle de la BCE, chargé de discuter et d'analyser la pertinence des politiques monétaires mises en place par la BCE.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Vandelli Luciano

Il travagliato cammino delle riforme territoriali

in *Comuni d'Italia*, n. 3-4

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)



Tessaro Tiziano

Mille giorni di riforme (epocali): ovvero... quell'attimo di eterno che non c'è
in *Comuni d'Italia*, n. 3-4

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Massa Michele

Associazioni, aggregazioni e assetto costituzionale dei Comuni
in *Istituzioni del federalismo*, n. 1 , 97 - 120

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Durand Frédéric, Nelles Jen

Binding Cross-Border Regions: an Analysis of Cross-Border Governance in Lille-Kortrijk-Tournai
Eurometropolis

in *Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie (Journal of Economic & Social Geography)* , Volume 105,
Issue 5, December , 573-590

While the relatively free and frequent flow of traffic across international boundaries is an essential foundation of cross-border regions, cross-border public transit systems are the ultimate symbols of metropolitan integration. This paper investigates the governance of the cross-border transit system in Eurometropolis of Lille-Kortrijk-Tournai between France and Belgium. It relies on a qualitative analysis of actors and institutions as well as social network analysis to more precisely fix the positions and roles of actors on either side of the border. The new cross-border institution, the EGTC agency, is a central actor in public transit policy networks and its function is more complex than the institutional analysis implies. Evaluating these roles in evolving cross-border public transit policy enables an assessment of the effectiveness of this new governance institution and the challenges faced by general-purpose cross-border governance structures in affecting policy areas in which political authority is fragmented.

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Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Lyon Aisling

Challenges to Municipal Fiscal Autonomy in Macedonia
in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, vol. 44, n. 4, Fall , 633-658

This article assesses the impact of recent decentralizing reforms on the fiscal autonomy of Macedonian municipalities. It begins by considering how the short-term political calculations and intra-party dynamics of governing parties may have influenced both the design and implementation of fiscal decentralization. The article evaluates the revenue, expenditure, and contractual autonomy of Macedonian municipalities. It argues that the political-economic context within which fiscal



decentralization has been conceived and implemented thus far has not been conducive to enhancing the fiscal autonomy of the municipalities. The research confirms that, while constitutionally guaranteed decentralization processes may be harder to reverse than others, it is not impossible. Advances in either administrative or political decentralization can be undermined by tightening controls over fiscal relations.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Morcillo Moreno Juana

El pretendido impulso a la administracion provincial en la reforma espanola de 2013

in *Istituzioni del federalismo*, n. 2 , 361 - 392

No abstract available

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Requejo Rodriguez Paloma

El regimen juridico de los derechos en un Estado descentralizado: el caso espanol

in *Istituzioni del federalismo*, n. 2 , 393 - 411

No abstract available

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Bussu Sonia, Bartels Koen P.R.

Facilitative Leadership and the Challenge of Renewing Local Democracy in Italy

in *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, Volume 38, Issue 6 , 2256-2273

Participatory arrangements have become a popular way of addressing modern challenges of urban governance but in practice face several constraints and can trigger deep tensions. Facilitative leadership can play a crucial role in enabling collaboration among local stakeholders despite plural and often conflictual interests. Surprisingly, this style of leadership has received limited attention within debates linking urban governance and participatory democracy. We summarize the main insights of the literature on facilitative leadership and empirically develop them in the context of participatory urban governance by comparing recent participatory processes in two Italian cities. Whereas in one city facilitative leadership gradually emerged and successfully transformed a deep conflict into consensual proposals, in the other city, participatory planning further exacerbated pre-existing antagonism, and local democratic culture was only later slowly reinvigorated through bottom-up initiative. These diverging pathways explain how facilitative leadership is: (1) important for making things happen; (2) best understood as situated practices; (3) an emergent property of the practices and interactions of a number of local actors and (4) a democratic capacity for dealing with continuous challenges. Key to this style of leadership is understanding participatory urban governance as an ongoing democratic process.

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Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Sundari Mantena Rama

Historical Origins of the Telangana Demand: Public Life and Political Aspirations in India, 1900–56
in *India Review*, Volume 13, Issue 4, Special Issue: Regions and Regionalism in India , 337-357

This article revisits the early twentieth century to rethink the forces that shaped discourses surrounding political community—specifically the political community in its regional articulation. As we begin to look at the particular ways in which the discourse of rights and political representation have emerged at the regional level in post-independence India, we begin to get a sense of the unique social, cultural, and political dynamics that constitute the region distinct from the dynamics of nationalism and national identity. Specifically, I examine the dynamics of a new discourse of politics in twentieth-century south India, primarily in the Telugu-speaking districts of the Madras Presidency and the princely state of Hyderabad. With the institution of representational bodies/institutions at the regional level, the extension of the franchise and the rise of a public politics based on liberal ideas of public reason, and debate at the turn of the twentieth century, we witness the emergence of the region as the site of a distinct set of political dynamics.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Baccetti Carlo

Il capro espiatorio. La Provincia nell'evoluzione del sistema politico italiano
in *Istituzioni del federalismo*, n. 2 , 285 - 318

No abstract available

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Forte Pierpaolo

Il percorso costitutivo delle città metropolitane: nascita di un ente territoriale
in *Istituzioni del federalismo*, n. 2 , 333 - 360

No abstract available

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Awortwi Nicholas, Helmsing A.H.J. (Bert)

In the name of bringing services closer to the people? Explaining the creation of new local government districts in Uganda
in *International Review of Administrative Sciences* , Vol. 80, No. 4 , 766-788,

Many governments in Africa and elsewhere in Asia and Latin America have created new local government (LG) jurisdictions as part of their decentralization policies. However, most decentralization studies have focused on fiscal, political and administrative assignments between levels of government. Much less attention has been given to the number and size of LG jurisdictions. Often, these are considered to be an accident of history, but the reality is not so.



This article pursues five propositions concerning the rationale for creating LG jurisdictions and examines their relevance in the Uganda context. The article concludes that creation of LG jurisdictions in Uganda neither conforms to the policy objective of bringing services closer to the people nor to promoting participatory democratic governance. Instead, the practice conforms to central government gerrymandering tactics of forging an electoral alliance with small jurisdictions and to extend neo-patrimonial networks to win votes in order to stay in power.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Cohen Benjamin B

Introducing Colonial Regionalism: The Case of India's Presidencies, the View From Madras

in India Review, Volume 13, Issue 4, Special Issue: Regions and Regionalism in India , 331-336

Conventional views of regions and regionalism begin with geography, history, language or other categories of organization. In this article, I offer a new(?) concept: the colonial region and its concomitant sentiment of colonial regionalism. The colonial region is one formed under colonial rule to suit administrative needs. It may directly encompass some form of pre-existing region, or it may cobble together a variety of smaller areas—some perhaps regions of their own, others not—into one greater region. A colonial region is thus an artificial one, not necessarily taking into account local realities. Many of the presidencies, provinces, and princely states might thus be considered as forms of colonial regions. Such regions often have long lives, and over time, inhabitants within a colonial region come to take on a sense of identity and pride in that region. This article examines colonial regionalism in the Madras Presidency along the axes of pride in physical and human assets.

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Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Cohen Benjamin B., Ganguly Sumit

Introduction: Regions and Regionalism in India

in India Review, Volume 13, Issue 4, Special Issue: Regions and Regionalism in India , 313-320

This introduction outlines some major ways in which regions and regionalism have been defined. It provides a brief overview of the contents of this special edition of India Review.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Ursi Riccardo

L'abolizione delle Province in Sicilia: resoconto semiserio di una rivoluzione in progress

in Istituzioni del federalismo, n. 2 , 319 - 332

No abstract available



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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Spadaro Antonino

Le Città metropolitane, tra utopia e realtà

in *Federalismi*, Anno XII - Nr 25

No abstract available

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Salerno Marcello

Le mitologie dell'autonomia tra equilibri di bilancio e principio di responsabilità degli enti territoriali

in *Istituzioni del federalismo*, n. 1 , 81 - 96

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Alesio Massimiliano

Legge Delrio, gli organi di governo e loro composizione

in *Comuni d'Italia*, n. 3-4

No abstract available

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Nguyen-Hoang Phuong, Hou Yilin

Local Fiscal Responses to Procyclical Changes in State Aid

in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, vol. 44, n. 4, Fall , 587-608

This article examines the asymmetry in local government responses to economic-cycle-based changes of state aid in a framework that distinguishes current outlay from noncurrent expenses and discretionary savings. Employing a panel dataset of Massachusetts municipalities for two economic cycles, we obtain three findings. First, we do not find evidence of property-tax relief during economic booms. Second, discretionary savings may be used to cover noncurrent outlays during booms and to offset spending cuts during recessions. Finally, we find a large (asymmetric) fiscal inducement that may emerge during recessions when state aid cuts coincide with property-tax shortfalls. While these context-specific results may not be easily generalizable, they necessitate further research into the role of local discretionary savings and cash reserves in intergovernmental fiscal relations.

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Subsection 9. Local government(s)



Kulkarni Mangesh

Memories of Maratha History and Regional Identity in Maharashtra, India

in *India Review*, Volume 13, Issue 4, Special Issue: Regions and Regionalism in India , 358-371

The leading industrial state in India, Maharashtra, is widely seen as a region with a cohesive political identity. My article focuses on the complex, shifting collective memories of Maratha history centered on the heroic figure of the seventeenth-century warrior-king Shivaji Bhosale, and the role they have played in the fabrication/fragmentation of regional identity. The first section charts the historical discourses anchored in various perceptions of caste, class, religion, and nation, which contributed to the emergence of a seemingly consensual construct of Shivaji as a key axis of regional identity. The second delves into the state's cultural politics during the last five decades and highlights certain dramatic episodes that were triggered by supposed slights to the hallowed memory of the Maratha king. The third section provides an analysis of these episodes and reveals the contested character of regional identity in contemporary Maharashtra, which is driven by deep-seated antagonism between different communities.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Hoelscher Kristian

Politics and social violence in developing democracies: Theory and evidence from Brazil

in *Political Geography*, Volume 44, January , 29-39

How do the political institutional features of developing democracies influence how violence occurs? Building on research showing that 'hybrid democracies' are more prone to social violence, this article argues that elite competition for power in the context of limited institutional oversight plays an important role in explaining violence. The framework here presents possible mechanisms linking subnational political dynamics and rates of social violence in poorly institutionalised contexts. It highlights how political competition, concentrated political power, and constraints on cooperation can create opportunity structures where violence is incentivised and the rule of law is undermined. This is examined empirically using sub-national homicide data from over 5000 Brazilian municipalities between 1997 and 2010. Findings suggest violence is greater in contexts that are highly competitive – where political actors face credible challenges and have a more tenuous grip on power – and those where power is highly concentrated – where political actors have held power for longer periods or face limited credible challenges. Findings also suggest violence varies depending on whether interactions between state and municipal government are likely to be constrained or cooperative; and are consistent with literatures emphasising the importance of structural explanations of social violence. In light of on-going democratic transitions across the globe, the article highlights the value of understanding links between institutional context, contentious politics and social violence.

Full text available online

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Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Stolz Klaus, Fischer Jörn

Post-Cabinet Careers of Regional Ministers in Germany, 1990–2011

in *German Politics*, Volume 23, Issue 3 , 157-173

The study of ministerial careers in Germany is rather new. So far it has been mainly restricted to the federal level and to



the career pathways up until cabinet exit. This article, by contrast, concentrates on the post-cabinet careers of regional ministers. Drawing from the scarce literature we first sketch out career patterns of regional ministers prior to and during their time in the regional cabinet. The main focus, though, is on the post-cabinet biographies of all regional ministers in the sixteen German Länder since unification. Our empirical analysis reveals the regional cabinet as the career apex for most ministers. Looking at those ministers who do move up the political ladder after leaving the cabinet shows a clear preference for the national over the European level and the executive office over the legislative mandate. Variation in post-cabinet careers seems not only to be influenced by party, Land and ministerial office (Prime Minister vs normal minister) but also by the causes and circumstances of exit from the cabinet (exit type). These empirical results represent a first step into a new research field – lying waste since Blondel's early attempt in 1991 – and will hopefully provide a starting point for more comprehensive and comparative analysis.

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Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Cocozza Vincenzo

**Qualche riflessione sull'esperienza dell'autonomia territoriale in Italia
in Rassegna di diritto pubblico europeo, n. 2**

Some reflection about the experience of territorial autonomy

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Chatterjee Shibashis

Regionalism in West Bengal: A Critical Engagement

in India Review, Volume 13, Issue 4, Special Issue: Regions and Regionalism in India , 417-435

The central argument of the article is that West Bengal's regionalism is a two level game. The state's predominant regionalism is financial, set in antagonistic terms vis-à-vis the Centre. This financial or economic regionalism is paradigmatic to West Bengal. The tragedy of Partition; exceptional sensitivity to any prospect of further loss of territory; a sense of betrayal and helplessness; blaming others rather than engaging in critical introspection about its secular decline as a front ranking industrial state; and the political dominance of the middle class espousing a so called "bhadralok" identity are pivotal factors in explaining the relentless dynamics of West Bengal's financial regionalism, regardless of the party in power. West Bengal has constructed a sub-textual identity raised on soft Bengali nationalism bereft of overt and exclusivist cultural markers.

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Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Merlon Francesco

**Sul destino delle funzioni di area vasta nella prospettiva di una riforma costituzionale del Titolo V
in Istituzioni del federalismo, n. 2 , 215 - 250**

No abstract available



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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Mitra Subrata

The Kosal Movement in Western Odisha: Subregional Sentiments, Countervailing Identities, and Stalelated Subnationalism

in India Review, Volume 13, Issue 4, Special Issue: Regions and Regionalism in India , 372-398

This article analyses the Kosala movement in western Odisha in the light of a general model of sub-national movements in India. The popular agitation for a separate State has many of the ingredients of similar separatist movements in other parts of India. It draws on sentiments of discrimination and relative deprivation, for which the activists hold politicians from the more advanced coastal districts of Odisha responsible. Supporters of the movement point towards historical records of powerful kingdoms with all the ritual paraphernalia that go into the making of proto-states. Yet, the articulation of a strong sub-regional voice under the leadership of a political party comparable to the TRS in Telengana is absent. Detailed analysis reveals “Kosala identity” to lack cohesion. It is more a politically convenient label than a cohesive core capable of extracting the kind of sacrifice from participants. Finally, there are powerful countervailing, centripetal forces that act against the tendency towards separatism.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Nadav Shoked

The New Local

in Virginia Law Review, vol. 100, issue 7 , 1323-1403

The smallest level of government in American law was always the local—the city, the school district, the zoning commission, the police department, etc. Yet over the last few decades, this smallest of government levels has been further localized: now, in many fields of law, bodies such as the neighborhood, the individual school, the police beat, and sometimes simply the adjacent residents, are meaningful legal actors. These entities are located underneath local governments and often lack the traditional traits of government units—most prominently, a unitary decision-making body. They have been were legally recognized and empowered through an array of seemingly unrelated judicial, legislative, and administrative acts, adopted on the federal, state, and local levels. Such disparate and uncoordinated moves have created a patchwork of intersecting bodies, rights, and powers. Until now, this new level and form of governing—dubbed by this Article “micro-local”—has escaped detection and analysis. Most troublingly, micro-local reforms have proceeded with no critical appraisal. Most judges, legislators, and commentators embrace decisions that directly or indirectly further localize local government since they adhere to a utopian and simplistic assumption that further localized government is always better—that is, more efficient and more democratic—than traditional local government. This Article replaces this assumption with a more rigorous theoretical framework enabling lawmakers and scholars to appraise whether any given micro-local reform actually promotes economic efficiency and democratic participation. An application of this framework to several examples of the new local, in the fields of education law and land use law, results in unsettling findings. Some of the most consequential and widespread, albeit heretofore unnoticed, recent legal reforms in these areas of law not only fail to promote economic efficiency and democratic participation, but actually defeat these normative values.



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

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Ganuzza Ernesto, Nez Héloïse, Morales Ernesto

The Struggle for a Voice: Tensions between Associations and Citizens in Participatory Budgeting
in *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, Volume 38, Issue 6 , 2274-2291

The emergence of new participatory mechanisms, such as participatory budgeting, in towns and cities in recent years has given rise to a conflict between the old protagonists of local participation and the new citizens invited to participate. These mechanisms offer a logic of collective action different from what has been the usual fare in cities — one based on proposal rather than demand. As a result, urban social movements need to transform their own dynamics in order to make room for a new political subject (the citizenry and the non-organized participant) and to act upon a stage where deliberative dynamics now apply. This article aims to analyse this conflict in three different cities that set up participatory budgeting at different times: Porto Alegre, Cordova and Paris. The associations in the three cities took up a position against the new participatory mechanisms and demanded a bigger role in the political arena. Through a piece of ethnographic research, we shall see that the responses of the agents involved (politicians, associations and citizens) in the three cities share some arguments, although the conflict was resolved differently in each of them. The article concludes with reflections on the consequences this conflict could have for contemporary political theory, especially with respect to the role of associations in the processes of democratization and the setting forth of a new way of doing politics by means of deliberative procedures.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Phil Almond, Anthony Ferner and Olga Tregaskis

The changing context of regional governance of FDI in England
in *European Urban and Regional Studies*, vol. 22, no. 1 , 61-76

This paper analyses relations between sub-national institutional actors responsible for the attraction and retention of foreign direct investment, other 'governance' actors in regional business systems – local and sub-regional government, cluster/sectoral bodies, RDA and LEP executives, and those involved in the coordination of skills provision – and subsidiaries of foreign-owned multinational corporations. It is based on qualitative research in two regions of England conducted between 2008 and 2011. Within a context of international competition for investment within global production networks, it explores recent politically driven changes in sub-national governance, including the abolition of Regional Development Agencies, alongside the more long-standing instability of economic development and skills coordination in England. The analysis is centred on an argument that a more adequate understanding of sub-national economic governance requires the active integration of perspectives on political systems of governance, and embedded patterns of economic coordination, as analysed in the varieties of capitalism literature.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Zemelak Ayitenew Ayele

The politics of sub-national constitutions and local government in Ethiopia



in *Perspectives on federalism*, vol. 6, issue 2 , E89-E115

The federal Constitution of Ethiopia provides the regional states - the constituent unit of the federation –with the power to draft, adopt and amend their own constitutions, thereby allowing each of the regional states to use its constitution, among others, to design and adopt a system and structure of local government fitting to its circumstances. This is particularly important since the regional states differ from each other in terms of territorial size, ethnic composition and economic and social circumstances, making a one-size-fits-all approach inappropriate to the design of local government. Nevertheless, all levels of government in Ethiopia are controlled, directly or indirectly, by one party; the Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Party (EPRDF). Not only does it control all levels of government, the party has a highly centralised decision-making system founded on the principle of 'democratic centralism'. Under this system, the party's regional and local structures, which also control government institutions at those levels, are involved only in the execution of decisions passed by the centre. Given such a context, the establishment and empowerment of local government – which took place in two phases – were driven from the centre. The process of establishing local government was influenced by the political exigencies the ruling party faced at particular times and the choices it made in reaction to them. This has undermined the role of the regional states and the relevance of their constitutions in creating local government systems appropriate to their circumstances.

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Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Kjaer Ulrik , Klemmensen Robert

What are the Local Political Costs of Centrally Determined Reforms of Local Government?

in *Local Government Studies*, Volume 41, Issue 1 , 100-118

Taking advantage of a quasi-experimental setting and drawing upon analysis of electoral results and a survey of voters, this article explores the political costs of reform through the example of the 2009 local elections in Denmark. The article finds that the local parties of mayors were punished at the polls for implementing municipal amalgamations decided by the central government. However, the effect on the mayoral parties' electoral result is more indirect than direct. Analyses of the electoral results demonstrates that the political parties holding the mayoralty in times of amalgamations tend to nominate very tenured mayors as candidates, thereby missing the positive first-term incumbency effect, which a new mayor could have acquired. And analyses of a survey of voters demonstrates higher levels of dissatisfaction with the municipal service in amalgamated municipalities, leading to a higher cost of ruling for mayoral parties which have led the implementation of an amalgamation.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Das Samir Kumar

Whither Regionalism in India's Northeast?

in *India Review*, Volume 13, Issue 4, Special Issue: Regions and Regionalism in India , 399-416

The democratic institutions face the challenge of having to address regional demands without being pulled and swept away by them. While at one level the State prefers to distance itself from conceding to regional demands, at another, large parts of the Northeast get regionally reorganized and configured without the State having done it — through the use of wanton violence mostly by non-State actors—a phenomenon we describe as "virtual regionalism". As the new



developmental initiatives undertaken since the 1990s start being perceived as a threat to people's lives and their very existence, ethnic and regional demands are increasingly giving way to a concern for home, for life, and the imperative necessity of shared existence with neighbors who are not necessarily the members of the same ethnicity.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Cappuccio Laurae, Ferraiuolo Gennaro (ed.)

Il futuro politico della Catalogna

in *Federalismi*, Anno XII - Nr 22

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Guillermo Díaz L. and Claudio Rivera M.

Sub National Capabilities for Decentralization Processes: the Case of Four Regions in Chile

in *Reforma y democracia (Venezuela)*, n. 60

An effective decentralization is facilitated when regions or territories possess adequate institutional and social capabilities to apply new powers, responsibilities and decision with regard to public resources. Experiences worldwide reflect differences in the management and performance of sub national units and how public institutions acquire relevance on a regional/local level, and regional societies focus and become empowered in terms of decentralization processes.

This article aims to discuss these sub national capabilities. Conceptual, theoretical and empirical aspects are evaluated with regard to territorial capabilities in the implementation of decentralization processes, with emphasis on sub national governments and regional civil society. Subsequently, four regions in Chile are analyzed, based on secondary information and semi-structured interviews with key actors -both public and private- who participated in the implementation of public instruments, with delegation of faculties and resources to sub national territories.

Finally, the main differences in territorial capabilities detected among the four regions are mentioned, among which confidence, multilevel coordination, leadership and associativity are highlighted. Also takes significance the historical development of the regions; that is, experience in processes of coordination and articulation of different parties involved, as well as participation and empowerment of territorial actors in the development of public policies on a regional level. In view of the aforementioned, variations exist between the regions studied when implementing decentralization processes; as a result, some recommendations and suggestions for new lines of research are proposed.

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Oskam Jeroen

A new state in Europe? Scenarios for Catalan self-determination Original Research Article



in **Futures**, Volume 64 , 51-60

Historically, the political structure of Spain has been a source of conflict: peripheral regions as Catalonia and the Basque country have questioned the centralized power of the state and have claimed a higher level of decentralization in view of their distinct history, cultural identity and language. Recently, political and social discontent has escalated in Catalonia, leading to the unilateral announcement of a Catalan self-determination referendum for November 2014. Regardless of political or ethical preferences, it will be necessary to foresee the consequences of this process for Catalonia, Spain and elsewhere. A scenario approach focuses on possible outcomes of the current debate rather than on the arguments put forward in the controversy. Those in favour of Catalan independence have depicted a future for their country with a booming economy that will situate it at currently unattainable levels of prosperity. Opponents of secession argue that Catalonia will become a failed state. These future visions of an independent Catalonia can be described as scenarios, the underlying assumptions and plausibility of which can be analysed. EU membership and the effect of borders on international trade are identified as key variables. The alternative scenarios will also be crucial to evaluate the broader impact of “a new state in Europe”.

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Esther Seijas Villadangos

Answers to Spanish centrifugal federalism: Asymmetrical federalism versus coercive federalism

in **Perspectives on federalism**, vol. 6, issue 2 , E164-E190

The developing debate in Spain about its conversion into a federal State has now acquired an even greater relevance. Federalism, as a process of federalization, is subject to several descriptions with different intentions: the federalization of Spain implies a previous transition to federalism from a virtual field to a real field. We will review the main features in this transition. Post-conversion, we consider that there are two basic opposite alternatives: asymmetrical federalism and coercive federalism.

In our discourse about how asymmetrical federalism could be implemented in Spain we will focus on the risk of the evolution of asymmetries into dissymmetries, which we understand as a proportional situation that is broken in an anomalous way mainly with prosecession arguments or by other threats. Differential facts would be the headquarters of this asymmetric federal company.

From a different point of view, the path of coercive federalism might come from both the rejection by other territories of privileges, as a specific perception of asymmetries, and as the central answer to a proposal of self-determination or institutional disobedience.

Our main thesis is that a balanced proposal of democratic asymmetrical federalism is possible where differences can be seen as enriching the whole.

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Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Ian Bache, Ian Bartle, Matthew Flinders and Greg Marsden

Blame Games and Climate Change: Accountability, Multi-Level Governance and Carbon Management

in **British Journal of Politics & International Relations** , Volume 17, Issue 1 , 64–88



This article provides the first detailed and evidence-based account of the coalition government's approach to transport-related carbon management.

It exposes the existence of a 'governance vacuum' between the statutory target and a very weak devolved implementation system (i.e. 'fuzzy governance' and 'fuzzy accountability').

Research in four major city regions reveals a systemic switch from an emphasis on carbon management and reduction towards economic growth and job creation.

Officials within the policy design and delivery chain emphasise the manner in which the demands of democratic politics tend to frustrate meaningful policy change.

A general demand by actors at the local level not for the discretions delivered by localism but for a more robust and centrally managed—even statutory—governance framework.

The Climate Change Act 2008 received global acclaim for embedding an ambitious set of targets for the reduction of carbon emissions in legislation. This article explores the policies and institutional frameworks in place to deliver transport-related carbon reductions as part of the subsequent Carbon Plan. A detailed methodology involving institutional mapping, interviews and focus groups combined with a theoretical approach that combines the theory of multi-level governance with the literature on 'blame avoidance' serves to reveal a complex system of 'fuzzy governance' and 'fuzzy accountability'. Put simply, it reveals there are no practical sub-national implementation levers for achieving the statutory targets. Apart from symbolic or rhetorical commitments, the emphasis of policy-makers at all levels in the delivery chain has switched from carbon management and reduction to economic growth and job creation. This raises fresh research questions about the pathologies of democratic competition and future responses to the climate change challenge.

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Frosini Justin

C'e chi dice no: la Scozia non abbandona l'Unione

in **Quaderni Costituzionali**, numero 4 , 922-924

No abstract available

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Aragón Manuel

Constitución y secesión

in **Cuadernos de pensamiento político**, n. 44

No abstract available

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Farmer Jayce L.

County-Nonprofit Service Arrangements: The Roles of Federal and State Fiscal Involvement

in **Publius: The Journal of Federalism**, vol. 45, n. 1, Winter , -117-138



This study examines the effects of federal and state financial transfers on county–nonprofit relationships. An assessment of production choices for 122 U.S. counties reveals that federal transfers to county governments stimulate county–nonprofit relationships and promote arrangements based upon collaboration. Supporting evidence shows these effects to be more prevalent in areas with lower population density. Meanwhile, state transfers influence choices for less collaborative arrangements among more urbanized areas. The findings provide important insight regarding county–nonprofit relationships within the face of fiscal federalism. The author demonstrates that the fiscal instruments of centralized governments play an important role in choices for decentralized units to engage in collaborative arrangements with nonprofits.

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Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Giuseppe Martinico and Leonardo Pierdominici

Crisis, emergency and subnational constitutionalism in the Italian context

in Perspectives on federalism, vol. 6, issue 2 , E116-E140

The aim of this article is to offer an account of the centralization and compression of subnational spaces of autonomy triggered by the economic crisis.

Scholars have already produced sound and detailed research on the incidence of the crisis on some specific aspects in the Italian legal context, and especially on the relationships between the coordination of budgetary and financial policies and the welfare state model. We shall limit ourselves to some reflections on the situation of emergency created by the crisis by showing the incremental and sometimes non-linear nature of the latest developments in the Italian regional law.

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Hudalah Delik, Firman Tommy, Woltjer Johan

Cultural Cooperation, Institution Building and Metropolitan Governance in Decentralizing Indonesia

in International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, Volume 38, Issue 6 , 2217-2234

The institutional turn in metropolitan governance has been influenced to a considerable degree by a rational choice approach, which views metropolitan governance as essentially created by local actors to reduce the transaction costs of inter-jurisdictional public-service provision. Another influential theoretical route follows a historical approach, which emphasizes the role of the state structure in producing formal institutions to enable governance at the regional level. Both approaches tend to be formalistic, simplistic and deterministic in nature, thus neglecting the dynamic interactions between the actors and their more informal, intangible, yet more basic, legitimate institutions, such as culture. This article examines the dynamic role of culture in metropolitan governance building in the context of decentralizing Indonesia. The analysis focuses on 'best-practice' experiences of metropolitan cooperation in greater Yogyakarta, where three neighbouring local governments known as Kartamantul have collaboratively performed cross-border infrastructure development to deal with the consequences of extended urbanization. We draw on sociological institutionalism to argue that building this metropolitan cooperation has its roots in the capacity of the actors to use and mobilize culture as a resource for collaborative action.

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Patrick Taillon

De la clarté à l'arbitraire : le contrôle de la question et des résultats référendaires par le Parlement canadien
in *Revista d'Estudis Autònomicos i Federals*, no. 20 , 13-59

La Llei de claredat planteja greus problemes, tant en termes de contingut (les seves disposicions són imprecises, excessives, arbitràries, possiblement siguin contràries al principi d'igualtat política entre votants, etc.), com en termes de la forma en què va ser adoptada. Promulgada unilateralment pel Parlament federal, la Llei està vulnerant, en alguns aspectes, la facultat que tenen les assemblees legislatives provincials per organitzar eleccions i referèndums a escala provincial i, en alguns altres aspectes, la competència exclusiva del poder constituent per modificar, d'acord amb la Part V de la Constitució de 1982, les normes supralegislatives –escrites o no– que conformen el dret constitucional canadenc. Malgrat que diversos autors han criticat o elogiat l'adopció de la Llei de claredat, aquest estudi té com a objectiu qüestionar, no tant l'oportunitat política d'aquesta llei, sinó la seva constitucionalitat. En l'examen de les discrepàncies existents entre els requisits esmentats pel Tribunal Suprem del Canadà en referència a la secessió del Quebec de 1998 i els establerts per la Llei de claredat, el nostre propòsit és demostrar que la modificació de normes supralegislatives per recomanació del Tribunal Suprem pertany al poder constituent i no pas al Parlament federal.

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Neudorfer Benjamin, Neudorfer Natascha S.

Decentralization and Political Corruption: Disaggregating Regional Authority
in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, vol. 45, n. 1, Winter , 24-50

In this article, we argue that countries with strong regional self-rule offer more incentives and opportunities to form networks of local collusion leading to higher corruption levels. In contrast, shared rule allows for more oversight on the national level which reduces political corruption. Using a recent dataset on regional authority, we test our hypotheses on a sample of up to thirty-six countries between 1984 and 2006 and find robust empirical support for the predicted contrasting effects of regional authority: Self-rule enhances and shared rule limits political corruption.

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Gore Christopher D., Muwanga Nansozi K.

Decentralization is Dead, Long Live Decentralization! Capital City Reform and Political Rights in Kampala, Uganda
in *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, Volume 38, Issue 6 , 2201-2216

African cities are currently experiencing some of the highest population growth rates in the world. Accompanying this growth is constant and continuing pressure on national and local governments to develop political and institutional structures that respond to the multiple demands this demographic change provokes in relation to service delivery, economic development and social wellbeing. In response to these challenges, national governments are reviewing the political and administrative structures of their capital cities, sometimes recentralizing authority. This article examines the reforms to Kampala, capital city of Uganda. The article explains how the national government gradually created the legal conditions necessary to take over the capital city directly, and the political rhetoric and conflict that ensued. We argue



that while Kampala had deep internal problems and fared poorly in service delivery, matters were exacerbated by the national government's historical indifference to the city. Moreover, past service delivery failures offered an easy rationale for recentralizing authority. We demonstrate that this recentralization was a well-planned effort by the central government to regain political control of the capital city. This article illustrates how the national government's recentralization of authority in Kampala is a significant departure from its longstanding policy of democratic decentralization.

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Thiel Andreas

Developing an analytical framework for reconstructing the scalar reorganization of water governance as institutional change: The case of Southern Spain

in **Ecological Economics**, Volume 107, November , 378-391

Relying on theories of institutional change, a framework is developed to explain formal change in natural resource governance, in this case, formal scalar reorganization (re-scaling) of governance. Modifications of water governance are the outcome of interrelated changes in the determinants of actor-specific perceptions of costs and benefits of governance. To become effective, actors need to be able to bring their preferences to bear on constitutionally defined action situations where collective bargaining processes over governance take shape. Rescaling is conceptualized as being about whose economic interests are able to control the processes by which rescaling is advocated and carried out and whose technically, economically, or politically oriented vision of water management prevails. The framework developed goes beyond the alternatives of either functionalist problem-solving approaches or approaches focussing on political bargaining. Its application is illustrated through an in-depth qualitative case study of decentralization of governance in Spain's Guadalquivir river basin. Here, rescaling resulted from some politically dominant regional actors favoring better coordination of water management with regional environmental management and greater control of water and coincided with a political two-level majority at the national and regional levels. The case highlights the role of relations between institutional arrangements and biophysical settings, such as the specific geographical setting and changes in the relative importance of characteristics of the nature-related transactions, implicit, for example, in the changing relative importance groundwater management at the expense of surface water management.

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Kraus Hans-Christof

Ein Parlament für den Deutschen Bund? Zur Frage einer gesamtdeutschen Nationalvertretung in den Jahren 1851 bis 1866

in **Parliaments, Estates & Representation**, Volume 34, Issue 2 , pp. 203-215

The German Confederation (Deutscher Bund) did not have a parliament during the entire period of its existence (1815–1866). For decades the Bundestag in Frankfurt am Main debated intensively about the introduction of parliamentary representation, but it was never realized, even after the revolution of 1848/49. The main reason for this has to be seen in the fact that after 1815 the largest and most influential German power, the Habsburg Empire, blocked the establishment of a parliament. When the Viennese government accepted the introduction of an indirectly elected



assembly of delegates in 1862/63, it was already too late. The German national movement, especially the 'German National Association' (Deutscher Nationalverein), called for a directly elected all-German parliament since the end of the revolution. This had not been accepted by the Austrian government, because the foundations of the Habsburg Monarchy as a multi-ethnic state would have come into question. The Prussian government, in turn, only used the call for an all-German, directly elected parliament to advance its own goals.

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Antoni Bayona Rocamora

El "dret a decidir" i els valors fundacionals de la Unió Europea

in *Revista d'Estudis Autònoms i Federals*, no. 20 , 132-173

La Unió Europea recull a l'article 2 TUE els valors fundacionals comuns de la mateixa Unió i dels estats que la integren, el compliment dels quals és condició indispensable per pertànyer a la Unió i també per romandre-hi. Aquests valors tenen naturalesa estructural i els seus efectes es projecten sobre les competències i el dret europeu i també sobre l'àmbit intern dels estats. A partir d'aquesta premissa, la hipòtesi de treball d'aquest article és la de determinar com aquests valors poden comprometre l'actuació dels estats en el tractament polític i jurídic d'un procés de secessió territorial interna i en quina mesura el compliment dels valors fundacionals (especialment els de democràcia, legalitat i respecte dels drets de les minories) pot condicionar aquest capteniment. En concret, l'article analitza, d'acord amb el significat i els efectes que caldria donar als valors esmentats, si es respecta la seva integritat quan un estat, en aquest cas l'Estat espanyol, nega sistemàticament la possibilitat de fer un referèndum consultiu o una consulta sobre el futur polític de Catalunya en contra de la voluntat democràtica expressada majoritàriament i de manera reiterada, emparant aquesta negativa només en una lectura restrictiva i formalista de la legalitat interna. L'article també compara aquesta situació amb la d'altres escenaris internacionals i valora les conseqüències polítiques i jurídiques que podria tenir des de la perspectiva europea, considerant els esforços de les institucions comunitàries en els darrers anys per establir mecanismes d'alerta i precursors per evitar amenaces a la integritat dels valors fundacionals.

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Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Fredriksson Per G., Wollscheid Jim R.

Environmental decentralization and political centralization

in *Ecological Economics*, Volume 107, November , 402-410

In this paper, we investigate how political institutions affect policy outcomes. In particular, does the level of political centralization affect the outcome of environmental decentralization? We use a cross section of up to 110 countries and a propensity score estimation approach. We find that political centralization, measured by the strength of national level political parties, increases the stringency of environmental policies set under decentralized regimes.

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Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

A.S. Narang

Federalism in India: Limitations and Challenges



in **Indian Journal of Federal Studies**, n. 26 , 1-20

India has historically evolved as distinctive form of cooperative federalism with in-built constitutional mechanism of accommodating diversity as valid element of Indian nationalism. Forms of accommodation structurally depend on nature of party system, and degree of centralisation and decentralisation at a particular point of time. State autonomy may not all the time be minority accommodating or protecting. Union has pre-eminent responsibility towards minorities. Also mere grant of cultural autonomy will not guarantee development, or to preserve a threatened culture. The form which any particular manifestation of autonomy takes must be concisely related to the goals of the community which aspires it, as well as to the requirements of the larger state policy. Relative convergence of territory, group and polity may institutionalise minorities as bonafide partners

in the making of India. The present paper historically analyses Indian federalism and its inherent limitations and challenges particularly from the perspective of sociocultural pluralism.

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Villiers Bertus de

Federalism in South Sudan—Options for Power Sharing in the Permanent Constitution

in **Journal of Asian and African Studies** , Vol. 49, No. 6 - 2014 , 654-671

The young nation of South Sudan is currently engaged in a review of its Transitional Constitution with the aim of finalizing a Permanent Constitution by 2015. One of the key issues the subject of negotiations is whether the Permanent Constitution should contain power-sharing features and if so, whether those features should be formal or informal. While it is widely accepted that the Permanent Constitution will contain federal elements, this article gives consideration to the way in which formal and informal power-sharing arrangements that are found in federations such as Nigeria, South Africa and Ethiopia, could be employed by South Sudan.

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Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Fernand de Varennes

Fédéralisme, identités et langues officielles en Inde

in **Droit et culture**, no. 67 , 187-212

Shortly after its independence, the Indian Government enacted a Constitution in 1950 on the basis of a federal, parliamentary, secular and democratic Republic. Its member-States at that time were inherited from former provinces and kingdoms dating from the British Raj era, and the new Constitution only catered for one official language, the Hindi, with English in a subsidiary and temporary status – still ongoing to the present day. However this distribution soon created various causes for discontent since it meant that some linguistic populations amounting to several tens of millions were, out of practical concerns, cast off the Government higher levels and employment opportunities since they didn't speak the official languages of India or the new States. Riots and violence soon ensued and started shaking the country basis until India adopted in 1956 the States Reorganisation Act which distributed the States according to linguistic basis.

Although conflicts have not yet been eradicated from the various parts of this country, this paper will deal with the way



Indian linguistic planning policies, which include numerous constitutional and legislative dispositions, recognize linguistic rights as well the constitutive parts of the Federation and autonomous territories with their own official languages in such a way that India has managed to preserve – despite its poverty- the unity of its country. This has been obtained by the formal recognition of its huge linguistic and cultural diversity and the accommodation of this diversity in a fair and equitable manner.

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De Martin Gian Candido

Il disegno autonomistico disatteso tra contraddizioni e nuovi scenari problematici

in **Istituzioni del federalismo**, n. 1 , 21 - 45

No abstract available

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

Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization

Ferrari Giuseppe Franco

Il futuro delle specialità regionali

in **Giurisprudenza Costituzionale**, Fascicolo 2 , 1939 - 1957

No abstract available

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

Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization

Caravale Giulia

Il referendum del 18/9/2014: Scotland chooses the best of both worlds

in **Federalismi**, Anno XII - Nr 18

No abstract available

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

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Mainardi Eleonora

Il referendum in Scozia: tra devolution e indipendenza

in **Federalismi**, Anno XII - Nr 17

No abstract available

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Keating Michael

Introduction: Rescaling Interests

in Territory, Politics, Governance, Volume 2, Issue 3, Special Issue: Rescaling Interests , 239-248

The nation-state has historically been the container of social and economic interests. Policy communities were organized within state boundaries. There has been a rescaling of policy systems, upwards to the transnational level and downwards to the sub-state level. European states have established meso-level or regional governments. We hypothesize that interest representation and policy communities will rescale in accordance with this. In practice, adaptation is highly variable, depending on functional, institutional and political factors and the characteristics of each state and each territory. Function and territory interact in complex ways to determine the composition of policy communities.

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Cámara Villar Gregorio

LA REFORMA FEDERAL EN ESPAÑA: DIAGNÓSTICO Y PROPUESTAS

in Italian Papers on Federalism, 1/2014

The "autonomic" Spanish State lives today an acute crisis. Although, from a material point of view, it gravitates in the orbit of federal systems, it is not a federal state, because in 1978 lacked an express constituent will in this sense. The autonomic Spanish system does not have, therefore, the degree of legitimacy that such will could give it, nor the fullness and consistency of the organizational characteristics of the federal form. For this reason also it presents important lacks and incoherencies in its articulation and in its operation. The autonomic Spanish system is undergoing for years an attrition for the tensions arising from the opening offered by the principle enacting and the resulting conflict between the State and the Autonomous Communities; Now you add that induced by the acute economic crisis. Today it must above all deal with his questioning, both by political forces that support processes of centralization, and on the part of radical nationalism that manifests itself in Catalonia and in the Basque Country, which finds expression in the claims of sovereignty and aspirations of confederation sign, whose culmination is represented by the open challenge independence of Catalonia. All this erodes highly the effectual legitimacy.

This article explains the basic elements of the position held by a discussion group, composed primarily of constitutional and other legal and political Andalusians, coordinated by Gregorio Camara. This group has proposed, as a "natural" and logical outcome of the autonomic state, its federal reform, in view of the legitimacy of the overall and structural coherence between the elements that compose it. That proposal, which the authors call "pluralistic, social and cooperative", has affected one adopted in Granada October 6, 2013 by the Territorial Council of the PSOE (*Hacia una estructura territorial del Estado y la llamada Declaración de Granada, Un nuevo pacto territorial: La España de todos*). Among the reforms set out in it include that of the Senate, that of the division of powers between the state and the autonomous communities, that of the judiciary, in order to adapt to the federal structure of the state and the constitutionalization of the system of regional finance and of vertical horizontal cooperation instruments in intergovernmental relations, as well as that of the Conference of Presidents. As regards the cooperation, it seeks to limit bilateralism to the aspects of "hechos diferenciales" and to the specific issues that do not relate to other autonomous communities. The proposal also envisages in the Constitution the strengthening of the guarantee of autonomy and financial regime of local authorities.

The delineated design is based on the idea that federalism responds to a deeply democratic conception of the state, which are elements of the plurality of levels of government, the existence of forms of self-government and shared



government and the capacity to ensure equality complement the autonomy. It is, on the one hand, to ensure people of all territories the same basic conditions, in relation to the conditions of life, to the enjoyment of the rights, to the observance of duties, and, secondly, to promote, thanks to self-government of the territories, enhancement, in all its richness, pluralism of identities, cultures, languages, traditions, forms of social life and institutional arrangements, expressed by the same territories, ensuring also the participation of institutions of the corresponding level to the institutions of the federation.

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Piciacchia Paola

La Nuova Caledonia e le Autorità Amministrative Indipendenti territoriali: quali prospettive per il decentramento francese nel contesto europeo?

in *Federalismi*, Anno XII - Nr 25

No abstract available

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Joan Ridao i Martín

La juridificación del derecho a decidir en España: la STC 42/2014 y el derecho a aspirar a un proceso de cambio político del orden constitucional

in *Revista de derecho politico*, no. 91 , 91-136

The STC 42/2014, of 25 March, partially estimated unanimously the Government's appeal against the «Resolution 5/X of the Catalan Parliament, establishing the sovereignty and the right to decide Declaration approving the people of Catalonia» declaring unconstitutional and void «the first principle, according to which the people of Catalonia has, for reasons of democratic legitimacy, the nature of political and legal sovereign subject». However, the High Court declared constitutional references to right to decide on the citizens of Catalonia to not consecrate, in his view, a right of self-determination but not constitutionally recognized political aspiration through a narrow set of constitutional legality process with respect to the principles of «democratic legitimacy», «pluralism» and «legality». Thus, the reasoning of the Court not only dismissed the argument that the right to decide the citizens of Catalonia can only exist after completion of constitutional reform but also accepted the doctrine of the Supreme Court of Canada on secession Quebec, which appeals to the possibility that members of a political community can be defined on the basis of clear and freely formed majorities, its own legal and political framework. Nevertheless, the STC 42/2014, unlike the opinion of the Canadian Court did not answer the question of whether an advisory and agreed with the State, such as that posed by some catalan political parties on the political future of that territory referendum, has constitutional coverage. However, it contains enough elements which suggest that this is so. And that is precisely the core of the issue on which this paper focuses, from an examination of some of the possibilities offered by the Spanish constitutional order in this regard.

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Parisi Stefania



Le Regioni e la responsabilità senza poteri

in *Istituzioni del federalismo*, n. 1 , 65 - 80

No abstract available

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

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Luciano Vandelli

Le autonomie nella prospettiva delle riforme

in *Istituzioni del federalismo*, n. 1 , 121 - 130

No abstract available

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

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Colineau Hélène

Le référendum sur l'indépendance de l'Écosse

in *Revue du droit public et de la science politique en France et à l'étranger*, n. 4 , 1005-1018

No abstract available

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

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Gropi Tania

Lo Stato regionale italiano nel XXI secolo, tra globalizzazione e crisi economica

in *Federalismi*, Anno XII - Nr 21

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

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Maria Bertel

On the Brink of a Federal State? The Decentralisation Model of the Peruvian Constitution

in *Perspectives on federalism*, vol. 6, issue 1 , E74-E103

In 2001, constitutional amendments significantly changed the Peruvian Constitution's chapter on decentralisation. A distribution of competencies was introduced and various organic laws were enacted in this domain. More than a decade later, the decentralisation process is still work in progress. In this article, I will analyse the relevant case law of the Constitutional Court and the most important constitutional and organic provisions in the field of decentralisation to highlight the most crucial problem areas of the decentralisation process. I will examine



the question of whether Peru is a unitary or a federal state by means of comparative standards of federalism and through references to other decentralised systems.

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de Carreras Francesc

Opini3n p3blica y secesionismo. El caso catal3n

in *Cuadernos de pensamiento pol3tico*, n. 44

No abstract available

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

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Wilson Alex

Re-scaling of Interest Groups in Modern Italy

in *Territory, Politics, Governance*, Volume 2, Issue 3, Special Issue: Rescaling Interests , 249-269

This article compares the re-scaling of interest groups in Italy after institutional reforms that increased the policy competences and financial resources of regional governments. Regional units have substantially increased their autonomy within the group organisation, becoming exclusively responsible for managing an intensified relationship with regional governments. Provincial units nevertheless continue to control financial resources and membership ties, while the central level determines strategic choices. The study confirms a highly fragmented interest group environment with a huge disparity of resources between actors. Financial resources of the same interest groups in different regions vary enormously, reflecting the divergent economic dynamics between northern and southern Italy. This raises questions of representative legitimacy for groups claiming to advance nationwide interests. Political parties remain important ties of reference for interest groups; yet relations between these actors are more fluid and less dependent than in the past. In northern regions, bureaucratic actors are viewed as more impartial and defensive of their sector than politicians, introducing new access points for marginalised groups. Regional governments take a territorially differentiated approach to structuring their relations with interest groups: pluralism with privileged access for business associations in northern Italy, neo-corporatist arrangements based on the notion of concertazione in central Italy, and more clientelist patterns of behaviour in southern Italy.

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Marshal Peter

Reflections on the Scottish Referendum and the Prospects of EU Reform

in *Round Table (The): the Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs*, Volume 103, Issue 6 , 547-556

This article examines the consequences of the independence referendum in Scotland and reflects on the prospects of the United Kingdom government's declared intention to reform the future working of the European Union. The author argues that at no time in recent history have other members of the European Union been either more receptive to the views of the United Kingdom in the matter of reform or more concerned over the damage that a British exit from the



European Union might cause.

<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/00358533.2014.989667>

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Medina Iván, Molins Joaquim M.

Regionalism and Employer Groups in Spain, Italy, and the UK

in Territory, Politics, Governance, Volume 2, Issue 3, Special Issue: Rescaling Interests , 270-286

This article presents empirical findings on 27 regional business associations in Spain, Italy, and the UK. We focus on three issues: opinions towards the regions, internal devolution, and business representation. The article draws theoretically upon studies in the fields of industrial sociology, political science, and economic geography. All three disciplines have documented a certain regionalisation of state-wide (or peak national) business associations, and attest that the regions can generate genuine practices of interest formation and interest intermediation. This article confirms the emergence of business associations in almost all of the regions, although there are considerable variations in their preferences, their organisational models, and the way they participate in the political process.

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Michael Keating and Alex Wilson

Regions with regionalism? The rescaling of interest groups in six European states

in European Journal of Political Research, Volume 53, Issue 4 , 840–857

In many European countries a regional or meso level of government has emerged, with significant policy responsibilities. It has been suggested that the representation of social and economic interests has not followed, so that policy communities remain state-wide, giving 'regions without regionalism'. This study of interest groups in six European states examines their adaptation to devolution, focusing on organisation, cognitive change and relationships. It finds there has been a regionalisation of interest representation, but it is uneven, depending on the strength of regional government, territorial identities and the interests of social actors. Business, trades unions, farmer organisations and environmental groups are all cross-pressured on the regional question. The region is emerging in some cases as a site of interest intermediation. Territorial policy communities are emerging in some regions, but in most cases these supplement, rather than replace, state-wide policy communities.

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Falcon Giandomenico

Ripensando le istituzioni territoriali, tra diritto pubblico ed esperienza

in Istituzioni del federalismo, n. 1 , 11 - 20

No abstract available



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JHHW

Scottish Independence and the European Union

in *International Journal of Constitutional Law*, vol. 12, no. 3 , 507-510

The following Editorial was written before the voting in Scotland took place. It expresses a negative view regarding the prospects of Scottish independence written from both a Euro-prudential perspective and a more general normative one. There is no place for gloating. The peoples of the United Kingdom in general, and the people of Scotland more specifically, have given, not for the first time, the world a lesson in sober constitutional democracy and mature political culture.

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Harbers Imke

States and strategy in new federal democracies. Competitiveness and intra-party resource allocation in Mexico

in *Party Politics*, Volume 20, Number 6, November , 823-835

A growing body of research demonstrates that parties are vital for the health of democracy. While party activities are therefore increasingly supported by direct public subsidies, we know relatively little about the ways in which parties spend this money. Using an original dataset of intra-party cash transfers, this article examines resource allocation in three major Mexican parties. The analysis demonstrates that parties' spending patterns differ. Decentralization, which has increased the power and prestige of subnational office, prompts all parties to focus spending on states holding local elections. Parties with a regionalized support base, however, invest primarily in states where they are competitive. This tendency to favour party strongholds has important implications for party system development, particularly for party system nationalization, as well as for emerging work on subnational authoritarianism.

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Bin Roberto

Stato delle autonomie vs. governo della burocrazia

in *Istituzioni del federalismo*, n. 1 , 47 - 64

No abstract available

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

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José María Serna de la Garza

Strengthening state constitutionalism from the federal Constitution: the case of Mexico

in *Perspectives on federalism*, vol. 6, issue 2 , E74-E88



In this essay, the author explores the way in which courts have played an important role in defining the shape of Mexico's federal system and state constitutionalism in that country's emerging multi-party democratic system. Specifically, three developments are examined: a) States' constitutional reforms defining their own catalogues of human rights; b) Decisions of the Federal Electoral Tribunal enforcing the standards established in the federal constitution on how electoral processes have to be organized at state level; and c) Decisions of the Supreme Court enforcing the standards established in the federal constitution that seek to protect independence and autonomy of state judges. These developments illustrate how states have tried to use their sphere of constitutional autonomy in more creative ways, and the way in which interactions between the federal and state normative orders are taking place under the new political context.

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Olivier van der Noot

**Subnational Constitutions: The Belgian Case in the Light of the Swiss Experience
in Perspectives on federalism**, vol. 6, issue 2 , E272-E298

Although Belgian federated entities do not have constituent power, Flanders has recently envisaged the adoption of a "proto-subnational Bill of Rights", called the Charter for Flanders. This study briefly recalls that process, explains the legal nature of the resulting (unadopted) text, determines to what extent this text can be called "paralegal", tries to show – in the light of the Swiss experience – what Belgium could gain from fully-fledged subnational Constitutions in terms of fundamental Rights protection and of legal certainty if such Constitutions were authorized and assesses the hypothesis of a linkage between the federated Charters debate, on the one hand, and the project to "update" title II of the Federal Constitution, i.e. the Belgian Bill of Rights, on the other hand.

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Mireille Paquet

The Federalization of Immigration and Integration in Canada

in Canadian Journal of Political Science--Revue canadienne de science politique, Volume 47 - Issue 03 , 519-548

Between 1990 and 2010, a gradual process of institutional change has affected Canada's immigration and integration governance regime. The central characteristic of this process is the emergence of a new legitimate institutional group of actors: Canadian provinces. This change corresponds to a federalization of Canada's immigration and integration governance regime. It is a break from the previous pattern of federal dominance and provincial avoidance. It is not the result of diminished federal intervention in immigration and cannot be explained by exogenous shocks. Current explanations of this evolution focus on federal decisions and have trouble explaining provincial mobilization. Using a mechanistic approach to the analysis of social processes and insights on gradual institutional changes, this article demonstrates that provinces have been the central agents bringing about the federalization of Canada's immigration and integration governance regime between 1990 and 2010. Via a mechanism of province building centred on immigration, provinces have triggered and maintained in movement a decentralizing mechanism. The interactions of these two mechanisms, over time, gave rise to the federalization of immigration and integration in Canada.



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Bouteca Nicolas, Devos Carl

The Process of Rescaling Interests in the Belgian Context: The Impact of Regional Governmental Strength in Territory, Politics, Governance, Volume 2, Issue 3, Special Issue: Rescaling Interests , 287-302

To what extent do interest groups adapt to a changing institutional environment? That is the central question of this article. Keating [2014 . Introduction: rescaling interests, Territory, Politics, Governance 2(3)] distinguishes three drivers that can force interest groups to rescale: a functional, an identitarian and an institutional driver. The focus of this article is on the last driver of rescaling and on the assumption that interest groups increasingly operate on a regional scale when regional governments acquire more power. This 'isomorphism hypothesis' is tested by analysing the adaptation of the principal labour and business groups in Belgium. We found that in Belgium, this hypothesis only accounts for a number of cases. The Belgian rescaling process is not only the result of institutional changes but also a response to economic differences between Flanders and Wallonia, as well as to the increasing salience of the language cleavage. Groups were rescaling even before the gradual federalization of the state started, but federalization has accentuated this process.

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Dirk Hanschel

The Role of Subnational Constitutions in Accommodating Centrifugal Tendencies within European States: Flanders, Catalonia and Scotland Compared in Perspectives on federalism, vol. 6, issue 2 , E244-E271

Looking at federalism (Belgium), quasi-federalism (Spain) and devolution (United Kingdom), this paper shows that regional autonomy of Flanders, Catalonia and Scotland may be strengthened through a strong empowerment to establish fully-fledged subnational constitutions and through the active use of that empowerment. The author argues that subnational constitutions, whilst not acting as a panacea, may serve as important focal points for regional identification and be part of suitable autonomy arrangements within the State. They may help accommodate centrifugal tendencies, as long as the empowerment stems from a coherent and transparent central constitutional framework which clearly defines and entrenches the subnational constitutional space and its inherent limitations.

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Mullen Tom

The Scottish Independence Referendum 2014 in Journal of Law and Society, Volume 41, Issue 4 , 627-640

On 18 September, in a historic referendum, the people of Scotland voted by 55.3 per cent to 44.7 per cent to remain in the United Kingdom. This article provides an immediate response. It is inevitably provisional and broadbrush in character and cannot cover all of the varied and conflicting perspectives on the referendum and its consequences; it is just one man's view. Given the varied international readership of this journal, I shall assume little prior knowledge of



politics and government in the United Kingdom or of its history. Citations have been kept to a minimum.

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Cairney Paul

The Territorialisation of Interest Representation in Scotland: Did Devolution Produce a New Form of Group-Government Relations?

in Territory, Politics, Governance, Volume 2, Issue 3, Special Issue: Rescaling Interests , 303-321

The Scottish Government represents an important new 'venue' for group influence and provides a strong incentive for interest groups to engage. A large number have exploited this new opportunity. The devolution of powers to a Scottish Parliament in 1999 followed a century of administrative devolution in areas such as health, education, local government and justice. Many Scottish groups have long histories, and there is evidence of distinct territorial policy communities before 1999 in some areas—but devolution provided a new frame of reference for policy-making and a strong impetus to organise at this level. Factors such as Scotland's size, and the Scottish Government's limited policy-making capacity, have produced a 'Scottish Policy Style', in which groups and government interact in distinctive ways. However, this development is complicated by the multi-level nature of policy-making, producing the need for many groups to organise and lobby at local, Scottish, UK and/or EU levels. The devolution of economic policy, and the prospect of territorial corporatism, is limited. The picture varies markedly from issue to issue, from areas such as compulsory education producing Scotland and local-level relationships to agriculture and environmental policy in which key decisions are made by the EU for the UK and Scotland to implement.

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Abegunde Ola

The Travails of Federalism in Nigeria

in Federalist Debate (The), Year XXVI, n. 3, November

No abstract available

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

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Bilancia Francesco

Un nuovo statuto costituzionale per le autonomie?

in Istituzioni del federalismo, n. 1 , 5-10

No abstract available

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



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Víctor Bazán

Una mirada al federalismo argentino: discurso y realidad

in *Revista de derecho politico*, no. 90 , 287-337

Basically, this paper attempts: (i) to present the current situation of argentine federalism; (ii) to examine whether in reality have been fulfilled the guidelines established by the constitutional reform of 1994 to «strengthen» it; (iii) to analyze some issues of interest arising from federal dynamics, for example: (a) whether provincial constitutions can establish more rights than those contained in the Federal Constitution or provide rights already enshrined in this (and replicated in those) a stronger protective flow; (b) about the «federal clause» included in certain international human rights instruments, such as the Inter-American Convention on Human Rights, and (c) in relation to the impact of the conventionality control in federal relations; and, finally, (iv) to try to capturing the perspectives of federalism contained in the argentinian institutional horizon.

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D'Atena Antonio

Unità nazionale tra integrazione sovranazionale e autonomie regionali

in *Rassegna parlamentare*, n. 3

No abstract available

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

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Mostert Erik

Who should do what in environmental management? Twelve principles for allocating responsibilities

in *Environmental Science & Policy* , Volume 45, January , 123-131

In environmental management there is often discussion on the allocation of responsibilities. Such discussions can continue for a long time and can form an obstacle for effective action. In this article twelve normative principles for the allocation of responsibilities are identified, coming from three different sources: the arguments used in discussions on responsibilities, Dutch and European law, and the environmental management literature. The principles are (1) capacity, (2) lowest social costs, (3) causation, (4) interest, (5) scale, (6) subsidiarity, (7) structural integration, (8) separation, (9) solidarity, (10) transparency, (11) stability (but not standstill), and (12) acquired rights. These principles point to fundamental tensions in environmental management and sometimes conflict with each other. At the same time they may help to resolve conflicts by providing common points of reference that are independent from the often conflicting interests of the discussants.

Full text available online.

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

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Eduardo J. Ruiz Vieytez



¿Derecho a decidir en clave interna? El conflicto del Jura y el referéndum de 2013

in *Revista d'Estudis Autònoms i Federals*, no. 20 , 96-131

El 24 de novembre de 2013 s'ha celebrat un referèndum tant al cantó del Jura com a la regió coneguda com Jura bernès o Jura del sud (tots dos a Suïssa), en el marc dels acords polítics obtinguts fa anys per a la solució definitiva de la qüestió jurassiana. La utilització de mecanismes de democràcia directa, l'autonomia territorial o el partenariat institucional en l'àmbit jurassià ofereixen un model interessant de reflexió per a la gestió de conflictes territorials en altres llocs d'Europa. L'especificitat del règim polític suís emmarca la gestió pacífica i consensuada del conflicte jurassià, però no evita extreure'n conseqüències o anàlisis que puguin resultar d'interès per a altres àmbits institucionals. En particular, podria incentivar a Espanya la racionalització administrativa en l'àmbit local sobre una base consensuada d'alteració de determinats límits provincials amb la participació directa de les poblacions afectades.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Gorman Daniel

Britain, India, and the United Nations: colonialism and the development of international governance, 1945–1960

in *Journal of Global History*, Volume 9 - Issue 3 - November , pp. 471-490

This article argues that the manner by which colonial societies achieved independence as sovereign states in the late 1940s and 1950s fundamentally shaped the parallel emergence of ideas and institutions of international governance, particularly at the newly created United Nations. Using Anglo-Indian relations as its primary focus, it argues that the internationalization of imperialism was particularly evident in two areas: postcolonial states' negotiation of relations with their former colonial power within the UN system; and the influence of colonialism on international governance, particularly through the idea and practice of planning. The article assesses these developments through an analysis of British debates about United Nations membership for postcolonial states, India's role at the San Francisco Conference in 1945 where the United Nations was formed, India's campaign for a seat on the Security Council and its engagement with ECOSOC, the applicability of existing international conventions to postcolonial states, and the transfer of the ideal of planning from colonial to international governance.

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Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

James Crawford

'Dreamers of the Day': Australian and the International Court of Justice

in *Melbourne Journal of International Law*, vol. 14, issue 2 , 520-549

This article reflects on Australia's relationship with the International Court of Justice (the Court), charting its influence as a 'middle power' on the development of international law and the peaceful settlement of disputes from the San Francisco Conference onwards. Over that time, Australia has both supported the Court and relied upon it as a tool to defend or advance its foreign policy. Australia has nonetheless had to traverse some difficult terrain, from the South-West Africa cases (controversially decided on the casting vote of the Australian judge, President Sir Percy Spender) to the East Timor case (won on a technicality). While Australia's active engagement has ebbed and flowed, contributions to Australia's links with the Court have been made,



directly or indirectly, by such remarkable Australians as Dr Herbert Vere Evatt, Sir Kenneth Bailey (who twice missed out on being elected to the Court), Sir Paul Hasluck, Sir Percy Spender and Mr Edward Gough Whitlam).

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Diana Panke

Absenteeism in the General Assembly of the United Nations: Why some member states rarely vote in International Politics, Volume 51, Issue 6, 729-749

Most IOs have been created on the premise that all sovereign states are formally equal. The United Nations General Assembly is no exception, as it relies on the one-state, one-vote rule when it comes to decision making. However, the equalizing effect of UNGA institutions is limited as not all states use their formal rights equally. Why does a state not exercise its sovereign equality through the act of participating in IO voting? Why are some states more often absent than others? This demonstrates that shortages in political, staff and ideational capacities, as well as budgetary limitations can prevent states from expressing their sovereignty through participating in IO voting, even if they would be willing to do so. In addition, absenteeism can also be strategic in nature, as smaller states tend to prioritize and focus on fewer UNGA resolutions.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Rowland J.V. Cole

Africa's Relationship with the International Criminal Court: More Political than Legal in Melbourne Journal of International Law, vol. 14, issue 2, 670-698

In July 2002, the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court came into force, giving birth to the International Criminal Court (ICC' or 'the Court). This marked a significant moment in international criminal justice. The birth of a permanent court that would hold accountable those responsible for gross violations of human rights and international humanitarian law was now a reality. The African region played a great and active role in the realisation of this Court. However, the fact that all accused persons presently before the Court are Africans has raised speculation that the ICC is targeting Africans. This perception was further exacerbated with the indictment of President Omar Hassan Ahmad Al Bashir of Sudan. Consequently, the African Union (AU) has resolved to cease cooperation with the Court with regard to the arrest of Al

Bashir. The Court recently celebrated 10 years of existence, but the AU's attitude towards the ICC suggests that political considerations continue to form an obstacle to international criminal justice.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Henderson Christian

Authority without Accountability? The UN Security Council's Authorization Method and Institutional Mechanisms of Accountability

in **Journal of Conflict and Security Law**, Volume 19, Issue 3, 489-509



The United Nations Security Council has provided what might be seen as a functional and effective interpretation of its UN Charter based powers in developing a method for 'authorising' states and coalitions of states to use forcible measures in seeking to fulfil its responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. While this method has become embedded into the practice of the Council and the UN, there is a certain deficit in the accountability of the Council in both its development and utilization of it. Given that the powers upon which the method is based are located within the Charter itself, this article addresses the existing institutional mechanisms of accountability. These are to be found in the International Court of Justice's advisory function as well as in the United Nations General Assembly's powers of discussion and recommendation, including under the Uniting for Peace resolution. While many of the transparency and accountability issues that the Security Council faces could be rectified through reform, such an institutional revolution looks a distant prospect at best. As such, this article argues that the existing institutional mechanisms of accountability have the potential to ensure that the Council does not exercise its authority without accountability. This is not through them being able to legally oblige the Council into taking or refraining from certain action, but through a process of clarification and the milder yet still effective pull towards compliance that concerns regarding legitimacy can exert upon the actions of the Council and its Member States.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Rodenhauser Tilman

Beyond State Crimes: Non-State Entities and Crimes against Humanity
in *Leiden Journal of International Law*, Volume 27 - Issue 04

Recent cases before the ICC raise the question of on behalf of which entities crimes against humanity can be committed. Interpreting the 'organizational policy' requirement in its context, this article argues that in principle crimes against humanity can be committed pursuant to or in furtherance of a policy of any organization that has the capacity to orchestrate a widespread or systematic attack against a civilian population. It is shown that this does not broaden the scope of the crime indefinitely but that concrete requirements defining such entities are found in the contextual elements of crimes against humanity.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Matthieu Burnay and Jan Wouters

China in the UN Security Council: What Are the Implications for the International Rule of Law
in *Revue belge de droit international*, n. 2 , 343-363

This article aims to highlight the activities of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) that contribute to, or challenge, the international rule of law from a Chinese perspective. The analysis seeks to uncover China's perspective on what is identified as the rule of law dimensions of the institutional and practical arrangements of the UNSC: the organisation of rule of law missions, the (quasi-)legislative practice in UNSC resolutions, the role of the UNSC in international adjudication, and the challenges posed by the stalemate in the reform of the Security Council. After an analysis of the institutional and practical aspects of UNSC rule of law activities, the article focuses on the specificities of China's



approach towards the international rule of law and concludes by assessing it through the lens of the development of the rule of law within China itself. The central thesis is that the instrumental and "multiple-speeds" of the implementation of the rule of law in the PRC goes hand in hand with a selective and instrumental approach towards the international rule of law. In that context, China's prioritisation of state sovereignty and non-intervention in its foreign policy impedes it to become a real path-breaker to make the UNSC an international body better committed to the international rule of law

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Dan Zhu

China, the Crime of Aggression, and the International Criminal Court

in *Asian Journal of International Law*, vol. 5, issue 1 , 94-122

At the Kampala Review Conference in 2010, the adoption of the amendments to the Rome Statute laid the groundwork for the eventual prosecution of the crime of aggression. China, a non-State Party to the International Criminal Court, has articulated its concerns regarding the Court's jurisdiction over the crime of aggression in legal terms. This paper examines the Chinese concerns regarding the role of the Security Council in the determination of an act of aggression and the definition of aggression primarily from a legal perspective. It argues that China has hovered back and forth between two conflicting legal positions on these issues during different periods in history according to its policy preference. This paper also considers the concerns of China from a policy perspective before concluding that the crime of aggression should not be regarded as an insurmountable barrier preventing China's accession to the ICC in years to come.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Michael Mason

Climate Insecurity in (Post)Conflict Areas: The Biopolitics of United Nations Vulnerability Assessments

in *Geopolitics*, Volume 19, Issue 4 , 806-828

Within the United Nations, the United Nations Development Programme, United Nations Environment Programme and Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs have all highlighted climate risks as relevant to their work in areas affected by conflict, endorsing human security approaches as valid for mapping the relationships between climate stresses and conflict-related harm. While this policy interest has limited operational presence, I discuss salient assessments of climate vulnerability in (post)conflict areas, arguing that these agencies have applied a natural disaster rather than conflict regulation inflection of humanitarian reason. The former entails a biopolitical paradigm of disaster risk reduction, prescribing technical-managerial measures to build the resilience of vulnerable populations. This framing supports a depoliticised stance reflecting UN norms of neutrality and impartiality. I claim that this position nevertheless disregards its own geopolitical conditions and effects, which dilute the scope for international humanitarian law to assign responsibility for conflict-related harm.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Laura Smyth



Country-Specific Mandate-Holders: The Role of the Special Rapporteur on the Situation of Human Rights in Cambodia

in *Melbourne Journal of International Law*, vol. 15, issue 1 , 155-189

As one of the longest-standing country mandates within the United Nations system of special procedures, the role of the Special Rapporteur on the Situation of Human Rights in Cambodia (formerly the Special Representative of the Secretary-General of the United Nations for Human Rights in Cambodia) is useful in demonstrating some of the practical limitations faced by country-specific special rapporteurs and representatives. This paper considers the scope and breadth of the Cambodian special procedures mandates and whether grave or systematic human rights violations have been effectively responded to, or whether many of the problems identified by successive mandate-holders have persisted. The paper goes on to address some of the practical limitations faced by country-specific rapporteurs, particularly in poorly resourced post-conflict societies and considers how those constraints might impede the fulfilment of a special procedures mandate. The paper finds that, despite their significant role in assisting Cambodia to establish the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia (the Khmer Rouge Tribunal) and develop local laws to respond to a number of human rights concerns, many of the recommendations of successive mandate-holders have not been implemented in a meaningful way, or at all. Although a failure to promptly implement certain recommendations is to be expected in a post-conflict society, in many instances critical recommendations have not been acted upon, despite technical assistance and repeated reporting. This paper argues that the refinement of the mandate and the prompt escalation of outstanding recommendations within the UN may properly support the role of those mandate-holders and progress the objective of protecting and promoting human rights.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Louis Marieke , Maertens Lucile

Des stratégies de changement dans les organisations internationales. Une analyse comparée du hcr et de l'oit
in *Etudes Internationales*, Vol. 45, No. 2 , 183–206

Based on a unique comparison between the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (unhcr) and the International Labour Organization (ilo) in the 2000s, this paper invites to revisit the issue of change within international organizations (ios). Using a sociological perspective, it suggests to analyze ios' reforms through a continuum of organizational strategies – from survival policies to claims for autonomy – implemented by agencies to justify their existence and actions. Two moments of the life of the unhcr and the ilo are compared : the intervention, in December 2004, of the unhcr in favor of victims of natural disasters following the tsunami in Southeast Asia, and the launch, in June 1999, of the Decent Work Agenda, by the ilo's Director General.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Hanrieder Tine

Ebola: Das Scheitern der Weltgemeinschaft

in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, November, 2014 , 13-16

The full text is free:



<https://www.blaetter.de/archiv/jahrgaenge/2014/november/ebola-das-scheitern-der-weltgemeinschaft>

Mit bereits mehr als 4000 Todesfällen, einer unbekanntem Dunkelziffer und einer nahezu ungehinderten Weiterverbreitung in Westafrika übertrifft die derzeitige Ebola-Epidemie alle bisherigen Ausbrüche des seit 1976 bekannten Virus. Das Center for Disease Control (CDC) in Atlanta schätzt, dass bis kommenden Januar im „optimistischen“ Fall 11 bis 27 Millionen, schlimmstenfalls gar 537 bis 1,7 Millionen Menschen dem Virus zum Opfer fallen werden. Die zahlreichen „Sekundärtoten“, die aufgrund der zusammenbrechenden Gesundheitssysteme an Krankheiten wie Malaria oder Durchfallinfektionen sterben, sind dabei noch nicht mitgezählt.

Diese Prognosen lassen keinen Zweifel: Ebola ist eine Katastrophe, die sich immer weiter zuspitzt. Die Epidemie hat das gesamte Gesundheitssystem in den betroffenen Ländern aus den Angeln gehoben. Meist mangelt es schon an Handschuhen und Schutzkleidung, selbst sauberes Wasser ist knapp. In den Städten herrschen Angst und Chaos, an vielen Orten kommt die Wirtschaft weitgehend zum Erliegen. Trotz dieser alarmierenden Zustände finden Rufe nach mehr medizinischer, humanitärer und ja, auch militärischer Unterstützung noch immer kaum Gehör...

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Engelhardt Marc

Ebola: Das Versagen des Nordens

in **Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik**, Oktober, 2014

Anfang September am Sitz der Weltgesundheitsorganisation WHO in Genf: 200 Mediziner treffen sich im größten Hotel der Schweiz, um über die Ebola-Medikamente der Zukunft zu diskutieren. Ein paar Tage zuvor ist WHO-Chefin Margaret Chan zu einem Ebola-Gipfel in die USA geflogen. Auch dort: Viele Gespräche, der UN-Generalsekretär ist sehr besorgt.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Peter Ferdinand

Foreign Policy Convergence in Pacific Asia: The Evidence from Voting in the UN General Assembly

in **British Journal of Politics & International Relations**, Volume 16, Issue 4, 662–679

Comparative assessment of three indexes of voting cohesion

Demonstrates the strong shared orientation towards global affairs among states in the Pacific Asian region, especially ASEAN and China, which is greater than that of the EU

Shows the widespread reluctance of most Pacific Asian states publicly to criticize human rights abuses

Shows the estrangement of the US from the foreign policy orientations of Pacific Asian states, even Japan and South Korea

This article aims to do three things: (i) compare three different indexes for assessing the voting cohesion of regional groups of states in the UN General Assembly; (ii) use these indexes to assess the foreign policy convergence of states in Pacific Asia on global issues between 1974 and 2008; (iii) compare the extent of that convergence with the European Union (EU). All three indexes show a high degree of convergence in the voting records of states in Pacific Asia, but



particularly in ASEAN, which is higher than in the EU. The most frequent cause of divergence since the end of the Cold War has been the reluctance of most states in the region, apart from Japan and South Korea, publicly to criticize the human rights records of other states. Although there are variations, the results also reveal the divergence in voting between states throughout the region and the US.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Vázquez Cortés Nadia Concepción

Humanitarian Intervention in Failed States: The Case of monusco in the Democratic Republic of Congo.

in *Foro Internacional*, VOLUMEN LIV - NÚMERO 4

At the end of World War II, international organizations played a leading role in the configuration of the new world order. In this context, the un positioned itself as one of the most influential international actors, above all through its peace missions. However, in many cases these missions have not been successful, leading many scholars to question the work of the organization. The case of the Democratic Republic of Congo is a clear example of the failure of humanitarian intervention; despite the 14-year presence of the un, the country remains at the top of the ranking of failed states.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Oscar Widerberg and Philipp Pattberg

International Cooperative Initiatives in Global Climate Governance: Raising the Ambition Level or Delegitimizing the UNFCCC?

in *Global Policy*, Volume 6, Issue 1, 45–56

To close the gap between existing country pledges and the necessary ambition level to limit anthropogenic climate change to not more than 2°C average global temperature increase above pre-industrial levels, decision makers from both the public and private domain have started to explore a number of complementary approaches to the top-down targets-and-timetables approach of international climate change policy. Referred to as International Cooperative Initiatives (ICI), these governance arrangements are now also officially acknowledged under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) Durban Platform for Enhanced Action. While proponents see ICIs as important bridging devices towards more ambitious climate policy, in particular up to 2020, critical observers note that the voluntary nature of ICIs makes it difficult to assess their contribution to climate change mitigation. This article scrutinizes the potential of ICIs to meaningfully contribute to closing the emissions gap along the criteria of effectiveness, legitimacy and institutional fit. As means of illustration, the analytical framework is applied to a random sample of nine ICIs (out of a total of 45 listed on the UNFCCC Secretariat's website). We find that while potential technical effectiveness is high, legitimacy and institutional fit should be improved with a view towards integrating ICIs into the emerging post-2015 climate governance architecture.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system



Lenzi Guido

La giustizia penale internazionale da Norimberga a L'Aja

in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, Vol. 81, n. 2, aprile-giugno , 213-220

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Courtial Jean

Le Tribunal d'appel des Nations unies : les premiers pas d'une nouvelle juridiction administrative internationale

in *Revue du droit public et de la science politique en France et à l'étranger*, n. 5 , 1375-1404

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Widerberg Oscar, van Laerhoven Frank

Measuring the autonomous influence of an international bureaucracy: the Division for Sustainable Development

in *International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics*, Volume 14, Issue 4, November , 303-327

International bureaucracies influence global governance processes as independent agents. Biermann and Siebenhüner (Managers of global change: the influence of international environmental bureaucracies. MIT Press, Cambridge, 2009) have developed an analytical framework to measure and explain the degree of autonomous influence of bureaucracies. We test the validity of the causal claims in the framework by applying it to the Division for Sustainable Development, the bureaucracy that services the Commission on Sustainable Development and compare the results with existing applications of the framework to the United Nations Environmental Program and the Climate Secretariat (UNFCCC). The test shows that the framework is comprehensive and captures the main elements of bureaucratic influence. The structure of the explanatory variables, however, as well as some causal claims, needs to be improved. For instance, the framework includes too many explanatory variables, and interplay between the variables is not taken into account. The article suggests five concrete measures to improve the framework by, for example, creating protocols, collapsing variables, and introduce weightings to the variables.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Stephen Bouwhuis

Reform of International Organizations

in *German Law Journal*, vol. 15, issue 7 , 1307-1319

The decades following the Second World War were a time of much optimism which was in part reflected in efforts to reshape the international order through the creation of new international organizations. Less focus was, however, placed on how to keep such organizations working, or indeed how to make them work effectively. Perhaps the only real exception is the United Nations, although even that literature is not particularly focused on the systematic challenges



inhibiting reform or the enablers of reform.

Indeed, international organizations have been permitted to trundle along, in some cases quite ineffectively, because of the legally cumbersome mechanisms for abolishing international organizations and the difficulties in achieving the necessary momentum for reform amongst States. Evidence of performance issues has emerged in various studies, such as those conducted by Roland Vaubel et al., which found that: Input quantities and costs were not related to the size of the work assigned to particular international organizations, and input quantities and costs were often determined by factors other than the work itself. Evidence has also emerged from studies conducted by aid agencies, such as the Multilateral Aid Review by the United Kingdom, which assessed a wide range of international organizations and placed them on a spectrum from “very good” to “poor.”

Accordingly, this article analyzes a number of key challenges in reforming an international organization. These challenges are discussed under four headings: (B) The Difficulties in Generating Momentum; (C) The Lack of Well-Defined Performance Measures; (D) Entrenched Interests; and (E) Legally Cumberseome Mechanisms for Abolition of International Organizations. This article then examines (F) The Drivers of Reform; before concluding with general observations.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Farrall Jeremy M.

Rule of Accountability or Rule of Law? Regulating the UN Security Council's Accountability Deficits in Journal of Conflict and Security Law, Volume 19, Issue 3 , 389-408

This article examines how the attempt to pursue Security Council accountability relates to parallel efforts to strengthen the rule of law. The article argues that accountability and the rule of law are closely connected and that steps to promote one have the potential to reinforce initiatives that promote the other. The challenge for the accountability and rule of law agendas is to ensure that these closely linked waves of reform initiatives will have a cumulative impact that improves the capacity of the Security Council to act effectively and legitimately to maintain international peace and security. This means strengthening the Council's ability not just to pursue the accountability of other actors, but to model accountability itself, and not simply to promote the rule of law elsewhere, but to respect the rule of law in and through its own decision-making process. The article traces the evolution and meaning of both the rule of law and accountability in the Security Council's practice. It then examines the relationship between the two terms, arguing that at the end of the day they share a symbiotic relationship that is mutually reinforcing.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Torunn L Tryggestad

State feminism going global: Norway on the United Nations Peacebuilding Commission in Cooperation and Conflict, 49 (4) , 464-482

This article examines the role played by small states in the promotion or reinforcement of new ideas and emerging norms within international society. More specifically, it examines the role played by Norway in reinforcing the normative



framework of 'women, peace and security', with a particular view to Norway's first period of membership in the United Nations Peacebuilding Commission. Norway is regarded internationally as one of the lead countries in terms of promoting women's rights in relation to peace and security. The article discusses four possible reasons that may explain Norway's apparent suitability and effectiveness as a norm entrepreneur in this particular issue-area.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Tzanakopoulos Antonios

Strengthening Security Council Accountability for Sanctions: The Role of International Responsibility in Journal of Conflict and Security Law, Volume 19, Issue 3 , 409-426

The UN Security Council wields immense power under Article 41 of the Charter, a power that it has not shied away from employing regularly over the past two and a half decades. As the use of the sanctioning power of the Security Council increased, so did the calls for holding the exercise of that power to account. This article argues that legal accountability, that is, international responsibility, is the form of accountability best suited for controlling the sanctioning power of the Security Council. It demonstrates how the UN can be held responsible by the UN Membership for Security Council excesses in the exercise of its powers, and argues that the ancillary obligation of transparency operationalizes decentralized control of the Council by the UN Member States. It concludes that decentralized legal accountability, though risky, is effective and has even induced the Security Council to establish or improve internal mechanisms for enhancing accountability for sanctions.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Webb Philippa , Christopher Michaelsen

Strengthening the Accountability of the UN Security Council in Journal of Conflict and Security Law, Volume 19, Issue 3 , 385-388

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Khakee Anna

The MINURSO Mandate, Human Rights and the Autonomy Solution for Western Sahara in Mediterranean Politics, Volume 19, Issue 3, Special Issue: The Politics of Foreign Aid in Arab World. The Impact of the Arab Uprisings , 456-462

Over recent years, international pressure has been increasing for the inclusion of a human rights monitoring mechanism within the MINURSO mandate, thus putting an end to an anomaly among current UN peacekeeping missions. This profile argues that, in the context of the Moroccan proposal for autonomy as the final settlement of the Western Sahara conflict, it makes little sense for Morocco to spend – as it currently does – extensive political capital on opposing such a mechanism. Territorial autonomy is almost exclusively dealt with within a human rights framework, and respect for



human rights is considered a sine qua non for a functioning autonomy. The fear that such monitoring would weaken Moroccan sovereignty seems overblown: autonomy arrangements regularly have international oversight mechanisms built into them.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Angela Kane

The Rocky Road to Consensus: The Work of UN Groups of Governmental Experts in the Field of ICTs and in the Context of International Security, 1998–2013

in *American Foreign Policy Interests*, Volume 36, Issue 5 , 314-321

In July 2013, a Group of Governmental Experts (GGE) working under the direction of the Main Committee of the United Nations General Assembly responsible for Disarmament and International Security (First Committee) presented a consensus report to the UN secretary-general on Developments in the Field of Information and Telecommunications in the Context of International Security. For many, the report, which builds on earlier GGE sessions and reports, marked a considerable step forward. Initial attempts at framing efforts on this within an arms control and disarmament process had met with strong resistance. Now, following some 15 years of (often tense) discussion and debate, states had reached agreement on the applicability of international law and existing norms and principles such as state sovereignty in cyberspace. The report also marked an important breakthrough in considering a number of voluntary confidence-building measures aimed at reducing risk and avoiding potential escalation because of misperceptions of the actions of others; in recognizing that international assistance and capacity-building are imperative to supporting efforts to reduce risk and enhance trust; and in bearing in mind that civil society, academia, and the private sector have an important role in supporting these efforts. This article discusses the background to the 2013 GGE report and its outcome, as well as next steps and future challenges member states face in this area.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Loja Melissa H.

Who Owns the Oil that Traverses a Boundary on the Continental Shelf in an Enclosed Sea? Seeking Answers in Natural Law through Grotius and Selden

in *Leiden Journal of International Law*, Volume 27 - Issue 04

The principle of sovereign rights under UNCLOS countenances competition among littoral states for ownership of a common oil deposit through the unilateral exploitation of their continental shelf. This leads to conflict, wastage, and resource sterilization. However, rather than apply the principle of sovereign rights, states seem to turn to natural law principles as a more reasonable regulation of their activities on the continental shelf. Two sources of natural law principles are relevant. One source consists of a priori principles of sociableness and necessity which prescribe that, for their own preservation, states ought to act pursuant to the common good. These principles underlie energy security policies which espouse interdependence. Another source of natural law principles are international agreements and national laws in which states temper their sovereign rights and interests and recognize the co-existence of the rights and interests of other states in a common deposit. These practices constitute a posteriori intervenient or secondary law of nations, which appears similar to customary law. Adherence is not dictated by conviction that these principles are obligatory. Rather, adherence seems to be based on discernment that, while permissible under the principle of



sovereign rights, unilateral appropriation is impermissible under natural law.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Kruse Johannes

Women's representation in the UN climate change negotiations: a quantitative analysis of state delegations, 1995–2011

in *International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics*, Volume 14, Issue 4, November , 349-370

This paper examines which factors influence women's descriptive representation in state delegations to the international climate change negotiations. Due to the gendered nature of climate change as an issue, it is important to study the representation of women in the negotiations and to examine its normative and functional implications. Theoretically, I propose to look at institutional, socioeconomic, and cultural factors as potential explanations for the variation in the proportion of women in state delegations across countries. I examine this variation by drawing on a dataset containing all member state delegations to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change negotiations from 1995 to 2011. The theoretical arguments are then tested on these data using a fractional probit model. This is the first comparative study of women's descriptive representation in international environmental negotiations. It contributes to our understanding of the variation in women's representation both over time and across countries. In particular, I find that women's representation is higher in countries that enjoy a higher level of development and a higher degree of political gender equality. The effects of other institutional and socioeconomic factors such as the level of democracy or gender-equal development remain statistically insignificant. Cultural factors measured by regional proxies show that Eastern Europe and Latin America are positively and the Middle East negatively linked with women's descriptive representation in delegations.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Ambrose A. David

Harmonization of CBD and WTO : With Special Reference to ABS and IPR

in *Indian Journal of International Law*, Vol. 52, no. 4, , 515-539

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Marceau Gabrielle

A Comment on the Appellate Body Report in EC-Seal Products in the Context of the Trade and Environment Debate

in *Review of European Community & International Environmental Law*, Volume 23, Issue 3, Special Issue: Trade and the Environment at WTO+20, November , 318-328



The Appellate Body (AB) Report in EC-Seal Products has potential ramifications for the environmental or social concerns in the World Trade Organization. It refines the jurisprudence on the balance between members' market access obligations and their right to give priority consideration to non-trade concerns under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and the Agreement on Technical Barriers to Trade (TBT). This article outlines the main points of the AB Report, particularly related to what measures constitute technical regulations within the scope of the TBT Agreement, and the relationship between the GATT and TBT Agreement in the context of the pursuit of legitimate non-trade concerns. It further highlights one of the issues raised in the report concerning processes and production methods (PPMs). In particular, it offers comments on what could constitute product-related and non-product related PPMs – a categorization that has emerged in the trade-environment doctrine over the last 40 years and that should now be informed by the AB's interpretation of the TBT Agreement in this case.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Robert Wolfe

An Anatomy of Accountability at the WTO

in *Global Policy*, Volume 6, Issue 1, 13–23

Accountability is fundamental to democratic governance and good administration, but its multiple meanings and claimants challenge international organizations. Who is accountable implies who can be accountable, and the matters for which some process exists to hold them accountable through some effect on their behavior. The answers to those questions in the World Trade Organization (WTO) will differ depending on who is asking and on the values to be promoted, from international order, procedural fairness, prosperity and justice to sustainable development. An anatomy of accountability in the WTO finds many possible 'accountability regimes', illuminating the tension between vertical and horizontal accountability (domestic responsiveness and international obligation) and the challenge in choosing among horizontal accountability regimes (promise keeping by members): efforts to satisfy any one accountability claim can make achieving the others more difficult.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Amato Massimo, Fantacci Luca

Back to which Bretton Woods? Liquidity and clearing as alternative principles for reforming international money

in *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, Volume 38 Issue 6 November 2014, 1431-1452

In the face of the current crisis, there is growing demand for regulation, often invoked in terms of a 'return to Bretton Woods'. The Bretton Woods Conference of 1944 was indeed the last explicit attempt to define a rule for international settlements. In fact, post-World War II currency negotiations gave place to a confrontation between two alternative visions of the international monetary system. The two plans set forth by the U.S. and by the U.K. embody two alternative principles: the first aims at producing international liquidity on the basis of a reserve currency (White's plan for an International Stabilization Fund); the second aims at providing a pure means and measure for the multilateral clearing of current accounts in the form of a currency unit (Keynes's plan for an International Clearing Union). The former has undoubtedly prevailed. However, it is questionable whether it is the most appropriate way to manage global imbalances. Indeed, the principle eventually embodied in the Bretton Woods system, and persisting even after its demise, tends to



identify money with a reserve asset, making possible, and even necessary, the accumulation of global imbalances, despite original intentions to reabsorb them. On the contrary, the principle that inspired the alternative plan was intended to deprive money of the character of a reserve asset, thus making it the rule for international exchanges, rather than an object of regulation among others. This paper outlines the two principles both in historical perspective and in the perspective of future reforms, particularly in relation to the recent proposal by the governor of the People's Bank of China to go back to the principles of the Keynes plan.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Vadlamannati Krishna Chaitanya, Østmoe Gina Maria G, de Soysa Indra

Do IMF programs disrupt ethnic peace? An empirical analysis, 1985–2006

in **Journal of Peace Research**, Volume 51, Number 6, November , 711-725

Structural adjustment programs of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) are often blamed for disrupting social relations by forcing austerity on vulnerable people and introducing unpopular liberalization policies. Some suggest that such interventions harm ethnic relations in developing countries because they are insensitive to the tenuous social bargains that often preserve ethnic peace. Moreover, during crises, dominant groups may seek to displace the pain of reform on others, the ethnic division of labour may be affected differentially by reform policies, and ethnic entrepreneurs could use moments of crisis to their advantage. We test the propositions by using unique data measuring the level of ethnic tensions in a country. The results show that IMF interventions reduce conditions of ethnic enmity. These results are robust to fixed effects estimation, endogeneity and selection effects. Moreover, IMF interventions lower ethnic tension in countries that are highly fractionalized, but they are more problematic where larger groups face each other and when larger groups are excluded from state power. These results suggest too that IMF interventions may lead to greater empowerment of excluded groups who might agitate for change during periods of economic crisis. On balance, IMF interventions, relative to continued economic woe, pacify ethnic relations in crisis-ridden countries. We find no evidence to suggest that IMF programs increase ethnic tensions, which is good news for poor countries requiring cheap loans and assistance with reforms.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Hoekman Bernard M., Mavroidis Petros C.

Embracing Diversity: Plurilateral Agreements and the Trading System

in **World Trade Review**, Volume 14 - Issue 01 - gennaio 2015 , 101-116

Plurilateral agreements in the WTO context allow sub-sets of countries to agree to commitments in specific policy areas that only apply to signatories, and thus allow for 'variable geometry' in the WTO. Current WTO rules make it much more difficult to pursue the plurilateral route than to negotiate a preferential trade agreement outside the WTO. We argue that this is inefficient from a global welfare and trading system perspective and that WTO Members should facilitate the negotiation of new plurilateral agreements on regulatory matters.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations



MacMillan Euan

Explaining rising regionalism and failing multilateralism: consensus decision-making and expanding WTO membership

in *International Economics and Economic Policy*, Volume 11, Issue 4, December 2014 , 599-617

The beleaguered progress of the Doha Development Agenda of the World Trade Organisation (WTO) presents something of a puzzle for economic theory: if multilateralism is an effective forum for liberalisation (as it has been in the past), then why have the current round of talks faltered amid the proliferation of preferential trade agreements (PTAs)? This paper builds a 'hub and spoke' version of the Maggi (Am Econ Rev 89(1):190–213, 1999) model of trade negotiations to show that the combination of the WTO single-undertaking and consensus decision-making principles with an expanded and more diverse membership can render multilateralism less desirable for hub countries than bilateralism. It is argued that these principles give spoke countries de facto veto power meaning that their threat point during WTO negotiations is a reversion to PTA negotiations between all parties. Accordingly, spoke countries with relatively less to gain from the WTO can use their veto power to extract gains from those that would benefit substantially. If an expanding WTO membership has increased the number of such countries, then the benefits of multilateralism versus regionalism from the perspective of hub countries may have been diminished to such an extent that they are no longer willing to wait for the conclusion of the Doha round before engaging in PTA negotiations.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Obertan Paméla

Gagner de l'influence dans une négociation asymétrique : le cas d'une coalition de PVD au Conseil des ADPIC de l'OMC

in *Etudes Internationales*, Vol. 45, No. 3 - 2014 , 399–424

Inside an international institution such as the World Trade Organization (WTO) where strong asymmetrical relations prevail, the weakest countries are generally disadvantaged. However, they can reverse the trend by developing coalitions as suggested by the theoretical literature. This is the route chosen by many developing countries in the WTO. Over time, their coalitions have become much more effective in countering the claims of the most powerful countries which want to strengthen patent law. Coalition of developing countries that mobilized around issues of intellectual property and biopiracy countries has shown some success, which can be explained by the choice of a form combining strength and flexibility.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Cosbey Aaron, Mavroidis Petros C.

Heavy Fuel: Trade and Environment in the GATT/WTO Case Law

in *Review of European Community & International Environmental Law*, Volume 23, Issue 3, Special Issue: Trade and the Environment at WTO+20, November , 288-301

This article discusses the evolution of case law regarding the treatment of cases that the authors qualify as 'trade and environment' in the case law of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and the World Trade Organization



(WTO). The main argument is that, as in many domestic jurisdictions, GATT/WTO courts moved from an original 'hostile' position towards environmental protection that incidentally affected trade flows to a more nuanced, even friendly attitude towards those measures that were legitimately 'green'. WTO courts, like other courts before them, saw the signs of times. They did not have to 'make' law, though, in order to change their attitude towards environmental concerns. They only had to correct a clear mistake they committed in the late 1980s in the notorious tuna-dolphin dispute, and start interpreting the GATT/WTO as it was meant to be by its framers: societal preferences, to the extent they are non-discriminatory, trump obligations to liberalize trade.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Cho Sungjong

How the world trade community operates: norms and discourse

in *World Trade Review*, Volume 13 - Issue 04 - ottobre 2014 , 685-711

Based on the new conceptualization of the world trading system as the world trade 'community', this Article illuminates its internal operation based on legal discourse. The Article first defines WTO norms as lingua franca of the world trade community that enables various forms of discourse among members of the community. It then introduces three main institutionalized forms of the WTO discourse, namely adjudication, peer review, and consultation/negotiation. These three forms of WTO discourse are mainly responsible for the diurnal operation of the world trade community. The Article also explores the intermodal dynamics among these three forms of WTO discourse and demonstrates that such dynamics might generate both positive and negative consequences.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Kulovesi Kati

International Trade Disputes on Renewable Energy: Testing Ground for the Mutual Supportiveness of WTO Law and Climate Change Law

in *Review of European Community & International Environmental Law*, Volume 23, Issue 3, Special Issue: Trade and the Environment at WTO+20, November , 342-353

This article explores the relationship between renewable energy support policies and World Trade Organization (WTO) law on unfair trade practices. It analyzes the Canada-Renewable Energy case at the WTO, where an open conflict between trade rules and climate policy was arguably avoided only through a heavily criticized interpretation of the definition of subsidies by the WTO dispute settlement bodies. It draws attention to broader challenges in the relationship between renewable energy support policies and the current WTO subsidies law. The article also discusses the AD590-Solar Panels trade dispute between the European Union and China, examining the complex relationship between cheap solar panel exports, anti-dumping duties and EU climate policy objectives.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Daniel Warner

Moving Borders: Russia's Creative Entry into the World Trade Organization (WTO)



in **Alternatives: Global, Local, Political**, 39 (2) , 90-107

The establishment of country's borders is both a political and a legal determination. The brief Russian–Georgian War of 2008 not only suspended diplomatic relations between the two countries but also caused international confusion about the definitive border between them. In 2012, with the help of creative Swiss diplomatic activity, a breakthrough took place that allowed the Russian Federation to finally become a member of the World Trade Organization. This article will examine how five years after a major conflict that left hundreds if not thousands of casualties and the declared independence of two separatist regions from Georgia, the Russian Federation and Georgia were able to agree on a border between the two countries for customs while still not agreeing on the definitive border between them.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Samuel Brazys

Outside looking in: non-accession to the WTO

in **Cambridge Review of International Affairs** , Volume 27, Issue 4 , 644-665

Since its institutional birth in 1947, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) / World Trade Organization (WTO) has mushroomed from 23 original contracting parties to 157 members as of September 2012. Another 28 countries are currently observers, each at varying stages of the accession process. WTO members and observers cover some 99 per cent of the world's population and over 99 per cent of global trade. However, there are still 13 states outside the multilateral rules-based trading system. This paper argues that existing explanations of membership and accession do not fully explain why these states remain outside the WTO, with implications for membership in international institutions generally. The paper tests hypotheses of non-membership based on a lack of willingness (domestic support), ability (technical capacity) or external pressure, and augments these statistical findings with a comparative country-level narrative of WTO (non-)accession decision-making in two small island countries.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Nelson Douglas R.

Prospects for Constitutionalization of the WTO

in **World Trade Review**, Volume 14 - Issue 01 - gennaio 2015 , 135-153

This paper seeks to evaluate the prospects for constitutional reform of the WTO by drawing on the broader literature on constitutionalization. In particular, it argues that constitutionalization implies a coherent civil society, linked to the constitutionalized entity via democratic politics. While there may be an emergent global civil society around international trade, there is no framework for democratic politics. Thus, constitutional reform seems problematic.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Mosconi Antonio

Revamping the WTO?

in **Federalist Debate (The)**, Year XXVII, n. 1, March



No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Challand Benoit

Revisiting Aid in the Arab Middle East

in Mediterranean Politics, Volume 19, Issue 3, Special Issue: The Politics of Foreign Aid in Arab World. The Impact of the Arab Uprisings , 281-298

Full text available at <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/13629395.2014.966983>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Jakob Vestergaard and Robert H. Wade

Still in the Woods: Gridlock in the IMF and the World Bank Puts Multilateralism at Risk

in Global Policy, Volume 6, Issue 1 , 1–12

The Western hegemony of the past 200 years is ending as power shifts towards the East and as Western states lose the authority to uphold a rules-based multilateral order. In the wake of the Great Crash of 2008 the G20 leaders took steps to bolster the multilateral order, including reform of the governance of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank so as to reflect the increasing economic weight of developing countries. The executive boards of both organizations affirmed that the primary criterion for allocating voting shares should be shares of world GDP.

We show that the reforms at the IMF and the World Bank have substantially failed to meet their ostensible objectives. First, in both organizations the developed countries gained voting share relative to GDP share between 2009 and 2014. Second, countries continue to vary widely in their share of votes relative to share of world GDP; in both organizations some countries have six times or more the votes relative to GDP of others. Politicians and analysts should give attention to achieving more equitable governance in these important multilateral organizations. At the end of this article we show how this could be done.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Schenk Catherine R.

Summer in the City: Banking Failures of 1974 and the Development of International Banking Supervision

in English Historical Review (The), Volume 129, Issue 540, October , pp. 1129-1156

Since the global financial crisis of 2008, there have been a multitude of efforts to enhance prudential supervision and regulation of the international financial system. This has progressed across a confusion of national, international and supranational authorities, many of which date back to the 1970s, such as the Basel Committee on Banking Supervision. This article draws on the archives of banks and regulators in order to explore how the architecture of international banking supervision was developed in response to a series of banking scandals in the summer of 1974. This new evidence shows the reluctance which the British authorities displayed in coming to terms with new risks in the global



banking system, and the influence this approach had on the operations of the Basel Committee from its origins in 1975.

The relationship between regulators and the regulated in financial services has attracted considerable academic attention, partly because banking systems operate differently from other markets.¹ The systemic macroeconomic importance of national banking systems makes a strong case for prudential supervision by an outside body, but information asymmetry in financial services and the importance of reputation and private information as key bank assets all complicate the ability to engage in transparent prudential supervision. In particular, the potential for so-called regulatory capture—whereby regulators are heavily influenced by bankers acting in their own interest—is especially strong between central banks and the banking system because of the close connections that are required to supervise complex financial transactions where highly specialised knowledge is needed for the identification and diagnosis of problems.² In many financial markets the complexity of transactions and speed of innovation has also led to the development of forms of self-regulation through industry standards or professional codes.

<http://ehr.oxfordjournals.org/content/129/540/1129.full>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Brewster Rachel, Chilton Adam

Supplying Compliance: Why and When the United States Complies with WTO Rulings

in Yale Journal of International Law (The), Volume 39, Issue 2

In studies of compliance with international law, the focus is usually on the “demand side”—that is, how to increase the pressure on the state to comply. Less attention has been paid, however, to the consequences of the “supply side”—who within the state is responsible for the compliance. This Article is one of the first studies to systematically address the issue of how different actors within the U.S. government alter national policy in response to the violations of international law. The Article does so by examining cases initiated under the World Trade Organization (WTO) Dispute Settlement Understanding (DSU). This Article presents empirical evidence that who within the government must supply compliance is the most important factor in explaining both whether and when the U.S. government complies with WTO rulings, even after controlling for important characteristics of the state filing the request and the political importance of the affected industry. These results demonstrate that understanding the domestic supply of compliance is a critical, if neglected, aspect of international law theory. The results also highlight how the dominant “unitary actor” model (adopted by international law scholars to explain compliance) obscures important causal pathways in the compliance process. This Article opens up a new and rich field of study into what makes international law effective or ineffective.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

**Gallagher Kevin P.  **

The Economics of Regulating Cross-border Finance: Two New Views

in Review of Political Economy (The), Volume 26, Issue 4, 2014 , 594-617

For much of the 20th century the dominant view in macroeconomics was that cross-border finance needed to be



regulated in order to balance the 'impossible trinity' first sketched by John Maynard Keynes in his two books on monetary theory. The dominant view in development economics during the same period was that cross-border capital flows need to be regulated for similar reasons but also to mobilize domestic resources for economic development. The view that capital mobility was something to be constrained fell out of favor in mainstream economics by the 1980s and 1990s. The experience of numerous financial crises in the past 20 years has spawned new economic theories that reintroduce the notion that cross-border finance can cause financial instability. One strand of new theory in this realm picks up from Ragnar Nurkse, Hyman Minsky, and others, and has become popular in many emerging market capitals and in the United Nations system. Another strand of new theory comes from modern welfare economics and is gaining ground in mainstream economics, central banks, and the Bretton Woods institutions. This paper examines these new breakthroughs and traces them to their origins in economic thought. Coupled with new econometric evidence on the efficacy of capital account regulation, the regulation of capital flows is justified now more than ever.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Mossner Louise Eva

The WTO and Regional Trade: a family business? The WTO compatibility of regional trade agreements with non-WTO-members

in *World Trade Review*, Volume 13 - Issue 04 - ottobre 2014 , 633-649

Numerous WTO members pursue regional economic integration with both other members and non-WTO-members. The resulting derogation from the most-favoured-nation principle needs to be justified in accordance with the relevant WTO provisions. Regional integration in the service sector is expressly allowed between WTO and non-WTO members pursuant to GATS Article V. In the absence of clear regulation, it has been questioned whether the same is true for regional trade agreements (RTAs) covering trade in goods. Providing a comprehensive interpretation, this paper argues that neither GATT Article XXIV nor the Enabling Clause require the WTO membership of all the parties to an RTA.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Zawahri Neda, Weinthal Erika

The World Bank and Negotiating the Red Sea and Dead Sea Water Conveyance Project

in *Global Environmental Politics*, Volume 14, Issue 4, November , 55-74

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Gianni Lo Schiavo

The rules on lending flexibilities and absorption of losses: what is legally possible at IMF and European level?

in *Law and Financial Markets Review*, vol. 8, no. 3 , 260-270

The existence of a legal regime on the flexible use of lending programmes and on the absorption of losses has emerged as a major issue in the post-crisis environment. In particular, the current legal regime is still uncertain as to



whether clear rules are applicable on the law of absorption of losses. This article assesses the law of the International Monetary Fund in international economic law as well as the law of the European Central Bank and of the developing financial assistance mechanisms in Europe. Firstly, the article attempts to examine to what extent the IMF and the new lending institutions in Europe allow for some flexibilities in the context of lending programmes. Secondly, the article appraises whether and what resources may be legally used to offset losses arising from existing lending programmes.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Fugazza Marco, Robert-Nicoud Frédéric

The “Emulator Effect” of the Uruguay Round on US Regionalism

in Review of International Economics, Volume 22, Issue 5, November 2014 , 1049-1078

Using a detailed data set at the tariff line level, we find an emulator effect of multilateralism on subsequent regional trade agreements (RTAs) involving the USA. We exploit the variation in the frequency with which the US grants immediate duty free access (IDA) to its RTA partners across tariff lines. A key finding is that the US grants IDA status especially on goods for which it has cut the multilateral most favored nation (MFN) tariff during the Uruguay Round the most. Our results suggest that the Uruguay Round multilateral “concessions” have elicited subsequent preferential trade liberalization.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Young Margaret A.

Trade Measures to Address Environmental Concerns in Faraway Places: Jurisdictional Issues

in Review of European Community & International Environmental Law, Volume 23, Issue 3, Special Issue: Trade and the Environment at WTO+20, November , 302-317

States sometimes restrict imports to address environmental concerns that arise from conduct outside of their territory: common examples include deforestation in foreign places or illegal fishing in the high seas. Apart from the need to comply with the agreements of the World Trade Organization (WTO), the adoption of such trade measures gives rise to two jurisdictional issues: first, the importing State might be alleged to be engaging in extraterritorial jurisdiction; and second, the importing State may affect the economic interests of indigenous communities. This article analyzes WTO jurisprudence and other international instruments. It shows that jurisdictional issues are underpinned by sovereignty – of the importing State, the exporting State and even other groups. If there is a need for a nexus between the importing State and the relevant product or measure in order to fall within any jurisdictional limitations of the WTO agreements (which remains uncertain), it will be more easily satisfied if environmental problems impact upon the ‘public morals’ of citizens or consumers, as was found in the recent challenge to the European Union’s ban on seal products. However, the complex needs and interests of other States must also be considered, especially if the trade measures impact on the interests of indigenous peoples, and on the established or emerging legal arrangements between indigenous peoples and domestic governments. The design and application of trade measures to address environmental concerns requires flexibility and a commitment to seeking international consensus as well as an openness to rights and norms from outside the trade regime.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Manson Laura, Epps Tracey

Water Footprint Labelling and WTO Rules

in **Review of European Community & International Environmental Law**, Volume 23, Issue 3, Special Issue: Trade and the Environment at WTO+20, November , 329-341

A water footprint is a concept that measures the total volume of freshwater used to produce a product, measured over the full supply chain. This article discusses one idea that has been mooted to ameliorate impending freshwater shortages – namely to encourage consumers to purchase products with a low water footprint by using a water footprint label. A label may provide sufficient incentive for consumers, and governments may impose measures such as taxes or import restrictions based on the water footprint. The article explores the international trade law implications of such measures and finds that, as with other areas of environmental regulation, international trade liberalization and the protection of sustainable freshwater resources are not incompatible goals. However, water footprint labelling, and other associated measures, could have inadvertent trade law implications, meaning that it will be important for governments to give careful thought to their design and application.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

A. Manero Salvador

¿Gobernanza o desgobierno en las relaciones económicas internacionales?

in **Revista Espanola de Derecho Internacional**, vol. 66, n. 2 , 155-170

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Catherine O'Rourke

'Walk[ing] the Halls of Power'? Understanding Women's Participation in International Peace and Security

in **Melbourne Journal of International Law**, vol. 15, issue 1 , 128-154

The prioritisation of women's participation in the Women, Peace and Security agenda inaugurated by Resolution 1325 has marked a watershed: feminist demands have been articulated in terms that have been accepted by the institutions and processes of international peace and security. Critiques, however, of the focus on participation that either question the quality of the gains delivered, or the wisdom of prioritising participation in unreformed institutions suggest a need for greater conceptual clarity around participation as an objective and outcome in feminist engagement with international peace and security. This article draws on arguments for women's participation in feminist political theory in order to delineate five meanings of participation within the Women, Peace and Security Resolutions, namely: participation as the presence of role models; participation as representation; participation as deliberation; participation as inclusion; and participation as expertise. This article finds that the text of the Resolutions evidence erroneous interpretation and application of feminist arguments for participation, with the result that the Resolutions prioritise the advancement of a presumed set of 'women's interests' in peace and security over the actual presence of women in peace and security decision-making.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Johanne Grøndahl Glavind

Bureaucratic power at play? The performance of the EU in the International Atomic Energy Agency in European Security, Volume 24, Issue 1 , 19-35

This article examines the performance of the European Union (EU) in the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). Following Barnett and Finnemore, the article argues that the EU as an intergovernmental organization (IO) possesses bureaucratic power based on high technical knowledge and rational–legal authority that it can use to gain influence in the Agency. The EU uses its technical knowledge to be a first-mover in political and technical discussions, and uses its financial support to influence the Agency's technical standards and practices for nuclear safeguards, security, and safety. Nevertheless, the analysis shows that its rational–legal authority as an international organization is limited. Being a regional IO, it does not automatically possess the impartiality and hence legitimacy that ordinarily characterize an international organization. Thus, to further improve its performance in the IAEA, the EU must look beyond internal policy issues and focus on its external legitimacy and standing as well.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Anke Richter & Natalie J Webb

Can Smart Defense work? A suggested approach to increasing risk- and burden-sharing within NATO in Defense and Security Analysis, Volume 30, Issue 4 , 346-359

“Smart Defense” is NATO's new approach to risk- and burden-sharing, which has been a chronic problem within the alliance since the 1950s. Numerous solutions have been proposed, but initiatives resulting in more equitable burden-sharing have never been fully implemented. There are two driving forces influencing a country's willingness to support such initiatives – the economic theory of alliances and the risks posed by the implementation of capability sharing. The authors examine each of these and propose that rather than aiming for group consensus on the production of capabilities, NATO should focus on interoperability through support functions. This approach provides the most likely solution for connecting the forces, doctrine, procedures, standards and other factors of joint capability production such that country leaders find the risks of doing so to be politically and militarily acceptable.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Evgeny F. Troitskiy

Central Asian Regional Security Complex: The Impact of Russian and US Policies in Global Society, Volume 29, Issue 1 , 2-22

This paper aims to reveal the impact made by the Russian and US policies on the Central Asian regional security complex (RSC) in the 1990s and 2000s. It traces the evolution of post-Soviet Central Asia from a proto-complex to a fully fledged RSC, analysing major security trends and discovering the consolidation of the RSC's boundary, polarity and social construction. The analysis has not shown much divergence in the way US and Russian policies have influenced



the Central Asian RSC. It is argued that Moscow and Washington have made a significant impact on the consolidation of the RSC's boundaries, with the effects of US and Russian policies on its polarity and social construction being rather limited.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Keller Patrick

Die NATO nach dem Gipfel von Wales: Anker transatlantischer Partnerschaft und europäischer Sicherheit in Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte, Band 50-51, 2014

The full text is free:

<http://www.bpb.de/apuz/197174/die-nato-nach-dem-gipfel-von-wales-anker-transatlantischer-partnerschaft-und-europaeischer-sicherheit>

Die NATO ist das wichtigste Forum und der Anker der transatlantischen Partnerschaft.[1] Auch wenn das Verhältnis zwischen Europa und den USA beim NATO-Gipfeltreffen im walisischen Newport am 4. und 5. September 2014 nicht explizit auf der Tagesordnung der Staats- und Regierungschefs stand, ist es doch immer Teil der Agenda des Bündnisses. Denn die NATO ist die einzige Institution, die Europa und die USA aneinanderbindet. Dadurch ist sie die Versicherung Europas gegen Aggression von außen – eine Funktion, von der die EU mit ihrer anämischen Gemeinsamen Sicherheits- und Verteidigungspolitik nur träumen kann. Darüber hinaus ist die NATO auch die Versicherung gegen innereuropäische Sicherheitsdilemmata und Konflikte. Sie bleibt zudem das maßgebliche Forum zur Koordination der globalen Sicherheitspolitik des Westens. Und nicht zuletzt fördert und legitimiert sie durch ihre Erweiterungs- und Partnerschaftspolitik demokratische und marktwirtschaftliche Regierungsstrukturen weltweit. All dies ist im Interesse Deutschlands, Europas und der USA. Gerade in Zeiten zunehmender Entfremdung – NSA-Skandale, ungleiche militärische Lastenteilung, stockende Freihandelsinitiativen – hatte sich daher mancher von diesem Gipfel nicht nur das übliche Bekenntnis zu gemeinsamen Werten und politischer Geschlossenheit erhofft, sondern eine wegweisende "Transatlantische Erklärung",[2] die der Partnerschaft neue Dynamik verleiht...

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Lucio Martino

Dopo il vertice del Galles

in **CeMiSS - Osservatorio Strategico e Quarterly**, n.8 , 67-71

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Frédéric Bozo

Explaining France's NATO 'normalisation' under Nicolas Sarkozy (2007–2012)



in **Journal of Transatlantic Studies** , Volume 12, Issue 4 , 379-391

Shortly after coming to power in 2007, President Nicolas Sarkozy announced his willingness to 'normalise' France's relationship with the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO). His aim was to reverse a central tenet of Gaullist foreign and security policy which, since General de Gaulle's 1966 decision to withdraw France from NATO's integrated military command, had relied on the country's 'specific' status in the Atlantic Alliance. While there had been unsuccessful attempts – under Presidents François Mitterrand in 1990–1991 and, most notably, Jacques Chirac in 1995–1997 – at such normalisation over the previous two decades, Sarkozy's move proved successful and, in 2009, France again became a fully integrated NATO member. Despite hints that he would 'review' this decision and perhaps reverse it or at least correct it, his successor, François Hollande, has decided to maintain the status quo. This article seeks to offer an explanation for Sarkozy's decision and to analyse why it was successfully carried out.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Jean-Paul Perruche

From exception to facilitator: what place for France in the EU/NATO partnership in the post-Cold War global world?

in **Journal of Transatlantic Studies** , Volume 12, Issue 4 , 432-442

In the wake of WWII, the historical legacy of the last 65 years has led the Europeans to organise their defence in the transatlantic framework through NATO, and in the European Union (EU) through Common Foreign and Security Policy/Common Security and Defense Policy. Despite the reiterated wish to make the two organisations complementary, this has not been achievable so far because of their different natures and formats. While the US ally has been moving its strategy to the East (Asia-Pacific), the Europeans have been urged to take on a larger part of their security burden. This cannot be achieved by individual nations, however, and pushes for deeper integration of European defence (namely pooling and sharing). The enhancement of European capabilities within the EU is likely to be the only way to keep up the transatlantic partnership in the twenty-first century, and France has a key role to play towards this objective.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Annick Cizel & Stéphanie von Hlatky

From exceptional to special? A reassessment of France–NATO relations since reintegration

in **Journal of Transatlantic Studies** , Volume 12, Issue 4 , 353-366

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Lucio Martino

LA SECONDA PROROGA NEI NEGOZIATI “P5+1”

in **CeMiSS - Osservatorio Strategico e Quarterly**, n.10 , 67-71



No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Laura Davis

Make do, or mend? EU security provision in complex conflicts: the Democratic Republic of Congo in European Security, Volume 24, Issue 1 , 101-119

This article assesses whether the EU contributes to long-term positive change in societies emerging from violent conflict, helping them 'mend' or whether it simply encourages societies to 'make do' with the status quo. To do so, the article focuses on two of the principles found in the Treaty, peace and justice for human rights violations. It examines how the EU translates the principles of peace and justice into policy and puts them into practice by analyzing EU engagement in peace mediation, transitional justice, and security sector reform in general and through in-depth examination of EU engagement in the Democratic Republic of Congo. It questions the prevailing discourse that greater inter-institutional coherence would improve EU security provision and considers whether and how the EU prioritizes between peace and justice. The article finds that principles may be translated into policy and put into practice, and practice is often ahead of policy. But this is uneven within as well as across the institutions. Greater coherence between principle, policy, and practice, rather than between institutions, would improve EU security provision and enable prioritization. If the EU settles for making do, it undermines its considerable potential to contribute to long-term solutions to complex conflicts.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Michal Onderco

Money can't buy you love: the European Union member states and Iranian nuclear programme 2002–2009 in European Security, Volume 24, Issue 1 , 56-76

The controversy of the Iranian nuclear programme divided the European Union (EU) member states. Whereas some states preferred confrontation, others were in favour of the accommodation. Policy commentators frequently ascribed this difference to diverging economic interests of Europeans, but this link remained underexplored. In this article, the empirical link between the economic interests and positions towards Iran is explored. The analysis rests on the evaluation of both overall and strategic trade flows. The results suggest that while trade played a certain role in the shaping of the policies, the effect of the strength of the alliance with the USA explains a large part of the puzzle. The article thus casts shadow on the established policy narrative of economic interests being the driver of the EU members' Iran policy. In addition, the theoretical implications cast shadow over the applicability of commercial liberalism on instances of confrontation short of war.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

L'Épine

Otan soit qui mal y pense

in *Revue Défense Nationale*, n° 773, Octobre



Les Alliés, réunis à Newport au pays de Galles début septembre, ont poussé un ouf de soulagement. Pour une fois, ils n'ont pas eu à essayer l'éternelle question du rôle de l'Otan et de son avenir. Il y a un an pourtant, ils se demandaient avec angoisse ce qu'ils allaient pouvoir raconter à ce Sommet d'une Alliance où les Européens ne dépensaient plus un kopeck dans leur défense, où les Américains mettaient en œuvre leur pivotement loin d'Europe et où tous rentraient sans flamboiement d'Afghanistan...

Heureusement vint Poutine, au bon moment. Les affaires reprurent en février 2014 avec la Crimée. Bon, d'accord, la surprise fut gigantesque et les analystes se surpassèrent pour expliquer qu'il s'agissait d'une guerre hybride, non, ambiguë, pas vraiment, non-linéaire, bref, un truc qu'on n'avait jamais vu ce qui expliquait qu'on avait été « surpris » par l'esprit d'initiative des Russes. Quoi, ceux-ci ne se comportaient pas comme les Soviétiques de papa ? Ce fut plutôt du côté allié qu'on entendit des diplomates réagir comme au temps de la guerre froide. Tradition et modernité... Bon, bien sûr, les Alliés ne pouvaient rien faire pour l'Ukraine sinon participer à la guerre médiatique avec Moscou et tenir des propos d'autant plus fermes qu'ils n'engageaient à rien.

On mit en œuvre des mesures de réassurance, on inventa une force de réaction encore plus rapide que fulgurante et puis on passa à autre chose. D'autant que Vladimir avait été assez malin pour signer un cessez-le-feu avec l'Ukraine la veille du Sommet, ce qui déminait d'emblée toutes les déclarations outragées sur le grand méchant ours. Personne n'eut le mauvais goût de constater, qu'une fois encore, il avait bien joué et que l'Alliance, « la plus puissante alliance de l'histoire », se trouvait comme Grosjean.

Là, second coup de chance : la même veille du Sommet, le prétendu État islamique égorgeait un journaliste américain (lui n'a pas considéré ça comme une chance). L'EI devenait soudainement le grand danger qui mobilisait l'émotion et l'attention, et rappelait que l'Orient était compliqué, surtout quand on se mettait à bouleverser les frontières. En fait, même si l'Alliance n'avait pas grand-chose à dire de plus que les pieuses déclarations attendues, certains alliés (pas beaucoup quand même) affichèrent leur résolution martiale. J'en frémissais.

On eut donc droit à une déclaration finale plus longue que jamais, affirmant des principes irréfragables, suffisamment alambiquée par ailleurs pour qu'on n'y comprenne rien. Les photos étaient belles, surtout celles devant cette maquette en plastique d'un avion : tout le symbole d'une organisation dont la puissance n'est qu'apparence.

Dire que certains la prennent assez au sérieux pour réclamer, à cors et à cris, de la quitter au plus vite !

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Marc R DeVore

Producing European armaments: Policymaking preferences and processes in Cooperation and Conflict, 49 (4) , 438-463

Nothing is more important to Europe's future as a security actor than supplying its armed forces with modern weaponry. Because individual states lack the research and development budgets and scale economies to remain autarkic, the survival of Europe's defence-industrial base depends on international cooperation. As in other areas of international affairs, the ability of states to cooperate 'under anarchy' is inextricably tied to the existence of international institutions. However, the nature of arms production renders the design of institutions particularly challenging. Problems lie in both the multiplicity of potential cooperative outcomes and the variety of policy tools available. Ultimately, the choice of



policies and policy tools can generate friction between the key groups of actors involved in defence-industrial policymaking. This study systematically explores how variations in the structure of international armaments institutions have shaped both the influence of different groups of actors and the nature of collaborative weapons projects. To preview my conclusions, three broad trends can be observed in the evolution of armaments institutions. These are as follows: (1) the gradual incorporation of a larger number of actors into the arms cooperation process; (2) the incremental exclusion of military professionals from armaments institutions; and (3) the growing influence of corporate actors.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Simon Koschut

Regional order and peaceful change: Security communities as a via media in international relations theory in Cooperation and Conflict, 49 (4) , 519-535

The security community concept generally inhabits a rather small niche in the study of International Relations, as the logic of community fundamentally challenges the prevailing logic of anarchy. In this article, it is argued both on ontological and theoretical grounds that the concept's intellectual heritage and depth transcends the boundaries of existing theories. In this sense, the concept of security community serves as a via media by linking different strands of International Relations theory together and by bridging various theoretical gaps. This argument will be developed in two steps. Firstly, it will be shown that the security community framework developed by Karl W Deutsch is deeply rooted in International Political Theory without belonging to one particular branch. By locating the concept in International Political Theory, an exercise that has been neglected by the security community literature; it will be secondly demonstrated that the concept of security community takes the middle ground between specific strands of International Relations theory, as these strands are ultimately based on concepts of moral philosophy.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Stéfanie von Hlatky

Revisiting France's nuclear exception after its 'return' to NATO in Journal of Transatlantic Studies , Volume 12, Issue 4 , 392-404

In 2009, President Nicolas Sarkozy decided that France should return to the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation's (NATO) integrated military structure, which it had left in 1966. Sarkozy also restated the complete independence of the French arsenal, the policy of non-participation in NATO's nuclear mission: the nuclear exception. This article takes the view that this policy of nuclear exception is outdated and potentially damaging to French interests within NATO. This is so under two scenarios: (1) As long as American non-strategic nuclear weapons (NSNW) are on European soil, NATO's nuclear posture will evolve without official French input. (2) If these nuclear weapons were to be removed from Europe, France would stand as the predominant nuclear power among the European Union states. Since the consequences of removal would impact French interests directly, it seems unwise for Paris to opt out of this debate.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Luca Ratti



Stepping up to reintegration: French security policy between transatlantic and European defence during and after the Cold War

in *Journal of Transatlantic Studies* , Volume 12, Issue 4 , 367-378

This paper discusses French views of transatlantic and European defence from the late 1940s to France's 'return' to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in 2009. It argues that, while until the early 1950s the French Government viewed transatlantic and West European security cooperation as mutually reinforcing enterprises, by the end of that decade French decision-makers had developed conflicting perceptions of transatlantic and European defence. During the 1960s, the dominating political discourse in the Fifth Republic portrayed relations between Atlantic and European solidarity as a 'zero-sum' game: What was good for the Alliance was bad for Europe and vice versa. President Charles de Gaulle advocated the creation of a European 'Third Force', although links with NATO were never outright severed. During the 1970s and early 1980s, a 'zero-sum' attitude to Atlantic and European defence consolidated although as the Cold War came to a close, Mitterrand started a selective but steady re-engagement with the Alliance. By the late 1990s, during the presidency of Jacques Chirac, France was once again a de facto full member of NATO, although full reintegration was completed only in April 2009. This paper suggests that France's return to 'NATO' marked no dramatic U-turn in French security policy; rather it was the result of a gradual and steady evolution, which was triggered by the crisis of the East–West structure of international politics during the 1980s.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Megan Dee

The EU's multilateralist combat against the proliferation of WMD in the NPT: mirroring the Grand Bargain

in *European Security*, Volume 24, Issue 1 , 1-18

In 2003, the European Union (EU) launched its Strategy against the Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction in which it sought the strengthening of an effective multilateral non-proliferation regime, with the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) as its cornerstone. Focusing upon the implementation of that strategy 10 years on, this paper considers the EU's navigation of the NPT negotiation environment and the structural conditions at play between the Nuclear and Non-Nuclear Weapon States and the Grand Bargain enshrined between them. It shows that the EU's "multilateralist combat" within the NPT has met with limited success due to the EU's lack of bargaining power – the EU has neither the will nor the capacity to make the bargaining concessions necessary to achieve its goals in this forum. Further challenging claims that the EU may offer a "benchmark" for the NPT community; this paper suggests that the EU is more a mirror of the imbalance of the Grand Bargain than a solution in how to resolve it.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Benjamin Kienzle

The exception to the rule? The EU and India's challenge to the non-proliferation norm

in *European Security*, Volume 24, Issue 1 , 36-55

Norm challenge is a continuous feature of international norms. However, the dynamics of such a challenge are still not properly understood. Therefore, this article examines in-depth the key processes involved in a major, but still underexplored challenge in the case of the nuclear non-proliferation regime: the recent accommodation of India in the



regime, even though it developed nuclear weapons in violation of the regime's fundamental non-proliferation norm. More specifically, it will focus on how certain states came about to support such a norm challenge. In this regard, the European Union and its member states played a crucial role, as they included both very supportive and very reluctant states that all had the opportunity to block India's accommodation in the regime. In contrast to the traditional focus on persuasion and argumentation in the norm-based literature, this article argues that it was the peculiar interplay of persuasion and argumentation with material incentives, pressure, and bargaining that created the support for norm challenge in the early stages, in particular in the case of the states that remained highly sceptical of the challenge.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Gil Luciana

UNASUR: Developments in the Defense Area

in *Federalist Debate (The)*, Year XXVI, n. 3, November

Since the Union of South American Nations¹ was established in 2008, important actions have been realized around several axes aiming to integrate the entire South America into a really new regional space. Among these axes we can highlight: political dialogue (to define common visions at South American level, independent of the influence of the United States); physical and energy interconnections (with a focus on common infrastructures like bio-oceanic tracing routes, oil and gas pipelines); financial integration (to establish a Bank of the South, which has not materialised yet); and cooperation in various matters, such as defense, education, social rights and migration. Contrary to other integration experiences in the region (like the Mercosur) –, the foreseen integration does not primarily target commercial integration², but rather what is usually called “political integration”, a concept that encompasses several themes ranging from identity to the region’s infrastructures. In the defense area, recently there have been some interesting steps that seek not only to coordinate policies, but also to redefine the notion of defense and security for the region. So, the UNASUR Defense Council³ made proposals on topics that have traditionally been covered by military secret. For example, representatives of the member countries convened to discuss a South American registry of defense spending, as well as “a methodology to standardize a mechanism of transparency in the military inventory”⁴. Even more, the perspective of the construction of the first South American aircraft of primary/basic military training is emerging.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Jolyon Howorth

‘Opération Harmattan’ in Libya: a paradigm shift in French, European and transatlantic security arrangements?

in *Journal of Transatlantic Studies* , Volume 12, Issue 4 , 405-417

This paper argues that the Libyan crisis has produced a decisive turning point in three interconnected dimensions of the transatlantic relationship. The EU's Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) proved to be ineffective in facing up to the Libyan crisis and needs to be rethought. The USA preferred to take a ‘back seat’ in handling the crisis and forced leading European powers to face up to their regional responsibilities and assume leadership of the Libyan mission, potentially offering a model for future allied operations. NATO, for its part, demonstrated that it is less of an alliance and more of a mechanism for the constitution of coalitions of the willing. It also struggled to overcome the mediocre forces of a small-time dictator. Key to the resolution of these three issues is the leadership role of France and the UK. Whatever the outcome, the signs are that we are facing a paradigm shift.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Guillaume Lasconjarias

'Rentrée dans le rang?' France, NATO and the EU, from the Védrine report to the 2013 French White Paper on national security and defence

in *Journal of Transatlantic Studies* , Volume 12, Issue 4 , 418-431

In his report to the president of the French Republic in November 2012 assessing France's return into the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's (NATO's) military command structure, Hubert Védrine, the former French Minister of Foreign Affairs, noted that France had no interest in leaving it again. His recommendations called for renewed action within the Alliance and the emergence of a European pillar. The timing should have been perfect, with France's draft White Paper on defence and security about to be published. However, at a time when budget cuts prevail, are these recommendations applicable and do they amount to more than just paying lip-service? This article focuses on a one-year period, from November 2012 to the latest debates around the Military Programming Law, reminiscent of Pierre Mendès-France's famous quote that governing is all about making choices.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

JUDY DEMPSEY

¿Qué le espera ahora a la OTAN?

in *Politica Exterior*, n.162

La crisis de Ucrania, la guerra de Siria y el auge del Estado Islámico ponen de manifiesto por qué la OTAN necesita con urgencia una estrategia de seguridad para abordar los problemas de sus flancos Este y Sur, pero también los de los propios países miembros.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Reisen H.

Will the BRICS Bank Help Reform the Global Financial Architecture?

in *Federalismi*, Anno XII - Nr 20

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Manuel Wörsdörfer

'Free, Prior, and Informed Consent' and Inclusion: Nussbaum, Ostrom, Sen and the Equator Principles Framework

in *Transnational Legal Theory*, vol. 5, issue 3 , 464-488



One of the key new elements of the third generation of the Equator Principles is stakeholder dialogue. It requires Equator Principles Financial Institutions' clients to engage in an 'informed consultation and participation' process. Project-affected communities—ie disadvantaged and vulnerable groups such as ethnic minorities (eg indigenous peoples) as well as civil society organisations and NGOs—have rights to information, consultation and active engagement in decision making in a 'culturally appropriate manner'. The aim of stakeholder dialogue is to give 'voice' to locally affected communities (including NGOs and civil society organisations) and to reach 'free, prior, and informed consent'—given that indigenous peoples are affected. These notions of inclusion and participation are also at the heart of the works of Ostrom, Nussbaum and Sen. This paper combines the multi-stakeholder approach of the Equator Principles with the capability approach (Sen/Nussbaum) and the commons approach (Ostrom), pointing at similarities and differences alike. It also points out necessary reform measures that need to be adopted in order to (further) strengthen the Equator Principles with regard to human rights protection and the inclusion of project-affected communities.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Annegret Flohr

A Complaint Mechanism for the Equator Principles—And Why Equator Members Should Urgently Want It in Transnational Legal Theory, vol. 5, issue 3 , 442-463

This paper argues that the Equator Principles, in their 11th year of existence, face a severe credibility problem and hence do little to improve member bank reputation. Overcoming this credibility problem is a challenge because it requires addressing the collective action or free-rider problem at the associational level, the principal-agent or compliance problem in the relations between Equator Principles Financial Institutions (EPFIs) and their clients, and a 'third-party impact problem' implicating project sponsors and project-affected communities. The paper suggests that an EP complaint mechanism would be an effective and cost-efficient solution to address all three problems simultaneously. In comparison to other private regulatory initiatives that already rely on complaint mechanisms, the paper will show that there are no feasibility hurdles to installing such a mechanism, aside from a lack of political will on the part of the EPFIs. It will also outline how the mechanism should be designed in order to most effectively address Equator's credibility problem.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Lorenzo Casini

A proposito di "The Law of Global Governance" di Eyal Benvenisti. Einbahnstraße? L'"immagine" giuridica della globalizzazione
in *Rivista trimestrale di diritto pubblico*, no. 4 , 937-943

Sabino Cassese, Barbara Marchetti, Stefano Battini and Lorenzo Casini discuss the book entitled "The Law of Global Governance" by Eyal Benvenisti. The scholars address the most significant issues raised by this important work, such as the emergence of global administrative law and its features, the role of States, the public/private distinction at the international level, the development of global procedures and the different types of global institutions.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Stefano Battini

A proposito di "The Law of Global Governance" di Eyal Benvenisti. Taking outsiders' interests into account: il diritto amministrativo e la costituzione globale dell'interdipendenza

in *Rivista trimestrale di diritto pubblico*, no. 4 , 927-935

Sabino Cassese, Barbara Marchetti, Stefano Battini and Lorenzo Casini discuss the book entitled "The Law of Global Governance" by Eyal Benvenisti. The scholars address the most significant issues raised by this important work, such as the emergence of global administrative law and its features, the role of States, the public/private distinction at the international level, the development of global procedures and the different types of global institutions.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Smits Coco C. A., van Tatenhove Jan P. M., Leeuwen Judith van

Authority in Arctic governance: changing spheres of authority in Greenlandic offshore oil and gas developments

in *International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics*, Volume 14, Issue 4, November , 329-348

The Arctic has rapidly transformed from a "frozen desert" into a theater for high-level politics. Climate change and socioeconomic interdependencies bring the World more and more to the Arctic and vice versa. Increased geological knowledge, new technologies, and high-energy prices make it possible to develop oil and gas resources in the Arctic; however, the effectiveness of oil spill response techniques remains a key concern. To understand oil and gas exploration in the Arctic governance setting, and especially the authority of Greenland, we combine a multi-level governance framework with the concept sphere of authority from post-international theory. The Arctic sphere of authority on oil and gas consists of many different governance arrangements, of which the most well-known governance arrangement is the Arctic Council. This paper focuses on the authority of Greenland in the changing oil and gas governance arrangements in the Arctic. Crucial is the changing Danish–Greenlandic relationship, in which the development of a Greenlandic oil and gas sector is seen as a tool to become financially independent. It can be concluded that the capacity of the Greenlandic government and civil society actors should be the primary guideline for the pace in which oil and gas activities are being developed. Taking this approach will ensure that the Greenland is retaining its central position and high degree of influence on the governance of oil and gas development in its country. Otherwise, it will lose influence and benefits will flow elsewhere.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Lindenthal Alexandra

Aviation and climate protection: EU leadership within the International Civil Aviation Organization

in *Environmental Politics*, Volume 23, Issue 6, November , 1064-1081

Since the late 1990s, the European Union (EU) has aspired to provide climate leadership to further the international negotiations taking place within the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) on the limitation or reduction of greenhouse gas emissions from the aviation sector. To address the issue of international aviation emissions, the EU



tried to diffuse the idea of a global market-based approach among ICAO members and advanced its emissions trading system (ETS) as a global model. Employing a concept of leadership that emphasises the relevance of voluntary followership, I analyse the EU's activities within ICAO during 1998–2013. Although the EU was in a good position to provide directional leadership on the basis of the ETS, its leadership performance was rather modest.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Carducci M., Bruno A.S.

BRICS as Constitutional Inhomogenous Dynamics

in *Federalismi*, Anno XII - Nr 20

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Papa M.

BRICS as a Global Legal Actor: From Regulatory Innovation to BRICS Law?

in *Federalismi*, Anno XII - Nr 20

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Flesher Fominaya Cristina

Debunking Spontaneity: Spain's 15-M/Indignados as Autonomous Movement

in *Social Movement Studies*, Volume 14, Issue 2, 2015 , 142-163

Abstract

The Spanish 15-M/Indignados have drawn global attention for the strength and longevity of their anti-austerity mobilizations. Two features have been highlighted as particularly noteworthy: (1) Their refusal to allow institutional left actors to participate in or represent the movement, framed as a movement of 'ordinary citizens' and (2) their insistence on the use of deliberative democratic practices in large public assemblies as a central organizing principle. As with many emergent cycles of protest, many scholars, observers and participants attribute the mobilizations with spontaneity and 'newness'. I argue that the ability of the 15-M/Indignados to sustain mobilization based on deliberative democratic practices is not spontaneous, but the result of the evolution of an autonomous collective identity predicated on deliberative movement culture in Spain since the early 1980s. My discussion contributes to the literature on social movement continuity and highlights the need for historically grounded analyses that pay close attention to the maintenance and evolution of collective identities and movement cultures in periods of latency or abeyance in order to better understand the rapid mobilization of networks in new episodes of contention.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Sabino Cassese

Diritto globale o "polity" globale?

in *Rivista trimestrale di diritto pubblico*, no. 4 , 911-915

Sabino Cassese, Barbara Marchetti, Stefano Battini and Lorenzo Casini discuss the book entitled "The Law of Global Governance" by Eyal Benvenisti. The scholars address the most significant issues raised by this important work, such as the emergence of global administrative law and its features, the role of States, the public/private distinction at the international level, the development of global procedures and the different types of global institutions.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Chong Joanne

Ecosystem-based approaches to climate change adaptation: progress and challenges

in *International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics*, Volume 14, Issue 4, November , 391-405

Resilient ecosystems are vital to human well-being and are increasingly recognised as critical to supporting communities' efforts to adapt to climate change. The governing bodies of the Convention on Biological Diversity and the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change are encouraging parties to adopt 'ecosystem-based adaptation' (EbA) approaches, which utilise biodiversity and ecosystem services to support climate change adaptation. These approaches are wide ranging and include mangrove restoration to buffer against storm surges; watershed management to protect against droughts and floods; rangeland management to prevent desertification; and sustainable management of fisheries and forests to ensure food security. This article examines the emergence of EbA in international legal frameworks for climate change and biodiversity and progress towards implementation. The EbA concept is potentially powerful in catalysing international and national commitments to act due to its key defining features of a focus on societal adaptation rather than ecocentricism, and a targeting of the immediate adaptation needs of the poorest and most vulnerable communities who are adversely affected by climate change. However, examination of national policy and practice in two least developed countries, Samoa and Cambodia, reveals that institutional and legal barriers at national level can pose significant challenges to operationalising EbA to achieve adaptation objectives.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

M. Robles Carrillo

El principio de jurisdicción universal: estado actual y perspectivas de evolución

in *Revista Española de Derecho Internacional*, vol. 66, n. 2 , 81-112

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Ming-Sung Kuo



Federation Is Not Only about Function: Where a Neo-Federalist Plan for Global Constitutionalism Falls Short
Review Essay

in *Melbourne Journal of International Law*, vol. 15, issue 1 , 271-289

This essay engages with Jean Cohen's magnum opus *Globalization and Sovereignty: Rethinking Legality, Legitimacy, and Constitutionalism* by focusing on her global neo-federalist plan. It is suggested that Cohen stands out in the debate surrounding global constitutionalism with her post-statist, function-oriented notion of federation as the political form for the globalising world order. Yet, when it comes to legality, Cohen returns to the theme of liberal legalism. I make a twofold criticism of Cohen's constitutional prognosis. First, I argue that echoing past reform movements in international law, Cohen focuses on a rule-oriented, judge-centred conception of legality. As a result, she gives short shrift to the political nature of the existing United Nations-centred international legal order in which a state of exception (or emergency) still sits alongside a seemingly permanent state of legal normalcy. Second, Cohen fails to reckon that a federal union of security and peace is not only about function. While her neo-federalist plan may well apply to other governance issues, it fails to do justice to the role of the UN Security Council ('UNSC') in global peace and security, thereby undermining her plan to rein in the UNSC as the stepping stone to a constitutionalised world order.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Luis Cabrera

Global Government and the Sources of Globoscepticism

in *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, 43 (2) , 471-491

While a number of prominent researchers have recently turned their attention to the likelihood or desirability of full world government, such an ideal has little current support in civic and popular discourse. This article seeks to identify some factors possibly reinforcing such 'globoscepticism'. After first discussing why it should not be seen as prima facie absurd to support global political integration, and noting widespread popular support in the immediate aftermath of the Second World War, it turns to some findings on the sources of Euroscepticism. This phenomenon involves negative attitudes expressed by political elites and ordinary citizens towards European Union integration. Also considered are the determinants of attitudes towards international trade liberalisation. Insights from both areas can be applied to a preliminary exploration of globoscepticism. Specifically, they can enrich an analysis of domestic biases which naturally arise and are reinforced within a sovereign states system, and which tend to diminish support for comprehensive projects beyond the state. These pose challenges that must be addressed by academic advocates of full global integration, as well as advocates of still-ambitious but far less comprehensive projects of suprastate institution building.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

LIEN THI QUYNH LE, YOSHIKI MIKAMI and TAKASHI INOBUCHI

Global Leadership and International Regime: Empirical Testing of Cooperation without Hegemony Paradigm on the Basis of 120 Multilateral Conventions Data Deposited to the United Nations System

in *Japanese Journal of Political Science*, Volume 15 - Issue 04

This study is an attempt to construct a quantitative link for international regimes with global leadership. The country's willingness to lead in solving global issues as the first mover in the formation of an international regime is measured and



characterized by analyzing their ratification behavior in multilateral conventions deposited to the United Nations which shape 'the rules of the game' of the global community. For this purpose, a set of quantitative indicators, the Index of Global Leadership Willingness and the Global Support Index, was defined and calculated for each country based on its actual ratification year data for 120 multilateral conventions covering global issues such as peace and security, environment, commerce, communication, intellectual property protection, human rights, and labor. By proposing a framework of global leadership analysis, the study seeks to provide an empirical testing of the transformation of global governance towards cooperation without hegemony paradigm. The paper analyses changes in the leadership willingness indices of selected country groups, such as the G3, G7/8, and G20, over the century and finds that the will to drive the international agenda of these groups of leaders is in decline. Moreover, our study provides evidence to argue that our current world is actually without consistent global leadership across domains of the world affairs. Although several countries still show visible leadership in specific policy domains, such as environment and intellectual property, neither the G7/8 nor the G20 was playing a comparable role to those performed by the G3 a hundred years ago.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Adenle Ademola A., Stevens Casey, Bridgewater Peter

Global conservation and management of biodiversity in developing countries: An opportunity for a new approach

in Environmental Science & Policy , Volume 45, January , 104-108

The twelfth Conference of the Parties for the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD) meets in the Republic of Korea, 6–17 October 2014. That meeting marks the half-way point for implementation of the decade-long set of targets (the Aichi Targets) agreed at the tenth Conference of the Parties (Nagoya, Japan, October 2010), and poses a real test for the parties. We contend it also offers considerable opportunity to redefine ways and means for funding and awareness raising for the conservation and management of biodiversity, especially in developing countries. Using the adopted, but as yet poorly implemented, mechanism of National Biodiversity Strategy and Action Plans (NBSAPs) we argue much can be accelerated to ensure that by 2020 the Aichi Targets will have been implemented and that the vision that "by 2050, biodiversity is valued, conserved, restored and wisely used, maintaining ecosystem services, sustaining a healthy planet and delivering benefits essential for all people" will be within reach. On the other hand, lack or loss of momentum on outreach about, and funding for, biodiversity especially in the global south could see continued declines in the health of ecosystems.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Maximilian Mayer, Michele Acuto

Global governance large technical systems science and technology studies IR theory grand questions

in Millennium: Journal of International Studies, 43 (2) , 660-683

The importance of technology in global affairs is visible to the naked and uninitiated eye. Yet International Relations (IR) still lacks a more systematic and critical attention to the role of technological infrastructures in contemporary global governance dynamics. Here, we seek to prompt IR scholars to move 'large technical systems' (LTSs) from the contours of IR narratives to a centre stage, as they hold the potential to respond to pressing challenges for IR scholarship. Employing LTSs to respond to recent publications on the challenge that 'global governance' poses to IR, we highlight



that an STS-IR encounter can, first, revitalise 'grand questions' at the heart of IR and, second, help coping with the complexity of global governance. While this encounter does not offer a ready-tailored panacea for the troubles of IR, a more systematic inquiry into LTSs is a powerful step beyond theoretical and methodological impasses, towards greater inter-disciplinary collaboration.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Michael Bloor, Helen Sampson and Victor Gekara

Global governance of training standards in an outsourced labor force: The training double bind in seafarer license and certification assessments

in Regulation & Governance, Volume 8, Issue 4 , 455–471

The shipping industry is among the most globalized of all industries and is characterized by complex modular supply chains, including a largely outsourced labor force of "just-in-time" casualized workers from developing countries and the transitional East European states. Despite long-standing efforts by international bodies to standardize and regulate the education and training of seafarers, variations in practices and standards persist. Employers exercise contradictory influences on education and training providers, on the one hand demanding the urgent provision of more recruits (encouraging corner-cutting), and on the other complaining about the poor quality of recruits received (urging crackdowns on poor quality providers and more rigorous examinations) – the training double bind. This paper reflects on these issues through the study of the problematic use of computerized assessments in seafarer examinations, drawing upon findings from a study involving research in six different case study countries providing maritime labor and interviews with stakeholders.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Rainer Baumann and Klaus Dingwerth

Global governance vs empire: Why world order moves towards heterarchy and hierarchy

in Journal of International Relations and Development, Volume 18, Issue 1 , 104-128

Current debates in International Relations (IR) entail two different claims regarding the global structures evolving in the post-Cold War world. Some suggest that the scope of the US power amounts to lasting American hegemony or even to a US empire; others speak of global governance in light of waning capacities of single states to tackle international problems or the growing salience of non-state actors. In this article, we discuss these two bodies of literature in conjunction. We argue that the global governance literature and the empire literature use different lenses to observe the same object, that is, world politics after the Cold War, and that they both address the question of power and authority in IR. The global governance literature identifies a diffusion of power and authority in world politics and thus a move from anarchy to heterarchy. The empire literature, in contrast, identifies a concentration of power and authority in the hands of the United States and thus a move from anarchy to hierarchy. We discuss different attempts to redress this seeming contradiction and show that there is much ground to believe that world politics is in fact characterised by both a concentration and a dispersion of power and authority. What we may see is neither global governance nor empire alone, but rather moves towards heterarchy and hierarchy at the same time.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Apostolopoulou Evangelia, Bormpoudakis Dimitrios, Paloniemi Riikka, Cent Joanna, Grodzińska-Jurczak Małgorzata, Pietrzyk-Kaszyńska Agata, Pantis John D.

Governance rescaling and the neoliberalization of nature: the case of biodiversity conservation in four EU countries

in *International Journal of Sustainable Development and World Ecology*, Volume 21, Issue 6 , 481-494

In this paper, we investigate how processes of rescaling biodiversity governance downwards, upwards and outwards are interlinked with the increased global and European trends toward the neoliberalization of nature conservation. We furthermore explore who wins and who loses from this interrelationship. We focus on the European Union and specifically on England, Finland, Greece, and Poland, and we pay particular attention to the effects of the ongoing economic crisis. We draw on Marxist-influenced political ecology and geography literatures and use primary empirical data obtained through focus groups and interviews as well as analysis of legal and policy documents. Our analysis shows that EU states have mobilized a range of political strategies intended to expand and intensify the alignment of conservation with capitalist interests within a distinctively neoliberal framework. However, the variation in governmental strategies in the case study countries reveals that variegated neoliberalizations are intertwined with variegated rescaling processes. Thus despite the increasing homogenization of conservation, the historical evolution of governance forms and their legacy as well as differing socioeconomic and political contexts play a pivotal role in current dynamics. We argue that unraveling the different roles of the rescaling of biodiversity governance is crucial in exposing the contradictions inherent in the relationship between conservation and capitalism and in showing that the consensus-driven neoliberal rhetoric is increasingly lapsing into authoritarian governance in the era of one of the most severe capitalist crises.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Maria Rosaria Ferrarese

Governance. Sugli effetti politici e giuridici di una «soft revolution»

in *Politica del diritto*, n. 2 , 161-188

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Tom Pegrām

Governing Relationships: The New Architecture in Global Human Rights Governance

in *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, 43 (2) , 618-639

The global human rights regime has undergone extraordinary expansion in the last thirty years. It is particularly notable for its profusion of state and non-state actors and levels of formal articulation. This article seeks to make legible the human rights governance architecture from the global to the local level, within an issue-specific domain. Orchestration theory is employed as a general mode of governance, with application across political units and political levels. Orchestration applies when a focal actor enlists and supports third-party actors to address the target indirectly in pursuit



of shared governance objectives. Using the UN Optional Protocol to the Convention Against Torture (OPCAT) as an example, the article explores the authority relationship across two central political units (the orchestrator and intermediary), with a focus on how this new global human rights architecture may offer a way of bridging the steps separating international instruments from practices on the ground.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Tine Hanrieder

Gradual Change in International Organisations: Agency Theory and Historical Institutionalism

in Politics, vol. 34, issue 4 , 324-333

This research note discusses limitations of principal-agent (PA) analysis in explaining gradual change in international organisations (IOs). It suggests that historical institutionalism (HI) can fill important gaps left by the PA approach and identifies scope conditions for both approaches. For this purpose, a distinction is made between two sources of state power that PA usually treats as synergistic – namely the formal control of IO decisions and material power resources. While PA analysis is best applicable where reform coalitions of like-minded member states control both formal and material resources, in many contexts there exist frictions between material and formal power in IOs. In these constellations recent HI-inspired works on gradual modes of change such as ‘layering’ and ‘drift’ are of particular relevance. This research avenue is illustrated with empirical examples from a variety of international organisations.

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Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

917-925

I possibili ostacoli a una disciplina unitaria della "governance" globale

in Rivista trimestrale di diritto pubblico, no. 4

Sabino Cassese, Barbara Marchetti, Stefano Battini and Lorenzo Casini discuss the book entitled "The Law of Global Governance" by Eyal Benvenisti. The scholars address the most significant issues raised by this important work, such as the emergence of global administrative law and its features, the role of States, the public/private distinction at the international level, the development of global procedures and the different types of global institutions.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Gomar José Octavio Velázquez

International targets and environmental policy integration: The 2010 Biodiversity Target and its impact on international policy and national implementation in Latin America and the Caribbean

in Global Environmental Change, Volume 29, November , 202-212

International environmental policy has evolved from a focus on single issues to more integrated approaches under the framework of sustainable development. This transition has been accompanied by a growing use of targets among international organisations. Targets have long been used in industry and corporate planning, but some have questioned their relevance in the ambit of environmental and sustainable development policy. This paper addresses the question of



whether international targets help advance environmental policy integration in international governance. It explores whether the international target of significantly reducing the rate of biodiversity loss by 2010, adopted by the Conference of the Parties to the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD) in 2002, enabled co-ordination and coherence in international biodiversity governance. The effects of the Target on the cluster of biodiversity-related conventions and their implementation in countries of Latin America and the Caribbean are examined. The analysis is based on official documents and interviews with secretariat officials, international experts and national focal points conducted between September 2011 and April 2012. A claim is made that the 2010 Biodiversity Target was, in essence, a conservation goal that did not fully honour the CBD's sustainable development mission. The Target triggered increased co-operation in the biodiversity cluster without bringing greater alignment of policies and implementation activities around the CBD's sustainability principles. The study suggests that, if targets are to advance EPI among international institutions, they need to be appropriated by relevant stakeholders and supported by implementation strategies that secure their continuous commitment.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Tom Pegram and Michele Acuto

Introduction: Global Governance in the Interregnum

in Millennium: Journal of International Studies, 43 (2) , 584-597

Global governance is in flux. Scholarship on the practice of global governance has reimagined it as a realm of disputes and confrontation, rather than one of interest-alignment within multilateral interstate forums. A profound sense of governance deficit is provoking critical reflection both within the corridors of power and among practitioners and scholars. A call within academic circles for renewed reflection on global governance as a practice-oriented scholarship has elicited varied responses from the international relation (IR) fraternity. In taking stock of the state of the art of 'global governance theory', a number of scholars have advocated for its revival to be grounded in the kind of critical reflection often absent from mainstream IR discussion. Others contest any meaningful demarcation between IR and global governance scholarship. This forum responds to a number of converging developments. Situating contributions broadly within the notion of an interregnum, it is a first cut towards a more innovative global governance research and practice-oriented agenda. We focus, in particular, on reframing the problematique of global governance from one dominated by multilateral interstate geopolitics, towards a critical reappraisal of both structure and political economy in light of the evident complexity of global governance systems

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Miccù Roberto

Le elezioni in Brasile tra presidenzialismo, coesione federale ed economia globale: un paradigma per i BRICS?

in Federalismi, Anno XII - Nr 20

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy



Matthias Hofferberth

Mapping the Meanings of Global Governance: A Conceptual Reconstruction of a Floating Signifier
in *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, 43 (2) , 598-617

Ever since global governance was introduced to the discipline of International Relations (IR), it has been criticised for its conceptual vagueness and ambiguity. In fact, how to even speak and think global governance – whether as a mere description of world politics, as a theoretical perspective to explain it, or as a normative notion to be realised through global policy – remains unclear. The article argues that this confusion exists not because of a lack of debate but rather because of the multiple understandings of global governance that are continuously advanced and implicitly reproduced within these debates. These different, partially overlapping and partially contradicting understandings constitute global governance as a ‘floating signifier’. It is argued that precisely because of this, global governance has obtained its ‘celebrity status’ within and beyond IR. Advancing a singular definition of global governance thus appears to be an arbitrary exercise as well as unnecessary disciplining. Rather than reducing global governance to a singular meaning, the debate in and of global governance would benefit from more self-reflected awareness as to when and how different concepts and understandings of it are invoked. To provide a framework for this, the article structures the different meanings of global governance by offering a taxonomy of different global governance applications.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Shaw Christopher, Nerlich Brigitte

Metaphor as a mechanism of global climate change governance: A study of international policies, 1992–2012
in *Ecological Economics*, Volume 109, January , 34-40

This paper explores the emergence of a global climate change mitigation regime through an analysis of the language employed in international science-policy reports. We assume that a global climate regime can only operate effectively on the basis of a shared understanding of climate change which is itself based on a shared language of governance. We therefore carried out an in-depth thematic and metaphor analysis of 63 policy documents published between 1992 and 2012. Results show that global climate science-policy discourses universalise the myriad impacts of a changing climate into a single dichotomous impacted/not-impacted scenario and aim to govern this world according to economic principles of cost–benefit analysis. These discourses use metaphors that draw on narrative structures prevalent in the wider culture to produce and legitimate a reductionist representation of climate change. This representation undermines public understanding of and engagement with climate change by marginalising subordinate policy framings which do not align with the prevailing dichotomous framing. The types of documents we analyse in this paper represent important sources for journalists reporting on climate change. We therefore suggest that any attempt to improve public communication of climate change should include revisions to these organisational discourses.

Open access online.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Iverson Duncan

Non-Cosmopolitan Universalism: On Armitage's Foundations of International Political Thought
in *History of European Ideas*, Volume 41, Issue 1, Special Issue: David Armitage's Foundations of Modern International Thought
, 78-88



In *Foundations of Modern International Thought*, David Armitage provides a genealogy of the multiple foundations of international political thought. But he also enables political theorists to reflect on the nature of the pluralisation of our concepts: that is, the way various components come together (or apart) in particular circumstances to form a concept that either becomes dominant or is rendered to the margins. Armitage claims that concepts can 'never entirely escape their origins'. In this paper I explore this claim from the perspective of contemporary debates about the nature of cosmopolitan political thought.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

GARRETT WALLACE BROWN

Norm diffusion and health system strengthening: The persistent relevance of national leadership in global health governance

in Review of International Studies (The), Volume 40 - Issue 05 , 877-896

Academics and policymakers often argue that global health policy greatly affects and influences national health systems because these policies transfer and implant 'best practice' norms and accountability techniques into local health systems. On the whole these arguments about the 'diffusion of norms' have merit since there is considerable evidence to suggest the existence of a positive correlation between global norms and national behaviour. Nevertheless, this article argues that traditional analytical frameworks to explain norm diffusion underplay the fact that norms are significantly 'glocalised' by national actors and further discount the role that national leadership plays in strengthening health systems. In response, this article presents a ten-year comparative paired study of the participatory governance mechanisms of the South African health system and its health strengthening measures. In doing so, the role of the national government in their relations with the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis, and Malaria (GFATM) will be examined and how key 'partnership' norms were amalgamated into health governance mechanisms. It will be argued that although global policy plays an important guiding role, health norms are never transcribed straightforwardly and a central element to successful health governance remains vested in the nation and the leadership role it exerts.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Felli Romain

On Climate Rent

in Historical Materialism , Volume 22, Issue 3-4, 2014 , 251-280

As environmental degradation becomes a growing concern, this article argues that the development of international law on climate change expresses the deep social contradictions between accumulation and reproduction under capitalism. These contradictions are translated into the creation of a form of public property over the right to emit greenhouse gases (and not the 'privatisation' of the atmosphere). This public property is unequally distributed amongst states in an imperialist manner. The distribution of these rights at the domestic level amounts to the distribution of rights to climate rent. Contrary to popular accounts of the 'commodification' of nature, I argue that emission rights are not 'commodities', and emissions trading and carbon markets are not 'accumulation strategies'. These are merely depoliticised forms in which climate rent is extracted and circulates to preclude political debates about the goals of production.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Topçu Sezin

Organiser l'irresponsabilité ? La gestion (inter)nationale des dégâts d'un accident nucléaire comme régime discursif

in *Ecologie et politique*, n. 49, Les servitudes de la puissance : conflits énergétiques , 95-114

This article analyzes the historical process related to the international organization of responsibilities and the management of the damages in case of a nuclear disaster. The author shows that the political and legal settings on which the discourse of an "international regime of civil responsibility" (that emerged in the 1960s) relies, have globally aimed at maintaining a "historical and spectacular gap" between the damages the nuclear operators are taking responsibility for, and the real and extensive damages engendered by a major accident. She argues that the existence of such a "gap" is inherent to the nuclear sector, that it is a form of government (both of economic affairs and of the public space) which was historically constructed, and that the existence of such a gap is crucial for the survival of the nuclear industry itself. Thus the notion of "responsability" in the nuclear sector appears to serve mainly as a discursive regime, as a means to organize not only responsibilities but also irresponsibilities, whatever the geographic scale (national or international) at which they should be managed.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Ricardo Pereira and Orla Gough

Permanent Sovereignty over Natural Resources in the 21st Century: Natural Resource Governance and the Right to Self-Determination of Indigenous Peoples under International Law

in *Melbourne Journal of International Law*, vol. 14, issue 2 , 451-495

Permanent sovereignty over natural resources has emerged as a fundamental principle in international law, allowing postcolonial states to assert full sovereignty or 'sovereign rights' over natural resources found within the limits of their jurisdiction. Despite the postcolonial context in which the first United Nations General Assembly resolutions in the field were adopted, there has been an increasing recognition that the right to permanent sovereignty should be given a wider scope and could start to legitimise the claims of non-state actors and communities in defining ownership and usage rights over the natural resources within a state. Indeed, international law has evolved to recognise a number of substantive and procedural rights for indigenous peoples, including: ownership rights over natural resources; the right to participate in decision-making and to prior and informed consent in the context of natural resources extraction projects; and the sharing of benefits arising from the exploration and commercial exploitation of natural resources in indigenous lands. This paper argues that the principle of permanent sovereignty over natural resources complements and further refines the right of self-determination of peoples' under international law while establishing important parameters for the allocation of property rights in natural resources. Moreover, by implementing substantive and procedural rights that allow indigenous peoples to exercise resource rights, it is suggested that states have transferred sovereign powers over natural resources to non-state actors, thus upsetting the notion of permanent sovereignty as a right belonging to states.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Madeline Carr



Power Plays in Global Internet Governance

in *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, 43 (2) , 640-659

The multi-stakeholder model of global Internet governance has emerged as the dominant approach to navigating the complex set of interests, agendas and implications of our increasing dependence on this technology. Protecting this model of global governance in this context has been referred to by the US and EU as 'essential' to the future of the Internet. Bringing together actors from the private sector, the public sector and also civil society, multi-stakeholder Internet governance is not only regarded by many as the best way to organise around this particular issue, it is also held up as a potential template for the management of other 'post-state' issues. However, as a consequence of its normative aspirations to representation and power sharing, the multi-stakeholder approach to global Internet governance has received little critical attention. This paper examines the issues of legitimacy and accountability with regard to the 'rule-makers' and 'rule-takers' in this model and finds that it can also function as a mechanism for the reinforcement of existing power dynamics.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

De Sena Pasquale

Prassi, consuetudine e principi nel campo dei diritti dell'uomo. Riflessioni internazionalistiche

in *Ragion Pratica*, numero 2, dicembre 2014 , 511-540

Abstract

This article is aimed at examining the meaning and the functions of the traditional requirement of State practice in the field of international human rights law. It is divided into three parts. In the first part (par. 2), a critical overview of some theoretical approaches followed by international legal scholars is provided. In this context, particular attention is paid to the thesis advanced by Simma and Alston (in a seminal article published in 1988), according to which general international human rights law would be basically constituted by principles, rather than by customary rules. The second part consists of four paragraphs, where an analytical (and critical) assessment of the main trends in the recent case-law of some international tribunals is carried out (International Court of Justice: par. 3; International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, Special Tribunal for Lebanon: par. 4; Inter-American Court of Human Rights: par. 5; European Court of Human Rights: par. 6). In this regard, it is submitted that - however it appears - the traditional requirement of State practice does not fit the legal reasoning of the said tribunals, with the exception of some cases concerning the conflict between human rights principles and traditional customary or treaty rules (i.e.: the conflict between the right to access to justice and the customary rules on State immunity or the treaty rules on the immunity of international organizations). In the third part (par. 7), it is argued that: (a) international tribunals make use of the practice requirement in order to identify general principles instead of customary rules; (b) these principles are not grounded in a «consensualist» reasoning (at variance with the opinion of Simma and Alston); (c) such principles take the shape of general principles of international human rights law, instead of general principles of international law (at variance with the opinion of Simma and Alston).

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Poudel Dilli Prasad

REDD+ comes with money, not with development: an analysis of post-pilot project scenarios from the



community forestry of Nepal Himalaya

in *International Journal of Sustainable Development and World Ecology*, Volume 21, Issue 6 , 552-562

Reducing emissions from deforestation and forest degradation (REDD+) attracts poor nations to keep their forest standing only to sequester carbon through monetary incentives. However, in countries like Nepal where forest is an integral part of social practices, communities need to keep using forests for making a living. Based on household survey, field interview, personal observation, and broad review of forestry legislations, this paper scrutinizes villagers' experiences of changes in forest management after implementation of a REDD+ pilot project in nine Community Forestry Users Groups (CFUGs) of Nepal. Since REDD+ was not initiated by local communities but tacitly implemented by international NGOs, most villagers lacked knowledge about it and the associated benefits from the pilot project, thus fewer villagers were found to be motivated to participate in the pilot project. Consequently, it delinked villagers from their forest by implicitly tightening uses rules, which resulted in constraints to fetch forest products. In addition, REDD+ benefits were distributed to some poor households but not to all, which resulted to an antagonistic sentiment in the villages. Thus, a rigorous assessment of conditions and framework of REDD+ and an involvement of local community from the start without compromising in the uses of forest products is of the utmost importance before considering the REDD+ framework as an alternative or as similar to CFUG in Nepal. Alternatively, REDD+ can be a part or a development project under the CFUG's framework, which could be socially as well as legally acceptable on the present situation.

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Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Rietig Katharina

Reinforcement of multilevel governance dynamics: creating momentum for increasing ambitions in international climate negotiations

in *International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics*, Volume 14, Issue 4, November , 371-389

Compared to the disappointment of the 2009 climate summit in Copenhagen, the results of the recent Conferences of the Parties can be regarded as positive progress. This was made possible due to lesson drawing and learning among states. Recent evidence from the UNFCCC negotiations suggests that countries began to reflect on the "Copenhagen experience." They are setting up domestic climate legislation in the form of low carbon development plans and share their knowledge and experiences in the international climate change negotiations. Country representatives engage in workshops and roundtables to showcase their mitigation plans and low carbon development initiatives, thereby raising ambitions and creating group pressure on other countries. This article examines how the diffusion of policies across countries is motivated and facilitated by knowledge transfer and learning within multilevel-reinforcing governance dynamics between the domestic level and international negotiations. It analyzes how changes in the negotiation setting from confrontational formal negotiations to a more open forum and bottom-up pledge-and-review process, in combination with a positively framed win-win low carbon economic development narrative resulted in the diffusion of climate policies across developed and developing countries. Communicating these climate initiatives on the national level has shifted the debate. Countries emphasize less the win-lose perspective of economic costs and sacrifice. Thus, they focus less on the question of who should reduce emissions', but identify co-benefits instead. The institutionalized knowledge sharing within the UNFCCC is also creating positive competitive dynamics among countries to increase their ambition and to take on a leadership role. This shift in the negotiations carries potential for a more ambitious aggregate negotiation outcome and opens up a window of opportunity.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Brandi Clara

Safeguarding the earth system as a priority for sustainable development and global ethics: the need for an earth system SDG

in **Journal of Global Ethics**, Volume 11, Issue 1, 2015 , 32-36

Abstract

While the list of 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) proposed by the United Nations' Open Working Group (OWG) comprises a catalog of highly important post-2015 development priorities, one of the key issue that has not received the attention it deserves is the need to safeguard the Earth's life-support system. Over the course of the past decades, we have concentrated much more on socioeconomic development rather than on environmental sustainability while putting a number of the Earth's systems at risk, and with it poverty eradication and sustainable development. There is thus a need to put the spotlight on global environmental change and to take account of the insights from the latest Earth system science and its implications for the future of global development and global ethics. The ongoing debate on the post-2015 SDGs offers an important occasion for this endeavor. Going beyond the current proposal of the Open Working Group and building on the planetary boundaries or guard rails framework, the SDGs should contain the goal to safeguard Earth's life-support system.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Kuchler Magdalena

Sweet dreams (are made of cellulose): Sociotechnical imaginaries of second-generation bioenergy in the global debate

in **Ecological Economics**, Volume 107, November , 431-437

This paper critically examines the sociotechnical imaginaries of second-generation bioenergy technology in the global debate, exemplified by the deliberations of international organizations specializing in food and agriculture, energy security, and climate change. The analysis is guided by two objectives: first, to identify and illuminate visions of future advanced biofuels by implementing the concept of sociotechnical imaginaries; second, to scrutinize these imaginaries using a critical and diagnostic utopian method to determine whether the projected visions entail the promise of radical change and hope for socioeconomic transition to a "green" future, or instead manifest an ideological stranglehold striving to perpetuate the status quo. The article demonstrates that sociotechnical imaginaries of advanced biofuel technology superficially project the illusion of utopian potential. On closer examination, however, visions of future second-generation biofuels are limited by the necessity of cost-effectiveness that underpins market competitiveness. They manifest utopian impotence to imagine the future beyond the ideological closure of the currently dominant socioeconomic system.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

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Pötter Bernhard



Tauziehen ums Klima: Von Lima nach Paris

in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, Januar, 2015 , 29-32

Angesichts all der aktuellen Kriege und Konflikte droht der globale Kampf gegen den Klimawandel ins Hintertreffen zu geraten. Das aber wäre gerade in diesem Jahr fatal, denn im Dezember soll in Paris ein allgemeines, umfassendes und bindendes UN-Klimaabkommen beschlossen werden. Schon Ende 2014 trafen sich die Länder der Welt in Lima in der Hoffnung, dort ein paar erste große Schritte auf der „Straße nach Paris“ zu gehen. Doch daraus wurde nichts.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

McGee Jeffrey, Wenta Joseph

Technology Transfer Institutions in Global Climate Governance: The Tension between Equity Principles and Market Allocation

in *Review of European Community & International Environmental Law*, Volume 23, Issue 3, Special Issue: Trade and the Environment at WTO+20, November , 367-381

Technology transfer to developing countries has been identified as essential to mitigate greenhouse gas emissions and adapt to climate change. However, existing analyses underplay the influence of wider normative principles in shaping institutions for technology transfer in global climate governance. This article uses discourse analysis to explore the ideas and assumptions underlying technology transfer institutions both within and outside the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC). This discourse analysis identifies four key periods in the development of technology transfer institutions in global climate governance. In the first three periods, technology transfer institutions embody discourses ranging from green governmentality to deregulatory ecological modernization. In the fourth period, the post-Copenhagen Technology Mechanism embodies a broader discursive landscape that parallels a more fundamental contest over the extent to which redistributive claims are allowed to shape institutions of global climate governance.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Cooper A. F. , Farooq A. B.,

Testing the Club Culture of the BRICS: The Evolution of a New Development Bank

in *Federalismi*, Anno XII - Nr 20

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Suellen Lazarus

The Equator Principles at Ten Years

in *Transnational Legal Theory*, vol. 5, issue 3 , 417-441

With the launch of the Equator Principles (EPs) in 2003, ten leading international banks made a path-breaking



commitment asserting their responsibility for the environmental outcomes in the projects they were financing and agreeing to adhere to a common standard in assessing environmental and social risk in those projects. Ten years later, 80 financial institutions from across the globe have adopted the EPs. The recently completed EP updating process introduced important revisions, but took two and a half years to complete. The delayed process indicates some of the complexities of managing a large, consensus driven association with limited professional and financial resources. There are issues of relevance, with few Asian EP adopters and new technologies that may be beyond the scope of the EPs. For the EP Association, retaining its leadership role requires improved management reflecting its diverse membership, more transparency, and the capacity to differentiate between various levels of achievement.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

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Michael Riegner

The Equator Principles on Sustainable Finance Assessed from a Critical Development and Third World Perspectiv

in *Transnational Legal Theory*, vol. 5, issue 3 , 489-510

This contribution analyses the extent to which the Equator Principles (EPs) can be conceptualised as (part of) an emerging normative order of sustainable finance and assesses the EPs' role in global governance from a critical development and Third World perspective. The introductory part of this paper frames the EPs as part of 'development' and discusses how competing notions of development influence the standard for criticising the EPs. Part 2 proceeds with a discussion of two theoretical approaches which possibly allow for understanding the EPs as (part of) a 'constitutional' or 'administrative' normative order in global governance. The third section turns to a fundamental critique of the EPs based on critical development perspectives and Third World Approaches to International Law (TWAIL). Part four adopts a less radical, doctrinal-constructivist position and inquires into the extent to which the law of development cooperation can serve as a 'yardstick' for the regulation of private development project finance. The article concludes with a brief look at alternative ways forward in creating standards for sustainable finance in the context of global governance and development.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Peter Holcombe Henley and Niels M. Blokker

The Group of 20: A Short Legal Anatomy from the Perspective of International Institutional Law

in *Melbourne Journal of International Law*, vol. 14, issue 2 , 550-607

Over the past five years, the Group of 20 ('G20') has become an important cooperative framework through which the world's largest industrialised nations have sought to tackle systemic issues that affect the global economy. However, its legal status, and the basis on which G20 members engage with non-member states and formal international organisations, has not been the subject of detailed legal consideration to date. In this paper, we examine how G20 members have so far avoided establishing the G20 as a formal international organisation, but have institutionalised some of its practices to enhance its legitimacy and ensure its effectiveness as a global governance forum. Our objective is to develop a clearer legal understanding of the nature, structure and working practices of the G20 from the perspective of international institutional law. This paper contends that international institutional law offers a valuable critical perspective from which to explain and assess the legal status and functioning of the G20 and can provide



insights and guidance in relation to the ongoing institutionalisation and reform of the G20, as well as a useful foundation for further critical consideration of the role of the G20 in the framework of international cooperation more broadly.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Jan Wouters and Matthieu Burnay

The International Rule of Law European and Asian Perspectives

in *Revue belge de droit international*, n. 2 , 299-306

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Gleider I. Hernández

The Judicialization of International Law: Reflections on the Empirical Turn

in *European Journal of International Law*, vol. 25, issue 3 , 919-934

The proliferation of international courts and tribunals in the last two decades has been an important new development in international law, and the three books under review are at the vanguard in substantiating the claim that the judicialization of international law reflects its deepened legalization. All three have adopted ambitious empirical frameworks through which to assess the impact of international courts, and present valuable insights with respect to the phenomenon. Whilst all seek to make intelligible the growing relevance of the various international courts, their empirical methodology and mapping exercise reflects a faith that the legalization/judicialization of international law is a positive development, one that might nevertheless be contested. With the Oxford Handbook's mapping exercise, Karen Alter's 'altered politics' model of effectiveness, and Yuval Shany's 'goal-based' method for assessing effectiveness, the three books represent the forefront of scholarly efforts to study the practice of international courts. One should be careful, however: because the empirical exercise attempted in these three books goes beyond mere description into an attempt to model future outcomes, it has the drawback of privileging certain modes of cognizing the phenomenon of the proliferation of international courts. Although an important contribution, a solely empirical approach would create the impression of a purely linear progression in the judicialization of international law, one which might not be borne out in reality.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

ANNE ROEMER-MAHLER

The rise of companies from emerging markets in global health governance: Opportunities and challenges

in *Review of International Studies (The)*, Volume 40 - Issue 05 , 897-918

The article analyses the involvement of pharmaceutical companies from emerging markets in global health governance. It finds that they play a central role as low-cost suppliers of medicines and vaccines and, increasingly, new technologies. In so doing, pharmaceutical companies from emerging markets have facilitated the implementation of a key goal of global health policy: widening access to pharmaceutical treatment and prevention. Yet, looking closer at the political economy underlying their involvement, the article exposes a tension between this policy goal and the political economy



of pharmaceutical development and production. By declaring access to pharmaceuticals a goal of global health policy, governments and global health partnerships have made themselves dependent on pharmaceutical companies to supply them. Moreover, to provide pharmaceutical treatment and prevention at the global level, they depend on companies to supply medicines and vaccines at extremely low prices. Yet, the development and production of pharmaceuticals is organised around commercial incentives that are at odds with the prices required. The increasing involvement of low-cost suppliers from emerging markets mitigates this tension in the short run. In the long run, this tension endangers the sustainability of global access policies and may even undermine some of the successes already achieved.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Philipp Pattberg, Oscar Widerberg

Theorising Global Environmental Governance: Key Findings and Future Questions

in Millennium: Journal of International Studies, 43 (2) , 684-705

Global environmental governance in the Anthropocene is fundamentally different from older conceptions of environmental policy-making and sustainable development. Environmental problem-solving is no longer concerned with isolated problems, but rather with reorganising the overall relation between humans and natural systems. Empirically, this is reflected in the ever greater attention to questions of institutional interactions (e.g. between the issue areas of economics and environment) and functional overlaps between parallel governance approaches. Normatively, environmental governance in the Anthropocene is concerned with questions of equity and fairness on a finite planet. This article scrutinises the theoretical interregnum in global environmental governance by first sketching the key empirical trends in global environmental governance; secondly, discussing theory-building with regards to four broad areas of inquiry: the questions of agency and authority; the structural dimension of global environmental governance; the related normative questions about legitimacy, accountability, equity and fairness in the Anthropocene; and finally the integration of governance research into formal approaches and the related incorporation of non-social science concepts into environmental governance research. In our conclusions, we propose some initial ideas on how to move forward in the study of global (environmental) governance.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Gallucci Gerard M.

Time to Begin Thinking About World Government?

in Federalist Debate (The), XXVII, Number 3, November 2014

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Fry James D.

Towards an International Piracy Tribunal: Curing the Legal Limbo of Captured Pirates

in African Journal of International and Comparative Law, 22.3



No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Ruysschaert Denis, Salles Denis

Towards global voluntary standards: Questioning the effectiveness in attaining conservation goals: The case of the Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO)

in *Ecological Economics*, Volume 107, November , 438-446

Global voluntary agreements, such as the Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO), have emerged as alternatives to apparent State failure to enforce law. This research questions how effective RSPO is in attaining its claimed conservation goals especially regarding orangutans, as this is central to justifying its existence.

The study found five shortcomings explaining poor outcomes regarding the protection of the forest area, and especially the orangutan habitat: financial compensation too small, too much room for interpretation in the guidance document, postponement on contentious issues, non-integration of RSPO within the socio-politico-legal Indonesian context and finally the lack of effective external control system. As these shortcomings complement each other, the effectiveness of the scheme is dramatically reduced for biodiversity conservation, and is almost zero for species such as Sumatran orangutan that needs large forested areas.

Conservation of biodiversity, and especially orangutans, will require oil palm sector reform. This would include reincorporating the state into the scheme and changing the approach supporting local development in a sound socio-ecological regional planning.

Covering a period of seven years, the study analyses the RSPO's work in the context of the acute conflict resulting from Sumatran orangutan habitat conversion to oil palm plantations.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Nicolas Hachez

What Elements of the Rule of Law Can Be Put to Use at International Level

in *Revue belge de droit international*, n. 2 , 307-324

This article assesses the various attempts that have been made to transpose the notion of rule of law at the international level. It concludes that those attempts are destined to fail because they rely on imperfect definitions of the rule of law, and on a truncated view of the regulation of the international space. It suggests that the realisation of the rule of law ideal, understood as the characteristic of a social order which is governed by rules that are not oppressive or arbitrary, is however possible at international level. This requires to understand the rule of law as a measure of the connectedness of the relevant rule system to its stakeholders in function of three context-sensitive principles: legality, effectiveness and legitimacy.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Muraca Barbara

Wider den Wachstumswahn: Degrowth als konkrete Utopie



in **Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik**, Februar, 2015 , 101-109

Wieder einmal war die Enttäuschung groß: Trotz zweitägiger Verlängerung verfehlte die letzte große Klimakonferenz in Lima im vergangenen Dezember ihr Ziel, präzise Vorgaben für einen Weltklimavertrag zu verabschieden. Stattdessen definiert der Beschluss nur äußerst vage Kriterien für die Ziele zur Reduzierung des klimaschädlichen CO₂-Ausstoßes. Damit aber droht auch die entscheidende Klimakonferenz in Paris am Ende dieses Jahres zum Fiasko zu werden: Derzeit sieht es nicht danach aus, als ob auf dieser eine konsequente Minderung der CO₂-Emissionen beschlossen wird.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Malavisi Anna

The need for an effective development ethics

in **Journal of Global Ethics**, Volume 10, Issue 3, 2014 , 297-303

Abstract

Development is entrenched within a Western, hegemonic framework. This can lead one to wonder if development ethics is, in fact, possible. Too many decisions are made and too many policies dominate an international development agenda that are guided by economic forces and national self-interests. Although development ethics has attempted to break through this situation, it has not had the impact that is needed. The current practice of ethics in development is too weak to have the impact needed to generate truly desirable change. In this paper, I offer some reflections and argue for a strong ethical approach in development.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Cohen-Solal Annie, de Rubercy Eryck

"Magiciens de la Terre" ou la naissance de l'art mondialisé - entretien

in **Revue des deux mondes**, Juillet

Aby Warburg, l'un des pères fondateurs de l'histoire de l'art, n'avait pas hésité à faire se croiser les pistes de sa spécialité avec celles de l'anthropologie au point d'établir un lien secret entre la culture primitive des Indiens hopis du Nouveau-Mexique et la civilisation de l'Italie de la Renaissance. La notion de distance n'était-elle pas en train de disparaître ? Ou bien avons-nous perdu l'ingénuité nécessaire pour concevoir côte à côte ces deux types de cultures comme des manifestations de la créativité humaine ? En tout cas, on ne peut s'empêcher d'y penser dans le contexte de la mondialisation d'aujourd'hui qui a enclenché des circulations incessantes entre les cultures du monde. Il y a encore peu, on avait du mal à voir et même à seulement soupçonner des créations modernes issues de cultures en marge de l'Occident, reléguées qu'elles étaient dans une catégorie de survivance de traditions ancestrales complètement anachroniques. Et cela même si, par le passé, Matisse, Picasso et les surréalistes s'étaient déjà passionnés pour les arts « primitifs », source de découverte, d'inspiration et de renouvellement de leurs œuvres

<http://www.revuedesdeuxmondes.fr/archive/article.php?code=72969&show=picture>



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Csordas Thomas J.

A global geography of the spirit: the case of Catholic Charismatic communities

in *International Social Science Journal* , Volume 63, Issue 209-210, September–December 2012 , 171–183

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Stokes Doug

Achilles' deal: Dollar decline and US grand strategy after the crisis

in *Review of International Political Economy*, Volume 21, Issue 5, 2014 , 1071-1094

Towards the end of 2012, the US budget deficit stayed above US\$1 trillion for the fourth year in a row. In the absence of the dollar's international reserve currency status, foreigners' willingness to purchase US debt would diminish sharply. 'Declinists' have argued that this Achilles' heel of US power has become increasingly fragile, with the 2008 financial crisis further eroding US monetary privileges and bearing profound implications for international security and the distribution of power in the international system. However, contrary to these accounts, this paper shows that dollar hegemony not only remains strong, but that US monetary power has in fact increased. How do we explain this? In important areas, the US' economic decline is nowhere near as pronounced as is commonly assumed. Also, its strategic power in economically important regions, particularly in East Asia, helps incentivize both allied and potential contender states into its broader monetary regimes. To the extent that a weakening of dollar hegemony forms a primary component of the declinist case, it is thus overstated. This 'deal' will not last forever, but rising powers continue to face strong incentives to remain within a US-centric order, even after the financial crisis of 2008.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Keddie Amanda

Australian multicultural policy: Social cohesion through a political conception of autonomy

in *Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 50, No. 4, December 2014 , 408-421

Abstract

This article provides an account of the governance discourses informing Australia's multicultural policy history. The article problematises the liberal ideologies informing these discourses – as essentialising the cultural identity of minority groups within exclusionary values about what constitutes the common good. Highlighting the ongoing imperative of questioning current frames for understanding and approaching multiculturalism, the article strengthens existing research that calls for alternative models that support a political conception of autonomy. The key argument is that social cohesion, unity and solidarity can be engendered through this conception where a situationally defined, rather than essentialised, view of culture enables recognition and legitimising of a proliferation of voices and versions of national



identity and the common good.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Scaffardi Lucia

BRICS, why not?

in *Federalismi*, Anno XII - Nr 20

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Parks Louisa

Beyond Time and Place: Discourse, Power and the National/Transnational Debate (Review Essay)

in *Social Movement Studies*, Volume 14, Issue 1, 2015 , 113-117

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Ilene Grabel & Kevin P. Gallagher

Capital controls and the global financial crisis: An introduction

in *Review of International Political Economy*, Volume 22, Issue 1, 2015 , 1-6

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Ryan Lorraine

Cosmopolitan memory and national memory conflicts: On the dynamics of their interaction

in *Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 50, No. 4, December 2014 , 501-514

Abstract

Levy and Sznajder's positing of a global cosmopolitan memory has negated the reductionism inherent in classifying national memory cultures as homogeneous, globalized phenomena by redefining the interaction between the two as a coalescence of the two elements rather than a superimposition of the global on the national with the attendant eradication of the latter. A survey of countries that have adopted the edicts of cosmopolitan memory, however, indicates that this coalescence can take the form of either a strained dialectic or a relatively easy symbiosis. By examining primarily the interaction between cosmopolitan memory and national memory conflicts in Ireland and Austria, this article



aims to ascertain the constituent elements of the national memory conflict which serve to increase or diminish the strength of the influence of global cosmopolitan memory.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Kalemli-Ozcan Sebnem, Sorensen Bent, Volosovych Vadym

Deep Financial Integration and Volatility

in Journal of the European Economic Association, Volume 12, Issue 5, October 2014 , 1558-1585

We investigate the relationship between foreign direct ownership of firms and firm- and region-level output volatility using a novel panel data set for European countries. We document a positive, highly robust, relationship between firm-level foreign ownership and volatility of value added. This relationship holds cross-sectionally and in panels with firm fixed effects where the relationship captures within-firm variation over time. Considering domestic firms with assets in foreign countries, we document that it is international diversification, rather than the nationality of the owner, that explains this positive correlation. Our results can also be found at the aggregate level, where we show that region-level volatility is correlated positively with foreign investment in the region. We show that this positive relation between aggregate volatility and foreign investment can be explained by the granularity of the firm size distribution and the fact that foreign ownership is concentrated among the largest firms.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Brand Ulrich

Degrowth: Der Beginn einer Bewegung?

in Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik, Oktober, 2014 , 29-32

Im Rückblick wird klar: Die großen politischen Mobilisierungen gegen den G8-Gipfel in Heiligendamm im Juni 2007, kurz vor Ausbruch der Wirtschafts- und Finanzkrise, waren nicht nur der Höhe- und vorläufige Endpunkt einer Bewegung, sondern gleichzeitig Nährboden für neue. Damals ging es um eine Kritik an der Verfestigung einer neoliberalen und neoimperialen Weltordnung, die sich im informellen Zusammenschluss der sieben wichtigsten Industriestaaten und Russland äußerte.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Crocker David A.

Development and global ethics: five foci for the future

in Journal of Global Ethics, Volume 10, Issue 3, 2014 , 245-253

Abstract

In this paper's first section, I briefly discuss the Journal's Global Ethics Forum and various ways development ethics (DE) has been related to global ethics (GE). Regardless of which of these three (or other) conceptions of DE and GE



one adopts, I believe that we should avoid two partial views of the causes of injustice: (1) “explanatory nationalism,” which “makes us look at poverty and oppression as problems whose root cause and possible solutions are domestic” (Pogge 2002); and (2) “explanatory globalism” in which local and national problems are ultimately due to global factors (and the rich democracies largely responsible for them). In the second section I identify five topics and argue that development and global ethicists should emphasize them and their relations in future work. These future foci should be the following: (1) inequality of power, (2) agency and empowerment, (3) democracy and development, (4) corruption, and (5) transitional justice. A final section concludes.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Popp Silvia

Die neue globale Mittelschicht

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 49, 2014

The full text is free:

<http://www.bpb.de/apuz/196711/die-neue-globale-mittelschicht>

Der politische und wirtschaftliche Aufschwung der Schwellenländer in den vergangenen Jahrzehnten ist unübersehbar. Insbesondere in den bevölkerungsreichen asiatischen Ländern China und Indien, aber auch in Russland, Brasilien, der Türkei, Marokko oder Südafrika etablieren sich teils rasch wachsende Mittelschichten, während die alten Mittelschichten der Industrienationen zahlenmäßig eher stagnieren. Im Global Trends 2030 Report des US-amerikanischen National Intelligence Council wird das anhaltende Wachstum dieser neuen globalen Mittelschicht als einer der Megatrends der beiden kommenden Jahrzehnte angesehen...

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Norrlof Carla

Dollar hegemony: A power analysis

in *Review of International Political Economy*, Volume 21, Issue 5, 2014 , 1042-1070

The dollar has been the world's first currency since the end of World War II, possibly since the inter-war period, and is the leading currency today. A growing chorus of observers believes this dollar-centered order is coming to an end. While much commentary revolves around changes in the distribution of power, measures are only loosely related to the material basis for currency dominance. A proper understanding of the dollar's global role requires a quantitative assessment of the United States' monetary capabilities and currency influence relative to potential rivals. Moreover, while there is general recognition that a shift in power capabilities away from the United States to another actor in the international system is an insufficient, although necessary, condition for the prevailing currency hierarchy to reverse, there exists no systematic exploration of how power is exercised when converting monetary capabilities into currency influence. This paper offers a systematic assessment of the monetary capabilities and currency influence of all countries in the world as well as an analysis of how



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Bordino Giampiero

Economic Power and Democracy

in **Federalist Debate (The)**, XXVII, Number 2, July 2014

In the era of non-governed globalization we live in, and in the context of the cultural hegemony of the free-market ideology that is its typical trait, the risks for political democracy to be depleted are becoming ever more serious and evident. The power of the big actors of finance and economy (e.g. banks, financial institutions, multinational companies) as well as the leading classes that manage and represent them, is increasingly gaining advantage over the power of States and political classes. The latter, in fact, in the last 30-40 years, have in most cases been conditioned by the free-market doctrine and by market-driven interests, and have contributed in a decisive way with their choices and policies (in particular the deregulation of capital movements and capital handling) to the preeminence of the economy and most of all of finance. Not surprisingly, today in the people's most widespread perception, both in industrialized and emerging countries, the competitive market-logic is dominating social relations and political decisions. In other words, both those who favor or share that logic, and those who fight against it or reject it, live at least to some extent within the same collective narrative, whereby States and politicians de facto "answer to the markets", that is, to powers which are anonymous, global and distant, but at the same time local and pervasive. Such a vision has taken an anthropological dimension, so to say, that affects life in its entirety and "imbues" the world of the 21st century.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Rivera Mario A.

Ethical and institutional frameworks for interactional justice in public organizations: a comparative analysis of selected Western and Chinese sources

in **Journal of Global Ethics**, Volume 10, Issue 3, 2014 , 339-350

Abstract

This paper explores both differences and points of contact between selected contemporary theories of public ethics in the West and China. China is in a greater state of flux in this connection, with new, eclectic approaches to ethical justification for moral agency gaining prominence. There are thematic parallels between East and West in their distinct strains of institutionalism (in which neither individual moral agency nor the justice claims of individuals have much play). However, there are recent Chinese theoretical proposals – many incorporating Western sources – that address this quandary, namely the institutional overdetermination of moral agency. These proposals are joined to contributions from feminist and liberation ethics in a critical reconsideration of overridingness in formal ethics. Contemporary Chinese ethics connect moral claims to kin, community, and reciprocity networks, particularly as traditional philosophy is recovered in new theoretical syntheses. The grounding of Confucian ethics in kin and community offers an instructive contrast to formal Western ethical systems, as do radical strains of Western ethics that suggest that transcendence is found in the self's extension toward others in need. This paper considers these ethical themes in connection with hypothetical instances of interactional justice in organizations.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations



Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Dahan Yossi, Lerner Hanna, Milman-Sivan Faina

Global Labor Rights as Duties of Justice

in *Journal of Social Philosophy* , Volume 45, Issue 4, Winter 2014 , 438-462

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Wonicki Rafa

Global ethics and human responsibility: challenges for the theory and the discipline

in *Journal of Global Ethics*, Volume 10, Issue 3, 2014 , 261-266

Abstract

The aim of this article is to identify the main challenges for global ethics as an academic discipline. This article assesses the moral and practical justifications for common global principles. Individual and institutional responsibility on the supranational level is connected with the standard of human rights and the relational aspects of the globalised world. It also points out two separate problems which global ethics should aim to solve. The first is metatheoretical and methodological and concerns the discipline's lack of self-reflexiveness. The second is essential and concerns the clash of values (human rights and sovereignty). Regarding the second problem, the main future challenge of global ethics is to construct a measurement to bring political decisions closer to morality and more strongly connect rights with responsibilities.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Moellendorf Darrel, Widdows Heather

Global ethics: a short reflection on then and now

in *Journal of Global Ethics*, Volume 10, Issue 3, 2014 , 319-325

Abstract

Ten years on from the first issue of the *Journal of Global Ethics*, Darrel Moellendorf and Heather Widdows reflect on the current state of research in global ethics. To do this, they summarise a recent comprehensive road map of the field and provide a map of research by delineating the topics and approaches of leading scholars of global ethics collected together in the recently published *Routledge Handbook of Global Ethics* which they have co-edited. Topics fall under issues of war, conflict and violence; poverty and development; economic justice; bioethics and health justice; and environmental and climate justice. In all these areas, ethicists are becoming ever more engaged in the details and mechanisms of actually delivering justice in the real world.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process



Horton Keith

Global ethics: increasing our positive impact

in *Journal of Global Ethics*, Volume 10, Issue 3, 2014 , 304-311

Abstract

Global ethics is no ordinary subject. It includes some of the most urgent and momentous issues the world faces, such as extreme poverty and climate change. Given this, any adequate review of that subject should, I suggest, ask some questions about the relation between what those working in that subject do and the real-world phenomena that are the object of their study. The main question I focus on in this essay is this: should academics and others working in the field of global ethics take new measures aimed at having more real-world positive impact on the phenomena they study? Should they take new measures, that is, aimed at bringing about more improvements in those phenomena, improvements such as reductions in extreme poverty and in emissions of greenhouse gases? I defend a positive answer to this question against some objections, and also discuss some of the kinds of measure we might take in an attempt to have more positive impact.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Obadia Lionel

Globalisation and new geographies of religion: new regimes in the movement, circulation, and territoriality of cults and beliefs

in *International Social Science Journal* , Volume 63, Issue 209-210, September–December 2012 , 147–157

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Martin Smith

Globalisation and the Resilience of Social Democracy: Reassessing New Labour's Political Economy

in *British Journal of Politics & International Relations* , Volume 16, Issue 4 , 597–623

Places New Labour's political economy in historical context using macro-economic data;

Demonstrates that the arguments on policy convergence have led to a simplification of the nuances of Labour's political economy and underestimated its partisan nature;

Highlights how globalisation rather than restraining Labour allowed an unprecedented increase in borrowing and spending making Labour very different to Conservative administrations and more 'old' Labour than previous Labour administrations.

There has been considerable debate about the way in which globalisation and neo-liberalism have produced convergence in macro-economic policy. In the British case this convergence is seen in the adoption by the Labour Government (1997–2010) of the core elements of Thatcherite economic policy. However, this article argues that that an examination of macro-economic data demonstrates that is difficult to characterise New Labour as neo-liberal and indeed there is some evidence that it shared a number of commonalities with 'Old' Labour. Indeed, in many ways the changing structure of the financial markets removed, to some degree, the shackles from Labour and allowed greater borrowing



and spending than previous left of centre administrations. Consequently, as Geoffrey Garrett suggests, partisanship remains an important determinant of economic policy in the UK case.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Michael Chibba

Globalization and International Business as Interdependent Phenomena

in **Global Policy**, Volume 5, Issue 4 , 477–479

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Rasiah Rajah, McFarlane Bruce, Kuruvilla Sarosh

Globalization, industrialization and labour markets

in **Journal of the Asia Pacific Economy (The)**, Volume 20, Issue 1, 2015 , 2-13

While mainstream accounts of globalization are telling us that liberalization is essential for engendering the conditions of prosperity across the world, we argue that selective interventions are necessary to ensure that these processes open the path to the high road to industrialization. While recognizing the importance of relative surplus appropriation through technological deepening as the engine of capitalist accumulation, the extant evidence suggests that a proactive state focusing on enhancing labour is pertinent to ensure sustainable long-term industrialization and structural change so that the material conditions of workers improve over time. Hence, this article provides the introduction to globalization, industrialization and labour market experiences in selected East and South Asian economies.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Thiemann Matthias

In the Shadow of Basel: How Competitive Politics Bred the Crisis

in **Review of International Political Economy**, Volume 21, Issue 6, 2014 , 1203-1239

What if global governance mechanisms undermine the capacity of national banking regulators to deal with the deviant activities of their banks? Such was the case, this paper argues with respect to the Basel Accords and the regulation of the bank-based shadow-banking system. Securitization-activities by banks, driven by regulatory arbitrage have been an integral part of the shadow banking sector and a central transmission mechanism during the financial crisis. They have been identified as problematic by the international regulatory community since 1999, motivating reforms in Basel 2. This paper investigates why, nevertheless, regulatory loopholes that allowed banks to engage in these activities without core capital charges persisted in almost all Western jurisdictions pre-crisis. It lays emphasis on the global nature of the securitization business in conjunction with its national regulation, and shows that these national regulations on the fringes of global banking regulation were driven by competitiveness concerns. The Basel Accords were central in this dynamic, as they guaranteed the global nature of this market and gave national banking regulators the leeway to exempt securitization-activities from global regulation. Rather than eliminating competitive inequity concerns, the Basel Accords



channelled them to its fringes, where they introduced a regulatory race to the bottom.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

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(Blätter)

Kooperieren oder scheitern. Zum Tode von Ulrich Beck

in **Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik**, Februar, 2015 , 44-46

Am 1. Januar starb im Alter von 70 Jahren der große Zeitdiagnostiker und Soziologe Ulrich Beck. Nur sechs Tage später wurde mit den Anschlägen von Paris seine zentrale Kategorie dramatisch bestätigt, nämlich die Weltrisikogesellschaft, in der Konflikte keinerlei Grenzen mehr kennen. Globalisierung und Individualisierung waren die beiden Pole des Soziologen Beck, das »kosmopolitische Europa« Ziel und Vision des engagierten Intellektuellen, streitbar verfochten auch gegen den herrschenden »Merkiavellismus«, so die typisch Becksche Begriffsprägung.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Taylor Isaac

Language as a Global Public Good

in **Res Publica**, Volume 20, Issue 4, November , 377-394

Language use is a public good. Those using a common language receive benefits that are non-excludable and non-rival. And as more people speak the same language, the greater these benefits are. Sometimes individuals make a conscious decision to learn a language other than their native language in order to receive these benefits, and thereby incur costs. This paper is an attempt to determine how we should share the costs among all beneficiaries. I argue against Van Parijs's (Linguistic justice for Europe and for the world, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2011a) proposal for this, and instead argue that an approach found in the work of Gauthier (Morals by agreement, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1986) is preferable. A general lesson to be drawn from this paper is that the correct principle for distributing the costs of (global) public goods will depend on whether we think the good in question is required by justice or not. Where Van Parijs went wrong, I claim, was in thinking that a cross-border common language is required by justice.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Prata Roque Miguel

Les nouvelles frontières du droit administratif - globalisation et mutations du principe de la territorialité en droit public

in **Revue européenne de droit public**, Vol. 25, N. 2 , 655-709

The globalization of legal relationships has not been symmetrically matched by a globalization of the typical instruments of reaction of public law and particularly of administrative law. The proliferation of transnational administrative relations requires new and appropriate responses - either by policy makers or by scholars. Otherwise, we will have to face a progressive weakening of public law's binding force and of the coercive apparatus of the traditional States. This article examines whether the current model of public law, based on the dogma of territoriality, does not accentuate the creation



of spaces of impunity and the loss of the binding force of the national administrative law. In order to prevent this from occurring, the alignment (substantive and procedural) of the administrative systems and the growing recognition of foreign administrative acts and judgments rendered outside the state in which those have to be fully implemented, must both be pursued. These are, therefore, the "New Frontiers of Administrative Law" that still need to be overcome.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Terral Pierre-Marie

Les oppositions au gaz de schiste dans le monde : des protestations nationales à un mouvement citoyen transnational ?

in *Ecologie et politique*, n. 49, Les servitudes de la puissance : conflits énergétiques , 81-94

Worldwide, operating shale gas projects raise citizen resistance. An overview of these protests taking place in national frameworks, like the United States, helps to highlight the particularities, but also to identify similar claims and modes of action. Common characteristics that reinforce international solidarity, prior to a hypothetical transnational citizen movement.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Guilluy Christophe, Steta Annick

Les questions identitaires au coeur des fractures françaises

in *Revue des deux mondes*, Avril

Né en 1964, Christophe Guilluy travaille depuis une quinzaine d'années à l'élaboration d'une nouvelle géographie sociale fondée sur l'observation des mouvements de population qui se produisent sur des territoires donnés. *Fractures françaises*, le livre qu'il a publié en 2010, a nourri la réflexion de plusieurs candidats à l'élection présidentielle de 2012. Son auteur constate en effet que la division de la population française entre gagnants et perdants de la mondialisation contribue à expliquer l'évolution de la carte électorale : tandis que les gagnants, auxquels s'adressent les représentants des partis politiques traditionnels, habitent les métropoles mondialisées, les perdants s'éloignent des grands centres urbains et se réfugient dans l'abstention ou dans un vote protestataire.

<http://www.revuedesdeuxmondes.fr/archive/article.php?code=72700&show=picture>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Obadia Lionel

Localised deterritorialisation? The case of the glocalisation of Tibetan Buddhism in France and worldwide
in *International Social Science Journal* , Volume 63, Issue 209-210, September–December 2012 , 185–195

No abstract available



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Hémery Daniel

L'avenir du passé. La dépendance charbonnière de la société mondiale

in *Ecologie et politique*, n. 49, Les servitudes de la puissance : conflits énergétiques , 23-41

From the end of the eighteenth century, coal and steam-engines system became the first energetic base of the successive waves of the world industrialization. In this paper, the author investigates the factor of this prominent part and describes the phases of the coal mining era. He examines its social correlations and its heavy impact upon the Earth's biosphere. Today, coal remains the second energy in the world but the first cause of the present climatic crisis.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Noesselt Nele

Machtverschiebung in Richtung Asien? China als globaler Investor

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 40-41, 2014

The full text is free:

<http://www.bpb.de/apuz/191932/machtverschiebung-in-richtung-asien-china-als-globaler-investor>

Während infolge der globalen Banken- und Finanzkrise ab 2007/2008 die USA wie auch die europäischen Staaten extreme Einbrüche ihres Wirtschaftswachstums zu verzeichnen hatten, notierten die asiatischen Ökonomien weiterhin relativ hohe Zuwachsraten. Hatte bis Mitte der 1990er Jahren der rapide ökonomische Aufstieg der südostasiatischen Tigerstaaten die westliche Welt in Atem gehalten, so ist es heute China, dessen Zugewinn an ökonomischer und monetärer Macht mit Faszination und zugleich großen Bedenken verfolgt wird. Die Volksrepublik, die seit 2009 Deutschland als weltweit führende Exportnation und wenig später Japan als zweitgrößte Volkswirtschaft abgelöst hat, ist neuesten Hochrechnungen der Weltbank zufolge auf dem Sprung, die USA in den kommenden Jahren – und damit sehr viel früher als bislang erwartet – an der Spitze der Weltwirtschaft einzuholen...

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Kersten Annemarie

National Cultural Repertoires of Evaluation in a Global Age: Film Discourse in France, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, and the United States

in *European Sociological Review*, Volume 30, Issue 6, December 2014 , 717-727

Abstract

The expanded international exchange of culture products caused Western cultural fields to resemble each other. Hollywood movies prevail on import markets around the world, inducing homogenized film fields dominated by



blockbusters. However, although global audiences to a large degree consume the same movies, they do not necessarily make sense of them in the same manner. Cultural surroundings may still differentiate the socially constructed national cultural repertoires of evaluation. This article examines the sustenance of such repertoires through the analysis of film criticism in France, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, and United States. Combined qualitative and quantitative methods demonstrate that while critics in all countries use the same discourse components, evaluative repertoires vary in composition and style. Western countries command distinguishing features that particularize their manners of meaning making despite the ubiquity of globalizing trends.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Martinez Jenny S.

New Territorialism and Old Territorialism

in **Cornell Law Review**, Volume 99 Issue 6

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Pierre P. Balestrini

Public Opinion Regarding Globalisation: The Kernels of a 'European Spring' of Public Discontent?

in **Globalizations**, Volume 12, Issue 2, 261-275

This paper investigates the influence of education and citizens' assessments of the national economic, political, and societal situation on public opinion regarding globalisation in the five largest European Union member states. Using Eurobarometer survey data, it is demonstrated that largely, regardless of skill level differences, there is a widespread public malaise with the perceived negative contribution of globalisation on the national economic, political, and societal situation. In the light of these findings, implications are drawn.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Schweiger Gottfried

Recognition theory and global poverty

in **Journal of Global Ethics**, Volume 10, Issue 3, 2014, 267-273

Abstract

So far, recognition theory has focused its attention on modern capitalism and its formation in richer Western societies and has neglected issues of global poverty. A brief sketch of Axel Honneth's recognition theory precedes an examination of how the theory can contribute to a better understanding of global poverty, and justice in relation to poverty. I wish to highlight five ways in which recognition theory can enrich our inventory of theories dealing with global poverty and justice: It emphasizes the importance of giving victims of poverty due weight in theorizing about poverty. It provides a



vocabulary to conceptualize the experiences of suffering by poverty in terms of misrecognition. It highlights the importance of legal recognition and of actually having certain rights in order to be respected. It bases its critique of poverty on a particular idea of justice and how it should unfold. Finally, recognition theory demands that the poor must be involved in decision-making processes and their agency has to be recognized, respected, and socially esteemed in order to overturn injustice.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Culp Julian

Rising powers' responsibility for reducing global distributive injustice

in *Journal of Global Ethics*, Volume 10, Issue 3, 2014 , 274-282

Abstract

Rising powers like India and Brazil have recently been gaining considerable economic and political power. This has led to the emergence of a nascent multipolarity in global affairs. Theorists of global distributive justice, however, continue to focus almost exclusively on the responsibility of the established powers for combating global poverty and neglect whether there is a similar responsibility of rising powers. That focus neglects that great shifts have occurred in the distribution of the economically severely poor over the past three decades. According to recent work by Andy Sumner, 74% of those who live in extreme economic poverty resided in middle-income countries in 2008. This paper explores this lacuna and shows that there are several grounds for attributing a similar responsibility to rising powers. These grounds are familiar from discussions of the established powers' responsibility for global distributive injustice in the writings of John Rawls, Peter Singer and Thomas Pogge. They are the capacity to stop, the contribution to and the benefits from global distributive injustices.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Kirshner Jonathan

Same as it ever was? Continuity and change in the international monetary system

in *Review of International Political Economy*, Volume 21, Issue 5, 2014 , 1007-1016

For at least a decade, many have argued that the predominance of the dollar as the world's currency will gradually erode, and give way to a more multipolar international monetary order. The four papers in this special issue challenge this conventional wisdom, and hold that the hegemony of the dollar remains irresistible and unchallenged. Looking carefully at available evidence, each paper argues forcefully that the dollar remains predominant, and that expectations of its decline are greatly exaggerated. Nevertheless, although the dollar stands unrivaled at the moment, the pillars of support that have historically sustained its hegemony are eroding. Three warning signs loom especially large: regarding the trajectory of American power and international influence, the role of international politics in shaping the international monetary order, and the outcomes generated by the U.S. political system. Each of these should give pause about the sustainability of unrivaled dollar hegemony indefinitely into the future.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations



Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Baban Feyzi

Snapshots from the margins Transgressive cosmopolitanisms in Europe
in *European Journal of Social Theory*, Vol. 17, No. 4, November 2014 , 461-478

Abstract

Right-wing parties and governments in Europe have recently expressed greater hostility towards cultural pluralism, at times officially denouncing multiculturalism, and calling for the closure of borders and denial of rights to non-European nationals. Within this context, this article argues for rethinking Europe through radically transgressive and transnational understandings of cosmopolitanism as articulated by growing transnational populations within Europe such as immigrants, refugees, and irregular migrants. Transgressive forms of cosmopolitanism disrupt European notions of borders and identities in ways that challenge both liberal multiculturalism and assimilationist positions. This article explores the limits of traditional cosmopolitan thinking while offering a vision of cosmopolitanism based on everyday negotiations with cultural differences, explained using two illustrative examples or snapshots.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Brock Gillian

Some future directions for global justice

in *Journal of Global Ethics*, Volume 10, Issue 3, 2014 , 254-260

Abstract

The fields of global ethics and global justice have expanded considerably over the last two decades and they now cover a wide variety of topics. Given this huge range there are many areas that are ripe for important developments. In this commentary I identify some useful directions for promising exploration in the field of global justice. I argue that expanded dialogue networks would considerably enhance work in philosophy and be beneficial to other disciplines as well. I indicate also how we could develop work on allocating responsibilities for reducing global injustices in useful ways, by considering a wider range of considerations that give rise to responsibilities and expanding the scope of, and audience for, these discussions. I catalog some under-theorized topics that should get more philosophical attention (including the notions of complicity, exploitation, and corruption). In addition, I draw attention to the ways in which a journal such as this one could facilitate a number of important dialogue networks.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Alfaro Laura, Kalemli-Ozcan Sebnem, Volosovych Vadym

Sovereigns, Upstream Capital Flows, and Global Imbalances

in *Journal of the European Economic Association*, Volume 12, Issue 5, October 2014 , 1240–1284

We construct measures of net private and public capital flows for a large cross-section of developing countries considering both creditor and debtor side of the international debt transactions. Using these measures, we demonstrate



that sovereign-to-sovereign transactions account for upstream capital flows and global imbalances. Specifically, we find that (i) international net private capital flows (inflows minus outflows of private capital) are positively correlated with countries' productivity growth, (ii) net sovereign debt flows (government borrowing minus reserves) are negatively correlated with growth only if net public debt is financed by another sovereign, (iii) net public debt financed by private creditors is positively correlated with growth, (iv) public savings are strongly positively correlated with growth, whereas correlation between private savings and growth is flat and statistically insignificant. These empirical facts contradict the conventional wisdom and constitute a challenge for the existing theories on upstream capital flows and global imbalances.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Hans Schattle

Testing the Possibilities and Limits of Global and National Public Spheres: Lessons Learned from the Campaign to Stop a Military Base in South Korea

in *Globalizations* , Volume 12, Issue 2 , 169-183

This article examines the civil society campaign to stop the construction of a military base in South Korea as a case study in both the promises and limits of global advocacy networks in the digital media age. First the article traces the historical and political contexts leading up to the 2007 decision by the South Korean government to locate the naval base on the coastline of Jeju Island, despite strong objections from residents of the targeted village. Then the article illustrates how local activists fighting the base gained support in the global peace, justice, and environmental movements, even if the larger protest campaign and the international media coverage it generated did not stop the project. The case illustrates how the notion of the 'global public sphere' remains highly contingent upon the readiness of local and global political actors to anticipate and overcome the persuasive and coercive powers of national governments as well as national political cultures that can enable authoritarian tactics to stifle public debate. It also illustrates how activists in the global justice movement often run into formidable obstacles when confronted by centralized political and economic power in specific national settings.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Tsingou Eleni TSINGOU

The Club Rules in Global Financial Governance

in *Political Quarterly* , Volume 85, Issue 4, October–December 2014 , 417–419

The full text is free:

<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/1467-923X.12126/pdf>

Abstract

Though the list of reforms following the onset of the financial crisis is long, we should resist the temptation to view the emerging regulatory framework in terms of a paradigm shift. Many key features of the system, including the privileged



position of financial institutions, remain unchanged. This is not merely due to obstruction or capacity shortcomings but can be explained by considering the sources of ideas and the governance setting. Ideas and policy programmes for reform were generated by a policy community also responsible for shaping the pre-crisis governance framework. Moreover, the ideas and preferences of these players are moulded by their transnational interactions and the club-like mechanisms in place for determining what (and who) is to be included in discussions. These settings have produced policy programmes that helped address the immediate, 'fast-burning' elements of the crisis, but have so far failed to put together a comprehensive reform programme.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

St. Clair Asuncion Lera

The four tasks of development ethics at times of a changing climate

in *Journal of Global Ethics*, Volume 10, Issue 3, 2014 , 283-291

Abstract

This paper argues that the challenges posed by climate change and the need to quickly move toward a sustainable low-carbon future require the contributions of development ethics. I propose four tasks for development ethics. The first relates to unpacking the urgency posed by climate change by showing how, from an ethical perspective, the impacts of climate change are extremely dangerous risks, especially for those most vulnerable, and thus require immediate attention. The second relates to a better understanding of the components of well-being. The third relates to concerns regarding the global commons and to the need to reframe key components of socio-ecological balance as public goods. The fourth and last task of development ethics refers to the multiple trade-offs and dilemmas in the processes leading to a low-carbon and equitable future arguing for strengthening public deliberation and democracy.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Liogier Raphaël

The planetarisation of faith positions: the role and importance of religion in global capitalism

in *International Social Science Journal* , Volume 63, Issue 209-210, September–December 2012 , 159–170

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Germain Randall, Schwartz Herman

The political economy of failure: The euro as an international currency

in *Review of International Political Economy*, Volume 21, Issue 5, 2014 , 1095-1122

How do international currencies get established and consolidated? What domestic and international political foundations support an international currency? And what kinds of macro-economic flows enable an international currency? In this essay we consider these perennial questions of modern IPE scholarship in reverse order to ask whether the euro could



ever have become, or seek to become, a true international currency rivalling the US dollar, used not only for passive foreign exchange reserves but also as a major commercial currency outside the EU. We argue that the EU lacks the will, the ideas and the capacity to promote the euro into the status of an international currency. In this article, we concentrate on this final issue of capacity, as the will and ideas issues have already been well explored. Capacity is an issue coeval with, if not prior to, the first two issues. The EU's current institutional arrangements and its economic geography create macro-economic consequences that diminish the euro's capacity to operate as a top currency. These conflicts go beyond the well-recognized issue that the euro-zone is not an optimum currency area. Examining the euro's debilities sheds light not only on the euro's (in)capacity to rival the dollar as an international currency, but also on the future of both the euro and the dollar in the aftermath of the euro-zone crisis.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Durante Chris

Toward a cosmopolitan ethos

in **Journal of Global Ethics**, Volume 10, Issue 3, 2014 , 312-318

Abstract

There has been a rising trend in cosmopolitan moral theory to seriously take into consideration the human's rootedness in, and partiality toward, particular cultures, places, peoples and traditions. This essay suggests that reframing our theorizing on cosmopolitanism from one that primarily addresses an ethico-political set of questions to one that addresses questions related to moral psychology, personal and collective identity formation and the ways in which civilizations and cultural communities cultivate an ethos may assist in the task of generating a rooted form of cosmopolitanism. Conceptualizing cosmopolitanism as an ethos entails a shift from considering our moral obligations to distant others toward a focus on the types of dispositions and character traits necessary to forge a sense of intercultural solidarity. Through an analysis of the ideas of 'diaspora', 'proximity', 'partiality' and the 'foreign', it will be suggested that through our rootedness in particularity, and our ability to be partial to particular persons and identify with particular cultures, we are capable of fostering a sense of world citizenship that can serve as a foundation upon which we can secure a tenable global ethic for our pluralistic society.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Beck Ulrich

Una prospettiva globale: oltre la società del lavoro

in **Reset**, Numero 155 | Gennaio

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Cohen Benjamin J., Benney Tabitha M.

What does the international currency system really look like?



in *Review of International Political Economy*, Volume 21, Issue 5, 2014 , 1017-1041

There has been a lot of debate lately about the shape of the international currency system. Increasingly, we are told, the world is moving toward a multicurrency system with several poles, implying that the system is becoming more competitive. Polarity, however, is a notoriously crude measure of the level of competition in any kind of system, economic or political. If analysis is to be at all accurate, it should take into account not only the number of poles in a system but also the inequalities among them –an alternative approach encompassed by the concept of concentration. In this paper we make use of the concept of concentration to provide a more accurate picture of the competitive structure of the currency system today. When taking account of concentration as well as polarity, our results suggest that the competitive structure of the system is little changed over a period stretching back more than two decades.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Ecker-Ehrhardt Matthias

Why parties politicise international institutions: On globalisation backlash and authority contestation

in *Review of International Political Economy*, Volume 21, Issue 6, 2014 , 1275-1312

Why do political parties increasingly address international institutions? This paper analyses the politicisation of international governance, that is, a process in which institutions' policies and procedures become salient and controversial on the level of mass politics. It uses data on party platforms' content from 26 OECD countries to test a number of explanations for politicisation. Results suggest that scholarly debate tends to overestimate the role of globalisation for driving politicisation, while institutional variables are too often neglected. First, increased scope of international governance has made questions of international governance much more salient topics of party manifestos. Second, recent shifts of political authority to the international level can explain increased contestation of international governance to a remarkable extent. What is more, the contestation of international authority in the realm of electoral politics seems to be substantively shaped by exclusive nationalism, but not by democratic concerns.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes

He Kai

A Strategic Functional Theory of Institutions and Rethinking Asian Regionalism: When Do Institutions Matter?

in *Asian Survey* , Vol. 54, No. 6, November/December 2014 , 1184-1208

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes

Masini Fabio  

A history of the theories on Optimum Currency Areas

in *European Journal of the History of Economic Thought*, Volume 21, Issue 6, 2014 , 1015-1038

The historical reconstructions of the theories of Optimum Currency Areas (OCA) are usually biased by the underlying



theoretical and policy orientation of their authors, they often provide a sort of internalist explanation of advancement in economic theory (assuming that economic theory evolves for internal reasons defined by theorists in the discipline) and sometimes neglect the influence of particular events and policy debates on the theoretical discussions. The impression is that some important links between facts, economic theorising and public policies are not yet clearly identified. The paper aims at investigating such relationships in a historical perspective, with a special reference to the evolving role of endogenous and exogenous criteria to the study of OCA

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes

Caballero-Anthony Mely

Community security: human security at 21

in Contemporary Politics, Volume 21, Issue 1 , 53-69

The concept of human security has come a long way since its introduction in the UNDP Human Development Report in 1994. There are now a number of global and regional initiatives aimed at promoting human security issues. However, the achievements over the last two decades may be less impressive when one starts to explicate the progress of each of the key elements subsumed under the broad concept of human security. This paper will examine the extent to which community security, as one of the elements of human security, has been advanced through the security discourses and practices in the international arena. Using ASEAN as a case study, the paper argues that the massive gaps in human development, security and democracy hinder progress in promoting community security. The paper further argues that in developing states, community security is still very much the domain of the state.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes

F. Pascual Vives

Consenso e interpretación evolutiva de los tratados regionales de derechos humanos

in Revista Española de Derecho Internacional, vol. 66, n. 2 , 113-154

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes

Carney Richard W.

Corporate governance and political impediments to regional harmonization: cases from East Asia

in Pacific Review (The) , Volume 27, Issue 5, 2014 , 585-610

Is the harmonization of financial regulatory regimes possible in East Asia? Focusing on corporate governance, which many see as a critical part of the 1997 Asian financial crisis, and which is also seen as unresponsive to calls for change, this paper argues that such harmonization is possible, but that it will not be according to the standards advocated by the International Monetary Fund, World Bank, Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, and other international organizations. At present, actors generally feign compliance with these international rules and standards. The pattern of noncompliance is reflective of two types of regulatory models at work in East Asia, which correspond to



democratic and nondemocratic regimes. The manner by which these political institutions mediate the influence of key actors determines corporate governance outcomes. Three cases illustrate the key dynamics: Singapore (nondemocracy), South Korea (democracy), and pre- and post-World War II Japan (change from nondemocracy to democracy). By identifying the key actors that determine regulatory outcomes, this paper points to a more realistic regulatory framework. This alternative framework is a compromise between the standards advocated by international organizations and the domestic political realities of East Asia.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes

Lama Ruy, Rabanal Pau

Deciding to enter a monetary union: The role of trade and financial linkages

in **European Economic Review**, Volume 72, November 2014 , 138-165

This paper evaluates the role of trade and financial linkages in the decision to enter a monetary union. We estimate a two-country DSGE model for the U.K. economy and the euro area with financial intermediaries as in . We use the model to compute the welfare trade-offs from joining the euro. We compare the gains from trade that would occur after the adoption of the euro against the costs of relinquishing monetary policy, both conventional and unconventional. We also study the effects of the changes in the corporate risk premium observed during the recent crisis. We find that in tranquil times, when the risk premium volatility is low, the net welfare gain of joining the monetary union is 2.4 percent of life-time consumption. During financial crises, when there is a sharp increase in the volatility of the risk premium, joining a monetary union would lead to a net welfare loss of 2.2 percent of life-time consumption. The welfare analysis underscores the importance of financial stability to sustain a monetary union over time.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes

Elder Shaun

Does the GFC as a change agent of financial regulatory models and approaches in Europe provide lessons for Asia?

in **Asia Europe Journal**, vol. 12, n. 4, December, Special issue: "Asia-Pacific and Europe Dialogue: Building Knowledge from each other's experiences" , 419-430

In Europe and Asia, there are a number of over-arching national financial regulatory models and sit under regulatory approaches. Model variants are rooted in national legal structure, while approaches are the "choice" of the national regulatory authority and sometimes inter-mixed. Options sit along a continuum from hard to soft. Post-global financial crisis (GFC), which has acted as a traumatic change agent in Europe, both models and approaches are in flux. A shift to a regulator-led, targeted risk-based approach, grounded upon rules and/or principles, has occurred. The government has been obliged to assume a deeper role, thus shifting model preference. Supra-national, regional, bilateral and ad hoc or even bespoke vehicles have emerged. No institutionalised global regulatory structure yet exists, although there is growing collaboration among international bodies. Macro-prudential policies geared to system-wide risks related to the economic cycle, market structures and to individual institutions have gained international prominence. Due to the globalised effects of the GFC and its aftermath in Europe, what are the lessons for Asia?



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes

Kim Min-hyung

Integration Theory and ASEAN Integration

in *Pacific Focus*, Volume 29, Issue 3 , 374–394

In recognition of the paucity of compelling theories of Asian integration, this article focuses on ASEAN and revisits the two major theories of European integration (i.e. neofunctionalism and liberal intergovernmentalism) in order to assess their relevance for ASEAN integration. The main research finding is that, contrary to the conventional wisdom, neofunctionalism and liberal intergovernmentalism do offer important insights for developing a compelling theory of ASEAN integration. This finding suggests that scholars of ASEAN integration should be more open to the experience of European integration and consider how to take advantage of the insights of neofunctionalism and liberal intergovernmentalism for the theory-building of ASEAN integration, instead of discarding them as completely irrelevant.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes

Castro Rui, Koumtingué Nelnan

On the individual optimality of economic integration

in *Journal of Monetary Economics*, Volume 68, November 2014 , 115-135

Which countries find it optimal to form an economic union? We emphasize the risk-sharing benefits of economic integration. Consider an endowment world economy model, where international financial markets are incomplete and contracts not enforceable. A union solves both frictions among member countries. We uncover conditions on initial incomes and net foreign assets of potential union members such that forming a union is welfare-improving over standing alone in the world economy. Consistently with evidence on economic integration, unions in our model occur (i) relatively infrequently, and (ii) emerge more likely among homogeneous countries, and (iii) rich countries.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes

Kavalski Emilian

The Shadows of Normative Power in Asia: Framing the International Agency of China, India, and Japan

in *Pacific Focus*, Volume 29, Issue 3 , 303–328

While the analysis of normative power has dominated the debates in European international relations studies for the past 20 years, this topic has hardly been broached in the analysis of Asian international affairs. This investigation aims to redress this trend by taking stock of the current state of the art. This exploration therefore contends that normative powers are those actors that are recognized as such by others. This qualifies Ian Manners' oft-quoted proposition that normative powers are only those actors that have the ability to "shape what can be 'normal' in international life." The proposition is that the definitions of the "normal" are not merely undertaken by normative power, but that they emerge in the context of its interaction with others. Recognition, in this setting, is indicated by the specific reactions of target states. In this respect, the issue is not merely about being and becoming a normative power, but also about being recognized as one by others. The study will detail this proposition by undertaking an analytical parallel assessment of normative power Europe, normative power China, normative power India, and normative power Japan.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Makochekanw Albert

COMESA - EAC - SADC Tripartite Free Trade Area (T - FTA): Implications on Welfare and Food Security

in African Integration and Development Review - Revue Africaine de l'Integration e du Développement, Volume 7, n° 1, January/Janvier , 1-29

The study employed the WITS -SMART User's Manual and investigated the impact of the implementation of the COMESA-EAC-SADC Tripartite free trade area (T-FTA) on the 26 participating member countries, in terms of economic welfare and food security. The simulated welfare effects above 10% of the gain are enjoyed by only Angola, Botswana, and Burundi. There are, potentially, losses in tariff-revenue, although they are less than 10% for most countries. For food security, the substantial positive gap only appears in maize, for 11 countries. For rice and wheat, positive surpluses are only in 3 countries for each

product. The results, provide, an excellent "wake-up call" for the African policy makers to realize that the static effects of regional integration, up to the FTA level, are minimal and inequitably distributed.

L'étude s'appuie sur le WITS-SMART pour étudier l'impact de la participation de 26 pays à la mise en œuvre de la zone de libre-échange tripartite entre COMESA, EAC-SADC (T-ALE) sur le bien-être économique et la sécurité alimentaire.

La simulation des effets de bien-être au-dessus de 10% du gain sont appréciés dans trois pays ; Angola, le Botswana, le Burundi. Il y a, des pertes potentiellement, en termes de recettes de droits de douane, même si elles sont moins de 10% pour la plupart des pays. Pour ce qui concerne la sécurité alimentaire, un écart important et positif apparaît uniquement dans le cas du maïs, et pour 11 pays. Pour le riz et le blé, les excédents positifs n'apparaissent que dans trois pays pour chaque produit. Les résultats constituent une forte interpellation pour les décideurs politiques africains à réaliser que les effets statiques de l'intégration régionale, sont faible et inégalement réparties jusqu'au niveau de l'ALE.

<http://ea.au.int/en/sites/default/files/African%20Integration%20and%20Development%20Review%20Vol7%20No1-%20jan%202014.pdf>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Heydemann Steven

Continuities and Discontinuities in Foreign Assistance

in Mediterranean Politics, Volume 19, Issue 3, Special Issue: The Politics of Foreign Aid in Arab World. The Impact of the Arab Uprisings , 450-455

Assessing foreign assistance to Arab states sheds important light on how Western and regional donors have responded to the dramatic changes set in motion by the wave of mass protests that swept across the Middle East in 2011 and beyond. The papers presented in this special issue highlight two essential findings. First, Western patterns of foreign assistance exhibit remarkable continuity, despite the scale of the uprisings and their effects, and despite the commitment of Western governments to expand assistance in support of the aspirations of Arab protestors. Second,



patterns of foreign assistance from the Arab Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) countries reflect the deepening politicization of Arab foreign assistance, the ongoing shift in regional influence from the Arab East to the Gulf, and the extent to which foreign assistance has become instrumentalized in regional balance of power politics.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

**East African Community: A New Step Towards Regional Integration
in Federalist Debate (The)**, Year XXVII, n. 1, March

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Isaac Sally Khalifa

Explaining the Patterns of the Gulf Monarchies' Assistance after the Arab Uprisings

in Mediterranean Politics, Volume 19, Issue 3, Special Issue: The Politics of Foreign Aid in Arab World. The Impact of the Arab Uprisings , 413-430

This paper aims at empirically highlighting the centrality of the Gulf States' role in Arab transitions, continuities and changes in trends of Arab Gulf aid to Arab MENA countries after 2011, and analytically explaining what seems to be contradicting Gulf roles in supporting or undermining certain transitions. It concludes that the Gulf monarchies have played a central role in MENA post-2011, showing a clarity and promptness in strategies and action. The various forms of support provided in several cases as well as the counterrevolutionary actions adopted in other cases boost the Gulf States as a main driver for political stability in the region. What further reinforces the motive of stabilization is the fact that Gulf assistance funds were not merely extended to the Arab spring countries. Rather, a significant share of their generosity went to 'non-Arab spring countries'. Finally, the paper sheds light on two important dynamics in the flow of Gulf Aid: (1) funds channelled to non-state actors, which appears as an ordinary feature of Gulf aid flow to Arab MENA, and (2) the degree of divergence as regards the roles and motives of Qatar and Saudi Arabia in approaching various cases of Arab transition.

Full text available on line: <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/13629395.2014.959759>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

D. Magliveras Konstantinos

**Fighting Impunity Unsuccessfully in Africa: A Critique of the African Union's Handling of the Hissène Habré
Affair**

in African Journal of International and Comparative Law, 22.3

No abstract available



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Diop A. K.

La gestion de la crise malienne par les organisations régionales africaines: entre volontarisme politique et défis sécuritaires

in *African Integration and Development Review - Revue Africaine de l'Intégration e du Développement*, Volume 6, n. 2, August/Août , 124-137

La gouvernance sécuritaire en Afrique souffre d'une inefficacité qui la rend dépendante de l'Occident. La crise malienne est une illustration de plus confirmant l'incapacité de la communauté africaine à faire face aux défis sécuritaires qui sont les siens. Malgré l'activation de la CEDEAO, soutenue par l'UA, il aura fallu que la France intervienne, pour stopper l'avancée des groupes rebelles du Nord. De même, il aura fallu que le Secrétaire Général et le Conseil de sécurité des Nations-Unies interviennent pour mettre en place un plan stratégique d'intervention africaine digne de ce nom (la MISMA). Cette double dépendance constitue un véritable coup de massue au « discours d'appropriation africaine ». Cet état de fait remet sur la table la vieille idée d'une armée panafricaine, chère à feu Kwamé Nkrumah. Ainsi, il s'avère pertinent de faire un état des lieux du projet de la Force Africaine en Attente, qui fait son chemin depuis près d'une décennie. Une analyse critique soulèvera un sentiment de pessimisme quant à son opérationnalisation prévue en 2015 et sa capacité à donner une solution efficace aux défis sécuritaires du continent.

<http://ea.au.int/en/sites/default/files/Final%20African%20Integration%20and%20Development%20Review%20vol%206%20no%202.pdf>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Fokou Koutsing H. N., Fokou Mbataku E.

Le Risk - sharing en CEMAC

in *African Integration and Development Review - Revue Africaine de l'Intégration e du Développement*, Volume 7, n° 1, January/Janvier , 30-59

Si la non corrélation des structures de production au sein de la Communauté Economique et Monétaire de l'Afrique Centrale (CEMAC), pour de nombreux auteurs est une des sources principales de sa non optimalité, au vue de la théorie endogène des zones monétaires optimales, elle est plutôt favorable à son optimalité via le risk-sharing. Dans cette logique, cet article vise à montrer qu'à défaut de l'arme de change, les chocs asymétriques qui affectent cette sous-région sont compensés par des mécanismes issus de l'hétérogénéité de ses différents états membres, lesquels permettent d'assurer le lissage de leurs revenus et donc de leurs consommations. Ainsi, les résultats indiquent que les conséquences négatives de ces derniers dans l'union monétaire d'Afrique centrale sont principalement amorties par l'épargne nette à travers les marchés sous régionaux de crédits (42,70%), et marginalement par les prix relatifs (3,83%).

If non correlation of the structures of production within the Economic and Monetary Community of Central Africa (EMCCA), for many authors is one of the principal sources of its non-optimality, with the sight of the endogenous theory of the optimal monetary areas, it favours rather its optimality via the risk-sharing. In this logic, this article aims at showing that in the absence of the weapon of exchange,



the asymmetrical shocks which affect this under-area are compensated by mechanisms resulting from the heterogeneity of its various Member States, which make it possible to ensure the smoothing of their incomes and thus of their consumption. Thus, the results indicate the negative consequences of the latter within the monetary union of central Africa can mainly be deadened by the development of net saving through the under regional credit markets (42,70%), and marginally by the relative prices (3,83%).

<http://ea.au.int/en/sites/default/files/African%20Integration%20and%20Development%20Review%20Vol7%20No1-%20jan%202014.pdf>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Nguefack Tsafack Charly Delmas

Le citoyen communautaire africain et la sauvegarde des intérêts de sécurité de l'Union Africaine

in African Integration and Development Review - Revue Africaine de l'Integration e du Développement, Volume 7, n° 1, January/Janvier , 60-80

Cet article se penche sur la problématique du rôle du citoyen communautaire dans la consolidation des intérêts de sécurité de l'Union Africaine. Depuis l'accession à l'indépendance des États africains, l'intégration régionale est inscrite dans la ligne des priorités du continent. L'intégration politique et économique a été inscrite dans un agenda communautaire. Mais la notion de citoyenneté communautaire semble être oubliée. La citoyenneté communautaire est le meilleur moyen de l'intégration des peuples du continent. Elle est un vecteur des intérêts de sécurité de l'Union Africaine. Cette sécurité concerne tous les domaines d'intervention de l'Union Africaine.

This paper wish to show the role of the AU citizen in consolidating security interest of the organization. Since the independence of African States, regional integration is the priority of the continent. Political and economic integration is listed in a community agenda. But the concept of community citizenship has been forgotten by political leaders. Community citizenship is the best way to integrate African people. It is the medium of the AU security interest. This security interest concerns all the operating area of the AU.

<http://ea.au.int/en/sites/default/files/African%20Integration%20and%20Development%20Review%20Vol7%20No1-%20jan%202014.pdf>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Coulibaly S. S.

L'intégration financière internationale et le crédit domestique dans les pays de l'UEMOA

in African Integration and Development Review - Revue Africaine de l'Integration e du Développement, Volume 7, n° 1, January/Janvier , 115-144

Ce papier tente d'analyser l'effet de l'intégration financière internationale sur le volume du crédit domestique dans les pays de l'UEMOA. Pour atteindre cet objectif, nous appliquons une procédure de panel



dynamique sur des données de panel de ces pays sur la période 1980-2010. Nos résultats confirment que l'intégration financière internationale contribue significativement à l'accroissement du crédit domestique. Mais, par le biais d'une spécification multiplicative, nous avons trouvé que cette contribution est conditionnée par des niveaux seuils de revenu par tête et de taux d'épargne intérieur.

This paper aims to analyze the effect of international financial integration on the volume of domestic credit in WAEMU countries. To reach this objective, we apply a dynamic panel procedure on panel data of these countries over the period 1980-2010. Our results confirm that international financial integration contributes significantly to the increase of domestic credit. But, through a multiplicative specification we found that this contribution is conditioned by threshold levels of per capita income and domestic savings rate.

<http://ea.au.int/en/sites/default/files/African%20Integration%20and%20Development%20Review%20Vol7%20No1-%20jan%202014.pdf>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Kwaku Afesorgbor Sylvanus, van Bergeijk Peter A. G.

Measuring Multi-Membership in Economic Integration and Its Trade Impact: A Comparative Study of ECOWAS and SADC

in South African Journal of Economics (The), Volume 82, Issue 4, December 2014 , 518–530

One of the intriguing aspects of African regional trade agreements (RTAs) is the extent of multi-membership, where many African countries are members of more than one RTA. Using a gravity model for 25 countries and the years 1980-2006, we measure the extent of multi-membership and compare its impact in two major African regional blocs, Economic Community of West Africa States (ECOWAS) and Southern Africa Development Community (SADC). We find that the impact of multi-membership critically depends on the characteristics of the multi-membership of regional integration initiatives. We find a positive impact if an additional membership complements the integration process of the original regional integration initiative: overlapping memberships had a much stronger and significant positive effect on bilateral trade within ECOWAS compare with an insignificant impact within the SADC.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Ku-Sönmez Eda

Regional cooperation in the Black Sea basin: what role for city diplomacy?

in Southeast European and Black Sea Studies, vol. 14, n. 4 , 489-507

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, extended geography encircling the Black Sea has begun to evolve into a multi-polar chaotic regional system and since then, this region has never been free of disputes over land frontiers. Besides border clashes, contestations over the control of energy resources and routes has been escalating since the 1990s and emerged as yet another dimension to explain the region's diplomatic unpredictability. Under the shadow of these conflicts, regional players have been experiencing difficulties in formulating nonaligned and sustainable foreign policy strategies. They have been mostly unable to bring their common interests to the forefront and fallen behind in



their regional integration objectives. Numerous cooperation attempts have remained inadequate in regards to standards such as scope, sphere of influence and permanency. Weak structure of regional integration and reluctance for its deepening create doubts about the region's future stability. This paper first reviews the policy context of the Black Sea geography. It focuses on the Black Sea cities' engagement into this context and mainly asks what kind of role, if any, cities play for facilitating diplomatic ties and alleviating systemic-level controversies. Building on the literature on city diplomacy, the paper elaborates on motivations behind and limits over such alternative levels of interactions and comments on their future geopolitical implications.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Nkoa F. C.

Régionalisation, règles et crédibilité de la politique commune du commerce extérieur en zone CEMAC
in *African Integration and Development Review - Revue Africaine de l'Intégration e du Développement*, Volume 7,
n° 1, January/Janvier , 145-168

L'objet de ce travail est d'explorer les causes profondes du défaut apparent de crédibilité et d'efficacité de la politique commune du commerce extérieur de la zone CEMAC élaborée dans le cadre de la réforme fiscale et douanière de 1994. En nous appuyant sur les résultats établis par la « nouvelle économie institutionnelle » et la « nouvelle économie politique », nous montrons que l'abondance des ressources naturelles et la nature autocratique des régimes politiques dans cette sous-région en sont les causes principales en raison de l'inefficacité de la coordination par les règles dans un tel environnement. L'ancrage des politiques communautaires dans des accords plus larges impliquant des pays en dehors de la sous-région et la mise en œuvre des politiques qui accroissent l'interdépendance économique peuvent permettre d'atteindre le résultat attendu.

This paper investigate the main reasons behind the lack of credibility and efficiency of the common external trade policy of the CEMAC developed since 1994 as part of the tax and customs reform of this sub regional economic community. Building on the results recently established by the New institutional and new political economy we demonstrates that the abundance of natural resources and the non-democratic nature of political regimes in CEMAC are responsible of this result because of the inefficiency of coordination by common regional rules in such an environment. The anchorage of community policies in broader agreements involving countries out of the sub region and the implementation of policies which reinforce the economic interdependency can help achieve the goals set.

<http://ea.au.int/en/sites/default/files/African%20Integration%20and%20Development%20Review%20Vol7%20No1-%20jan%202014.pdf>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Obse Kalkidan

The Arab Spring and the Question of Legality of Democratic Revolution in Theory and Practice: A Perspective Based on the African Union Normative Framework
in *Leiden Journal of International Law*, Volume 27 - Issue 04



Traditional rules of international law do not recognize a positive right of revolution, nor a prohibition thereof as the relevant rules merely place the legality of revolutions in their effectiveness. However, the recent upsurge in democratically inspired revolutions has provided high currency to proposals that seek to re-evaluate the position of international law towards revolutions. Proponents of the theory of democratic revolution have sought to establish the legality of revolutions on an elevated normative ground using the lofty ideals of human rights and democratic governance and ultimately suggesting the existence of a positive right of democratic revolution under international law. Focusing on the Arab spring and the normative framework of the African Union, this article argues that the existing (emerging) human rights and democratic norms do not necessarily provide any distinct normative justifications for democratic revolutions beyond the legality that could be possibly established on the basis of traditional norms of international law. While the study recognizes emerging norms that represent a shift away from the effectiveness doctrine, it is observed that the pro-revolutionary implications of the norms are not as obvious as their importance as an (anti-revolutionary) injunction against the forcible ouster of democratically elected governments. The article concludes with the observation that the premium placed on democratic elections in the various normative instruments underscores the centrality of elections – and, alas, not revolutions – as the primary means through which the people's constitutive power (pouvoir constituant) is to be expressed.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Monier Elizabeth

The Arabness of Middle East regionalism: the Arab Spring and competition for discursive hegemony between Egypt, Iran and Turkey

in Contemporary Politics, Volume 20, Issue 4, 2014 , 421-434

The Middle East is often considered to demonstrate a case of weak regionalism. This article suggests that the continued prevalence of Arab identity as the hegemonic component of regional consciousness contributes to this. The dominance of a discourse of 'Arabness' reduces the region's flexibility to adapt and develop regional institutions in several ways and particularly vis-a-vis the non-Arab communities and states that are found within the spatial boundaries of the Middle East. To explore the role played by Arab identity politics in regionalism with regard to the status of non-Arab states, this article presents a study of the competing hegemonic regional discourses employed by Turkey, Iran and Egypt during a two-year period following the 2011 uprising in Egypt. This analysis suggests that even during a time of crisis, non-Arab states face obstacles to their assertion of regional projects and that Arabness is a central factor in the narratives resisting alternative interpretations of the interests and definition of the Middle East as a region. The article concludes that Arabness forms the hegemonic discourse that shapes the international relations of the Middle East.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Monier Elizabeth

The Arabness of Middle East regionalism: the Arab Spring and competition for discursive hegemony between



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The Middle East is often considered to demonstrate a case of weak regionalism. This article suggests that the continued prevalence of Arab identity as the hegemonic component of regional consciousness contributes to this. The dominance of a discourse of 'Arabness' reduces the region's flexibility to adapt and develop regional institutions in several ways and particularly vis-a-vis the non-Arab communities and states that are found within the spatial boundaries of the Middle East. To explore the role played by Arab identity politics in regionalism with regard to the status of non-Arab states, this article presents a study of the competing hegemonic regional discourses employed by Turkey, Iran and Egypt during a two-year period following the 2011 uprising in Egypt. This analysis suggests that even during a time of crisis, non-Arab states face obstacles to their assertion of regional projects and that Arabness is a central factor in the narratives resisting alternative interpretations of the interests and definition of the Middle East as a region. The article concludes that Arabness forms the hegemonic discourse that shapes the international relations of the Middle East.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 3. Cooperations and integration in Central and North America

Caliendo Lorenzo, Parro Fernando

Estimates of the Trade and Welfare Effects of NAFTA

in Review of Economic Studies, Volume 82 Issue 1 January 2015 , 1-44

We build into a Ricardian model sectoral linkages, trade in intermediate goods, and sectoral heterogeneity in production to quantify the trade and welfare effects from tariff changes. We also propose a new method to estimate sectoral trade elasticities consistent with any trade model that delivers a multiplicative gravity equation. We apply our model and use our estimated elasticities to identify the impact of NAFTA's tariff reductions. We find that Mexico's welfare increases by 1.31%, U.S.'s welfare increases by 0.08%, and Canada's welfare declines by 0.06%. We find that intra-bloc trade increases by 118% for Mexico, 11% for Canada, and 41% for the U.S. We show that welfare effects from tariff reductions are reduced when the structure of production does not take into account intermediate goods or input-output linkages. Our results highlight the importance of sectoral heterogeneity, intermediate goods, and sectoral linkages for the quantification of the welfare gains from tariffs reductions.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Camila Jara Ibarra

Apoyo popular a la integración latinoamericana: un modelo para evaluar factores individuales y contextuales.

in Estudios internacionales : revista del Instituto de Estudios Internacionales de la Universidad de Chile, Vol.46

No. 179 , 9-34

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Caballero Santos Sergio



Identity in Mercosur: Regionalism and Nationalism.

in *Foro Internacional*, VOLUMEN LIV - NÚMERO 4

Historically, two tendencies have struggled within the Latin America region: one, a strongly nationalist outlook emerging from the creation of the nation-state in the 19th century; and the other, a unitary project to address the threat of an “external enemy.” This paper first presents an overview of these two perspectives and examines the performance of Mercosur in the past decade, focusing on the creation of the collective identity of Mercosur. Then it moves on to examine the role of ideas and identity with a view to analyze how this determines and constrains decision making, and to study how this role conditions regional identity. Finally, consideration is given to collective identity in relation to Mercosur.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Radtke Kerstin

ASEAN Enlargement and Norm Change – A Window of Opportunity for Democracy and Human Rights Entrepreneurs?

in *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs*, Vol 33, No 3 (2014)

This paper discusses the accession of Myanmar to ASEAN and its effects on the emergence of fundamental political norms in ASEAN. The article first advances the theoretical idea of how accession demands towards Regional Organizations (ROs) open windows of opportunity for norm entrepreneurs to act for norm change in a Regional Organization. Secondly, these ideas are empirically illustrated by a case study on ASEAN’s enlargement to include Myanmar. The tentative conclusion is that, being confronted with the accession of the highly stigmatised state of Myanmar, ASEAN was forced to position itself vis-à-vis this outcome, and to open itself up to discussions about fundamental norms and regional identity. This critical phase of transition mobilised norm entrepreneurs to push for norm change, and opened avenues for these entrepreneurs to contribute ideas regarding ASEAN’s regional identity. By subsequently framing the discourse on human rights and democracy in Southeast Asia, and by successfully gaining access to the official ASEAN agenda, these entrepreneurs pressured ASEAN to be more precise about its norms. The discussion about stigmatised Myanmar thus introduced new ideas into the regional forum, and in the longer term may have contributed to ASEAN’s identity-building and the concession of greater attention to democracy and human rights issues.v

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Hein Christoph

ASEAN, der übersehene Riese - Essay

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 40-41, 2014

The full text is free:

<http://www.bpb.de/apuz/191924/asean-der-uebersehene-riese?p=all>



Im Jahr 2010, als die Finanzkrise die Welt noch in ihrem Griff hatte, fand Surin Pitsuwan deutliche Worte. Während die Welt zitterte, sprach der damalige Generalsekretär des Verbandes der Südostasiatischen Nationen (ASEAN) ungerührt über das Selbstbewusstsein der Asiaten: "Ja, natürlich empfinden wir jetzt Stolz. Die Welt sieht, wie gut Asien dasteht. Der Aufstieg Chinas und Indiens, der wachsende Regionalhandel hier in Südostasien – das alles ist ja kein Trugbild. Wir haben die Schockwellen aus dem Westen deswegen so gut überstanden, weil wir unsere Hausaufgaben ordentlich gemacht, unsere Reformen umgesetzt haben", sagte Surin und fügte an, er könne genau beschreiben, wann er diese Überlegenheit erstmals gespürt habe: "Während des Asien-Europa-Gipfels in Peking im Oktober 2008. Damals saß der chinesische Ministerpräsident Wen Jiabao in der Großen Halle des Volkes in der Mitte des Podiums, ich neben ihm. Dann waren da Frau Merkel und Herr Berlusconi und Herr Sarkozy und all die anderen Staats- und Regierungschefs Europas. Und sie alle hatten nur eine Botschaft: Bitte China, Sorge dafür, dass die Welt nicht untergeht. Bitte China, halte die Wirtschaft unter Dampf. Bitte China, hilf uns. So etwas hatten wir noch nie erlebt. Das war die Wende, ein Erdbeben." ...

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Davies Mathew

An Agreement to Disagree: The ASEAN Human Rights Declaration and the Absence of Regional Identity in Southeast Asia

in *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs*, Vol 33, No 3 (2014)

ASEAN's engagement with human rights culminated in the creation of the ASEAN Human Rights Declaration in 2012. The Declaration is fascinating in three ways: Its institutional origins are surprising, it was agreed upon by states with very different positions on the role of human rights domestically, and it both contains commitments far in advance of some members and is at the same time dangerously regressive. The three leading frameworks that currently interrogate the Declaration fail to provide convincing insights into all three of those dimensions. To correct these shortcomings, this article applies the notion of an "incompletely theorized agreement" to the study of the Declaration, arguing that member states understand the Declaration in very different ways and agreed to it for similarly diverse reasons. Further, I argue that the Declaration neither articulates a shared regional identity relating to respect for human rights, nor can it be understood as marking an early point towards the creation of this identity. Instead, the current diversity of regional opinions on human rights and democracy is perceived as legitimate and will endure. The article concludes by considering whether this denudes the Declaration of value, arguing that its importance will vary: The more progressive the member state, the more important the Declaration will be in the future.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Bhattacharya Swapan K., Das Gouranga G.

Can South–South Trade Agreements Reduce Development Deficits?: An Exploration of SAARC during 1995–2008

in *Journal of South Asian Development (The)*, Volume 9, No 3, December 2014 , 253-285

With the rise of India and other Southern engines of growth, the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) and similar vehicles for South–South regional cooperation have gained in importance. Developing a stochastic frontier gravity model, this article investigates the presence of significant 'behind the border' and 'beyond the border'



constraints and analyzes the potential synergy between trade and development goals in the context of SAARC. In particular, the article demonstrates: (a) a considerable potential for improvement of trade complementarities among SAARC members; (b) a long-run scope for gains from trade; (c) country-specific 'socio-political–economical–institutional' rigidities form 'behind the border' constraints to trade; (d) that realization of trade potential would eliminate development deficits via growth dividends through trade and investment spillovers, exchange of skills and knowledge; and (e) since tariffs are not an important barrier in this region, emphasis should be placed on higher technology cooperation, and cooperation in areas of education, literacy, gender, institutions ensuring good governance, social capital and infrastructure, to help achieve the SAARC Development Goals (SDGs). The main policy insights are that the removal of 'behind the border' barriers and policy coordination would reduce 'productivity lags' and close the 'gap'.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Roda Mushkat

Constructivist Constructions of International Environmental Governance Regimes - The Southeast Asian Context Review Essay

in *Melbourne Journal of International Law*, vol. 15, issue 1 , 252-270

Positive international legal theory is a highly contested intellectual territory, where competing scientific paradigms unrealistically seek to achieve a position of total dominance. This analytically rigorous and carefully researched study marshals valuable empirical evidence to lend direct support to one of them, constructivism, and indirectly to closely related schools of thought, such as transnational legal process theory. However, the factual foundation methodically built suggests that the explanatory power of this particular conceptual scheme is rather limited and that it cannot shed adequate light on formal and informal international cooperation, as witnessed in a specific Association of Southeast Asian Nations environmental context, without being effectively coupled with polar opposites in the rationalist space.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Rathgeber Theodor

Documentation: International Legal Human Rights Framework -- Human Rights and the Institutionalisation of ASEAN: An Ambiguous Relationship

in *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs*, Vol 33, No 3 (2014)

While the ASEAN Charter of 2007 heralded an era of improved democracy, human rights protection and good governance in accordance with the rule of law, the reality on the ground tells a different story. While all of the trappings of a human rights mechanism are in place, the normative and protective capacity of the regime is ambiguous at best. The adoption of core international human rights treaties by ASEAN member states presents an ambiguous picture, one which reveals significant variations between the ten countries. The purported institutionalisation of international human rights standards since 2007 in the region via the creation of an ASEAN human rights mechanism in that year is betrayed by the poor condition of actual protection of human rights at the national and regional level. The article analyses the situation on the ground in light of the normative obligations and aspirations of the states.

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Kuroiwa Ikuo, Tsubota Kenmei

Economic Integration, Location of Industries and Frontier Regions: Evidence from Cambodia
in *ASEAN Economic Bulletin*, Volume 31, Number 3, December 2014 , 379-394

This paper examines changes in the location of economic activity in Cambodia between 1998 and 2008 in terms of employment growth. During this period, Cambodia joined ASEAN and increased trade with its neighbouring countries. Drawing on theoretical predictions made by New Economic Geography (NEG), we focus on frontier regions such as border areas and international port cities, and examine the changing state of manufacturing in Cambodia. Our results suggest that economic integration and concomitant trade linkages may lead to the industrial development of Cambodia's frontier regions and metropolitan areas.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Intriligator Michael D.

Energy Security in the Asia-Pacific Region

in *Contemporary Economic Policy*, Volume 33, Issue 1, January 2015 , 221-227

The nations of the Asia-Pacific Region, including its three sub-regions of Northeast Asia, Southeast Asia, and South Asia, face major potential dangers in securing the energy needed for their economies. This paper focuses on these dangers and discusses the future prospects for these vulnerable nations, including their need for closer cooperation.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Le Thu Huong

Evaluating the cultural cooperation: the role of the Asia-Europe Foundation (ASEF) in the Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM) process

in *Asia Europe Journal*, vol. 12, n. 4, December, Special issue: "Asia-Pacific and Europe Dialogue: Building Knowledge from each other's experiences" , 401-418

The Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM) held its 9th Summit in November 2012, marking 16 years of existence. Because of its biennial character, around the time of Summits, ASEM usually gains increased attention. And it is around each Summit that questions about ASEM's relevance and contribution to global politics re-surface. While political and economic cooperation have attracted much anticipation and analyses, this essay draws attention to the under-researched socio-cultural pillar. It re-assesses the role of socio-cultural cooperation in the relations between Asia-Europe and its relevance to the Asia-Europe Meeting process overall. The study analyses the stream of activities and the design of programmes coordinated by the Asia-Europe Foundation (ASEF), the only permanent institution of the ASEM process, responsible for the "third-pillar" implementations. ASEF in this analysis serves as a reflection of ASEM, and by looking into working mechanisms and evaluating ASEF's effectiveness, the author evaluates ASEM. The purpose of this study is to offer the first comprehensive analysis of Asia-Europe Foundation, which recently celebrated its 15th anniversary, by examining its relationship with the ASEM process. The study evaluates ASEF's contribution to Asia-Europe inter-regional cooperation and outlines the limitations that the Foundation faces. A multi-method research approach is adopted including data from the ASEF archives and reports of its activities, and analysis based on the existing literature



and official documents of ASEM and ASEF, as well as in-depth interviews conducted by the author.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Dimitri Vanoverbeke

Exporting the Rule of Law in East Asia: Japan's Experience from the 1990s to Present

in *Revue belge de droit international*, n. 2 , 364-381

Since the 1960s, Japan has become a model for East Asia because of its rapid ascend to the status of a major economic power, whilst maintaining a pluralistic approach to the rule of law. The attraction for this Japanese approach with regard to the development of legal capacity among East Asia's young democracies is significant. Japan's contribution to strengthening the rule of Law in East Asia, contributes to the formation of the East Asian region and to a more prominent place of East Asia in a globalising world but also raises concerns regarding how Japan confronts the very concept of the rule of law. Developing political tensions between Japan and China in the region are, moreover, challenging the Japanese pluralistic approach to exporting the rule of law. Japanese policy towards legal capacity building in recent times has become more centralised and normative and makes one wonder whether the pluralistic and non-normative approach will be sustained in the future. In this article we will take a closer look at Japan's policy and practices of legal capacity building in the East Asian region since the 1990s.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Jones Catherine

Great powers, ASEAN, and security: reason for optimism?

in *Pacific Review (The)* , Volume 28, Issue 2, 2015 , 259-280

The positive role that external powers can play in the creation and maintenance of security in regions has long been ignored; external interference is generally perceived as detrimental to the ability of a group of states to function as a community. However, this paper argues that in the case of ASEAN, the presence of external actors allows the group to function as a community that also provides and ensures security. This paper furthers the debate regarding ASEAN's security functions. With international attention focused on the Asia-Pacific, there is a need to understand the context in which security is maintained in Southeast Asia.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Suvannaphakdy Sithanoxay, Toyoda Toshihisa

Impact of Regional Trade Agreements in East Asia on Members' Trade Flows

in *ASEAN Economic Bulletin*, Volume 31, Number 3, December 2014 , 361-378

Using an unbalanced panel dataset of bilateral trade flows, we study the determinants of two-way trade for Australia, China, India, Japan, New Zealand, Korea and the ten ASEAN countries from 1990 to 2009. We find that bilateral trade flow is positively related to the sum of the GDP of trading countries, and similarity in GDP size, but inversely related to relative factor endowment differences, transportation costs and import tariffs. Our empirical results suggest that



formulating an East Asian Free Trade Area is important for promoting intraregional trade. Furthermore, there is a need to provide a range of instruments to assist least-developed ASEAN countries in designing and implementing appropriate trade integration policies through the provision of technical and financial assistance as well as analytical support.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Hao Duy Phan

Institutional Design and Its Constraints: Explaining ASEAN's Role in the Temple of Preah Vihear Dispute
in *Asian Journal of International Law*, vol. 5, issue 1, 7-15

This paper focuses on the role of ASEAN in maintaining peace and security in Southeast Asia. It uses the Temple of Preah Vihear dispute as a case-study to examine both ASEAN's successes and limitations in dealing with a crisis that threatened regional peace. The paper first examines ASEAN's initial response to the conflict and highlights a period of inaction that followed. It then traces ASEAN's renewed efforts to manage the conflict and assesses ASEAN's potential to resolve the dispute. The paper concludes that ASEAN did a remarkable job in facilitating negotiations and was instrumental in preventing the conflict from further escalation. It argues, however, that ASEAN's role remains limited: in particular, problems of institutional design reduce its effectiveness in managing conflicts and settling disputes. The paper concludes by making several suggestions to increase the effectiveness of the organization in maintaining regional peace and security.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Koga Kei

Institutional transformation of ASEAN: ZOPFAN, TAC, and the Bali Concord I in 1968–1976
in *Pacific Review (The)*, Volume 27, Issue 5, 2014, 729-753

Many international relations (IR) scholars discuss whether the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) possesses institutional utility in maintaining security in Southeast Asia or East Asia. While this has important implications for both academics and policy-makers, ASEAN's role has been too often evaluated in terms of what has persisted within the association rather than what changed. Yet, exploring the causes and processes of institutional transformation are particularly important because they have made ASEAN expand its security utility by creating security dialogues and fostering security cooperation in the region. In this context, the crucial question is: when and how has ASEAN changed?

Focusing on the causes and processes of institutional transformation which have occurred within ASEAN, this article explores ASEAN's transformation from 1968 to 1976, by using a theoretical model, developed from historical institutionalism and the punctuated equilibrium model. Applying this approach to institutional transformation of ASEAN in the political-security field, three transformation processes are constructed. First, ASEAN member states' expected changes in the external security environment triggered internal discussions regarding ASEAN's political-security function; second, these internal political discussions fostered institutional consolidation of ASEAN during this period; and third, such direction of institutional transformation was fundamentally guided by ideas provided by institutional norm entrepreneurs (INEs), especially Malaysia's neutrality proposal.

In particular, this article examines the process of ASEAN's creation of the Zone of Peace, Freedom, and Neutrality (ZOPFAN) in 1971, and the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation (TAC) and the Bali Concord in 1976, and argues that this



model shed light on the significance of ZOPFAN that created a foundation of TAC and the Bali Concord, for which conventional wisdom has dismissed as an insignificant institutional concept by academics and practitioners.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Shahram Akbarzadeh

Iran and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization: Ideology and Realpolitik in Iranian Foreign Policy
in *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Volume 69, Issue 1 , 88-103

The Islamic Republic of Iran has pursued full membership in the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO). In doing so, Iran has appeared to be unfazed by the prospect of allying with Russia and China, two countries which have systematically suppressed their Muslim minorities for decades. Similarly, the SCO's Central Asian member states are led by individual leaders who are generally believed to rule in spite of their populations. As a result, Iran's eagerness to join the SCO may appear to contradict its self-promoted image as the champion of Muslim interests, but in reality it sits nicely within its overarching enmity for the USA. Indeed, the SCO is seen as a geopolitical counterweight to the USA. For Iran, this geopolitical opportunity overrides ideological imperatives, with the gap between ideology and geopolitics most evident under the presidency of Mahmoud Ahmadinejad.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Gaël Abline

La doctrine de l'étranger proche et les conflits gelés
in *Revue belge de droit international*, n. 2 , 585-617

La doctrine de l'étranger proche postule que la sécurité de la Fédération de Russie passe par la protection des frontières extérieures de l'ex-URSS et implique donc un droit de regard sur ses voisins.

Les conflits gelés issus de cessez-le-feu conclus à la suite de la dislocation de l'URSS gardent intacte leur menace latente contre la paix et la sécurité internationales à raison des violations de l'intégrité territoriale et du dévoiement du droit à l'autodétermination. La Moldova reste confrontée à l'irréductibilité de la Transnistrie. La souveraineté territoriale de la Géorgie s'avère violée en Abkhazie comme en Ossétie du Sud. Le Nagorny Karabakh oppose toujours l'Azerbaïdjan à l'Arménie.

Intriquées, ces deux notions soulignent que la convergence des prétentions russes et sécessionnistes aboutit à des conséquences ambivalentes. Si l'ambition russe à redevenir une puissance internationale a alimenté les revendications indépendantistes au sein des nouveaux Etats, elle a cependant échoué à faire de la CEI un instrument de domination de l'espace postsoviétique alors que la longévité des conflits a permis le maintien de sa présence militaire.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Boisseau du Rocher Sophie

Les enjeux de la mer de Chine du Sud entre la Chine et l'ASEAN
in *Revue Défense Nationale*, n° 775, Décembre



La mer de Chine constitue un enjeu pour la Chine et sa volonté de puissance. Face aux exigences des pays voisins et à la présence américaine comme acteur de nécessité, Pékin doit admettre une approche moins unilatérale et accepter un dialogue constructif.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Gerstl Alfred

**Menschliche und staatliche Sicherheit – ein ungelöstes Spannungsverhältnis
in Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte**, Band 40-41, 2014

The full text is free:

<http://www.bpb.de/apuz/191930/menschliche-und-staatliche-sicherheit>

Ende 2015 wird der Verband Südostasiatischer Nationen (ASEAN) die ASEAN Community aus der Taufe heben. Bestehend aus einer (sicherheits-)politischen, wirtschaftlichen und zivilgesellschaftlichen Gemeinschaft, möchte der Verband die zwischenstaatliche Zusammenarbeit in der Region konsolidieren. Bis zur Erfüllung der ambitionierten Ziele werden indes noch etliche Jahre verstreichen, und wie in Europa sind Rückschläge wahrscheinlich. Zudem wird eine supranationale Kooperation wie in der Europäischen Union (EU) wegen der in Südostasien anhaltend hohen Bedeutung staatlicher Souveränität bis auf weiteres offiziell ausgeschlossen.

Die rechtliche Basis der ASEAN Community ist die Charta des Verbandes, die Ende 2008 in Kraft trat. Zentrales Anliegen von ASEAN ist demnach der Aufbau einer stärker menschenzentrierten Gemeinschaft. Bereits bei der Gründung der Organisation lautete das Fernziel, die nicht näher definierte Einheit Südostasiens zu verwirklichen. Formal gelang dies 1999, als mit Kambodscha das zehnte Land der Assoziation beitrug. Von einer wahren Gemeinschaft, in der die Bevölkerungen Werte und Einstellungen teilen würden, ist das ethnisch, kulturell, religiös und politisch extrem vielfältige Südostasien jedoch weit entfernt. Seit den späten 1950er Jahren haben Politiker(innen) und Wissenschaftler(innen) die Idee der südostasiatischen Einheit zwar vorangetrieben, doch blieb das Gefühl von Gemeinsamkeit zumeist auf Eliten beschränkt...

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Panday Anjan

Monetary Integration between India and Nepal
in **South Asia Economic Journal**, September 2014; 15 (2) , 199-224

An open border, a pegged exchange rate regime and large trade with India offer Nepal some preconditions to satisfy monetary integration with its southern neighbour. In this study, investigation of the economic symmetry in the two countries is considered. A two-pronged empirical approach reveals inconclusive evidence to satisfy such integration. First, using a three-variable structural vector auto-regression showed a low and negative correlation in the supply shocks. Decomposing the structural shocks into regional and idiosyncratic components showed a favourable co-movement with the regional element only in Nepal's monetary shock. Second, the business-cycle analysis using



state-space models of Nepal's GDP and its components showed evidence of co-movement with the regional element in some variables while others showed divergence.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Alistair Rieu-Clarke

Notification and Consultation Procedures Under the Mekong Agreement: Insights from the Xayaburi Controversy

in *Asian Journal of International Law*, vol. 5, issue 1, 143-175

Tensions between watercourse states are likely to escalate in the absence of effective legal frameworks by which to evaluate the impacts of large-scale unilateral water projects. Conscious of the need for such a framework, the lower Mekong River Basin States have developed the 1995 Mekong Agreement and related procedures for prior notification and consultation. The Xayaburi Hydropower Project constitutes the first project on the mainstream of the Mekong River that has been submitted to the consultation procedures under the 1995 Mekong Agreement. An analysis of the Xayaburi Project shows that both the design and implementation of the consultation process might be improved. The need to strengthen this process is particularly pertinent due to the numerous plans to further exploit the hydropower potential of the Mekong River and its tributaries. Additionally, examination of the prior consultation process under the Mekong Agreement offers valuable lessons for other international watercourses facing similar challenges.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Benny Guido, Yean Tham Siew, Ramli Rashila

Public Opinion on the Formation of the ASEAN Economic Community: An Exploratory Study in Three ASEAN Countries

in *International Journal of Asia-Pacific Studies (The)*, Volume 11, No 1-2, 2015, 85-114

In 1997, 10 Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) member states envisaged an ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) with free flows of goods, services and investments, and freer flows of capital features. In contrast to the process of establishing economic integration in the European Union, the process in ASEAN has never directly engaged the public. This study aims to gauge public opinion on the AEC through a survey research conducted in 11 major cities in Indonesia, Malaysia and Singapore. It investigates the extent of public attitudes and aspirations in four dimensions—support, commitment, perceived benefits and aspiration—among the public in the three countries. Survey results show that the attitudes of the public were positive, but there were differences in the extent of support, commitment and perceived benefits. The study also finds that they seem to aspire for a different kind of integration from the European format of regional integration. In addition, comparison statistics showed that the Malaysian and Indonesian public exhibited more positive attitude and higher aspiration for economic integration. The finding implies that the ASEAN Secretariat—together with national governments—needs to formulate effective strategies to maintain positive attitudes and support for the integration initiatives. It further suggests that ASEAN should continuously monitor public opinion on the region's economic integration and develop strategies for fostering and maintaining good support from the public for further deepening the economic integration process.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Theresa Robles

Regional and Multilateral Surveillance: Normative Tensions and Implications for Cooperation in East Asia
in *Global Policy*, Volume 6, Issue 1, 34–44

Financial crises have underscored two important points for East Asia's economic and financial stability and resilience: regional economies must become more self-reliant while acknowledging that the growing interdependence has intensified the need for cooperation. Reconciling the need for self-reliance with the reality of increasing interdependence has critical implications for East Asian financial regionalism as it drives how regional and multilateral processes link and interact with each other. This article explores how normative tensions can limit coordination of regional and multilateral surveillance mechanisms and investigates whether the 2008 global financial crisis has changed the normative dynamics in surveillance. Studies on the interaction of ideas and interests and its impact on financial governance have made important contributions to discussions on postcrisis reform. However, current analyses tend to overlook how normative tensions drive collective action between regional and multilateral levels. Furthermore, existing research in this field tends to focus on processes of change and devote little attention to cases wherein it might result in stasis instead. This article focuses on how two trends – the growing divergence in conceptions of financial risk and stability and the loss of an intellectual compass to guide the surveillance agenda – may hinder deeper cooperation between regional and multilateral surveillance mechanisms in East Asia.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Knittel Siegfried

Starkes schwaches China
in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, Januar, 2015, 25-28

Während sich Deutschland des Mauerfalls vor 25 Jahren erinnerte, fanden – wie schon vor fünf Jahren – die historischen Ereignisse der Zukunft in der Pazifikregion statt. Vom 10. bis 12. November versammelten sich die politischen Führer zum APEC-Gipfel (Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation) in Peking. Dem langjährigen Weltbank-Ländervergleich zufolge löste China 2014 die USA als größte Volkswirtschaft der Welt ab (auch wenn die Pro-Kopf-Kaufkraft der Chinesen weit niedriger ist als die der US-Amerikaner). Solche Zahlen bestärken die Führung der Volksrepublik und ihren starken Mann Xi Jinping, sich der Welt als Land der Superlative zu präsentieren.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Tan Danielle

The Greater Mekong Subregion programme: reflections for a renewed paradigm of regionalism
in *Asia Europe Journal*, vol. 12, n. 4, December, Special issue: "Asia-Pacific and Europe Dialogue: Building Knowledge from each other's experiences", 383-399

Southeast Asia shares many similarities with Europe, among others, deep economic, historic and cultural ties, as well as the trauma of wars, which led to the desire to turn battlefields into marketplaces. However, in Southeast Asia, regional economic integration has preceded institutional integration, reversing the order of European integration. Despite drawing



on different models of integration, programmes favouring the setting up of cross-border and transnational areas have burgeoned both within the European Union (EU) and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). The Greater Mekong Subregion (GMS) development programme, supported by the Asian Development Bank (ADB) since the early 1990s, is currently one of the most dynamic transnational integration processes occurring in mainland Southeast Asia. Among the flagship initiatives of the programme are three economic corridors that have revived the ancient caravan trade routes and networks, which once traversed the Indochinese peninsula. This article sketches out the specificities of the GMS integration by examining the “corridor approach”. As institutional regionalism in Europe appears to have encountered problems, and Southeast Asia seems to have stretched its open and network-based integration model to a great extent, the main argument of this essay is that reflections on the success and the limits of the GMS’ specific type of integration can contribute to a new understanding of regionalism, particularly in Asia.

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Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Simon Chesterman

The International Court of Justice in Asia: Interpreting the Temple of Preah Vihear Case
in *Asian Journal of International Law*, vol. 5, issue 1 , 1-6

This essay examines the 2013 Decision by the International Court of Justice interpreting its 1962 Judgment in the Temple of Preah Vihear case between Cambodia and Thailand, situating the more recent decision in the context of the Court's evolving role in Asia. Only eight Asian states have accepted the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court; only nine have ever appeared before it. The narrowness of the recent decision is of interest in part because of the modest role it ascribes to judicial institutions, but also for what this modesty heralds for the Court's status in Asia. A key conclusion is that Asian states are likely to retain a general preference for bilateral resolution of disputes. For smaller disputes, however, especially those concerning subjects that cannot be divided or traded—such as a temple (and, as we shall see, an island)—the ICJ may play an important role.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Karin Loevy

The Legal Politics of Jurisdiction: Understanding ASEAN's Role in Myanmar's Disaster, Cyclone Nargis (2008)
in *Asian Journal of International Law*, vol. 5, issue 1 , 55-93

This paper exposes the limited perspective that we have over the problem of jurisdiction in emergencies. In the classic theory of emergency powers, sovereign control over borders is assumed, and jurisdictional problems are acknowledged when threats come from outside those borders or when they are handled outside. However, what characterizes many emergencies is not the exercise of sovereign jurisdiction but rather contestations over problems of jurisdiction and competing jurisdictional claims. To illustrate the need for a broader perspective over emergencies’ jurisdictional politics, this paper tells a multilayered story about a successful intervention by the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) in one of Myanmar's natural disasters (Nargis 2008). ASEAN's role in its Member State's disaster should be understood in view of its unique regional solution to the jurisdictional problem that this disaster raised—the problem of access by foreign aid to a domestic area affected by a natural disaster.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Wignaraja Ganeshan

Will South Asia Benefit from Pan-Asian Integration?

in *South Asia Economic Journal*, September 2014; 15 (2) , 175-197

This article examines the gains for South Asian economies from integrating with East Asia and India's role in this process. Evidence of increased pan-Asian integration exists but the process is uneven. Bilateral trade has grown. Bilateral foreign direct investment flows and free trade agreements (FTAs) have also increased, albeit at a slower pace than trade. The integration process has been led by India and Pakistan with limited participation of smaller South Asian economies. Tackling key impediments in infrastructure, FTAs, trade barriers and business regulations, and barriers to services will foster further integration. Computable general equilibrium simulations suggest that a South Asia–East Asia FTA offers the most gains for South Asia and that India has an incentive to include its neighbours in such an arrangement rather than going it alone with East Asia. The rest of South Asia will gain by deepening South Asian integration and fostering ties with East Asia.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Menotti Roberto

Dal bipolarismo al multipolarismo asimmetrico

in *ItalianiEuropei*, n. 6

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Capaldo Jeronim

Disoccupazione, diseguaglianza e instabilità. L'impatto del TTIP

in *ItalianiEuropei*, n. 1

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Baratta Roberto

I vincoli imposti dal fiscal compact ai bilanci nazionali

in *Federalismi*, Anno XII - Nr 17

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 6. The European unification process

Muzi Laura

Il ruolo delle corti nel rafforzamento del coordinamento delle politiche economiche nell'Ue
in *Federalismi*, Anno XII - Nr 19

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Varsori Antonio

L'impatto della caduta del muro sull'integrazione europea
in *ItalianiEuropei*, n. 6

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bolaffi Angelo

La Germania, leader suo malgrado
in *ItalianiEuropei*, n. 6

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Vouilloux Jean-Baptiste

L'Europe : abandon de la puissance ! Un état des lieux
in *Revue Défense Nationale*, n° 774, Novembre

Alors que le monde est engagé dans une nouvelle course aux armements dans une incertitude stratégique croissante, l'Europe poursuit avec un aveuglement sidérant un désarmement systémique. Pourtant, les récents événements en Ukraine et en Irak devraient inciter à une remise en cause de cet abandon de puissance.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Caponi Giulia, Capuozzo Valentina, Del Vecchio Ilaria, Simonetti Alice

Omogeneità costituzionale europea e identità nazionali: un processo di integrazione circolare tra valori costituzionali europei e teoria dei controlimiti
in *Federalismi*, Anno XII - Nr 24



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Schirru Giancarlo

Riunificazione tedesca e ideologia italiana

in *ItalianiEuropei*, n. 6

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Warlouzet Laurent

The Interdisciplinary Challenge in European Integration History

in *Journal of Contemporary History*, Volume 49, Issue 4, October , pp. 837-845

<http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/0022009414550270>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Croci Filippo

Un bilancio “aggiuntivo” per l'eurozona? Proposte, problemi e prospettive

in *Federalismi*, Anno XII - Nr 21

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Chaltiel Florence

2015, année de la relance de l'investissement européen et politisation des débats?

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 584, janvier , 1-2

No abstract available



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Lacaita Francesca, Vallinoto Nicola

A Citizens' Initiative For A European Green New Deal

in Federalist Debate (The), XXVII, Number 3, November 2014

Several people and organizations have recently called for a "New Deal for Europe": the German Trade Union Confederation DGB with its "Marshall Plan for Europe"; the European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC) with its "New Path for Europe"; many a contributor to the book *Shaping a Different Europe*¹, and others. Underlying all such proposals is the realization that the austerity measures that have been imposed all over the EU (not only on its periphery and not only on the Eurozone) are obviously detrimental to the economy and communities, yet individual countries cannot on their own take such steps to boost investments, stimulate employment and revive the economy, as the Keynes-inspired ones which brought the USA through the Great Depression and presided over the post-war economic expansion. They cannot, because they are all integrated in a structural system of power and economic relationships (going well beyond the EU itself) which has severely impaired their ability to act singly without dangerous effects. The present system prizes or encourages social dumping and race to the bottom, and the economies of some countries are already too weakened anyway to take any such steps of their own accord. Under the circumstances it is the structural conditions that must change. Hence the emphasis on "Europe". An EU-wide plan for investments, job-creation and the modernization of the economy, open to all EU countries or at least to those that contribute to it, for which resources must be found at EU level – this is basically what defines "a New Deal for Europe". [...]

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Majocchi Alberto

A European Fund for Growth and Employment

in Federalist Debate (The), Year XXVII, n. 1, March

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Duff Andrew

A European Government to Get out of the Crisis

in Federalist Debate (The), Year XXVII, n. 1, March

Five years ago you had the temerity to elect me, at our Congress in Paris, as your President¹. What a five years this has been. It has been, first and foremost, the five years of the Great Crash, in which our banking system almost collapsed, our standard of living declined, and any complacency we may have had about the rise of Europe in the world stakes was dispelled. It has been five years of asymmetric shock which has tested to destruction the EMU settlement of the Treaty of Maastricht. It has been five years of hectic crisis management by the leaders and institutions of the European Union – making some mistakes, learning by doing (often too little, too late). After the first great crash in 1929, Europe fell apart



and went back to the battlefield and descended into the worst depravities ever known to man. This time it has indeed been different. European unity has survived intact – not covered in glory, not making great strides to the federal constitutional settlement which we at UEF want to see, not without social hardship, particularly among the young, not without losing out in international affairs – but nevertheless the semblance of unity and the basic structure of the European Union has survived.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Jean-Pierre Cassarino

A Reappraisal of the EU's Expanding Readmission System

in International Spectator (The), Vol. 49, No. 4

Readmission is not simply a means of removing undesirable foreigners through coercive methods. When viewed as a way of ensuring the temporary stay of foreign workers in the labour markets of European destination countries, readmission may also impact on the participatory rights of a growing number of native workers facing equally temporary (and precarious) labour conditions, in a context marked by employment deregulation and wage flexibility. These implications have clear democratic significance. A new analytical perspective applied to the expansion and development of the readmission system, is aimed at promoting a reflection on an unexplored research area bridging the gap between labour migration regulation and labour market deregulation.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Chevallard Giancarlo

A Strong Industry for the EU Defence Policy

in Federalist Debate (The), Year XXVII, n. 1, March

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Giordano Filippo Maria

A Theory of the Role of Religion in Regional Supranational Integration Processes

in Europe en formation (L'), n° 371, 2014/1, 135-152

The article aims at highlighting a relatively unknown phenomenon which involves the role of religion in supranational and regional integrations. Starting from an analysis of the European Union, and moving on to the individuation of the level of interaction between religious subjects and political actors within the framework of supranational regionalism, this essay highlights a “confessional coefficient” for the measurement of the above-mentioned interaction level and its relationship with various “religious factors.”

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 6. The European unification process

Eggel Dominic

A civilisation at peril: Goethe's representation of Europe during the Sattelzeit

in *European Review of History - Revue Européenne d'Histoire*, Volume 21, Issue 6 , pp. 871-888

The importance of the concept of Europe as a source of meaning and object of contested discursive battles during the fundamental transition towards modernity of the Sattelzeit (1750–1850) can hardly be overstated. The Weimar Classics (Goethe, Schiller, Herder, Wieland) made important contributions both to Enlightenment debates about Europe before the French Revolution and to the discursive battles about the continent taking place in the aftermath of the French Revolution in a context of heightened epistemic uncertainty and ideological confrontation. The paper aims to investigate Goethe's representation of Europe as an almost millenarian civilisation endangered at the end of the eighteenth century by a double process of economic and political modernisation. Particular attention is paid to how Goethe rooted his perception of Europe as a civilisation in geographic and climatic assumptions and how he compared the continent to other civilisational entities such as America, China, India or Persia. Finally, the political implications Goethe derived from his perception of Europe as an ailing civilisation shall be contrasted with democratic, romantic and conservative discourses about the continent in the aftermath of the French Revolution.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Daniel Betty C.

A graceful return of the drachma

in *European Economic Review*, Volume 71, October 2014 , 228-243

A country participating in a monetary union is constrained by loss of control over seigniorage revenue. Once the government reaches its fiscal limit on ordinary taxation, it cannot turn to seigniorage for financing. We show that a monetary union country can increase its seigniorage revenue by reissuing its own currency even as it fully honors all outstanding debt obligations. We use a simple cash-in-advance model, with domestic currency demand motivated by the need to pay taxes, to show that this policy effectively redistributes seigniorage revenue away from other monetary union members toward the acting country. The magnitude of the seigniorage created by currency reissue is limited both by the relative size of the country and by money demand, and, therefore, by the tax base. If this seigniorage revenue is insufficient, some additional seigniorage is available by allowing the new currency to grow and depreciate over time and domestic real wages to fall.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Katjana Gattermann and Sofia Vasilopoulou

Absent yet popular? Explaining news visibility of Members of the European Parliament

in *European Journal of Political Research*, Volume 54, Issue 1 , 121–140

Members of the European Parliament (MEPs) represent their citizens in European Union policy making, having the power to approve, amend or reject the near majority of legislation. The media inform EU citizens about their representatives and are able to hold them publicly accountable. However, we know little about whether, and to what extent, MEPs are visible in the news. This study investigates the visibility of MEPs in national broadsheets in Britain,



France, the Netherlands, Germany and Italy. It seeks to explain individual-level variation by employing an original dataset of news visibility of 302 MEPs over a period of 25 months (September 2009–September 2011) and tests the applicability of the news values and mirror theories in the context of supranational politics. The results show that political office, length of tenure and domestic party leadership have a positive effect. Legislative activities have a mixed effect on MEP news visibility. Attendance negatively affects news visibility, while non-attached MEPs receive more news coverage. In short, despite the core supranational nature of EP legislative politics, MEP news visibility primarily depends on journalists' domestic considerations. This informs both our understanding of MEP parliamentary behaviour and journalism studies in the context of the EU.

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Peter Kraus, Rūta Kazlauskaitė-Gürbüz

Addressing linguistic diversity in the European Union: Strategies and dilemmas in Ethnicities, Vol. 14, n. 4

In multilingual environments, respecting diverse linguistic identities is a requirement for recognizing the equal dignity of citizens. In the official discourse of the European Union, the approach to linguistic diversity has typically oscillated between two normative poles. On the one hand,...

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Majocchi Alberto

Allocating the Financial Transaction Tax Revenue to a European Fund for Growth and Employment in Federalist Debate (The), Year XXVI, n. 3, November

No abstract available

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Timofey Agarin

Angels with dirty faces? European identity, politics of representation and recognition of Romani interests in Ethnicities, Vol. 14, n. 6

The contradiction between acknowledgement of cultural differences and their accommodation in public has been a constant theme in studies of diverse societies. This review essay discusses five volumes that grapple with questions of Romani inclusion and the problems Roma face across Europe. The...

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Il deficit sistemico nell'Unione europea (con un commento di Luca De Lucia)

Armin von Bogdandy and Michail Ioannidis



in *Rivista trimestrale di diritto pubblico*, no. 3 , 593-655

The current EU crisis is not only financial. Most importantly, it also affects the founding principles of the Union as set out in Article 2 TEU. In particular, one principle that has served as the cornerstone of the European integration appears to be especially under threat: the rule of law. Due to endemic corruption, weak institutional capacities, or insufficient resources at the administrative or judicial levels, some EU Member States are so gravely deficient in guaranteeing the rule of law that their conformity to basic EU standards may be seriously called into question. This article seeks to contribute to the discussion on the subject by developing the concept of "systemic deficit" in the rule of law.

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Vosa Giuliano

Atti delegati e il sottile crinale tra forma e materia nella sistematica delle fonti europee. Osservazioni sulla sentenza C-427/12 del 18 marzo 2014

in *Studi sull'integrazione europea*, Anno IX, n. 2, maggio-agosto , 359-376

In the aftermath of the Lisbon Treaty, the 'newly' fashioned system of EU legal acts proves to be consistent with a process of ongoing de-formalisation in the relations among sources of law, involving Union Law as well as, to a limited extent, national laws. Particularly, the first ECJ ruling on delegated acts and on the relations between Arts. 290 and 291 TFEU reveals an ambiguous approach to the matter, in so far as a formal evaluation of the basic acts on the ground of objective elements provided for in Art. 290 is held theoretically possible, though decided in the negative. On a political-institutional level, the Court avoids declining the power to directly review a basic act, in case new elements of juridification arise in the future (i.e. specific 'types' of delegation fall within the scope of Art. 290 TFEU). From the constitutional law viewpoint, the Court seeks to reconcile the effects of a non-formal perspective – apparently, the most proper to a poly-centric system of normsbuilding – with a cautious tribute to the formal approach to the hierarchy of laws; a form of 'respect' that is owed to the Member States' authority and relates to both their constitutional traditions and to the structure of their legitimate power.

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Pollin Jean-Paul

Au-delà de l'Union bancaire européenne

in *Revue de l'OFCE*, N° 134, 2014/3 , 161 à 174

Après avoir brièvement rappelé les avancées et surtout les limites du projet d'Union bancaire européenne, tel qu'il vient d'être accepté par les diverses parties prenantes, cet article cherche à décrire et à évaluer les réformes susceptibles de compléter le nouvel accord. Deux types de propositions sont évoqués : soit on renforce la régulation bancaire en engageant une réforme structurelle du secteur (une séparation des activités) et en définissant une politique macroprudentielle cohérente au niveau de l'Union, soit on s'efforce de réduire la part de l'intermédiation dans le financement de l'économie européenne en accroissant l'importance des marchés, au risque de heurter les fondements des systèmes économiques et sociaux d'Europe continentale.



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Brunkhorst Hauke

Auswege aus der technokratischen Falle? Die unbeachtete Wirtschaftsverfassung Europas

in *Leviathan. Berliner Zeitschrift für Sozialwissenschaft*, Heft 4, 2014

Die erstaunliche Entwicklung von der Wirtschaftsgemeinschaft zur politischen Union Europas kann nicht darüber hinwegtäuschen, dass die Vorherrschaft der liberalen Wirtschaftsverfassung bis heute ungebrochen ist. Sie ist für die verfassungsrechtliche Verankerung einer bestimmten Wirtschaftstheorie ebenso konstitutiv wie für den technokratischen Modus der Politik. Beides ist jedoch infolge der großen Weltwirtschaftskrise von 2008 und der Euro-Krise von 2010 ins Wanken geraten. Die Politisierung der EU ist unvermeidlich geworden. Aber reicht Parlamentarismus plus Öffentlichkeit, um die Vorherrschaft der Wirtschaftsverfassung zu brechen und der Erpressungsmacht des Kapitals eine Macht entgegenzusetzen, die ihr gewachsen ist?

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Freire André, Teperoglou Eftichia, Moury Catherine

Awakening the Sleeping Giant in Greece and Portugal? Elites' and Voters' Attitudes towards EU Integration in Difficult Economic Times

in *South European Society & Politics*, Volume 19, Issue 4, Special Issue: Political Representation in Times of Bailout: Evidence from Greece and Portugal. , 477-499

This article explores the extent to which the economic crisis and political responses of the European Union (EU) to austerity policies have contributed to Euroscepticism in Greece and Portugal. We analyse attitudes towards the EU at both voter and elite levels using fresh and innovative data, and by comparing them with data from surveys conducted before the crisis we show assessments of austerity and the bailouts are feeding elite and voter Euroscepticism. In both countries there are signs of a crisis of representation with greater voter–elite incongruence in the representation of EU issues than before the bailout.

Full text available online

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Ducoudré Bruno, Heyer Éric

Baisse de l'euro et désinflation compétitive Quel pays en profitera le plus?

in *Revue de l'OFCE*, N° 136, 2014/5 , 221 à 253

Pendant près de 2 ans, entre le milieu de l'année 2012 et 2014, l'euro s'est apprécié face aux principales monnaies du monde. Depuis le mois de mai 2014, cette tendance s'est inversée : en quelques mois la monnaie européenne s'est notamment dépréciée de près de 10 % par rapport au dollar. Il s'agit dans cette étude d'anticiper les effets macroéconomiques (impact sur le PIB, sur les prix et sur l'emploi notamment) à attendre de cette dépréciation de l'euro. La relance de la croissance à court terme en zone euro via une dépréciation du taux de change effectif de l'euro permettrait en effet de lutter contre la déflation et de limiter les politiques non coopératives de désinflation compétitive menées dans le sud de l'Europe. Pour ce faire, nous présentons les résultats de la ré-estimation du bloc du commerce



extérieur français (prix et volume des exportations et des importations) figurant dans le modèle macroéconomique emod.fr de l'OFCE.

L'estimation conjointe des équations des volumes et des prix d'exportations et d'importations s'avère nécessaire et permet d'obtenir un effet bouclé d'une variation du taux de change effectif sur les volumes d'importations et d'exportations. La prise en compte des comportements de marge des importateurs et des exportateurs tend ainsi à limiter l'effet d'une variation du taux de change effectif sur les volumes d'importations et d'exportations lorsque ceux-ci ont un faible pouvoir de marché. Nous réitérons cette démarche sur les données de pays partenaires et concurrents de la France : l'Allemagne, l'Italie, l'Espagne, le Royaume-Uni et les États-Unis. Les élasticités obtenues sont cohérentes avec la littérature sur le sujet. Nous comparons ensuite l'incidence d'une dépréciation de l'euro sur les différentes économies étudiées en distinguant le commerce intra-zone et le commerce extra-zone euro, et nous présentons une analyse plus fine sur l'économie française grâce à l'utilisation du modèle emod.fr. Il ressort des simulations qu'au sein de la zone euro, l'Espagne aurait le plus à gagner à la fois d'une dépréciation du taux de change de l'euro face aux autres monnaies, mais aussi d'une politique de désinflation compétitive.

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Pisaneschi Andrea

**Banca centrale europea, vigilanza bancaria e sovranità degli Stati
in Federalismi**, Anno XII - Nr 17

banking union, Single Resolution Mechanism

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Hylkema Jacqueline, Lamersb Han

**Between emblem and labyrinth: the many images of Europe in art, literature, and scholarship, 1500–1800
in European Review of History - Revue Européenne d'Histoire**, Volume 21, Issue 6 , pp. 787-797

No abstract available

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Clifton Judith

**Beyond Hollowing Out: Straitjacketing the State
in Political Quarterly** , Volume 85, Issue 4, October–December 2014 , 437–444

Abstract

For two decades, the metaphor of 'hollowing out' dominated discussions about the changing role of the state in delivering public services. Today, this metaphor no longer captures important contemporary developments. European Union policy has expanded deeper and deeper into public service sectors, increasingly constraining government's capacities to deliver these services. I suggest a new metaphor to capture this: straitjacketing the state. People are



straitjacketed when they are perceived to be at risk of damaging themselves through self-harm. Straitjacketing the state occurs when a state signs up to a new set of supranational rules which purportedly will help avoid it damaging itself, by restricting room for localised inefficient practices. However, due to the strength of the straitjacket, governments become significantly restricted in choosing policies for domestic implementation according to their preferences.

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Ivor ROBERTS

Brexit? No, grazie

in *Limes*, n.10

Nel Regno Unito s'intensifica il dibattito sull'assetto geopolitico interno e sull'eventuale uscita dall'Ue. Gli errori degli anni Cinquanta, da non ripetere oggi. I dilemmi di Cameron. Londra non può difendere i propri interessi in Europa senza svolgere un ruolo attivo a Bruxelles.

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Dermot Hodson and Imelda Maher

British Brinkmanship and Gaelic Games: EU Treaty Ratification in the UK and Ireland from a Two Level Game Perspective

in *British Journal of Politics & International Relations* , Volume 17, Issue 1 , 645–661

Viewed from the theory of two-level games, the European Union (EU) Act (2011) is a rare example of a government tying its hands in international diplomacy.

The UK government could find its hands more tightly bound than anticipated under the EU Act, inter alia, due to the enhanced role of the courts in EU treaty ratification.

The EU Act could convey bargaining advantages to the UK, but it could also encourage other EU member states to walk away from the negotiating table.

The risks posed by tighter ratification rules are borne out by Ireland's experience of EU treaty ratification since the Supreme Court ruling *Crotty v. An Taoiseach* (1987).

David Cameron's 'veto' of plans for a new EU treaty in December 2011 illustrates the difficulties of knowing ex ante when a referendum is required under the EU Act.

The European Union (EU) Act (2011) provides for greater parliamentary oversight and the possibility of a referendum before EU treaties can be ratified. This article explores the EU Act from a two-level game perspective, seeing it as a rare example of a government tying its hands in international diplomacy. That the UK government could find its hands more tightly bound than anticipated is suggested by Ireland's turbulent experience of treaty ratification in the light of *Crotty v. An Taoiseach* (1987), a landmark ruling by the Irish Supreme Court and an inspiration for the EU Act. This situation could, the theory of two-level games predicts, bolster the UK's bargaining position in Brussels, but it could also damage the country's credibility and encourage other member states to walk away from the negotiating table. This last point helps to shed some light on the UK's 'veto' of the Fiscal Compact in December 2011.

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Arjen Boin, Madalina Busuioc and Martijn Groenleer

Building European Union capacity to manage transboundary crises: Network or lead-agency model?
in *Regulation & Governance*, Volume 8, Issue 4, 418–436

In recent years, the European continent has witnessed a substantial number of “transboundary crises” – crises that cross geographical borders and affect multiple policy domains. Nation states find it hard to deal with such crises by themselves. International cooperation, thus, becomes increasingly important, but it is not clear what shape or form that cooperation should take. This article explores the growing role of the European Union (EU) in managing transboundary crises. More specifically, it reflects on the different ways in which the expanding contours of the EU's emerging crisis capacity can be organized. Using three “performative dimensions” – sense-making, coordination, and legitimacy – the article discusses the possible advantages and disadvantages of a decentralized, network model and compares it with a more centralized, lead-agency model. It concludes that the current network model is a logical outcome of the punctuated and fragmentary process through which EU crisis management capacities have been created. It also notes that the shortcomings of this model may necessitate elements of a lead-agency model. Such “agencification” of networks for transboundary crisis management may well lead to a hybrid model that is uniquely suited for the peculiar organizational and political creature that the EU is.

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Stiglitz Joseph E.

Can the Euro Be Saved? An Analysis of the Future of the Currency Union
in *Rivista di politica economica*, VII-IX 2014, 8-42

Following the Great Recession, eurozone countries have performed worse than even the currency union's most pessimistic critics had predicted. The paper identifies the strong fundamental flaws in the design of the eurozone and proposes a set of reforms, both in the structure of the eurozone and current policies, which might enable the euro to work. It traces the flaws to economic misconceptions prevalent at the time the euro was designed, some of which continue to predominate. Reform is likely less costly than allowing the euro to break up. The required political will, however, is not in evidence.

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Bernardi Alessandro

Cinque tappe nel processo di costituzionalizzazione dell'Unione europea. Note di un penalista
in *Rivista italiana di diritto pubblico comunitario*, n. 3-4, 551-602

No abstract available

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Iliopoulou-Penot Anastasia



Citoyenneté de l'Union, mobilité et intégration dans l'espace européen

in *Revue de l'OFCE*, N° 134, 2014/3 , 29 à 38

Même si elle est souvent présentée comme l'une des grandes réussites de l'intégration européenne, la mobilité des citoyens de l'Union au sein de l'espace européen connaît encore des difficultés. Celles-ci concernent les acteurs du marché intérieur que sont les travailleurs migrants, y compris les frontaliers. Leur accès aux droits sociaux rencontre aujourd'hui des résistances que l'on pouvait penser désormais dépassées. Quant aux citoyens économiquement inactifs, leur droit de séjour est menacé par des mesures d'expulsion prises souvent de manière automatique, pour défaut de ressources suffisantes. Plus généralement, nous constatons encore des efforts consistant à empêcher l'installation durable des citoyens migrants dans l'État d'accueil. Par ailleurs, une attention particulière est accordée à la mobilité étudiante, qui pose la question de l'accès aux études universitaires et celle de son financement. Enfin, le traitement de la population Rom vulnérable constitue un problème avec une incontestable dimension européenne, qui doit être traité dans les plus brefs délais.

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Peeters Marjan, Nóbrega Sandra

Climate Change-related Aarhus Conflicts: How Successful are Procedural Rights in EU Climate Law?

in *Review of European Community & International Environmental Law*, Volume 23, Issue 3, Special Issue: Trade and the Environment at WTO+20, November , 354-366

This article provides insights into the consequences of the Aarhus Convention in the field of European Union (EU) climate change law. It discusses climate change cases concerning environmental procedural rights that are decided by the Court of Justice of the EU and the Aarhus Convention Compliance Committee (ACCC). Regarding access to environmental information, cases reveal reluctance on the part of governments to provide climate-related information. Regarding public participation, the ACCC has illustrated that the EU Renewable Energy Directive falls short in light of the Aarhus Convention. Given the need to adopt even more stringent measures to reduce greenhouse gases, more case law is expected. A systematic analysis of case law will help us to understand to what extent EU climate policy complies with the Aarhus Convention. Such an analysis will also show what lessons can be learned from the Aarhus Convention for putting the procedural provisions of the UNFCCC into practice.

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Bendjaballah Selma, Novak Stéphanie, Rozenberg Olivier

Comment doutent les institutions Réformer la procédure législative de l'Union européenne

in *Revue de l'OFCE*, N° 134, 2014/3 , 39 à 51

Cette contribution vise à éclairer divers dysfonctionnements de la procédure législative de l'Union européenne : la baisse du nombre de décisions législatives, le haut niveau de consensus au Parlement européen, l'opacité du Conseil de l'UE, la généralisation des accords précoces de codécision et les droits gadgets accordés aux parlements nationaux. Ces différents phénomènes sont interprétés comme autant de symptômes d'une crise de confiance des différentes institutions européennes dans leur capacité à gouverner l'Union de façon efficace et légitime. Face à ce doute existentiel, nous suggérons différents mécanismes visant à garantir une meilleure publicité des conflits intra- et



interinstitutionnels.

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Antonin Céline, Blot Christophe, Creel Jérôme, Hubert Paul, Labondance Fabien, Touzé Vincent

Comment lutter contre la fragmentation du système bancaire de la zone euro?

in *Revue de l'OFCE*, N° 136, 2014/5, 171 à 219

Le système bancaire de la zone euro a été fortement touché par deux crises : celle des subprime puis celle des dettes souveraines. Il s'en est suivi un processus de fragmentation du système bancaire qui s'est traduit par des difficultés de financement pour les banques des pays en crise et par une hétérogénéité des conditions de financement – taux des prêts aux ménages et aux entreprises de la zone euro. Si la BCE est parvenue à éviter une crise systémique majeure, cette situation a perturbé la transmission de la politique monétaire au sein de la zone euro. Les mesures mises en œuvre par la BCE au cours de la crise visent donc à la fois à contrer les risques déflationnistes mais également à restaurer les canaux de transmission de la politique monétaire dans les pays en crise. Bien que la menace déflationniste soit encore prégnante, il semble que les politiques non-conventionnelles ont eu les effets indirects escomptés sur l'efficacité de l'instrument conventionnel de la politique monétaire. Il reste qu'à plus long terme, des mécanismes doivent être envisagés pour renforcer l'intégration financière et rompre le lien entre crise de dette souveraine et crise bancaire. C'est précisément l'objet de l'Union bancaire européenne qui attribue à la BCE de nouveaux pouvoirs en matière de supervision bancaire. Si beaucoup d'experts s'accordent à dire que l'Union bancaire est une grande avancée dans l'approfondissement de l'Europe, il n'en demeure pas moins que plusieurs zones d'ombre subsistent. Les progrès ainsi accomplis ne doivent pas faire oublier que la stabilité bancaire et financière n'est pas complètement assurée et qu'elle ne le sera pas tant que la fragmentation bancaire subsistera entre les pays du cœur et ceux de la périphérie de la zone euro.

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Ragaru Nadège

Commémorer et diviser en Europe LE 70e anniversaire du sauvetage et des déportations juives depuis les terres sous administration bulgare

in *Revue d'études comparatives Est-Ouest*, vol. 45, n. 3-4, Dossier: La fabrique européenne des politiques de réconciliation, 237 - 274

How do governments use EU legal standards and resources to deal with historical issues? This question is addressed by focusing on the controversy that sets at odds Bulgaria (an EU member state since 2007) and Macedonia (which has applied for EU membership) over the 70th anniversary of the events of March 1943, when Jews were deported from Macedonia but not from Bulgaria. In this controversy, the EU dimension, far from being autonomous, involves a variety of international stakeholders, including the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, the United Nations, private networks of "entrepreneurs of memory", the United States and Israel. Qualifications are placed on the hypothesis whereby, in new member states, the denunciation of the crimes of Communism competes with the institutionalization of commemorations of the Shoah, since some Bulgarian "entrepreneurs of memory" have stakes in both. The Bulgarian/Macedonia controversy surrounding the commemoration of the Shoah presents a situation wherein the appropriation of the past by EU institutions has paradoxically reinforced the claims by Bulgarian public officials to



legitimacy, to telling the historical truth, even as historians are trying to emancipate their discipline from its ancillary role at the nation-state's service.

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Niklasson Lars

**Competing Narratives on the European Social Model : the Birth of a Rhetorical Alliance
in Europe en formation (L'), n° 372, 2014/2 , 67-79**

The concept of a European Social Model is highly complex and controversial. Many attempts have been made to construct a winning coalition which could convince the member states of the EU to settle for a common social model implemented at the European level. There is now a new rhetorical figure being constructed in terms of a "social investment welfare state". Authors like Bruno Palier (France) and Joakim Palme (Sweden) argue that welfare should be seen as investments in a healthy population, i.e. to increase competitiveness. This concept may in fact be an attempt to align social democrats with conservatives of a mercantilists leaning, i.e. those who believe in a strong role for the state to develop the resources of the nation. The rhetorical coalition is seen more clearly if it is contrasted to another possible coalition, a coalition of social democrats and liberals, around the idea of providing support for individuals rather than firms.

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Torcol Sylvie

Concilier

in Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne, n. 582, octobre-novembre , 533-548

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Gaffard Jean-Luc, Nesta Lionel

Concurrence et innovation: un défi pour l'Union européenne

in Revue de l'OFCE, N° 134, 2014/3 , 249 à 257

Les divergences réelles de performances économiques entre les pays de la zone euro rendent nécessaire de définir une politique économique orientée vers la ré-industrialisation de certaines régions en Europe. Dans un monde caractérisé par l'irréversibilité des investissements et l'imperfection des informations de marché, les réformes structurelles devraient consister à établir un ensemble de mesures destinées à soutenir à la fois la concurrence et la



coopération entre les différents acteurs de l'innovation, et de permettre la réussite des stratégies des entreprises. Cela requiert de reconsidérer les politiques nationales et européennes de soutien à la croissance, c'est-à-dire, la politique industrielle, la politique de la concurrence, la politique du marché du travail, la politique régionale, la politique financière. Cependant, un changement du paysage industriel de l'Europe ne sera possible qu'à la condition qu'une nouvelle politique macroéconomique prévienne la destruction inappropriée de capacités productives.

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Martin Nettesheim

Confianza y "gobernanza" democrática. La confianza como presupuesto de legítima "gobernanza" democrática europea

in *Revista de Estudios Políticos* , N. 165 , 95-115

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Jacek Kugler, Ali Fisuno and Birol Yeşilada

Consequences of Reversing the European Union Integration

in *Foreign Policy Analysis*, Volume 11, Issue 1 , 45–67

Today, financial crisis once again threatens the unity among member states and future of the European Union. The magnitude of the problem is so grave that observers and analysts have concluded a big decision must be made regarding fiscal union (thus political union) to save EMU. "Is this really the end of the road for Eurozone?" Using Power Transition theory, our analysis shows that trust and relative political capabilities are essential to build a stable Union. While it is clear that the center of global politics is shifting away from Europe and the United States to the Asian giants—the transition from West to East can be effectively planned so that the future units are satisfied with each other rather than distrustful, dissatisfied, and contentious. The slowdown of integration is not simply a regional problem with serious consequences for the economic stability of Europe. Far more importantly, our analysis suggests that the process of integration that has reduced tensions within a region previously characterized by major wars may be declining and that this in and of itself could reset the stage not only for regional confrontations but increase the likelihood that global wars may once more be considered as means to solve disputes. The European Union cannot afford to move from the cooperative contest to a confrontational one where solutions are arrived at by force rather than reason. Therefore, the challenge for European leaders is to resolve the current crisis in the EMU and build upon it a reinvigorated union that once more provides a path for complete regional integration.

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Weber Bernd

Convergence at the borderline EU external energy governance towards the neighbouring gas suppliers Azerbaijan and Algeria

in *Politique européenne* , n. 46, 2014/4 , 142-169



The export of EU norms to regulate gas markets and transnational infrastructure has become the leitmotif of EU external energy policy in the neighbourhood. This article compares two least likely cases of EU external energy governance in this regard. It accounts for a varying degree of convergence with EU norms as the result of an unstable, open, and conflictual process. The analytical framework broadens the scope of existing studies by factoring in geopolitical and market-based constraints and influences, which often outweigh EU coercion. It is argued that EU external energy governance is more effective, if it is “decentred”.

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Pieter de Wilde, Asimina Michailidou and Hans-Jörg Trenz

Converging on euroscepticism: Online polity contestation during European Parliament elections
in *European Journal of Political Research*, Volume 53, Issue 4 , 766–783

Does the increasing politicisation of Europe signify a step towards the legitimisation of the Union? This could be the case if the increased public intensity of debate and polarisation of opinion brought about by politicisation do not fragment the audience and if arguments presented in public are sufficiently clear about the desired nature of the polity. To answer this question, the focus of this article is on dynamic contestation in the public sphere using original data of news platforms and political blogs in 12 EU Member States and transnational websites during the European Parliament election campaign of 2009. The results are, first, that diffuse eurosceptic evaluations dominate public debates despite large variation in the intensity of debate across Member States. Second, a majority of evaluations made, particularly those by citizens leaving comments online, are negative in all countries included in this study. A gap between elites and citizens persists, but it appears less pronounced than often proclaimed in the literature. And third, democracy is a primary concern in EU polity contestation, especially for those evaluating the EU negatively. Although little evidence is found of a fragmentation of audiences, the prominence of diffuse euroscepticism poses a major challenge to legitimisation of the Union.

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Rossolillo G.

Cooperazione rafforzata e Unione economica e monetaria: modelli di flessibilità a confronto
in *Rivista di diritto internazionale*, vol. XCVII, fascicolo 2 , 325-361

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Conti Gabriele

Costituzionalismo e democrazia dei partiti a livello europeo
in *Federalismi*, Anno XII - Nr 24

No abstract available



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Bücker Nicola, Kleiner Tuuli-Marja

Cues oder Performanz?

in *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Politikwissenschaft* , Volume 8, Issue 2 Supplement, November 2014 , 5-33

Abstract

Most studies on trust in the European Union claim that the latter is based mainly on citizens' national political trust, which is transferred to the European level. In our paper, we test the degree to which this cueing approach is more explanatory than the competing model of performance attributions. Using Eurobarometer data (2010), we demonstrate that both factors affect trust in the EU almost equally, with performance appearing slightly more influential than national cues. This result contradicts earlier studies as it shows that citizens not only perceive and rate the EU via their own national political system, but they also perceive and rate the EU directly as a political actor on its own.

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Inclusive versus exclusive: A cross-national comparison of the effects of subnational, national, and supranational identity

Curtis K. Amber

in *European Union Politics* , vol. 15, n. 4, December , 521-546

A superordinate identity reduces bias and facilitates intergroup cooperation. This suggests that getting European Union (EU) citizens to identify with Europe will decrease outgroup hostility. Is European identity thus a superordinate identity? Using Eurobarometer data, I determine which level of identification is the most inclusive for individuals' immigration attitudes. Those who feel European hold more favorable views toward immigrants—an effect that is amplified under conditions of cross-cutting cleavages and where country length of European Union membership is greatest. In contrast, strong national identity is associated with more negative immigration attitudes; regional identity has no effect. A subsequent test confirms that the benefits of identifying with Europe extend most strongly to immigrants of European Union origin, although positive effects are observed toward non-European Union migrants as well.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bronzini Giuseppe

Dai diritti alla politica (costituzionale): Verso una Res publica europea?

in *Questione giustizia*, Fascicolo 1

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 6. The European unification process

Damm Veit

Das „Europa der Arbeitnehmer“. Gewerkschaften, grenzübergreifende Arbeit und europäische Integration in den 1970er Jahren

in *Journal of European Integration History*, vol. 20, n. 1

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Davies Gareth

Democracy and Legitimacy in the Shadow of Purposive Competence

in *European law journal*, Volume 21, Issue 1 , 2–22

This article argues that the way EU competences are defined plays an important role in the social legitimacy problems of the EU. The fact that its powers are purposive compels the EU to privilege narrow functional goals and act in a highly focused way. This has the consequence that politics cannot be meaningful within the EU, since essential choices of direction are pre-empted. It also has the consequence that EU law is over-instrumental and lacks expressive qualities, alienating the public. Now that EU law is so broad, the same defects are being imposed increasingly on Member States. Without another form of conferred power, the legitimacy of the EU, and of law and government in Europe, will be increasingly undermined. The constitutional DNA, which has been a functional success for Europe, may also be its political nemesis.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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De Petris Andrea

Democratic Principle, EU Economic Policies and the German Federal Constitutional Court

in *Federalismi*, Anno XII - Nr 19

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Maccabiani Nadia

Democrazia rappresentativa e solidarietà nella governance economica europea

in *Federalismi*, Anno XII - Nr 19

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Anna Triandafyllidou and Angeliki Dimitriadi

Deterrence and Protection in the EU's Migration Policy

in *International Spectator (The)*, Vol. 49, No. 4

EU migration and asylum policy is facing tough challenges at the southern borders of the Union as migration and asylum pressures rise, fuelled by political instability and poverty in several regions of Asia and Africa. Current European border control practices create three spaces of control: externalised borders, through readmission and return agreements which enrol third countries in border control; the EU borders themselves through the work of Frontex and the development of a whole arsenal of technology tools for controlling mobility to and from the EU; and the Schengen area, whose regulations tend to reinforce deterrence at the borders through the Smart Border System. As a result, the EU's balancing act between irregular migration control and protection of refugees and human life clearly tips towards the former, even if it pays lip service to the latter. More options for mobility across the Mediterranean and more cooperation for growth are essential ingredients of a sustainable migration management policy on the EU's southern borders. In addition asylum management could benefit from EU level humanitarian visas issued at countries of origin.

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Joseph H.H. Weiler

Di nuovo sonnambuli? L'Europa e la fine della Pax americana (1914-2014)

in *Mulino (il)*, n.5 , 716-730

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Osterberg-Kaufmann Norma

Die Wahrnehmung zur Legitimität in der EU: Kongruenz oder Inkongruenz der politischen Kultur von Eliten und Bürgern?

in *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Politikwissenschaft* , Volume 8, Issue 2 Supplement, November 2014 , 143-176

Abstract

Key literature in EU legitimisation research indicates deep-rooted delegitimisation of the EU. While this perception has been validated empirically for elites, no data exists to support this thesis from the citizens' perspective. The following paper discusses how methodological deficits in survey research could be the cause of such common findings on EU legitimacy. Facing the limitations of pure qualitative or quantitative methods, the article presents the repertory grid, a mixed-methods approach, as an alternative method to measure attitudes and perceptions. By measuring citizens' understanding of legitimacy and how they perceive the legitimacy of the EU, the paper reveals new results on this topic and introduces the repertory grid method.

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Avdan Nazli

Do asylum recognition rates in Europe respond to transnational terrorism? The migration-security nexus revisited

in *European Union Politics* , vol. 15, n. 4, December , 445-471

Scholars assume that transnational terrorism has culminated in policy securitization with expansive restrictions on migration. I evaluate the impact of transnational terrorism on asylum recognition among European Union and Schengen member-states from 1980 until 2007. I unpack the impact of terrorism according to the location of incidents. The article illustrates that policy tightening is more pronounced when recipient states experience terrorism on their own soil or against their citizens. In contrast, measuring transnational terrorism as attacks worldwide mutes the impact of security concerns. The findings show that policy stringency is not directed against particular sources of terrorism and demonstrates that the humanitarian principles underpinning asylum recognition have not been eroded by terrorism. The article thus represents an important step in differentiating between channels of impact whereby transnational terror shapes policy outcomes.

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Fortin-Rittberger Jessica, Rittberger Berthold

Do electoral rules matter? Explaining national differences in women's representation in the European Parliament

in *European Union Politics* , vol. 15, n. 4, December , 496-520

The European Parliament (EP) has one of the highest proportions of women in its ranks, with over a third in 2009. Although previous research has pointed to the use of proportional representation (PR) in European elections as 'friendlier' to women, few have looked at differences in the types of PR rules in use in each country. In this article, we argue that the conventional wisdom according to which institutional design—the choice of electoral rules—should shape the composition of the EP does not hold, and suggest that the well-documented empirical connection between electoral rules and descriptive representation might in fact be an endogenous rather than a causal relationship.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Maulin Eric

Dobbiamo uscire dall'euro?

in *Diorama*, numero 321, 2014

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Javier Arregui and Robert Thomson

Domestic adjustment costs, interdependence and dissent in the Council of the European Union



in *European Journal of Political Research*, Volume 53, Issue 4 , 692–708

Liberal international relations theory posits that the behaviour of states is affected both by domestic interests and other states with which they are linked in significant patterns of interdependence. This article examines the relevance of this proposition to states' behaviour in the most powerful institution in the furthest reaching example of regional integration in the world today: the Council of the European Union. Compared to previous research, more detailed evidence is analysed in this article on the substance of the political debates that preceded Council votes. It is found that states' disagreement with both discretionary and nondiscretionary decision outcomes affects the likelihood that they dissent at the voting stage. Moreover, in line with the theory posited here, the behaviour of states' significant trading partners has a particularly marked effect on the likelihood that they will dissent.

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Benoist Alain de

Dopo le elezioni europee

in *Diorama*, numero 320, 2014

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Perez de Leon Cesar Garcia

Dynamiques de blocage dans le processus décisionnel de l'UE Comment réformer la procédure de codécision

in *Revue de l'OFCE*, N° 134, 2014/3 , 53 à 64

La question de la durée du processus décisionnel préoccupe depuis longtemps les praticiens et les chercheurs de l'UE. En effet, si des actes législatifs sont fréquemment adoptés au sein de l'UE, les longues négociations souvent nécessaires pour voter un texte important entraînent des dynamiques de blocage qui remettent en cause l'efficacité de la procédure législative. Afin d'accélérer les prises de décision, les institutions européennes ont de plus en plus recours à des accords précoces, passés dans le cadre de la procédure de codécision. Cette pratique a toutefois montré ses limites s'agissant de limiter les retards. Il apparaît probable que les institutions négocient des accords précoces sous l'influence des règles qui régissent le temps de débat pour l'ensemble de la procédure de codécision. Cette contribution traite de ces règles et vise à analyser le problème des blocages législatifs. Elle montre que la paralysie législative intervient principalement en conséquence du comportement stratégique adopté par des coalitions au sein du Conseil, dans l'optique de contrôler l'agenda politique. Elle indique en outre qu'un tel comportement limite considérablement la capacité du Parlement européen à procéder à un examen significatif de la législation. Afin d'améliorer l'efficacité et de rétablir l'équilibre inter institutionnel, des réformes des règles régissant l'utilisation du temps de débat dans le cadre de la codécision sont recommandées.

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Maura Adshead



EU cohesion policy and multi-level governance outcomes in Ireland: How sustainable is Europeanization?
in *European Urban and Regional Studies*, vol. 21, no. 4 , 416-431

This paper presents a study of the Irish experience of EU cohesion policy, with a view to exploring what the Irish case can tell us about the conditionality of state's adaptation to EU policy values and practice. Using Bache's (2008) framework for the analysis of Europeanization, Multi-Level Governance and Cohesion policy, the paper finds that Europeanization has resulted in a reorientation of domestic policies, practices and preferences in the Irish case, but the consequence has been the creation of Multi-Level Governance Type II not I (Börzel and Risse, 2003). The governance changes that have occurred have been ad hoc and messy, and central government's response to them has been short-termist and financially expedient. This raises concerns about the sustainability of knowledge transfer impacts from Irish Multi-Level Governance and partnership projects within the formal system of Irish government. More generally, it suggests that if the desired impacts of EU Cohesion policy are to be sustainable in the longer-term, more attention needs to be given to effectively measuring and explaining EU policy influence, so that we might begin to understand how it can be supported and sustained in a variety of state contexts.

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Marcin Dębrowski

EU cohesion policy, horizontal partnership and the patterns of sub-national governance: Insights from Central and Eastern Europe

in *European Urban and Regional Studies*, vol. 21, no. 4 , 364-383

This article draws on the concept of Europeanization to assess the EU cohesion policy's capacity to promote inclusive regional governance and cooperation in regional development initiatives in Central and Eastern European countries. EU cohesion policy is often credited with improving cooperation and coordination in the delivery of the regional development policy through the application of multi-level governance enshrined in the partnership principle. By imposing a close partnership among a variety of actors, cohesion policy has the capacity to alter domestic relations between the centre and the periphery, and to create a broader scope for regional and bottom-up involvement in economic development policy. However, a lack of tradition of decentralization and collaborative policy-making, as well as a limited capacity of sub-national actors, can result in uneven outcomes of the application of the partnership principle across countries and regions. This raises questions about the transferability of the partnership approach to new Member States characterized by weak sub-national institutions, a legacy of centralized policy-making and limited civic involvement. This paper addresses this issue by comparing horizontal partnership arrangements put in place for the purpose of cohesion policy implementation and examining their impacts on the patterns of sub-national governance. The horizontal partnership arrangements are compared across three regions in countries with differentiated systems of territorial administration: Poland, the Czech Republic and Hungary.

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Giuseppe Martinico

EU crisis and constitutional mutations: a review article

in *Revista de Estudios Políticos* , N. 165 , 247-280



No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Geoffrey Pridham

EU/Ukraine Relations and the Crisis with Russia, 2013-14: A Turning Point
in *International Spectator (The)*, Vol. 49, No. 4

The European Union has a unique opportunity to develop a positive strategy towards Ukraine. A pro-EU government is now in power in Kyiv, there is a revived civil society pressing for democratic reforms and the actions by Russia have both reinforced Ukraine's pro-West line and led to the priority given Moscow being questioned by some member states. It is therefore essential to grant Ukraine a membership perspective to strengthen this trend and encourage Kyiv to confront and overcome the basic problems that face the country.

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Tielens J., van Aarle B., Van Hove J.

Effects of Eurobonds: A stochastic sovereign debt sustainability analysis for Portugal, Ireland and Greece
in *Journal of Macroeconomics*, Volume 42, December 2014 , 156-173

This paper assesses the impact of Eurobonds on sovereign debt dynamics for selected European member states (Greece, Ireland and Portugal). For each member state, we produce sovereign debt fan charts of (i) a baseline scenario (no Eurobonds) and (ii) a Full-Fledged Eurobond introduction. The key building blocks of our methodology are (i) a debt framework (which embeds the traditional recursive debt equation), (ii) a vector autoregressive model to take into account and parametrise macroeconomic uncertainty and (iii) a fiscal reaction function. Conditional on the absence of moral hazard, we find Eurobonds to be a good instrument to absorb macroeconomic shocks and to diminish uncertainty over future debt forecasts; for Ireland and Portugal, we find debt to be 20 percentage points lower than under our baseline scenario, by 2020.

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Nestler Christian, Rohgalf Jan

Eine deutsche Angst – Erfolgreiche Parteien rechts von der Union
in *Zeitschrift für Politik*, Jahrgang 61, Heft 4, 2014

A German Angst – Successful parties to the right of the Union? AfD and the opportunity structures for right-wing Parties

Summary

With the CDU orienting towards the centre, with the Euro-crisis and the uniform reaction of the parties represented in the Bundestag to the latter, a representational gap opened within Germany's party system. The rise of the Euro-sceptic Alternative für Deutschland in the spring of 2013 supports the thesis that this gap provides the opportunity for a successful (right-wing) populist party, hitherto deemed next to impossible in Germany. This paper examines the



opportunity structure which the party faces, also taking into account the discursive level. Compared to the institutional, political and cultural level, actors can exert a relatively strong influence on public discourse.

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Delledonne Giacomo

Elezione del Parlamento europeo e politicizzazione dell'Unione di nuovo al vaglio del Bundesverfassungsgericht

in **Quaderni Costituzionali**, numero 4 , 690-693

Germany, German constitutional court,

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Cartabia Marta

Elezioni europee 2014: questa volta è diverso

in **Quaderni Costituzionali**, numero 3 , 715-718,

No abstract available

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Labbate Silvio

Energy and transatlantic relations: The attempts to establish a European energy policy on the eve of the 1973 oil crisis

in **Journal of European Integration History**, vol. 20, n. 1

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Strunz Sebastian, Gawel Erik, Lehmann Paul, Ribera Teresa, Rüdinger Andreas, Boscheck Ralf, Egenhofer Christian, de Jong Jacques

Energy policy: European, national, regional?

in **Intereconomics**, Volume 49, Issue 5, September 2014 , 244-267

When it comes to energy policy, EU countries go their own way with little regard for other member states. What strategies exist in the EU Commission to coordinate and integrate energy markets? Are these strategies consistent with national plans currently in action? Is it too late to establish a unified energy policy? What can be achieved in a unified energy policy given the considerable differences in resource endowment and political preferences in energy strategies? Can the effectiveness of EU energy policy objectives be enhanced through policy coordination at the regional scale?



This Forum seeks to provide answers to these questions.

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Onofri Paolo, Tsenova Tsvetomira

Engine for European growth and stability

in *Revue de l'OFCE*, N° 132, 2014/1 , 101-109

The groundbreaking of the original building yard for the European Monetary Union (EMU) dates back to 1970 with the Werner Plan envisaging the gradual introduction of a single currency in member states of the European Union. The dollar and oil crises of 1971-1973 imposed a suspension to the construction process of almost ten years, followed by another decade of "learning by trial and error" within the...

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Ida Musiałkowska,

Enlargements of the European Union

in *Cuadernos europeos de Deusto*, n. 50 , 141

The European Union (EU) has been transforming and evolving throughout the years of its operating. The two processes of deepening and enlarging have had an impact on each other. Since the very beginning the EU has experienced enlargements but one in particular, in the opinion of many scholars, has influenced the organization the most. The enlargement in 2004 by an additional 10 Member States (initially prepared for 12 members) forced the Union to undertake reforms of its treaties and institutions, including the way of decision-making; it also redirected budgetary transfers and impacted on the functioning of the EU's internal market by expanding its geographical scale and increasing the number of enterprises and consumers that joined it; finally, it gave the EU a new political and geopolitical position. The main aim of the article is to analyze the economic development of the Member States (and especially) the new Member States—herein after referred to as NMS) of this particular enlargement and the EU. The methods of analysis are based on secondary data analysis and the author's own research related to e.g. regional policy-making.

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Antonio López Castillo

Entre europeización y germanización. De la mutante jurisprudencia de apertura del tribunal Constitucional Federal Alemán en perspectiva

in *Revista de Estudios Políticos* , N. 165 , 117-139

No abstract available

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Suni Paavo, Vihriälä Vesa

Euro – How big a difference Finland and Sweden in search of macro stability

in *Revue de l'OFCE*, N° 132, 2014/1 , 269-286

The different monetary regime choices of two strikingly similar economies Finland and Sweden have created a particularly interesting testing ground for the benefits of the EMU. We assess the effects of the regime choice by simulating the behaviour of the Swedish economy with National Institute's Global Econometric Model (NiGEM) on the assumption that Sweden had joined the EMU in 1999. The simulation exercise suggests that the independent monetary regime reduced the impact of the global shock on Sweden, but cannot explain the growth gap between Sweden and Finland since 2012. Our results suggest that the different choices with regard to the EMU have not affected the macroeconomic outcomes very much.

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Steinbrecher Markus, Bytze Evelyn

Europa in der Krise? Vorwort zum Sonderheft 5 der Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Politikwissenschaft

in *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Politikwissenschaft* , Volume 8, Issue 2 Supplement, November 2014 , 1-4

The full text is free:

<http://link.springer.com/journal/12286/8/2/suppl/page/1>

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Maulin Eric

Europa mercato o Europa potenza?

in *Diorama*, numero 321, 2014

No abstract available

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Verhofstadt Guy

Europe Needs to Renew its Vows for Federal Union

in *Federalist Debate (The)*, Year XXVI, n. 3, November

Euro-sceptics are shamelessly exploiting the current economic crisis to misrepresent and undermine the European Union, its history, its institutions, its goals and its working methods. Like a marital union, the EU requires constant attention, support and belief that it can work in difficult as well as good times or else it risks separation and divorce. It is time now for a renewal of vows; to recommit to a federal union that is more stable, more efficient and more accountable.



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Ristori Dominique

Europe de l'énergie : un rêve qui devient réalité

in *Politique internationale*, n. 144 - Ete, 2014

Entretien avec Dominique RISTORI conduit par la rédaction de Politique Internationale

Politique Internationale - Si vous deviez résumer l'histoire des réseaux énergétiques en Europe, quelles grandes dates charnières retiendriez-vous ? Michel Derdevet - Difficile à dire, car cette histoire est à la fois riche et complexe. Riche, parce que beaucoup de temps s'est écoulé depuis les premières lignes électriques ou les premières canalisations de gaz, construites entre les États européens dans la première moitié du XXe siècle ; et complexe, parce que les nombreux défis, aussi bien techniques qu'économiques, liés à leur fonctionnement sont loin d'être complètement relevés. [...]

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Leinen Jo

Europe's Road to Democracy

in *Federalist Debate (The)*, XXVII, Number 3, November 2014

The EU Commission President is no longer chosen in backroom deals. However, this is only a first step. A commentary. Despite some negative predictions and heavy attacks of some heads of state and government, the European party families were successful with their project to nominate top-candidates for the office of Commission President before the European elections. In the end nobody could sensibly contest the right of Jean-Claude Juncker – the candidate of the victorious European People's Party (EPP) – to lead the new European Commission. Even the threats of British Prime Minister David Cameron, who warned that a decision for Juncker might accelerate the exit of the United Kingdom from the European Union, could not hamper Juncker's nomination. Instead, Cameron had to accept a historic defeat in the European Council. For the very first time the European Council did not decide by consensus on a question related to the European Union's leadership. Cameron and the Hungarian Viktor Orbán – not really a role-model democrat – were simply outvoted by the other 26 Member States. [...]

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Alber Elisabeth

European Federal Trends and Prospects in an Era of Crises

in *Federalist Debate (The)*, XXVII, Number 2, July 2014

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Nepelski Daniel, De Prato Giuditta

European ICT Poles of Excellence



in *Intereconomics*, Volume 49, Issue 6, November 2014 , 324-331

The European Commission is trying to increase the EU's competitiveness by building on its assets, particularly its many ICT industrial clusters. The Commission is seeking to strengthen the role of European ICT poles of excellence (EIPes). But where are EIPes and what are their characteristics? This paper reports the results of a project that casts more light on the geography of European ICT activity and indicates the key ICT locations in Europe. The project results show that excellence is scarce and is built on solid foundations in science and technology and industrial activity. We discuss the challenges to the EU's ambition to nurture five additional EIPes within the next few years and present policies which could strengthen the position of existing EIPes and improve the performance of potential candidates so that they play a stronger role in European ICT activity.

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Ian Klinke

European Integration Studies and the European Union's Eastern Gaze

in *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, 43 (2) , 567-583

European integration studies has recently seen the first signs of a belated critical turn. While new approaches have started to challenge the way the European Union is conventionally studied, they are yet to investigate in detail the relationship between the academic field and its primary object of study. This article draws on work in critical geopolitics to explore one of the interfaces of academic knowledge on European integration and the world of policy: the Jean Monnet Programme. In highlighting the scheme's role in the EU's Eastern geopolitics, it argues that European integration studies resembles other forms of area studies, such as cold war era Sovietology. This comparison elucidates both the field's long-standing resilience to critical theory and its inability to anticipate the recent crisis of the European project.

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Eydoux Anne, Math Antoine, Périvier Hélène

European labour markets in times of crisis A gender perspective

in *Revue de l'OFCE*, N° 133, 2014/2 , 7-14

The crisis that began in 2008 has hit European countries diversely, causing economic and labour market disequilibria of more or less magnitude. As with past global crises, the current one has gendered implications. While women's employment is said to have been preserved relative to men's in the early stage of a recession, austerity plans implemented in several countries to limit public deficits and...

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Bréchon Pierre

European values and their degree of political polarization

in *Politique européenne* , n. 45, 2014/3 , 26-59



Based on the analysis of the European Values Studies (from 1990 to 2008), this article first shows that the values are rarely consensual. In many areas, they are still remaining rather contrasted but not extremely polarized, what the distribution of the individuals on the left right scale, studied for the whole of the European Union and for each country, already indicates. The paper then shows that main traditional political conflicts – identified by Rokkan – are today quite weakened. New conflicts and more generally the main themes of public debate do not appear to give rise to a strong polarization of values between rightist and leftist people.

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FitzGibbon John

**Euroscepticism and the 2014 European Parliamentary Elections
in Europe en formation (L'), n° 373, 2014/3 , 29-44**

The outcome of the 2014 European Parliamentary (EP) election is widely perceived to have been a victory for Euroscepticism and those political actors who want their country to withdraw from EU membership. The media narrative has focused in particular on the success of the hard Eurosceptic (Szczerbiak & Taggart: 2004) UKIP in Britain and the Front National (FN) in France who emerged as the largest parties in their respective countries EP election vote. This article argues, however, that this specific narrative draws too nuanced a conclusion from the outcome of the elections. It emphasises that the overlooked outcome of the election was the differentiated nature of Euroscepticism that emerged across the EU. By examining several case studies—Ireland, France, Greece, Poland, Spain and the UK—it shows that the nature of opposition to European integration expressed by the parties who ‘won’ the EP elections in each state, varied to a significant degree. To view such outcomes through the prism of the ‘withdrawalist’ FN and UKIP is to exclude the emergence of opponents of European integration whose challenge is based on critiques of the policies employed at the EU level to deal with the European economic and financial crisis. The article concludes by framing the emergence of this Euroscepticism in the context of the catastrophic impact of the crisis on the European economy, and how it is not just understandable but perhaps even muted given the devastation wrought by the crisis.

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Ivaldi Gilles

**Euroscepticisme, populisme, droites radicales : état des forces et enjeux européens
in Europe en formation (L'), n° 373, 2014/3 , 7-28**

The 2014 European elections have shown a clear rise in support for Eurosceptic parties. Euroscepticism is however a heterogeneous phenomenon combining ‘soft’ mainstream Euro-realism with ‘hard’ types of opposition to European integration, as revealed in particular in the competitive positions taken by populist radical right parties. These parties have mobilized both on national anti-incumbent protest fed by popular discontent with the economic crisis, and on growing dissatisfaction with the EU, in particular in West European member states. European issues were central to the radical right’s programmatic supply composing a mix of economically protectionist and anti-immigration policies, together with a strong criticism of austerity and EU bailout plans, which helped those parties consolidate electoral support among



the lower social strata. Analyzing their performances across the EU shows a great deal of variation however, which attests to the political fragmentation of the populist radical right party family, accounting also for their failure to build stable transnational alliances.

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Passarelli Francesco, Villafranca Antonio

Eurozone Flaws: Uncovering the Holes in the Cheese

in *Rivista di politica economica*, VII-IX 2014

The paper describes the politico-economic context in which the crisis took place, presenting a theoretical framework able to capture the complex dynamics of the politico-economic bargains occurring between OCA countries in general and among Eurozone members in particular. We then proceed to review the rules EU policymakers adopted in their quest for an orderly conclusion to the crisis, taking stock of progress done towards deeper political and economic integration. We conclude by advancing a potential solution to make the Eurozone recovery more sustainable, all the while decreasing the likelihood and impact of future crises.

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Calamia Pietro

Evoluzione politica delle istituzioni europee

in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, Vol. 81, n. 3, luglio-settembre , 331-334

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Peter J. Verovšek

Expanding Europe through Memory: The Shifting Content of the Ever-Salient Past

in *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, 43 (2) , 531-550

Collective memories of war and suffering have been crucial to the development of European integration since 1945. My basic thesis is that remembrance has also played an important role in the accession of new states to the organization that has come to be known as the European Union (EU). As the EU has expanded into new regions of Europe, particularly the post-dictatorial south and the post-communist east, continental institutions and existing member-states have been confronted by conflicting understandings of the past. Although the past has continued to push states towards membership in the EU, the nature of these remembered experiences has changed through the various rounds of expansion. In addition to tracing the role that memory has played in the widening of Europe, I argue that these confrontations have sparked important debates about the meaning of the past for Europe today.



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Barron Andrew, Hultén Peter

Exploring corporate lobbyists' perceptions of prospective coalition partners in Brussels

in Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy, Volume 32, Issue 6, December , 963-981

Using original data from a survey conducted in 2012, we apply theoretical insights from the literature on strategic alliances to explore Brussels-based corporate lobbyists' perceptions of prospective political partners. We find these perceptions to be driven primarily by strategic considerations. We also uncover instances where the size and nationality of respondents' firms influence their partner evaluations. Surprisingly, we find little evidence that respondents' assessments of lobbying partners are shaped by EU institutional arrangements. Whilst extant literature suggests information and relationships are important preconditions for successful EU lobbying, we expose the specific circumstances when seeking access to these—and other political resources—that can influence corporate lobbyists' perceptions of their partners. Combined, our findings respond to a concern that scholars of interest coalitions focus on why firms lobby in coalitions whilst overlooking how they select their lobbying partners.

Full text available online.

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González Francisco Jorge Rodríguez

Exploring the Constitutional Possibilities for a European Social Model. Some Common Constitutional Traditions between Liberalism and Social Intervention

in Europe en formation (L'), n° 372, 2014/2 , 122-151

The European Social Model (ESM) is a rather vague concept, generally used for defining a certain combination between social concerns and the need for economic improvement and efficiency. This vagueness implies a weak conceptualisation, which influences perceptions about the current socio-economic juncture and the European integration. This article is aimed to identify specific contents for the conceptualisation of the European model, which are found in a number of common principles or values contained in the European constitutions. It is also aimed to explore the dynamic between the liberal and social protection elements that constitute a common starting point for a comparative assessment. A process of convergence of constitutional principles is found, based on the constitutional migration of certain concepts at different historical moments. The induction of common categories from these concepts allows for the consideration of potential European common denominators, such as the duality between the free market and its limitations related to social concerns.

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Tulmets Elsa

Exporting “Soft Norms” in the External Relations of the European Union: One or Several Models?

in Politique européenne , n. 46, 2014/4 , 34-58

This article shortly reviews the literature on the circulation of norms in the context of accession to the European Union (EU) and European neighbourhood policy (ENP) in order to show that debates on transfer in other disciplines of social



sciences can fruitfully nurture those on norm exportation in international relations and in the EU foreign policy in particular. The example of differentiated interpretations and translations of the “soft norm” of “good governance” in the field of institutional reforms shows that it is necessary to combine difference concepts in order to detail more precisely ongoing processes in relation to the eastern neighbourhood.

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Volpi Rémy

Federal Europe Now?

in **Federalist Debate (The)**, XXVII, Number 3, November 2014

No abstract available

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Spinelli Barbara, Padoan Daniela, Viale Guido

For a European Strategy in the Field of Migration and Asylum

in **Federalist Debate (The)**, XXVII, Number 3, November 2014

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Toulemon Robert

For an Open European Federal Core

in **Federalist Debate (The)**, Year XXVII, n. 1, March

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Helled Alon

French Populism and Anti-Europeanism: the Two Souls of the République

in **Federalist Debate (The)**, XXVII, Number 3, November 2014

No abstract available

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Valentiner Mark, Poli Eleonora



From Albertini to Anti-Europeanism: Shades of Euroscepticism in Italy
in *Europe en formation (L')*, n° 373, 2014/3 , 66-78

Euroscepticism is far from being a new phenomenon and largely predates the outbreak of the financial crisis. Indeed, the disturbing detachment between European citizens and European Union (EU) institutions has been a central issue of the European public debate over the last two decades, in which popular and government support for European integration has steadily decreased among the majority of Member States (MS). Initially however, Italy rather stood out as it followed an opposite trend within the European growing eurosceptic panorama. Inspired by the likes of Italian pro-European federalists such as Mario Albertini or Altiero Spinelli, Italy was considered to be one of the most pro-European Member States in the Union. Yet, the Great Recession and the euro area sovereign debt crisis resulted in the rise of new anti-establishment and anti-European movements all around the MS, including Italy. To date, with only 34 per cent of the Italians still trusting the European institutions, Italian pro-Europeanism à la Albertini suddenly seems at stake.

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Joris Larik

From Speciality to a Constitutional Sense of Purpose: The Changing Role of the Objectives of the European Union

in *International and Comparative Law Quarterly*, vol. 63, issue 4 , 935-962

After the Lisbon Treaty, the objectives of the European Union are more numerous and ambitious than ever. But what is their importance and function within the 'thickening' legal order of the EU? Combining insights from both the law of international organizations and comparative constitutional law, the article traces the diverging role of objectives for, on the one hand, a traditional international organization marked by the principle of 'speciality' and, on the other, a maturing legal order increasingly exhibiting 'constitutional' traits. It argues that in the case of the EU, objectives and competences have developed into two related but distinct norm categories. While objectives serve to bolster arguments to shape such powers, they no longer represent a rationale in their own right for founding competences. The EU no longer justifies its existence solely by striving for a particular set of goals. Rather, these norms represent an entrenched duty to pursue these objectives through the actors, structures and procedures available, regardless of the Union's ultimate form (finalité). Today, the EU stands for certain values and has been endowed with powers, the exercise of which is guided by promoting these various aspects of the 'common good'.

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Asya Zhelyazkova

From selective integration into selective implementation: The link between differentiated integration and conformity with EU laws

in *European Journal of Political Research*, Volume 53, Issue 4 , 727-746



In recent years, the topic of differentiated integration in the European Union has become increasingly discussed in both political science research and politics in general. Whereas differentiated integration is viewed as necessary for deeper cooperation, recent findings suggest that it increases the gulf between participants and non-participants, making it difficult for non-participating countries to join in later negotiations. However, there is a lack of theoretical and empirical work regarding the relationship between different levels of participation in the EU and national policy outcomes. This article addresses this question by comparing the policy outcomes in fully participating, selectively participating (opting-in) and non-participating (opting-out) EU Member States relative to EU legislation. The findings show that selective participation (opting-in) increases state conformity with EU laws relative to no integration at all (opting-out), but it does not completely bridge the gap between fully integrated Member States and non-participants. The results suggest that countries with flexible arrangements are generally less likely to implement EU laws than full participants, even when they choose to legally commit to the EU requirements. This finding raises some further questions about the rationale behind selective participation and its consequences for policy conformity, if its application expands to other policy areas and more Member States in the future.

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Guerrieri Sandro

From the Hague Congress to the Council of Europe: hopes, achievements and disappointments in the parliamentary way to European integration (1948–51)

in Parliaments, Estates & Representation, Volume 34, Issue 2 , pp. 216-227

This article examines the commitment of many parliamentarians from Western countries after the Second World War in favour of European integration and the role played by the first European representative assembly, the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe, from its foundation in 1949 to the resignation of its first president, Paul-Henri Spaak, in 1951. The Hague Congress of May 1948 proposed the creation of an assembly elected by national parliaments which was to be the core of an integration process. The Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe, established by the Treaty of London of 5 May 1949, was far from satisfying the promoters of a parliament-led Europe, as the Committee of Ministers was the main decision-making body of the new international organization. The members of the Consultative Assembly (many of whom were leading political figures such as Winston Churchill, Harold Macmillan, Guy Mollet, Georges Bidault, Eamon de Valera, Ugo La Malfa and Ferruccio Parri) made an important contribution, however, to creating a supranational forum of discussion, and the Assembly's proposals led to the Convention on Human Rights, signed in November 1950, and to other European conventions. However, the Assembly was unable to share a common vision about the institutional perspectives of European integration. This article examines how the debate about the political structure of Europe was influenced by national traditions.

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Calligaro Oriane

From 'European cultural heritage' to 'cultural diversity'? The changing core values of European cultural policy in *Politique européenne* , n. 45, 2014/3 , 60-85

This article analyses the discursive shift in the EU cultural policy from culture-based identity to value-based citizenship. While the promotion of European cultural heritage proposed to embody the values of European integration and



highlighted specific cultural references, intercultural dialogue is a procedural tool based on shared European values – also presented as universal. Therefore intercultural dialogue represents a departure from an ontological approach to European identity and culture. Promotion of cultural expressions is not abandoned but the concept of European cultural heritage lost its pivotal role in EU cultural policy to give way to a supposedly more inclusive frame.

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Se vince il Brexit l'Europa ci guadagna

Giuseppe SACCO

in *Limes*, n.10

L'esito non risolutivo del referendum scozzese apre la strada a un voto sull'Ue gravido di incognite. Il meccanismo del 'contentino' per indurre i britannici a votare No non funzionerà. Ma se Londra rompe con Bruxelles, l'Unione ne uscirà più coesa.

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Aldo Ligustro

Gli effetti delle elezioni del 2014 sulla governance europea dell'economia

in *Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo*, no. 3 , XXI-XXV

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Ó Beacháin Donnacha, Coene Frederik

Go West: Georgia's European identity and its role in domestic politics and foreign policy objectives

in *Nationalities Papers*, Volume 42, Issue 6, 2014 , 923-941

Abstract

This article sheds light on the Euro-Atlantic discourse in Georgia by situating it in a wider frame. It provides an analysis of its Euro-Atlantic orientation by presenting it as a continuation of past efforts to involve European powers in Georgian affairs and highlights changing trends in this aspect of contemporary foreign policy. Far from determining whether or not the Georgians are European, the different arguments that have been used to support Georgian "Europeanness" are evaluated to assess its role in the national identity construction process. Focusing primarily on the United National Movement government led by Mikheil Saakashvili, we demonstrate how the Euro-Atlantic discourse has been employed domestically by the political elite as a legitimacy management strategy and explore its function in seeking Western patronage, a key foreign policy goal.

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Milward Alan S.

Governance in a Global Environment

in *Journal of European Integration History*, vol. 20, n. 1

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Hickel Rudolf

Griechenland vor der Wende?

in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, Februar, 2015 , 13-16

Alle Versuche von außen, auch durch die deutsche Bundesregierung, auf das Wahlverhalten der Griechen Einfluss auszuüben, dürften wenig gefruchtet haben. Denn schon beim dreimal gescheiterten Anlauf zur Wahl eines neuen Präsidenten ließ sich die griechische Bevölkerung nicht von ihrer Abrechnung mit den etablierten Parteien abbringen. Der anhaltende Zuspruch für das Linksbündnis um die Syriza-Partei mit ihrem charismatischen Vorsitzenden Alexis Tsipras ist daher im Ergebnis nichts anderes als Ausdruck des Widerstands gegen die bisherigen Eliten und ihre Akzeptanz der exogen verordneten Schrumpfpolitik.

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Wiese Thomas

Growth and life satisfaction in the Euro zone

in *Acta Oeconomica*, Volume 64, Number 4/December 2014 , 511-524

Recent studies indicate a paradox: rising income has not led to increases in long-term levels of life satisfaction. Therefore, the hypothesis that citizens adapt to the growth of GDP is tested. This paper analyses empirically the relationship between a deviation in the trend of seasonally adjusted GDP growth and life satisfaction in Euro zone member countries based on data from the European Commission's Eurobarometer report. This approach is new to the literature and it enables us to detect medium-term adaptation effects on growth rates. This adds a new way of tackling the question of why economic prosperity has had little or no influence on life satisfaction levels. We found that country-wide differences in the relationship of trend GDP growth and life satisfaction exist. Portugal, Italy, Greece, and Spain showed a significantly positive relationship. For other euro member countries, the hypothesis does not hold. This suggests that two different groups exist and if everything else is held constant, economic growth strategies should vary.

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Thea Dukes and Herman Van der Wusten

Hesitant Europeanisation: two decades of practice in two city governments

in *Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie (Journal of Economic & Social Geography)* , Volume 105, Issue 5, December , 630-635



Like many other cities in Europe, from the early 1990s, Amsterdam and The Hague have over time intensified their EU engagement. In both cities there has been a switch from a view on Europe as problem solver, threat or duty, towards Europe as a means of profiling and identity building, as reflected in a change from passive towards active behaviour vis-à-vis Europe. Whereas European activities initially were rather a formal practice, they have finally been put on the local political agendas. At the same time, this process of Europeanisation seems to fare under the aegis of a wider process of internationalisation. The basic driving force is not aimed at Europe at all.

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Dodo Mahamat

Historical Evolution of the Social Dimension of the European Integration : Issues and Future Prospects of the European Social Model

in Europe en formation (L'), n° 372, 2014/2 , 51-66

This paper attempts to show the evolution of the European social policy and its contribution to the European integration process. The paper introduces the historical perspectives on social dimension of European integration from the Treaty of Rome to the existing Treaty of Lisbon. It covers the main European Social Policies and their objectives and shows how the Union's member States have never had a uniform view of how to go about establishing the social dimension of the European integration. The paper introduces key changes of the European social policies under the Treaty of Lisbon and assesses the impacts of the post-2009 euro crisis on the social dimension of the Community. It concludes by presenting the challenges that the Union's social policies face in this time of crisis and concluding with further research questions on the future of the EU social model.

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Sabatino Alfonso

How Should the EU Intervene in the Ukrainian Crisis?

in Federalist Debate (The), Year XXVII, n. 1, March

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Viren Matti

How different are the fiscal policy effects? Assessing the importance of cyclical situation, policy coordination, composition of policy measures and country-specific features

in Revue de l'OFCE, N° 132, 2014/1 , 135-157

It is well-known that estimates of fiscal policy effects differ a lot. In this paper we try get some idea of the magnitude of these differences and the underlying reasons for these differences. In the European Monetary Union we face wide cross-country differences in fiscal institutions and 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 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. Still, cross-country differences seem to dominate these average features of the results.

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Tulmets Elsa

**How to analyse the exportation of norms outside the European Union: an eclectic approach
in *Politique européenne* , n. 46, 2014/4 , 8-32**

This special issue proposes to present and discuss the issue of the exportation of norms in international relations, in particular in the framework of the external policies of the European Union (EU). The notion of transfer has largely been used in sociology, public policy and comparative studies in order to describe the process of export of norms, policies and institutions. In the framework of European Studies, it has encountered some success though the work on Europeanisation of internal as well as external policies. In order to respond to criticism expressed against the concept of transfer, the eclectic approach adopted here proposes to let open the question of the choice of the concepts from the "policy transfer studies" depending on four factors: the nature of the norms exported, the nature of the policies, the motivations of the actors – who are seldom only European institutions, but also national actors, international organizations, non-governmental actors – and the role of their interactions.

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Dratwa Jim

**How values come to matter at the European Commission Ethical experimentations of Europe
in *Politique européenne* , n. 45, 2014/3 , 86-121**

How do values affect the workings of the European Commission? This paper examines a particular instantiation of that question by studying the institutionalisation of ethics at the European Commission. Building on the literature on ethical expertise in policymaking, which has critically underscored the 'democratisation' and the 'instrumentalisation' of ethical expertise, this paper scrutinises a further set of transformative effects. Mobilising studies of expertise as well as of politicisation and of morality policies, while considering specific cases in the field, it evidences the features and challenges of the 'ethics lattice' within the European Commission also extending to other bodies.

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Aleksandra Sojka, Rafael Vázquez

Identidad europea en el sur de Europa: un análisis comparado de las percepciones de las élites y opinión pública en España y Portugal

in *Revista española de ciencia política*, Número 36



En el actual contexto de creciente politización del proceso de integración europea, que ha puesto de relieve la importancia de las identidades políticas, el presente trabajo trata la cuestión de la identidad europea en el sur de Europa. Valiéndonos de los datos del Proyecto IntUne, analizamos los componentes afectivos y cognitivos que conforman la identidad europea y contrastamos la validez de los distintos modelos explicativos para el caso de las élites y la opinión pública en España y Portugal. Los resultados confirman un mayor grado de identificación con Europa entre las élites españolas y portuguesas, en comparación con la opinión pública. Asimismo, se ratifica que la movilización cognitiva constituye el factor clave para la identificación europea entre las élites mientras que para la opinión pública lo son las consideraciones utilitaristas. Por último, corroboramos a través de nuestro trabajo cómo la identidad nacional y europea resultan complementarias en un sentido de retroalimentación positiva tanto entre la población como entre las élites españolas y portuguesas.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Caravita Beniamino

Il federalizing process europeo

in *Federalismi*, Anno XII - Nr 17

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Pesce Celeste

Il principio dell'effetto utile e la tutela dei diritti nella giurisprudenza dell'Unione

in *Studi sull'integrazione europea*, Anno IX, n. 2, maggio-agosto , 359-376

The present article deals with the so-called 'teleological' approach used by the Court of Justice of the European Union. The ECJ combines the teleological interpretation of EU law with a construction of that law grounded on a comparative law method, so that the objectives pursued by the EU are aligned with those set out in member States Constitutions, thereby creating a 'common constitutional space'. The paper examines the effect utile in the case-law concerning the individual rights, with specific regard to the free movement of persons.

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Peroni Giulio

Il trattato sull'unione monetaria latina del 1865, un monito per la moneta unica

in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, Vol. 81, n. 3, luglio-settembre , 367-376

No abstract available

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Niklas Helwig and Carolin Rüger

In Search of a Role for the High Representative: The Legacy of Catherine Ashton
in *International Spectator (The)*, Vol. 49, No. 4

When Catherine Ashton took up office as High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy (HR), she met with high expectations - and much disappointment. As the first incumbent of the remodelled position, she had the chance to leave a legacy for her successor, but faced an unclear job description. What was the HR's role in EU foreign policy? It is argued that the HR acted as a diplomat and manager of EU external action, while her role performance in co-leadership and brokering were less successful. Role expectations and performance entered a fragile equilibrium at the end of Ashton's tenure. However, the future role of the HR might shift more towards a co-leader of EU foreign policy.

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William Chalmers Adam

In over their heads: Public consultation, administrative capacity and legislative duration in the European Union
in *European Union Politics*, vol. 15, n. 4, December, 595-613

What effect do online public consultations have on legislative duration in the European Union? While scholars are divided on whether consultations speed things up or slow things down, they agree that consultations affect how decision-makers think about legislative proposals. I argue that this is only part of the story: the impact of consultations on legislation duration is also a function of the administrative capacity of decision-makers and their staff to process consultation submissions. I test this argument using a unique data set of over 750 legislative proposals in the period 2009–2013. I find that consultations tend to have a negative impact on the time it takes to pass legislation. However, this negative effect is less pronounced when decision-makers have sufficient administrative capacity to process submissions.

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Kyriakopoulos Irene

In the Name of the Euro: What Have the EU's Policies Achieved in Greece?
in *Intereconomics*, Volume 49, Issue 6, November 2014, 332-338

This paper reviews the novel policy measures developed by the EU to deal with insolvent member states and assesses their impact on Greece's political economy. Greece represents a major test case as a recipient of two bailout loans plus debt relief from private creditors. The paper examines the degree to which EU policies have been successful, evaluates the challenges that remain after four years of reforms and traces their implications for the future of European integration.

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Wøien Hansen Vibeke

Incomplete information and bargaining in the EU: An explanation of first-reading non-agreements



in *European Union Politics* , vol. 15, n. 4, December , 472-495

According to the logic of standard veto bargaining models with complete information, bargaining in the European Union should never reach the second reading of the ordinary legislative procedure (co-decision). Even so, non-agreement at the first reading occurs frequently in European Union decision making. How can this be explained? Drawing upon game theory on bargaining with incomplete information, two specific predictions with regard to the occurrence of first-reading non-agreements can be generated. First-reading agreements are less likely to occur (1) the greater the distance between the ideal point of the Council and the ideal point of the European Parliament and (2) the greater the salience attached to the proposal. This article combines positional and proposal-specific data and finds robust support for both hypotheses in two different empirical tests.

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Noutcheva Gergana

Institutional Governance of European Neighbourhood Policy in the Wake of the Arab Spring

in *Journal of European Integration*, vol. 37, n. 1, Special issue: "Responses to the "Arabellions": The EU in Comparative Perspective" , 19-36

This paper analyses the goals and instruments of the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) before and after the Arab Spring, and enquires why there has been little substantive change in the European Union's (EU's) approach to the neighbourhood, notwithstanding the acknowledged opportunity for democratic change and the EU's stated willingness to contribute to it. It argues that the institutional governance of the ENP has largely conditioned the EU's response to the historic changes in the neighbourhood. The EU's actorness has been tamed by the underlying differences among EU member states and this has particularly played out in policy areas where the EU institutions have less freedom to act on behalf of the Union. Overall, the EU has asserted itself as neither a strategic actor nor a normative power, but rather as a bystander, trapped in its internal institutional process and passively reacting to crisis events by proposing long-term solutions with little short-term impact.

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Beyers Jan, Donas Tom

Inter-regional networks in Brussels: Analyzing the information exchanges among regional offices

in *European Union Politics* , vol. 15, n. 4, December , 547-571

What triggers the information exchange among the regional offices in Brussels? To answer this question, we develop a framework based on network theory and present the first large-N quantitative study on European Union-level inter-regional networks. Our results show that information exchanges take place predominantly among regions from the same member state. Furthermore, the likelihood of regular information exchanges between two regional offices depends on the resources invested in regional representation, the joint involvement in inter-regional associations, and geographical proximity. In contrast to our expectations, our findings refute the hypotheses that more regional autonomy and more experience in Brussels increase the propensity toward cross-border inter-regional networking, a practice that might potentially contribute to the fragmentation of member state representation.



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Plugaru Rodica

International actors and power of transfer: the case of international organizations and private firms in the hospital modernization in Ukraine and Moldova

in *Politique européenne* , n. 46, 2014/4 , 60-85

In this article, I explore the role of international organizations and private firms in the process of policy transfer, taking the case of hospital design modernization in Ukraine and Moldova. I argue that international organizations are more powerful than private practices in transferring their experience: while the first can exert coercion, the second need to “sell” their hospital model. My results show that the World Bank use coercive pressure all along the Moldavian project, while in Ukraine, the private firms use commercial strategies to transfer their hospital model. Nevertheless, the economic actors are also capable of using coercive pressures, in case all the other “soft” strategies are unsuccessful.

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Borrell Josep

Is a Federal Europe Possible?

in *Federalist Debate (The)*, XXVII, Number 3, November 2014

First of all, thank you very much for the invitation to participate in this International Seminar in Ventotene, the prison-island where Spinelli, Rossi and Colorni wrote their famous Manifesto. I have been active in Spanish and European politics for over 30 years. Back in 1998-1999, when I was the nominee of the Spanish Worker’s Socialist Party for prime minister, I said that I was in favour of a Federal Spain in a Federal Europe. Well, it did not go down too well among some Party insiders, including the former prime minister Felipe Gonzalez, who told me that federalism was disliked in both European Union (EU) and Spain. [...]

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Clift Ben, Ryner Magnus

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 2014 , 136-163

This 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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Theißen Kai

Krisenperzeption und Unterstützung der Europäischen Union

in *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Politikwissenschaft* , Volume 8, Issue 2 Supplement, November 2014 , 79-100

Abstract

This paper focuses on how European citizens perceive the recent debt crisis and the European Union's crisis performance, and how this perception influences the level of support for the EU. The way in which EU citizens perceive the crisis differs among EU member states. These differences can be explained by economic and fiscal factors. Multi-level analyses illustrate that crisis perceptions influence support for the EU. However, the influence of crisis perceptions should not be exaggerated. Support for the EU also depends on levels of trust in EU institutions as well as on identity issues.

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Schell Toni Sebastian

Krisenzeichen in Krisenzeiten?

in *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Politikwissenschaft* , Volume 8, Issue 2 Supplement, November 2014 , 35-54

Abstract

This article analyses two dimensions of attitudes towards the EU: an instrumental and a strengthening dimension. The focus is mainly on the economic attitudes and developments before and at the start of the euro crisis, and how these attitudes and developments affect both dimensions. The results are based primarily on multilevel models, using Eurobarometer data and country-specific context factors. Contrary to expectations, results show no increasing influence of economic factors. Only net contribution to the EU budget proves to be a significant predictor of instrumental attitudes towards the EU.

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Benoist Alain de

L'Europa potrà farsi solo contro gli Stati Uniti

in **Diorama**, numero 320, 2014

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Deschaux-Dutard Delphine, Nivet Bastien

L'Union européenne et ses dépenses militaires : mise en danger ou hyper soft power?

in **Revue internationale et stratégique**, 2014/4 (n° 96) , 77 à 85

« La crise et ses contraintes budgétaires n'ont fait qu'amplifier le désarmement de l'Europe. Tous ensemble, les Européens ne dépensent plus que 18 % des crédits militaires mondiaux, contre 30 % il y a dix ans. Le monde, dans le même temps, a accru ses efforts de 65 % jusqu'à 1 750 milliards de dollars. L'Europe ne dépense qu'un tiers de ce que l'Amérique consacre à sa défense ; les pays émergents...

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Castaldo Massimo

L'Unione europea e la questione tedesca

in **Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali**, Vol. 81, n. 2, aprile-giugno , 169-187

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Verderame Giovanbattista

L'attualità del sogno dell'integrazione europea e la crisi del consenso

in **Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali**, Vol. 81, n. 2, aprile-giugno , 189-203

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Dussoy Gérard

L'audacia di uno Stato federale europeo

in **Diorama**, numero 322, settembre-dicembre 2014

No abstract available



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Pierre Delvolvé

L'autonomie constitutionnelle des Etats dans les droits européens

in *Revue française de droit constitutionnel*, n. 100 , 887-906

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

De Pasquale Patrizia

L'economia sociale di mercato nell'Unione europea

in *Studi sull'integrazione europea*, Anno IX, n. 2, maggio-agosto , 265-278

With the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty and the new wording of Art. 3, para. 3, the social market economy has had a particular meaning for the sustainable development of Europe. This was regarded as a useful way to overcome the economic and financial crisis and to rekindle confidence in the process of European integration. So, the choices of economic policy are increasingly oriented in a 'social' perspective, promoting certain social rights and environmental protection, necessary to correct the imbalances caused by a system based only on efficiency.

After a brief introduction to the economic theory, the paper focuses on two guidelines of social economy: social rights and environmental protection. Special attention is devoted to implication of the new relationship, no longer in opposition, between social rights and the market, between environmental protection and competition rules, and to the transposition in the legislation of the new paradigm.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Jean-Denis Mouton

L'identité constitutionnelle, un concept pertinent au regard du droit international?

in *Revue générale de droit international publique*, vol. 118, no. 3 , 501-515

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Maitrot de la Motte Alexandre

L'impôt européen Enjeux juridiques et politiques

in *Revue de l'OFCE*, N° 134, 2014/3 , 149 à 160

L'impôt européen n'existe pas encore. Pour que ce mythe devienne une réalité, il faudrait, dans une perspective juridique et politique, que l'Union européenne soit dotée d'une compétence fiscale lui permettant de créer à son profit un



prélèvement fiscal, dont les contribuables – à l'encontre desquels elle exercerait son pouvoir fiscal – seraient soit les citoyens de l'Union européenne, soit les entreprises ayant leur siège social dans l'Union européenne ou y exerçant une activité économique. En contrepartie de cet impôt dont la nécessité est fonction du degré d'intégration de l'Union européenne attendu (marché intérieur, fédération), un mécanisme européen de consentement démocratique de l'impôt devrait impérativement être instauré. Par ailleurs, il faudrait que la base imposable de l'impôt créé soit choisie avec la plus grande précaution, et ce en fonction des objectifs fixés (rendement financier, sentiment d'appartenance politique des contribuables européens et adjonction d'une dimension fiscale à la citoyenneté européenne).

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Platon Sébastien

L'invocabilité horizontale des normes de droit de l'Union européenne: un pas sur place, un pas en avant, deux pas en arrière - (CJE, grande chambre, 15 janv. 2014, aff. C-176/12)

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 584, janvier , 33-40

In the Association pour la médiation social ruling dated January 15, 2014, the Grand Chamber of the Court of Justice provided several clarifications on the horizontal effect of the European Union law. After confirming the lack of horizontal effects of directives, it clearly asserted the effects of fundamental rights, thus clarifying an unclear case law. But at the same time, it limits that horizontal effect to only those rights that have direct effects, thus depriving of litigation effectiveness a significant fraction of social provisions of the Charter of fundamental rights.

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Juncker Jean-Claude

LES PRIORITES DE L'EUROPE

in *Politique internationale*, n. 144 - Ete, 2014

Entretien avec Jean-Claude Juncker conduit par Baudouin BOLLAERT

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Chaltiel Florence

La Commission Juncker

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 582, octobre-novembre , 521-523

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Martino L.



La Fanfare en Europe, un exemple des relations internationales de loisirs dans la deuxième moitié du xxe siècle
in *Bulletin de l'Institut Pierre Renouvin*, n. 40, Automne , 15-29

Plan de l'article

Une institutionnalisation des relations entre fanfares européennes ?
Des échanges informels au cœur de la fanfare
La circulation des répertoires

<http://www.cairn.info/revue-bulletin-de-l-institut-pierre-renouvin-2014-2-page-15.htm>

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Velilla Philippe

La PAC et l'accord de Bali

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 584, janvier , 51-53

The Bali Agreement concluded the Doha cycle, but the final passing of the text is disputed. In any case, that minimum Agreement does not deal with the problems resulting from the place taken by emerging countries in international agricultural trade. Its consequences on the common agricultural policy (CAP) seem less important than those of the bilateral agreements that are being negotiated and that could upheave exchanges and change the quality rules set up by the European law maker.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Igor Filibi

La Unión Europea veinte años después de Maastricht: hitos y retos

in *Cuadernos europeos de Deusto*, n. 50 , 19-50

This article evaluates the main outcomes and shortcomings of the European integration process since Maastricht. Some of the main achievements to be pointed out are the old goal of achieving peace in the continent —a true structural peace—, the political Union, and the constitutional treaty. But there have been important shortcomings as well, such as some sort of democratic deficit, and other challenges like the accommodation of regions and nations without state, the debate on the European social model, or the way of reforming the Union in the future. It is said that a new Convention, with an improved participation and representation, is much needed in order to reattach citizens to the European enterprise.

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Streho Imola

La bonne administration dans l'Union européenne Vers une culture de service pour les institutions



européennes

in *Revue de l'OFCE*, N° 134, 2014/3, 75 à 88

La confiance dans les institutions européennes est au plus bas alors que les institutions n'ont jamais été aussi transparentes, ouvertes, prêtes à dialoguer avec leurs « administrés européens ». Désormais le droit primaire de l'UE fait expressément référence à la bonne administration aussi bien dans les traités que dans la Charte des droits fondamentaux de l'UE (1). La place et les missions du Médiateur européen s'affirment également de façon constante dans le cadre institutionnel européen (2); un code européen de bonne conduite administrative formalise désormais les modalités des missions menées par les fonctionnaires européens (3) et une palette d'aide administrative a été mise en place au niveau de l'UE (4). Toutefois, le Parlement européen doit veiller au soutien constant des missions du Médiateur européen et aux recommandations formulées ci-dessous pour permettre des avancées concrètes en matière de bonne administration dans l'UE afin d'aboutir à terme à une confiance plus forte des citoyens « administrés » dans les institutions européennes.

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Luis Jimena Quesada

La consagración de los derechos fundamentales: de principios generales a texto fundacional de la Unión Europea

in *Cuadernos europeos de Deusto*, n. 50, 173-

The author argues that the formal recognition of fundamental rights as common foundations of the EU through the reference to the Charter of Fundamental Rights in the Lisbon Treaty (making that document legally binding and, therefore, elevating the Charter to the same legal value as the Treaties) has provided for more constitutional appearance to the EU, but not for a more generous level of protection and enjoyment of citizenship. Indeed, together with the noninclusion of specific guarantees, different unacceptable asymmetries have been introduced in the EU Charter, such as the breach of the principle of indivisibility (civil and social rights are not treated on an equal footing) or the presumed exclusion of different countries (Czech Republic, Poland and United Kingdom) from the applicability of the EU Charter. In this context, holding that the formulation of fundamental rights in the EU Charter cannot imply a narrower conception than that developed by the Court of Justice through its human rights jurisprudence (as a part of the general principles of Community law), the essay contains arguments to overcome these asymmetries by emphasizing the necessity of positive will in order to strengthen judicial dialogue on the basis of the EU Charter clauses which promote multilevel protection and favor libertatis principle. Finally, the author suggests that exploiting these synergies and taking into account other European human rights instruments will enhance the position of the Charter of Fundamental Rights even within the EU framework (e.g. against the austerity measures launched by the Troika) and, therefore, this will improve the efficiency and democratic legitimacy of the Union as well as the coherence of its action.

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Por Laura Gómez Urquijo

La consideración de la pobreza en la actual estrategia de coordinación y supervisión económica de la UE



in *Revista Electrónica de Estudios Internacionales*, Número 28,

Este artículo analiza los aspectos novedosos en el abordaje de la pobreza por parte de la Unión Europea tras la crisis financiera iniciada en 2008. Para ello se valoran los rasgos de la pobreza tal y cómo se manifiesta actualmente en la UE, prestando una especial atención a su relación con los objetivos del proceso de integración. Un aspecto de especial atención dentro de este último es la nueva gobernanza económica reforzada, a la que situamos como uno de los condicionantes de la actual pobreza. En este contexto se extraen las aportaciones de las iniciativas europeas desplegadas para hacer frente a la pobreza durante la crisis. El examen de en qué medida se concretan estas propuestas en la política de los Estados Miembros nos lleva a valorar la inclusión de indicadores de pobreza en el Semestre Europeo y la supervisión de las actuaciones de los gobiernos a través de este mecanismo.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Manuel Medina Guerrero

La constitucionalización de la regla del equilibrio presupuestario: integración europea, centralización estatal

in *Revista de Estudios Políticos*, N. 165, 189-210

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Mengozzi Paolo

La cooperazione giudiziaria europea e il principio fondamentale di tutela della dignità umana

in *Studi sull'integrazione europea*, Anno IX, n. 2, maggio-agosto, 225-235

This essay aims at verifying the impact of the principle of safeguarding human dignity on the judicial cooperation in criminal matters and, more particularly, on the application of the clause of optional non-execution of the European arrest warrant contained in the Council framework decision 2002/584/JHA on the European arrest warrant and the surrender procedures between Member States.

The Author begins by stressing that such a decision a) contains an optional non-execution clause in order to restrain the considerable limitation to the sovereignty of Member States deriving from the extension of the principle of mutual recognition to criminal matters and b) provides that a Member State, by accepting such clause, when requested, can apply it to its nationals or to residents on its territory with a view to facilitate their social rehabilitation when the sentence imposed on them expires. Furthermore, the Author remarks that, when the framework decision 2002/584 was adopted, one could consider that a Member State, by accepting such clause, as further limitation of its sovereignty, could decide to apply it only to its citizens.

With the Kozłowski judgment of 17th July 2008 and the Wolzenburg judgment of 6th October 2009, the Court of Justice started to give relevance to the principle safeguarding human dignity considering that a Member State should extend the application of the same clause also to other Union citizens, resident on its territory. With the binding value of the Charter of Fundamental Rights one can deem that the principle of safeguarding human dignity has transformed into a duty the faculty of Member States having accepted the clause of the optional non-execution of the European arrest warrant to refuse the surrender of a person when this latter is sufficiently integrated in its territory. In its Lopes judgment of 5th September 2012 the Court of Justice did not ground its reasoning on this idea because the case at issue could be



solved by applying the principle of non-discrimination on the basis of the nationality as it concerned the execution in France of a European arrest warrant issued by a Portuguese criminal court against a Portuguese citizen, i.e. a citizen of another Member State. However, in the next future, the Court of Justice will be obliged to take into account the idea that a Member State, because of the principle of safeguarding human dignity, should extend the application of the clause of the optional non-execution of the European arrest warrant also to cases concerning citizens of Third Countries.

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Filippo Donati

La crisi dell'Euro tra Corti costituzionali e Corte di giustizia

in *Federalismi*, Anno XII - Nr 17

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Pablo José Castillo Ortiz

La crisis y las transformaciones del Derecho público estatal y europeo vistas por la academia española

in *Revista de Estudios Políticos*, N. 165, 281-304

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Josu de Miguel Bárcena

La cuestión de la secesión en la Unión Europea: una visión constitucional

in *Revista de Estudios Políticos*, N. 165, 211-245

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Gratteri Andrea

La democrazia rappresentativa nelle forme e nei limiti delle Costituzioni europee

in *Studi sull'integrazione europea*, Anno IX, n. 2, maggio-agosto, 307-320

This essay deals with the forms of representative democracy in the Constitutions of the twenty-eight EU Member States and tries to identify who takes and how are taken the most important and general decisions. In particular the essay evaluates: the composition of the electorate and the way the people exercises its sovereignty; the basic rules of the electoral laws that periodically allow the election of a parliamentary assembly; the legitimation of constitutional institutions: not only Parliaments, but also Heads of State, Governments and – when operating – Constitutional Courts.



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Dero-Bugny Delphine

La dilution de la méthode communautaire et la diversification des pratiques intergouvernementales

in *Revue de l'OFCE*, N° 134, 2014/3 , 65 à 74

Le renforcement du Conseil européen et la multiplication d'accords internationaux entre les États membres semblent porter atteinte à la méthode communautaire. Cette diversification des pratiques intergouvernementales au sein de l'Union européenne ne conduit cependant pas nécessairement à une remise en cause de cette méthode. Le recours aux méthodes intergouvernementales est souvent temporaire et les domaines concernés ont généralement vocation à intégrer par la suite la méthode communautaire. L'intergouvernemental ne doit donc pas nécessairement être opposé au communautaire. Il peut même renforcer la méthode communautaire. Le développement et la diversification des méthodes intergouvernementales révèlent cependant la nécessité de renouveler cette méthode. Il faut repenser le rôle du Conseil européen et intégrer des procédures d'urgence permettant de réagir rapidement en cas de crise.

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Mayer Franz C.

La décision de la Court constitutionnelle fédérale allemande relativement au programme OMT

in *Revue Trimestrielle de droit européen*, n. 3 , 683-714

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Desportes Vincent

La défense sans l'Europe ?

in *Revue Défense Nationale*, n° 775, Décembre

Faut-il encore rêver « d'Europe de la défense » ou bien, au regard des réalités et repoussant cette vision à un horizon toujours plus glissant, faut-il, par simple esprit de responsabilité, reconstruire notre « défense sans l'Europe », en préservant d'abord ce qui reste de la nôtre ? Cette question est de moins en moins théorique.

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Le Bayon Sabine, Plane Mathieu, Riffart Christine, Sampognaro Raul

La dévaluation par les salaires dans la zone euro Un ajustement perdant-perdant

in *Revue de l'OFCE*, N° 136, 2014/5 , 255 à 291



Dans de nombreux pays européens, l'emploi s'est fortement réduit depuis le début de la crise, ce qui a pesé sur la dynamique des salaires et généré des pressions désinflationnistes. Ce mouvement a été favorisé par la mise en œuvre de réformes structurelles flexibilisant le marché du travail et l'adoption de mesures fiscales réduisant le coût du travail. Dans ce contexte de chômage élevé et d'écart de production important, le risque est grand de basculer dans une spirale déflationniste.

La normalisation des balances courantes via la réduction des salaires dans les pays avant-crise déficitaires, accentuée par les réformes engagées, n'apparaît pas être une stratégie pertinente dans une zone euro en crise. D'une part, cette réduction des CSU quasi-généralisée modifie peu in fine les CSU relatifs et donc la compétitivité relative des économies. Ainsi, les gains de parts de marché à l'exportation sont faibles et ne suffisent pas à compenser la faiblesse de la demande interne. D'autre part, les réformes structurelles visant à fluidifier le marché du travail risquent de fragiliser les plus jeunes et des moins diplômés sur le marché du travail (déjà les plus affectés par la hausse du chômage depuis 2008) tandis que les plus qualifiés et les plus expérimentés seront toujours favorisés, notamment par le maintien sur le marché de l'emploi. Ainsi, la segmentation du marché du travail entre d'une part les actifs les mieux intégrés et d'autre part, les actifs les plus exposés ne diminuerait pas et accroîtrait les inégalités si les protections sociales étaient réduites. Dans un contexte de besoin de désendettement, la neutralisation des mécanismes déflationnistes est donc cruciale pour éviter la hausse de la valeur réelle des dettes et des taux d'intérêt. Une coordination des politiques salariales au niveau européen semble essentielle. Si les pays affichant un excédent courant favorisaient une hausse des salaires supérieure à celle de leurs partenaires déficitaires, les coûts relatifs convergeraient. Ceci permettrait de réduire les déséquilibres courants entre pays de la zone euro, éviterait le risque de déflation, notamment dans les pays périphériques, et favoriserait la demande intérieure dans les pays en surplus.

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Clarich Marcello

La governance del Single Supervisory Mechanism e gli Stati membri non aderenti all'Euro
in *Federalismi*, Anno XII - Nr 17

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Picchi Marta

La legittimazione del processo di integrazione costituzionale europea alla luce delle strategie economico-finanziarie
in *Federalismi*, Anno XII - Nr 19

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Pongérard-Payet Hélène

La liberté de circulation des citoyens européens sédentaires à l'aune de la Charte post-Lisbonne



in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 583, décembre , 596-611

With a limited scope, the post-Lisbon Charter did not contribute much to the emerging of a criterion of the deprivation of the effective enjoyment of the main rights granted by the status of citizen of a Union, a criterion that is revolutionary in theory but with limited practical efficiency. Can it generate a new boost to the prohibition by Union law of reserve discriminations affecting sedentary citizens and their families? Why, when faced with such a situation, do domestic judges often have to apply article 8 §1 of the EDH Agreement, and not article 7 of the Charter? Should the status of European Citizen combined with the principle of non-discrimination not be enough, regardless of mobility, to link the situation to Union law and result in the application of the Charter and the end of such discrimination?

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Allemand Frédéric, Martucci Francesco

La légitimité démocratique de la gouvernance économique européenne : la mutation de la fonction parlementaire

in *Revue de l'OFCE*, N° 134, 2014/3 , 115 à 131

Le Traité de Lisbonne se présente comme « le traité des parlements ». Cependant, pour répondre à la crise financière et à la crise des dettes souveraines, les réformes de l'Union économique et monétaire accentuent le phénomène de relégation du Parlement européen et des parlements nationaux dans le processus décisionnel. En contrepartie, les parlements obtiennent des pouvoirs renforcés en matière de reddition des comptes. Le renforcement du principe démocratique dans l'UEM exige une implication accrue des parlements. Cela suppose notamment d'éviter le recours aux accords intergouvernementaux, d'organiser un comité zone euro au sein du Parlement européen et de tenir une Convention socio-économique tous les ans pour définir les grandes orientations des politiques de l'UEM.

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Sileoni Serena

La nuova procedura di nomina della Commissione europea

in *Quaderni Costituzionali*, numero 4 , 941-943,

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Boulangier Pierre, Messerlin Patrick

La politique commerciale européenne Entre recherche de stabilité politique et de croissance économique

in *Revue de l'OFCE*, N° 134, 2014/3 , 269 à 279

Cet article replace la politique commerciale européenne dans le cadre beaucoup plus vaste de l'intégration des marchés régionaux et internationaux. Si l'OMC est indiscutablement le meilleur forum pour négocier des objectifs quantifiables et assurer un règlement des différends, sa primauté en matière réglementaire est moins évidente. L'UE est engagée dans



la négociation de nombreux accords préférentiels de commerce et d'investissement, dont l'objectif diffère selon le pays ou la région partenaire. Ainsi cet article propose de distinguer une politique du « cercle proche » (pays voisins de l'UE) dominée par un objectif de stabilité politique et celle du « cercle large » (pays de niveau de développement comparable à celui de l'UE) dominée par un objectif de croissance économique.

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Roger Errera

La protection des droits fondamentaux, la démocratie et l'Etat de droit dans l'Union européenne: rapport sur la France

in *Revue trimestrielle des droits de l'homme*, no. 101 , 9-23

Le but de ce rapport est d'examiner la situation actuelle du droit français concernant l'Etat de droit et les droits fondamentaux. Il comprend trois parties: I. Le contenu de la notion d'Etat de droit. II. L'évolution récente du droit relatif aux libertés fondamentales. III. Les instruments du progrès du contrôle du respect des droits fondamentaux: du droit de l'Union et du droit international des droits de l'homme à l'estension de l'intervention et des pouvoirs des juges.

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Berramdane Abdelkhaleq

La responsabilité du fait de la violation des normes de l'Union européenne en matière de qualité de l'eau

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 584, janvier , 23-32

Water is a public service taking on fundamental importance for all Union citizens (2014/23/EU concession directive). Thus, more than thirty directives deal directly or indirectly with water quality standards. In that area within the scope of joint responsibility a law of the Union organises a double responsibility: responsibility of member countries in the event of a failure to such duties and responsibility of individual or legal entities, water service providers, company operators in the event of a breach of the rules relating to the quality of consumption water.

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Bessone Magali

La réconciliation par l'histoire en Bosnie-Herzégovine L'impossible réception d'un modèle multiculturel européen

in *Revue d'études comparatives Est-Ouest*, vol. 45, n. 3-4, Dossier: La fabrique européenne des politiques de réconciliation , 149 - 176

The reform of educational systems, in particular of the teaching of history, is deemed indispensable for attaining the broad goals of reconciliation. The history to be taught, as both the mold and reflection of shared cognitive representations about the nation's collective identity, should help consolidate peace and justify a distributive justice. Focusing on Bosnia-Herzegovina, this article draws attention to the conceptual and political ambiguity at the heart of the rewriting of the past by "transitologists". EU institutions have used a critical, "multiperspective" model derived, in



particular, from the history of French-German reconciliation after WW II, but it is not well adapted to the institutional reality in this Balkan land and thus fails to foster a joint national history.

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Quesnel Martin

La sanction des atteintes judiciaires aux droits garantis par l'Union européenne aux particuliers

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 582, octobre-novembre , 549-558

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Montuoro Umberto

La sorveglianza cibernetica di massa dei cittadini europei: l'Ue e il modello Us

in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, Vol. 81, n. 3, luglio-settembre , 397-416

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Meregalli Roberto

La strategia europea dell'energia

in *CNS Ecologia politica*, nuova serie, n. 5, agosto

Full text available at <http://www.ecologiapolitica.org/wordpress/?p=956>

and <http://www.martinbuber.eu/energia/documenti/Uenergia.pdf>

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Soldatos Panayotis

La valeur ajoutée de la mise en oeuvre réussie du nouveau mode d'élection du président de la Commission

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 582, octobre-novembre , 524-532

No abstract available

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Warin Thierry

La viabilité des modèles sociaux européens après la crise de 2008

in *Europe en formation (L')*, n° 372, 2014/2 , 99-121

The goal of this article is to draw an analysis of the viability of the European social models. In the aftermath of the 2008 crisis, European Union's member states have increase their public deficits and debts. Social spending - by definition the automatic stabilisers - have contributed to these increases. In a post-crisis context where it is question of returning to levels of deficits and debt within the European institutional framework, can social expenditure be reduced without calling into question the European social models ? Economic growth is the key to the viability of the social system. However, this means that Europe remains competitive in terms of costs and productivity and that the member states find some flexibility in their budgets. It is of the utmost importance since when a crisis occurs, it puts a lot of pressure on the system, and reveals its weaknesses.

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Guerrieri Sandro

Le Parlement communautaire en déplacement. La session de Rome de l'Assemblée commune de la CECA (5-9 novembre 1957)

in *Journal of European Integration History*, vol. 20, n. 1

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Pozzi Jérôme

Le RPR face au traité de Maastricht : divisions, recompositions et réminiscences autour de la dialectique souverainiste

in *Histoire@Politique. Politique, culture, société*, n°24, septembre - décembre

La question de la ratification du traité de Maastricht en 1992 provoque une véritable division de la famille gaulliste en deux camps, même si le clivage entre pro- et anti-maastrichtiens plonge ses racines dans une histoire plus lointaine du gaullisme. Le tandem Philippe Séguin/ Charles Pasqua va ranimer la flamme de l'indépendance nationale et de la souveraineté en se déclarant ouvertement hostile à une Europe fédérale. Les parlementaires du Rassemblement pour la République (RPR) se divisent sur la question référendaire et le camp du « non » rassemble des députés et des sénateurs de toutes les générations et aux itinéraires hétérogènes. Les attaques se concentrent principalement sur le projet de l'Union économique et monétaire (UEM), la crainte de la dérive technocratique et de la « menace » fédérale. Pourtant, la courte victoire du « oui » ne fait pas du tandem Séguin/Pasqua les vainqueurs de Jacques Chirac, c'est-à-dire d'un camp sur un autre. L'imperium du président du RPR n'est pas réellement remis en cause, puisque la famille doit se rassembler en vue des élections législatives de mars 1993. Tout compte fait, l'impact de Maastricht est plus important sur le long terme, dans la mesure où la campagne référendaire peut être considérée comme un tournant dans l'histoire de la droite parlementaire, que sur le court terme. Les positionnements passés face à Maastricht seraient devenus, au fil du temps, une ligne de démarcation politico-culturelle entre pro-européens et partisans d'une autre Europe, pour qui la souveraineté serait encore une borne-témoin.



“The political party RPR facing up to Maastricht treaty : divisions, reconstructions and reminiscences around the notion of sovereignty”

In 1992, the ratification of the Maastricht Treaty strongly divided the Gaullist family, even if that division took its roots in a much older Gaullist tradition.

The duo – composed of Philippe Séguin and Charles Pasqua – revived the flame for national independence and sovereignty by asserting their opposition to a federal Europe.

The RPR party’s MP disagreed with the treaty, and many deputies and senators opposed it, whatever their age, training, career and political background. They mainly objected to the Economic and monetary Union, the technocratic drift, and the federal “threat”. However, the short victory of the “yes” didn’t make Jacques Chirac weaker. Indeed, Jacques Chirac leadership over the RPR was never challenged because the party had to be united in order to win the 1993 general elections.

All in all, the impact of Maastricht is more important in its long-term than in its short-term consequences, since the referendum campaign can be regarded as a turning point in the history of the parliamentary right parties.

Actually, the Maastricht dispute became, as the days went by, a genuine political and cultural demarcation line between the pro-Europeans and the advocates of another vision of Europe, who still consider the notion of sovereignty as a reference.

<http://www.histoire-politique.fr/index.php?numero=24&rub=autres-articles&item=86>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Jeannot Anne

Le Traité de l'Élysée: quelle actualité pour la coopération franco-allemande?

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 584, janvier , 16-22

The Élysée Treaty signed on January 22, 1963 between France and Germany identified three preferred cooperation areas: international relations, defence, youth. Fifty years later, the relations allowed by the treaty which are necessary part of the framework of the European construction show a great success, except for the area of defence. Currently questioned in their leadership, France and Germany should however renovate their relationship by associating more the other member countries in their decisions and take the concrete measures specified by the 2020 agenda. The UEM deepening and the joint safety and defence project can then federate around France and Germany, all the partners of the Union and set up that future project that European citizens wish for.

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Calamia Pietro

Le elezioni del maggio 2014 in una prospettiva storica



in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, Vol. 81, n. 1, gennaio-marzo , 9-13

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Paolo Natale

Le elezioni europee 2014: un voto obliquo

in *Biblioteca della Libertà*, Anno XLIX, n. 210 , 5-18

Although voter turnout was down in many places and right-wing populists scored significant gains, the last European Parliament election couldn't be immediately judged comparing its results with the local ones. Because the meaning that citizens give to the two different types of arenas is peculiarly different, and their electoral behaviour is related to that meaning. The European contest is in fact more linked to the idea of a "free" vote, less decisive for the sort of the government, where one can experiment different choices, as the abstensionism, at least. While the rise of Euro-sceptic parties was spread all over the European countries, in Italy the outcomes signalled the wide victory of the Democratic Party, lead by the new Prime Minister Matteo Renzi, who succeeded in reaching the highest success, ever, of a left-wing political party

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Malaret i García Elisenda

Le malaise de la globalisation, la crise économique et les déséquilibres dans la structure des pouvoirs de décision. Por un constitutionnalisme économique européen ouver

in *Revue européenne de droit public*, Vol. 25, N. 1 , 183-231

This paper studies the impact of the economic crisis on public institutions and public law. It focuses on procedures and decision-making bodies. It examines this context in relation to specific models of the functioning of democracies. It is articulated along three axes: the relationship between different levels of power, the relationship between Parliament and government and the relationship between political bodies and technocratic organisations. The basic idea consists in showing how the emergence of norms has been dominated by the idea of reducing the ability of Member States and of political institutions in general, to frame their decisions without completing this operation through an attribution of decisional power to a European institution. This operation is thus incomplete as far as its usefulness in order for European political and economic integration to be reinforced is concerned, given that it limits the parties' decisional capacity without increasing the decisional capacity as a whole.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bassan F.

Le operazioni non convenzionali della BCE al vaglio della Corte costituzionale tedesca

in *Rivista di diritto internazionale*, vol. XCVII, fascicolo 2 , 361-393



No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Pliakos Astéris

Le premier renvoi préjudiciel de la Cour constitutionnelle allemande à la CJUE: un pas en avant, deux pas en arrière?

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 584, janvier , 41-50

Asked to check, inter alia, the constitutionality of the German's government omission to file a cancellation petition against the European Central Bank's decision relating to the purchase of sovereign bonds of some member countries of the euro zone, the German Constitutional Court (CCA) took one step forward by deciding for the first time to take prejudicial questions regarding the validity of the decision to the European Union Court of Justice. The fact remains that the way in which the constitutional court views its referral decision calls for comments or even criticism.

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Cornilleau Gérard

Le(s) marché(s) du travail européen(s)

in *Revue de l'OFCE*, N° 134, 2014/3 , 215 à 227

Depuis sa fondation, l'Union européenne a connu une accentuation de la dispersion de ses systèmes sociaux. L'objectif d'une Union sociale, complétant l'Union économique et monétaire s'éloigne de plus en plus. L'absence d'un marché du travail régulé en commun par les pays de l'Union est un facteur de déstabilisation qui pousse à la concurrence sociale et à la déflation salariale. Pour éviter les risques liés à une telle situation il faudrait trouver un accord sur les politiques à mettre en œuvre pour revenir au plein emploi et choisir entre partage du travail « libéral » ou « social ». L'absence de perspectives à court terme pour une unification sociale complète implique l'acceptation de frontières sociales gérées en commun qui permettent à la fois la mobilité et la protection effective des travailleurs.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

José Fernández Albertos

Lecciones de la crisis para el gobierno económico de Europa

in *Revista de Estudios Políticos* , N. 165 , 163-187

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Foret François, Littoz-Monnet Annabelle

Legitimation and regulation of and through values



in *Politique européenne* , n. 45, 2014/3 , 8-25

This issue analyses the extent, modalities and effects of the emergence of values in EU politics, policies and polity. A brief introduction presents the rise of values on the European political agenda; the different forms that these values can take; their strategic uses by actors; their effects as factors of conflict, cooperation or legitimisation; the political frameworks and processes designed to regulate them. Thematic articles discuss interactions between values and European public affairs under various angles, values as 'objects' of polarization in public opinion; framing of cultural or ethical policies, examined in the cases of abortion or stem cell research; internal management of values within the European Commission.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bonnard Pascal

Les conflits autour des minorités en Lettonie et la circulation des normes européennes Jeux d'échelles, ressources et contraintes

in *Revue d'études comparatives Est-Ouest*, vol. 45, n. 3-4, Dossier: La fabrique européenne des politiques de réconciliation , 275 - 301

Most academic writings on the effects of applying EU standards to minorities in Latvia merely analyze this process's legal aspects and only investigate the modifications made to legislation. Although European conditionality has contributed in Latvia to a liberalization in matters of citizenship and language, it has also had other consequences, in particular on the symbolic struggles of minority populations to define their status and position in the Latvian nation. Actions are namely increasingly taken at the European level and appeals are more often being made to courts. Groups and individuals nonetheless still target national institutions and pursue actions outside the formal judicial process.

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Bailleux Antoine

Les droits fondamentaux face à la crise

in *Revue de l'OFCE*, N° 134, 2014/3 , 89 à 100

La crise économique, sociale et identitaire que traverse actuellement l'Union européenne met à rude épreuve la protection des droits fondamentaux. On voit poindre une marginalisation de ceux-ci derrière des dossiers particulièrement brûlants tels que (1) le statut dérogatoire du Royaume-Uni, de la Pologne et – potentiellement – de la République tchèque par rapport à la Charte des droits fondamentaux ; (2) l'approfondissement de la coordination et de la gouvernance économiques ; (3) la négociation d'accords de libre-échange avec le Canada et les États-Unis ; (4) et la négociation du Protocole n°730; 15 portant amendement à la Convention européenne des Droits de l'Homme. Dans ce contexte qui leur est défavorable, il appartient au Parlement européen de veiller à ce que les droits fondamentaux continuent de servir de boussole et de cadre de référence aux politiques de l'Union.

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Saarilahti Ilkka

Les innovations des procédures budgétaires de l'Union européenne - Onzième partie: le budget de l'Union pour 2014 - La première année du nouveau cadre financier pluriannuel pour 2014-2020 - II. Le projet de budget pour 2014-2015

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 584, janvier , 54-64

The 2014 budget procedure is only the second budget procedure of the European Union (EU) during which the budget conciliation procedure introduced by the Lisbon treaty was successfully completed. That budget procedure was difficult, mainly because of the lack of available payment funds to be able to address all payment requests received by the Commission, but also due, inter alia, to uncertainties as to the date of the signing and to the contents of the Agreement regarding the new multi-annual financial framework for 2014-2020 (hereinafter the CSF), following the agreement in European council meeting dated February 7 and 8, 2013. Indeed the European Parliament (EP), the Council and the Commission did not reach - after lengthy negotiations - an Agreement on the Council regulations setting the CSF and on the new inter-institutional Agreement accompanying it before the end of 2013. The uncertainty not only prompted the Commission to postpone the date for introducing its budget bill (PB) for 2014, but also impacted the contents of the budget negotiation in 2013.

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Saarilahti Ilkka

Les innovations des procédures budgétaires de l'Union européenne. Onzième partie: le budget de l'Union pour 2014. La première année du nouveau cadre financier pluriannuel pour 2014-2020. L'environnement budgétaire en 2013

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 583, décembre , 632-640

The 2014 budget procedure is only the second budget procedure of the European Union (EU) during which the budget conciliation procedure introduced by the Lisbon treaty was successfully completed. That budget procedure was difficult, mainly because of the lack of available payment funds to be able to address all payment requests received by the Commission, but also due, inter alia, to uncertainties as to the date of the signing and to the contents of the Agreement regarding the new multi-annual financial framework for 2014-2020 (hereinafter the CSF), following the agreement in European council meeting dated February 7 and 8, 2013. Indeed the European Parliament (EP), the Council and the Commission did not reach - after lengthy negotiations - an Agreement on the Council regulations setting the CSF and on the new inter-institutional Agreement accompanying it before the end of 2013. The uncertainty not only prompted the Commission to postpone the date for introducing its budget bill (PB) for 2014, but also impacted the contents of the budget negotiation in 2013.

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Clément-Wilz Laure

Les mesures « anti-crise » et la transformation des compétences de l'Union en matière économique

in *Revue de l'OFCE*, N° 134, 2014/3 , 101 à 114

Les « mesures anti-crise » renforcent indéniablement l'implication de l'Union et de ses institutions, alors même que le



domaine de compétence reste a priori le même : discipline budgétaire d'un côté, coordination des politiques économiques de l'autre. L'ensemble de ces instruments englobe à la fois les politiques budgétaires et économiques nationales ; ces mesures consistent à un contrôle accru opéré par les institutions de l'Union sur les États, notamment les États de la zone euro. Deux types de coordination ont ainsi fusionné, l'un fondé sur un dispositif souple de surveillance multilatérale entre États chapoté par le Conseil et l'autre axé sur une surveillance plus rigide de la part de la Commission. La surveillance des grandes orientations en matière économique par la Commission et le Conseil est plus précise que par le passé, notamment avec le nouveau mécanisme de sanction quasi-automatique des États de la zone euro. La conditionnalité de l'aide financière alourdit encore un peu plus la pression sur les États. Il convient de renforcer la démocratisation de l'ensemble par un renforcement du rôle du Parlement européen et des parlements nationaux et de donner une base juridique claire aux nouvelles missions des institutions de l'Union.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Laurence Burgorgue-Larsen

Les origines de l'identité constitutionnelle

in *Revue générale de droit international publique*, vol. 118, no. 3, 483-499

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Basilien-Gainche Marie-Laure

Les politiques européennes d'immigration et d'asile Nécessité de changer l'approche

in *Revue de l'OFCE*, N° 134, 2014/3, 259 à 268

L'orientation adoptée par les politiques européennes d'immigration et d'asile est à renouveler. En effet, elle découle d'une erreur de diagnostic : contrairement à ce que les discours ambiants supposent, accueillir des ressortissants de pays tiers est non seulement financièrement soutenable, mais économiquement stratégique. Les mesures qui ont été prises s'avèrent dommageables : l'Union et ses États non seulement se sont privés de vecteurs de développement responsable, mais également se sont dépossédés de leur positionnement de référence en matière de protection des droits. Autrement dit, pour des raisons qui tiennent à une mauvaise gestion d'un dossier politiquement sensible, il est à déplorer une perte de compétitivité et de crédibilité de l'Union et de ses États. Un changement d'approche de l'asile et de l'immigration s'impose.

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Carlos Closa Montero

Los cambios institucionales en la gobernanza macroeconómica y fiscal de la UE: hacia una mutación constitucional europea

in *Revista de Estudios Políticos*, N. 165, 65-94

No abstract available



Section C) Regional integration processes

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Della Vedova Benedetto, Varricchio Armando

Luglio-dicembre 2014, l'Italia presidente di turno dell'Unione europea: problemi e prospettive

in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, Vol. 81, n. 2, aprile-giugno, 245-254

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Stefano Filippi

L'Esercito Europeo: un tentativo verso la Comunità Europea di Difesa

in *Informazioni della Difesa*, n.3, 52-63

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Deidda Beniamino

L'Europa unita: un sogno alla prova del voto

in *Questione giustizia*, Fascicolo 1

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Guigou Élisabeth

L'Europe sans défense ?

in *Revue Défense Nationale*, n° 774, Novembre

L'Europe de la défense reste un enjeu essentiel dans un monde où les crises stratégiques s'accroissent. La difficulté est l'absence actuelle d'un projet crédible et fédérateur pour une Europe en panne, voire déconsidérée par les Européens eux-mêmes. Toutefois, cela ne doit pas inciter au découragement. Bien au contraire, il faut redonner un sens à une Europe de la défense et préparer ainsi les conditions de sa sécurité.

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Duclos Nathalie



L'OSCE au Kosovo, une identité faible et une action entravée Le cas du service de police du Kosovo

in *Revue d'études comparatives Est-Ouest*, vol. 45, n. 3-4, Dossier: La fabrique européenne des politiques de réconciliation , 49 - 74

-The role of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) is analyzed in the framework of the UN Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK), the peace mission established in Kosovo in 1999. The OSCE Mission in Kosovo (OMIK) was asked to (re)establish institutions, including in the security sector through the creation of a new police force, the Kosovo Police Service. Although it tried to set up a democratic, multiethnic police force as part of the process of reconciliation, OMIK was a weak institution. Its actions were blurred, even impeded by UNMIK, which was concerned more with short-term pacification than with durable reconciliation. This article draws from interviews, OSCE archives, official documents, observations and field work carried out both in Kosovo and at OSCE headquarters in Vienna.

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Chopin Thierry

L'Union européenne : une démocratie sans territoire ?

in *Cité, philosophie, politique, histoire*, n° 60 , 159-167

L'Union européenne est la rencontre d'un « espace » – géographiquement mal défini – et d'un projet dont le sens n'est plus clairement perceptible aujourd'hui par ses citoyens. Cette indétermination s'accompagne d'un « conflit de vocations » entre deux visions antagonistes : d'une part, la vision d'une Union européenne qui devrait évoluer vers la constitution d'une Union politique basée sur une puissance...

Plan de l'article

L'Union européenne : « territoire » vs. « espaces »

L'« inconscience territoriale » de l'Union européenne

L'indétermination territoriale de l'UE et le problème démocratique européen

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Marzulli Gaetano

L'insostenibile leggerezza della costituzione europea di fronte alla crisi finanziaria.

in *Federalismi*, Anno XII - Nr 19

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Mérő Katalin

Macroprudential warnings in the Euro zone and Hungary

in *Acta Oeconomica*, Volume 64, Number 4/December 2014 , 397-417



During the present financial crisis, the focus of the regulation and supervision of financial institutions has shifted from being institution-based (microprudential) towards the systemic level (macroprudential). A special element of the macroprudential regulatory and supervisory toolkit is the issue of macroprudential warnings. Prior to the crisis, both the international and the domestic authorities issued warnings concerning the emergence of system-wide risks in the financial sector. However, these warnings did not result in significant changes in the behaviour of the banks, which were the main addressees of the warnings. The article analyses the practice and effectiveness of macroprudential warnings in relation to the European Central Bank and the competent Hungarian authorities. The subject matter is particularly topical, taking into account that one of the very first steps in changing the institutional framework of financial supervision, as a response to the financial crisis, has been the establishment of an institutional framework for issuing macroprudential warnings.

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Pelzer Marei

Massengrab Mittelmeer: Die Abschottung der EU

in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, Januar, 2015 , 13-16

The full text is free:

<https://www.blaetter.de/archiv/jahrgaenge/2015/januar/massengrab-mittelmeer-die-abschottung-der-eu>

Unmittelbar nach der Katastrophe vor Lampedusa am 3. Oktober 2013, bei der an einem einzigen Tag 366 Flüchtlinge starben, war die Betroffenheit groß. Papst Franziskus nannte den Tod so vieler Menschen schlichtweg eine Schande für Europa. Und der Präsident des Europäischen Parlamentes, Martin Schulz, forderte damals: „Lampedusa muss ein Wendepunkt für die europäische Flüchtlingspolitik sein.“

Gut ein Jahr danach ist von den Bekenntnissen zur humanitären Flüchtlingspolitik nicht viel übrig geblieben. Im Gegenteil, die Protagonisten einer zynischen Abschottungspolitik haben erneut Oberwasser gewonnen – und Europa zeigt sich von seiner unmenschlichen Seite: Auf Druck von Deutschland und anderen mächtigen EU-Staaten wird gegenwärtig die Seenotrettung massiv zurückgefahren. Gleichzeitig sollen Menschen wieder verstärkt an einer Flucht nach Europa gehindert werden, indem nordafrikanische Staaten zur Fluchtabwehr instrumentalisiert werden...

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Manuele Citi and Mogens K. Justesen

Measuring and explaining regulatory reform in the EU: A time-series analysis of eight sectors, 1984–2012

in *European Journal of Political Research*, Volume 53, Issue 3 , 709–726

Over the last three decades, European Union regulation of the internal market has become highly pervasive, affecting practically all domains of European citizens' lives. Many studies have focused on understanding the process and causes of regulatory change, but with limited attempts to analyse the more general sources of regulatory reform. This article focuses on the determinants of stability and change in EU regulation. An original dataset of 169 pieces of legislation (regulations, directives and decisions) across eight different sectors is developed and the dynamics of regulatory reform in the EU are analysed. Using time-series analysis of count data, evidence is found that the number of winning coalitions



in the Council and the size of EU membership have a significant impact on regulatory reform in the EU. By contrast, the ideological composition of the EU's legislative bodies is not systematically related to regulatory reform.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bakker Ryan, de Vries Catherine, Edwards Erica, Hooghe Liesbet, Jolly Seth, Marks Gary, Polk Jonathan, Rovny Jan, Steenbergen Marco, Vachudova Milada Anna

Measuring party positions in Europe. The Chapel Hill expert survey trend file, 1999–2010
in *Party Politics*, Volume 21, Number 1, January , 143-152

This article reports on the 2010 Chapel Hill expert surveys (CHES) and introduces the CHES trend file, which contains measures of national party positioning on European integration, ideology and several European Union (EU) and non-EU policies for 1999−2010. We examine the reliability of expert judgments and cross-validate the 2010 CHES data with data from the Comparative Manifesto Project and the 2009 European Elections Studies survey, and explore basic trends on party positioning since 1999. The dataset is available at the CHES website.

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Vogel Steffen

Mehr Demokratie wagen: Von Schottland nach Katalonien

in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, November, 2014 , 21-24

Schon zum zweiten Mal können Europas Regierungen aufatmen: Nicht einmal einen Monat, nachdem das Referendum für die Unabhängigkeit in Schottland scheiterte, hat nun die katalanische Regionalregierung den für den 9. November geplanten Volksentscheid über eine Loslösung von Spanien abgesagt. Damit beugte sie sich dem Druck der Zentralregierung in Madrid, die die Referendumspläne als verfassungswidrig ansah und rundweg ablehnte. Kataloniens Regionalpräsident Artur Mas will nun stattdessen eine unverbindliche Ersatzbefragung durchführen. Denn auch nach Absage des Referendums ist der Ruf nach Eigenständigkeit in Katalonien weiterhin laut.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Pérvier H  l  ne

Men and women during the economic crisis Employment trends in eight European countries

in *Revue de l'OFCE*, N   133, 2014/2 , 41-84

The current economic crisis has deeply affected European labour markets. Employment has dropped more or less in all countries. Female employment was less affected by the recession phase of the crisis than male employment. The second stage, characterised by the implementation of stimulus packages, should have been more favorable to male employment. The third stage, during which austerity plans have been introduced, might be particularly harsh for female employment. These gendered effects of the crisis are basically explained by sectoral segregation based on gender. The aim of this paper is to describe and analyse the trend in employment for women and men during the different stages of current crisis in eight European countries. We break down the evolution of employment by sectors for men and women



by using a shift-share analysis. In some countries, specifically in Spain, the impact of the crisis has led to a narrowing of the gender gap; this is mainly explained by gender sectoral segregation. In the UK and Denmark, women have been less protected by sectoral segregation, because they have experienced more job losses than they should have if their distribution across the different economic sectors had remained the same during the crisis.

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Runge Philipp

Nationale und europäische Identitäten und politische Unterstützung der Europäischen Union im Kontext der Wirtschafts- und Finanzkrise

in *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Politikwissenschaft* , Volume 8, Issue 2 Supplement, November 2014 , 55-78

Abstract

Since the outbreak of the financial crisis in late 2007 and the economic consequences, citizens of the EU have been confronted with dramatically changing economic conditions. Political elites and mass media have often linked these negative economic consequences to the euro. Lower support for the EU and its institutions may be one of its consequences. Within this context, the paper addresses the question of how the pattern of political support for the EU responds to the changes in contextual conditions. The analysis focuses on the effects of national and European identities. The results substantiate several familiar patterns. Clear trends throughout the “euro crisis” are barely distinguishable. The impact of national identities and party signals increases over time, whereas the explanatory power of other variables remains constant in the short term.

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Henrik Larsen

Normative Power Europe and the importance of discursive context: The European Union and the politics of religion

in *Cooperation and Conflict*, 49 (4) , 419-437

This article attempts to demonstrate the importance of the discursive context for whether and, if so, how the European Union (EU) can exert normative power in different policy areas. Surprisingly, the concept of power has not been extensively discussed in the academic literature on Normative Power Europe, with the notable exceptions of Diez (2013); Keene (2012); Forsberg (2011) and Huelss (2011) (who also discuss the meaning of the ‘normative’). Focusing on power, the question asked in this article is how the discursive context of the politics of religion affects the EU’s ability to exert normative power in this area. The article examines the politics of religion by looking at the case of the debate about human rights versus religion in the United Nations Human Rights Council after the year 2000. The broader point addressed in the article is whether the EU can exert normative power regardless of the discursive context of the policy area concerned.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Gächter Martin, Riedl Aleksandra

One money, one cycle? The EMU experience

in *Journal of Macroeconomics*, Volume 42, December 2014 , 141-155

We examine whether the introduction of the euro had a significant impact on the synchronization of business cycles among members of Economic and Monetary Union (EMU). Empirical evidence on this relationship is rare so far and suffers from methodical weaknesses, such as the absence of time variability, which is crucial for addressing this issue. Using a synchronization index that is constructed on a year-by-year basis (1993–2011), we uncover a strong and robust empirical finding: the adoption of the euro has significantly increased the correlation of member countries' business cycles above and beyond the effect of higher trade integration. Thus, our results substantially strengthen the conclusion by Frankel and Rose (1998), i.e. a country is more likely to satisfy the criteria for entry into a currency union *ex post* rather than *ex ante*. Remarkably, however, this reasoning is even verified when controlling for the effect of increased trade linkages implied by entering a currency union.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

March Luke, Rommerskirchen Charlotte

Out of left field? Explaining the variable electoral success of European radical left parties

in *Party Politics*, Volume 21, Number 1, January , 40-53

European radical left parties (RLPs) are gradually receiving greater attention. Yet, to date, what has received insufficient focus is why such parties have maintained residues of electoral support after the collapse of the USSR and why this support varies so widely. This article is the first to subject RLPs to large-n quantitative analysis, focusing on 39 parties in 34 European countries from 1990 to 2008. It uses the 'supply and demand' conceptual framework developed for radical right parties to identify a number of socio-economic, political-cultural and party-system variables in the external environment that might potentially affect RLP support. The article finds the most persuasive variables to include political culture (past party success), the level of unemployment, Euroscepticism and anti-globalization sentiment, the electoral threshold and competition from Green and radical right parties. The findings suggest several avenues for future research and provide a framework that can be adapted to explain the electoral success of other party families.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Palier Bruno

Passer de l'austérité à l'investissement social, c'est à l'Europe de montrer la voie

in *Revue de l'OFCE*, N° 134, 2014/3 , 229 à 237

Depuis 2010, les plans d'austérité se multiplient en Europe pour faire face à la crise de la dette des États et pour rassurer les marchés. Les mesures adoptées par les différents gouvernements européens, ainsi que les recommandations émises par les instances européennes, sont principalement de trois types : réformes de la protection sociale, privatisations, gel du salaire des fonctionnaires et réduction de leur nombre. Des coupes sont prévues dans les dépenses sociales, des réformes structurelles sont imposées : augmentation de l'âge de départ à la retraite, flexibilisation accrue du marché du travail, baisse des prestations chômage pour rendre le travail plus attractif, heures



de travail obligatoire pour les bénéficiaire de l'assistance, compétition renforcée dans le domaine des services sanitaires et sociaux. Ces politiques mènent à la destruction de la cohésion sociale des pays du Sud et de l'Est de l'Europe et ruinent un peu plus encore le peu de solidarité existant entre les peuples européens. L'Europe doit demain montrer la voie des politiques à mener pour l'avenir et soutenir les pays dans les efforts pour investir dans le social.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Benoist Alain de

Perché opporre l'Europa delle regioni a quella delle nazioni?

in *Diorama*, numero 320, 2014

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Eeva-Kaisa Prokkola, Kaj Zimmerbauer and Fredriika Jakola

Performance of regional identity in the implementation of European cross-border initiatives

in *European Urban and Regional Studies*, vol. 22, no. 1 , 104-117

The European Union's cross-border cooperation policy is regarded as a key instrument through which to promote regional cohesion, competitiveness and identity. This paper studies performances of regional identity within the framework of the EU's INTERREG North cooperation, and especially in the Finnish/Swedish border area. The performativity approach shifts the focus from the question of whether regional identities are fixed or hybrid, and thick or thin, toward the question of how regional identities are manifested in border regions. The point of departure in the study, based on policy documents, fieldwork and interviews with local actors involved in the implementation of the INTERREG initiatives, is that spatial identity is not a feature that regions have but something that is actively performed. Performances of regional identity in this northern border region do not create continuous and parallel sets of practices. Instead, different kinds of directions and disjunctures emerge in and between different interest groups for which local, national and transnational all serve as important scales of coming-togetherness and differentiation.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Chaltiel Florence

Philaie ou un peu de rêve européen

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 583, décembre , 593-594

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Sciarrà Silvana



Pluralismo sindacale multilivello nella crisi. Gli orizzonti della Carta sociale europea

in *Studi sull'integrazione europea*, Anno IX, n. 2, maggio-agosto , 237-246

This paper suggests that a multilevel union pluralism is emerging in the aftermath of the economic and financial crisis. National unions have filed several collective complaints to the Committee of Experts of the European Social Charter, challenging domestic legislation in violation of fundamental social rights. Such choices of litigation open new spaces for the representation of collective interests and imply a reconsideration of austerity measures within the EU.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Poland in the European Union. The economic effects of ten years of membership

in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, Vol. 81, n. 3, luglio-settembre , 377-396

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Nicole Scicluna

Politicization without democratization: How the Eurozone crisis is transforming EU law and politics

in *International Journal of Constitutional Law*, vol. 12, no. 3 , 545-571

This article demonstrates how the European integration process overburdened EU law in an attempt to overcome political deficiencies, with negative consequences for the EU's democratic legitimacy. The analysis is framed by the "twin crises" of twenty-first-century EU constitutionalism: the defeat of the Constitutional Treaty in 2005 and the unfolding Eurozone debt crisis. Part of the legacy of the first crisis was a retreat from the ideal of democratization via politicization. Now, as a result of the second crisis, the integration project has become politicized and European policies highly salient for national voters. However, this process has occurred largely against the will of EU leaders, who have sought technocratic solutions to what are inherently political problems. Thus, over the past decade, the EU has moved from an unsuccessful attempt at democratization via politicization to an unintended politicization without democratization.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Milward Alan S.

Politics and Purposes in Fifty Years of European Integration

in *Journal of European Integration History*, vol. 20, n. 1

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process



Heather Grabbe and Nadja Groot

Populism in the European Parliament: What Implications for the Open Society?

in *International Spectator (The)*, Vol. 49, No. 4

The 2014 elections brought a record number of xenophobic populist parties into the European Parliament (EP). They have a strong incentive to be more united and active than in previous terms, and they could use the Parliament to shape voter attitudes, pressure mainstream parties to adopt more xenophobic rhetoric, fragment the mainstream right, and obstruct parliamentary proceedings. The rise of xenophobic populism could affect the open society through the EU's policies and budget if it alters EP debates on issues that split left and right, particularly Roma exclusion, migration and asylum, and EU external policies and development aid.

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DANIEL KEOHANE, STEFAN LEHNE, ULRICH SPECK Y JAN TECHAU

Por una nueva ambición europea

in *Política Exterior*, nº 163

La inestable vecindad de Europa, las ambiguas ambiciones de EE UU y la incertidumbre sobre la dirección de Asia en materia económica deberían llevar a la Unión Europea a definir una política exterior capaz de ampliar el orden mundial y crear alianzas más sólidas.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Rosoux Valérie

Portée et limites du concept de réconciliation Une histoire à terminer

in *Revue d'études comparatives Est-Ouest*, vol. 45, n. 3-4, Dossier: La fabrique européenne des politiques de réconciliation , 21-47

What is the scope of post-war calls for reconciliation? What does the "policy of reconciliation" advocated by authorities stipulate? It is worthwhile inquiring into a concept that turns out to be more ambivalent than at first sight. First of all, a panorama of various theoretical approaches to reconciliation is sketched that places practitioners and researchers on a continuum ranging from a minimalist approach that considers reconciliation as a mutual arrangement between former enemies to a maximalist one that defines reconciliation as a transcendental process involving truth, justice and forgiveness. Focus then shifts to EU ambitions and an explanation of how reconciliation evokes either the origin of the joint adventure or an objective to be tirelessly pursued. The third part of this article questions the premises underlying these actions.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Lamy Pascal

Pour une mondialisation civilisée

in *Politique internationale*, n. 144 - Ete, 2014



Entretien avec Pascal Lamy conduit par Baudouin BOLLAERT

Baudouin Bollaert - Selon vous, la France, dans son rapport au monde, a un « grave problème avec la vérité »... Depuis quand et pourquoi ?

Pascal Lamy - Il existe dans l'histoire et la culture françaises des constantes et des éléments plus conjoncturels. Parmi les constantes, la France a toujours eu une certaine vision du monde : une vision universaliste. Mais, simultanément, et c'est une spécificité bien de chez nous, les Français rejettent l'actuelle mondialisation. Ils ne l'aiment pas, ils la jugent mauvaise, injuste, dévoreuse d'identité... J'ai réfléchi à cette contradiction avérée et, petit à petit, j'en suis venu à l'idée qu'elle se trouve à l'origine des blocages français. [...]

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Michael M. Bechtel, Jens Hainmueller and Yotam Margalit

Preferences for International Redistribution: The Divide over the Eurozone Bailouts
in *American Journal of Political Science*, Volume 58, Issue 4 , 835–856

Why do voters agree to bear the costs of bailing out other countries? Despite the prominence of public opinion in the ongoing debate over the eurozone bailouts, voters' preferences on the topic are poorly understood. We conduct the first systematic analysis of this issue using observational and experimental survey data from Germany, the country shouldering the largest share of the EU's financial rescue fund. Testing a range of theoretical explanations, we find that individuals' own economic standing has limited explanatory power in accounting for their position on the bailouts. In contrast, social dispositions such as altruism and cosmopolitanism robustly correlate with support for the bailouts. The results indicate that the divide in public opinion over the bailouts does not reflect distributive lines separating domestic winners and losers. Instead, the bailout debate is better understood as a foreign policy issue that pits economic nationalist sentiments versus greater cosmopolitan affinity and other-regarding concerns.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Pier Vittorio Romano

Presidenza Italiana del Consiglio dell'Unione Europea
in *Informazioni della Difesa*, n.4 , 1

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Schauble Wolfgang

QUE RESTE-T-IL DU REVE EUROPEEN?
in *Politique internationale*, n. 144 - Ete, 2014



Entretien avec Wolfgang SCHAUBLE conduit par Jean-Paul Picaper

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Chiclet Christophe

Quand la Grèce montre la voie à la gauche européenne

in *Confluences Méditerranée*, n. 91 , 181-194

Dans l'ensemble de l'UE, les forces de gauche organisées autour des partis socialistes ont adopté la politique de l'offre et ont pris le tournant social-libéral, soutenant ou mettant en place des politiques d'austérité et de rigueur dans leurs pays. En Grèce, il n'en est rien à cause de la spécificité historique des forces de gauche dans ce pays très particulier.

C'est le parti communiste lié à Moscou (KKE) qui a incarné la gauche grecque jusqu'en 1974. Mais après la chute de la dictature militaire, un nouveau venu est apparu sur la scène politique de la gauche, les socialistes atypiques du PASOK. Mélangeant marxisme, populisme, clientélisme, nationalisme, ces socialistes ont phagocyté en grande partie cet espace politique et le pouvoir pendant plus de vingt ans. Passés à la social-démocratie, ils n'ont pas eu le temps de passer au social-libéralisme, s'étant effondrés lors des élections de 2012. Cette chute dans l'opinion a été précipitée par une autre force de gauche, ni communiste à l'ancienne, ni socialiste usée par le pouvoir et les affaires : la Syriza. Issu du mouvement communiste de la résistance et de la guerre civile, ce parti est une spécificité historique grecque né de la scission du KKE dès 1968. Les pères de la Syriza avaient vingt ans d'avance sur Gorbatchev. Leurs fils n'ont plus rien à voir avec les dérives, les défaites, les tragédies de leurs pères et grands-pères. Il s'agit d'une nouvelle gauche qui prône la résistance sociale contre le libéralisme et la finance qui ont gravement paupérisé la Grèce, revenue près de quarante ans en arrière en niveau de vie. Aux dernières élections de 2014, la Syriza est devenue la première force politique du pays, ce qui ne fait pas que des heureux d'Athènes à Bruxelles, du Pirée à la City.

À l'heure où l'ensemble du paysage politique de l'Europe se droitise, en Grèce on semble ne rien faire comme sur le reste du vieux continent. Une expression grecque semble illustrer ceci. Lorsqu'un Grec va à Rome, Londres ou Varsovie, il dit : « Pao stin Evropi » (Je vais en Europe), souvenir d'un passé byzantin, puis ottoman. C'est ainsi que l'histoire du socialisme et du communisme en Grèce a de très fortes spécificités que l'on ne retrouve nulle part ailleurs.

Plan de l'article

De démocratie à libérale

Les séismes électoraux de 2012 et 2014

Un communisme atypique

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Benoist Alain de

Quando il nazionalismo fa il gioco degli USA

in *Diorama*, numero 321, 2014

No abstract available



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Mathieu Catherine, Sterdyniak Henri

Quelle gouvernance de la zone euro?

in *Revue de l'OFCE*, N° 134, 2014/3 , 133 à 147

La période d'avant-crise, comme la crise, ont mis en évidence les défauts d'organisation de la zone euro. Il est difficile d'avoir une monnaie unique entre des pays dont les conjonctures et les problèmes structurels diffèrent. La gouvernance mise en place (pas de garantie des dettes publiques, des règles arbitraires centrées sur les seules finances publiques) n'était pas satisfaisante. Les institutions européennes ont voulu imposer une stratégie (paralyse des politiques nationales, baisse des dépenses publiques, réformes structurelles libérales) qui a échoué. Avant la crise, les divergences se sont creusées entre les pays du Nord et ceux du Sud ; la crise les a rendues insoutenables. Depuis, le Pacte budgétaire a renforcé des règles sans fondement économique. Les politiques d'austérité aveugles se sont révélées catastrophiques pour la croissance et la cohésion de la zone. Les procédures mises en place renforcent la surveillance des politiques économiques des pays membres, sans organiser une véritable coordination des politiques nationales. Elles instaurent une solidarité limitée et chèrement payée. Les projets proposés de fédéralisme budgétaire ne peuvent compenser la perte d'autonomie des politiques nationales. Les dettes publiques des pays membres doivent redevenir des actifs sans risque, ceci grâce à la garantie de BCE. Ceci nécessite d'instaurer une véritable coordination des politiques économiques nationales ; celle-ci doit se donner explicitement comme objectif la croissance, le plein-emploi, la résorption ordonnée des déséquilibres entre pays membres. L'Europe doit réaffirmer sa spécificité : son modèle social, sa volonté de préparer la transition écologique. Ce n'est que dans le cadre de ce projet commun qu'elle pourra progresser.

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Colineau Hélène

Questioning norm diffusion in EU's aid to countries in transition: the case of prison reform projects

in *Politique européenne* , n. 46, 2014/4 , 118-140

This article questions the circulation of norms and policy solutions through the European Union's development cooperation policy, the relations between the EU and its partners being less marked by constraints than with candidate countries. Our analysis focuses on the concrete aspect of this policy, by studying human rights and rule of law promotion through prison reform projects funded by the EU in its partner states, mainly from the neighbourhood. The agents must translate soft law into actions that will make up the project. Ultimately, the circulation we observe in these projects is far from obvious, but rather fine and dependent on interindividual relationships. As a result we contend that this circulation should be considered as diffusion rather than transfer.

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Ostojci Mladen

Reassessing the 'Peace vs. Justice' Trade-Off: International Justice and Democratic Stability in



Post-Milošević, Serbia

in *Revue d'études comparatives Est-Ouest*, vol. 45, n. 3-4, Dossier: La fabrique européenne des politiques de réconciliation , 107 - 148

The impact of the International Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) on target states has been primarily assessed in terms of the Court's contribution to peace and reconciliation in the region. In contrast, this article explores the effects of ICTY conditionality on democratic consolidation in Serbia. It posits that the enforcement of international standards of accountability on recalcitrant states may hinder democratic stability and undermine the goals of transitional justice in the target countries. In the context of a fragile and uncertain transition, the Serbian authorities had to balance the demands and priorities of the ICTY with those of competing domestic groups. By examining the politics of state cooperation with the ICTY in Serbia, this article sheds light on the conflicting effects of the policies of conditionality and shows how the outcomes of externalized justice are affected by domestic political developments.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Mathieu Catherine, Sterdyniak Henri

Redemption?

in *Revue de l'OFCE*, N° 132, 2014/1 , 51 - 91

The economic crisis which started in 2008 led to a strong rise in public debts. The sovereign debt crisis in euro area southern countries broke the unity of the euro area and weakened the "single currency" concept. The paper shows that this situation is not due to a lack of fiscal discipline in Europe, but to drifts in financial capitalism and to an inappropriately designed euro area economic policy framework. Public debts homogeneity needs to be resettled in Europe. European public debts should become safe assets again, and should not be subject to financial markets' assessment. EU Member States should not be requested to pay for past sins through austerity measures, and should not strengthen fiscal discipline through rules lacking economic rationale. The paper deals with recent proposals made to improve euro area governance (redemption fund, European Treasury, eurobonds, public debt guarantee by the ECB). The paper advocates for a full guarantee of government bonds for the Member States who commit to an economic policy coordination process, which should target GDP growth and coordinated reduction of imbalances.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Paolo Ponzano

Refocusing Europe on growth and employment: the citizens' initiative for an extraordinary European plan

in *Perspectives on federalism*, vol. 6, issue 1 , I-XIV

Following the European elections, which confirmed the expected increase in support for the Eurosceptic parties in most European Union countries, both President Hollande and the French Prime Minister, Manuel Valls, declared that Europe needed to refocus on growth and employment. This demand had been expressed as early as 7 January 2014 by numerous civil society organisations (Federalist and European movements, several trade unions and other representative organisations) when they submitted to the European Commission a citizens' initiative for an extraordinary European plan for sustainable development and employment.

The aim of this citizens' initiative, presented pursuant to article 11 of the Treaty of Lisbon, is to collect one million



signatures in at least seven European countries in order to request the European Commission, as the European institution that has the right of legislative initiative, to present a legislative proposal for the adoption of an extraordinary European public investment plan and to create a solidarity fund to reduce unemployment, in particular youth unemployment which has reached unacceptable levels in most European Union countries.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Badie Bertrand

Regional Integration: Requiem or Resurrection?

in Federalist Debate (The), Year XXVI, n. 3, November

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Stead Dominic

Rescaling Environmental Governance – the Influence of European Transnational Cooperation Initiatives

in European Environment/Environmental Policy and Governance, Volume 24, Issue 5, September-October , 324-337

The increasing transboundary nature of many environmental problems has not only elevated the importance of international environmental governance it has also contributed to shifts in the scales at which these problems are addressed and at which environmental programmes are implemented. The result is that environmental governance is experiencing rescaling which often involves a combination of changes including shifts in powers to other layers of decision-making, the emergence of new scales of policy intervention and alternative forms of intervention, and the appearance of new actor constellations. The emergence of 'soft' policy and programming spaces – multi-area sub-regions in which strategy is being made between or alongside formal institutions and decision-making processes – is another phenomena associated with rescaling. This paper charts the rescaling of environmental governance in part of Europe – the Baltic Sea Region (BSR) – and examines the influence of European macro-regional cooperation initiatives on the changing nature of environmental governance in the region.

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Bachmann Veit, Dittmer Jason, Marston Sallie A., Amilhat-Szary Anne-Laure, Murphy Alexander B., Kuus Merje

Review Forum - Bureaucratic fields and the Brussels machinery: Reading Merje Kuus' Geopolitics and Expertise

in Political Geography, Volume 44, January , 19-28

Full text available online.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process



Whyman Philip B., Baimbridge Mark, Mullen Andrew

**Revisiting the European Social Model(s) Debate : Challenges and Prospects
in Europe en formation (L'), n° 372, 2014/2 , 8-32**

One of the distinctive features of the post-war process of European economic and political integration is the debate about the emergence of a European Social Model (ESM). Advocates and critics have clashed over the precise meaning of the ESM concept, whether it exists in a meaningful and singular form, and whether it challenges or bolsters – by providing some sort of discursive justification – the current neoliberal trajectory of the European Union (EU). While some of the claimed elements of the ESM do exist/have been adopted, this article argues that they do not constitute a coherent alternative to the dominant market liberal model and bias towards negative integration that has underpinned the EU since the 1980s. Furthermore, contemporary developments have served to further entrench these tendencies at the expense of progressive social forces that seek to construct a genuine ESM.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Whyman Philip B., Baimbridge Mark, Mullen Andrew

**Revisiting the European Social Model(s) Debate : Challenges and Prospects
in Europe en formation (L'), n° 372, 2014/2 , 8-32**

One of the distinctive features of the post-war process of European economic and political integration is the debate about the emergence of a European Social Model (ESM). Advocates and critics have clashed over the precise meaning of the ESM concept, whether it exists in a meaningful and singular form, and whether it challenges or bolsters – by providing some sort of discursive justification – the current neoliberal trajectory of the European Union (EU). While some of the claimed elements of the ESM do exist/have been adopted, this article argues that they do not constitute a coherent alternative to the dominant market liberal model and bias towards negative integration that has underpinned the EU since the 1980s. Furthermore, contemporary developments have served to further entrench these tendencies at the expense of progressive social forces that seek to construct a genuine ESM.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Arribas Lozano Alberto, García-González Nayra, Sebastiani Luca, Álvarez Veinguer Aurora, Gil Araujo Sandra

**Revisiting the European Union framework on immigrant integration: The European integration forum as a
technology of agency
in Ethnicities, Vol. 14, n. 4**

In the last 15 years, a European Framework on Immigrant Integration has been developed through soft law tools, aiming to create a common understanding of the concept and promoting the coordination, funding, and exchange of best practices among states, local administrations, and nongovernmental...



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Blot Christophe, Rozenberg Olivier, Saraceno Francesco, Streho Imola

Réformer l'Europe ? Économistes, juristes et politistes se penchent sur l'avenir de l'Union européenne
in *Revue de l'OFCE*, N° 134, 2014/3 , 7 à 16

L'Europe est en crise et des doutes se font jour sur la capacité de l'Union européenne (UE) à y faire face. Cette crise et ces doutes ont de nombreux points communs. Ils sont profonds, multidimensionnels et sans doute durables. Pour les comprendre et proposer, modestement, quelques solutions, il est nécessaire d'emprunter une démarche d'ensemble intégrant les trois principales facettes de l'UE : un...

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Kesa Katerina

Sharing its experience with the Eastern Partnership countries: the case of the Baltic States
in *Politique européenne* , n. 46, 2014/4 , 86-116

This paper proposes to study the case of exportation of norms (practices and know-how) by the Baltic States towards Eastern Europe. Following an interdisciplinary approach intersecting the mechanisms of Policy Transfert Studies (PTS) and the historical and comparative approach, it attempts to explain the reasons behind the Baltic States' involvement in the East, the processes and the methods of implementation, the role of actors-donors as well as their interaction with their local partners. Through three study cases of expertise, we will draw some parallels with the Nordics' assistance towards the Baltics (1990) to see how the Nordic model of assistance serves as an inspiration for the Baltic States' action today.

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Corbett Richard, Farage Nigel, Grant Charles, Liddle Roger, Palacio Ana, Randjärv Laine, Thomas Gareth, Tsetsi Vula, Verhofstadt Guy, Zielonka Jan

Signposts from the European elections
in *Europe's World*, n. 28, Autumn

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Kostadinova Petia

Social Policy Arrangements across Europe : Continuing Disparities between Social Models in the EU?
in *Europe en formation (L')*, n° 372, 2014/2 , 33-50



Keeping in mind existing classifications of welfare regimes, this paper goes beneath broad typologies to examine five social policies—old-age benefits, sickness and maternity, work injury, unemployment, and family allowance—across 30 European countries. These programs are compared on two dimensions : (1) source(s) of funding, i.e. central government, employers, insured individuals, or combination of the three, and (2) eligibility restrictions, i.e. employment, means-testing, and/or universal coverage. These two dimensions capture both the solidarity and the inclusiveness aspects of social programs, which are essential in placing them in the context of the European Social Model. Further, by developing this new dataset of social policies across Europe, the paper highlights the continuing diversity of institutional arrangements across several types of welfare state models in Europe, as well as the lack of a common post-communist model.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Padoa-Schioppa Antonio

Some Critical Remarks on the Duff Project

in Federalist Debate (The), Year XXVII, n. 1, March

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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JOSEPH H. H. WEILER

Sonámbulos de nuevo: Europa y la ‘pax americana’

in Política Exterior, n.162

EE UU no vivirá el rápido declive de Reino Unido tras la Segunda Guerra mundial. El fin de la “pax americana” supone un cambio del peso específico de EE UU en el mundo. Los europeos están obligados a reevaluar su forma de entender las responsabilidades globales.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Pastrello Gabriele

Sovranità monetaria & eurozona

in Critica liberale, volume XXI, n. 221, autunno luglio-settembre

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 6. The European unification process

Halikiopoulou Daphne, Vasilopoulou Sofia

Support for the Far Right in the 2014 European Parliament Elections: A Comparative Perspective
in *Political Quarterly*, Volume 85, Issue 3, July–September 2014, 285–288

Abstract

The May 2014 European Parliament (EP) elections were characterised by the success of far-right Eurosceptic parties, including the French Front National, UKIP, the Danish People's Party, the Hungarian Jobbik, the Austrian FPÖ, the True Finns and the Greek Golden Dawn. However, a closer look at the results across Europe indicates that the success of far-right parties in the EP elections is neither a linear nor a clear-cut phenomenon: (1) the far right actually declined in many European countries compared to the 2009 results; (2) some of the countries that have experienced the worst of the economic crisis, including Spain, Portugal and Ireland, did not experience a significant rise in far-right party support; and (3) 'far right' is too broad an umbrella term, covering parties that are too different from each other to be grouped in one single party family.

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(The Political Quarterly)

Territorial Politics after the Scottish 'No'

in *Political Quarterly*, Volume 85, Issue 4, October–December 2014, 403–405

The full text is free:

<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/1467-923X.12125/abstract>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Globan Tomislav  

Testing the 'trilemma' in post-transition Europe – a new empirical measure of capital mobility

in *Post communist economies*, Volume 26, Issue 4, 2014, 459-476

This article develops a new empirical measure of capital mobility. It tests the hypothesis that the degree of capital mobility can be estimated by measuring the reaction intensity of capital flows to shocks in interest rates on a sample of eight European post-transition economies. This hypothesis can be derived from the Mundell–Fleming open economy model, the implications of which are essentially based on the assumption of a close link between the degree of capital mobility in a country and the reaction of its capital flows to changes in domestic and external interest rates. Precisely because of this interrelationship, policy makers, in theory, face the policy 'trilemma' or the 'impossible trinity', i.e. the inability to achieve the following three objectives simultaneously – a stable exchange rate, financial openness and an independent monetary policy. Using impulse response and historical decomposition analysis in a VAR framework, the results show a significant increase in the explanatory power of interest rates for the movement of capital flows shortly before and after the accession of post-transition economies to the European Union. On the other hand, the recent financial crisis made capital flows less sensitive to interest rates owing to increased risk aversion on international capital



markets. Results suggest that the degree of capital mobility, i.e. the level of financial integration with EU-15, is highest in Bulgaria, Latvia and Lithuania and least pronounced in Poland and Croatia. Results are verified by a number of robustness checks, with three separate alternative measures of capital mobility confirming the results obtained from the econometric model.

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Karamessini Maria, Rubery Jill

The Challenge of Austerity For Equality A consideration of eight European countries in the crisis

in *Revue de l'OFCE*, N° 133, 2014/2 , 15-39

The article deals with the comparative experience of women and men during the current crisis in eight of the European countries most affected by austerity and the challenge that recession and austerity represent for gender equality. Short term reductions in gender gaps and the female employment rate have been a common trend in all countries but the longer term trends are more important from a gender perspective. More labour market flexibility leads to a greater convergence of men's and women's employment conditions at the bottom of the labour market; reductions in public sector employment hamper women's access to stable, protected and more equal jobs, while the withdrawal of the state from the provision of social care is interrupting the defamilialisation of care. However, as women's employment remains vital for social reproduction at both the macro and household levels, gender equality must be an essential component of a progressive exit strategy from the crisis.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Visco Ignazio

The Crisis of Sovereign Debts and the Process of European Integration

in *Federalist Debate (The)*, Year XXVI, n. 3, November

The introduction of the euro has been a fundamental step in European history, a political event that testifies to the progress made on the road of integration, a profound economic and social change; but it has been, precisely, a step, not the conclusion of the journey, still long and difficult. Of this was fully aware Tommaso Padoa-Schioppa, who has contributed so much to the realization of the monetary union. Tommaso Padoa-Schioppa was writing in the pages of the *Corriere della Sera*: "the macro-economic policy capacity [of the European economic and monetary union] is, except for the currency, embryonal and unbalanced. [...] For the European Central Bank the real danger will not be its scarce independence, but its too great solitude [...] as it operates almost in the vacuum, without a political power, a budgetary policy, a banking supervision, a control function over the financial markets. [...] Is right therefore not only who applauds yesterday's achievement, but also who points to its incompleteness, its risks, its temerity". That same incompleteness is feeding, since 2010, the crisis of the eurozone's sovereign debts.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Ivan Krastev

The Crisis of the E/xceptional/ U/nion



in **International Spectator (The)**, Vol. 49, No. 4

The European elections failed to mobilise public support for the European project. Despite the strong showing of populist parties in the European Parliament, there are indications that the European Union would rather be transformed than destroyed by the current political crisis.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Simon Joan Marc

The Current Crisis: the Price for not Having a European Federal Union

in **Federalist Debate (The)**, Year XXVI, n. 3, November

No abstract available

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Dandashly Assem

The EU Response to Regime Change in the Wake of the Arab Revolt: Differential Implementation

in **Journal of European Integration**, vol. 37, n. 1, Special issue: "Responses to the "Arabellions": The EU in Comparative Perspective" , 37-56

Following the Arab Spring, one might expect a paradigm shift in the EU's attitude towards the MENA — at least with respect to democracy promotion. However, the EU response has been neither consistent nor coherent. This paper seeks to answer the following questions: How did the EU react to the Arab Spring events in North Africa? Is there evidence of any change in the goals and instruments pursued by the EU after the Arab Spring? And, do these goals and instruments change coherently across countries? The paper argues, first, that EU goals remain security and stability driven. While the EU viewed the Arab Spring as a window of opportunity for democracy, as events developed the EU prioritized security concerns as a response to the threat of instability in the MENA. And second, the utilization of instruments varied across time and cases due to the domestic politics of the targeted countries.

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Bordino Giampiero

The EU and Its Enlargement

in **Federalist Debate (The)**, Year XXVII, n. 1, March

No abstract available

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Thomas Demmelhuber & Christian Kaunert



The EU and the Gulf monarchies: normative power Europe in search of a strategy for engagement
in *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* , Volume 27, Issue 3 , 574-592

The Persian Gulf region is of strategic importance to the European Union (EU). Yet, different political realities of authoritarian government in the Gulf challenge crucial parts of EU foreign policy that are based on normative power Europe concepts. Cooperation with the ruling dynasties appears beneficial for EU decision-makers if one looks at the comprehensive agenda of common interests in the Gulf region. In 2004, the EU aimed to build a strategic partnership with the Mediterranean and the Middle East; in this the EU emphasized its commitment to advancing its partnership with the Gulf countries. Yet, from the perspective of 2012 the results are bleak. Despite some signs of improvement in deepening the political, economic and security interactions with the region, there is still no concerted EU policy in the Gulf beyond the thriving bilateral activities of some EU member states. The events of the Arab Spring have increased the challenges even further. The EU, on the one hand, is trying to support forces of liberal and democratic reform in some neighbouring countries. On the other hand, it seeks close partnerships with authoritarian family dynasties in those Gulf countries in which a democratic opening is not around the corner. This article suggests an alternative explanation for this dichotomy. While there is an inherent tension between the EU's reformist agenda and its own interests, whether security or trade interests, this article argues that much of the EU's relationship with the Gulf countries can be explained through a misperception of the specific settings of government in the region. Despite a substantial agenda of interests on both sides in areas such as trade, energy, regional security, terrorism and irregular migration, the EU's foreign policy outputs remain rather limited.

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Joëlle Hivonnet

The EU and the Promotion of Rule of Law in Post-Conflict Situations: The Case of Kosovo
in *Revue belge de droit international*, n. 2 , 325-342

The rule of law is one of the values that the European Union is founded upon. Internally, the Rule of Law is seen as the cement that holds the European Union together. At international level, the EU's support derives from its dual commitment to effective multilateralism and the promotion of the rule of law as one of the principles guiding its Foreign Policy. Ultimately, the outbreak of the Yugoslav war proved a litmus test not just for the EU's budding Foreign Policy but also for the credibility of the European project, as a whole. It is interesting to see how the EU goes from theory to practice when it comes to the promotion of the rule of law abroad and the extent to which the EU is able to adapt its strategy when it comes to post-conflict situations, as opposed to States in transition or fragile States. EULEX-Kosovo is also of particular interest because it is an "atypical" Rule of Law mission, resulting from a NATO intervention, followed by a UN Peacekeeping operation evolving into an EU peacekeeping operation and finally a classic membership process that goes beyond the promotion of a formal rule of law dimension (thin definition) and becomes a value-based approach (thick definition).

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Jan-Werner Müller

The EU as a militant democracy, or: are there limits to Constitutional mutations within EU member States



in *Revista de Estudios Políticos* , N. 165 , 141-162

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Börzel Tanja A., Risse Thomas, Dandashly Assem

The EU, External Actors, and the Arabellions: Much Ado About (Almost) Nothing

in *Journal of European Integration*, vol. 37, n. 1, Special issue: "Responses to the "Arabellions": The EU in Comparative Perspective" , 135-153

This article summarizes the findings from the special issue. The EU, the US, and to some extent Turkey are the only actors considered in this special issue who not only explicitly try to promote human rights and democracy, but also employ specific instruments and resources for this purpose. But all external actors prioritized stability and security over democracy as the events unfolded. Despite all the discussions about EU actorness, we did not find any difference between the EU, on the one hand, and the four states we looked at in this special issue (the US, Russia, Turkey, and Israel), on the other. In fact, the US arguably pursued the most incoherent and inconsistent foreign policy toward the MENA region in response to the Arabellions. Among the three explanations considered in the introduction to this special issue, realism scores worst. 'Objective' geostrategic interests cannot account for the variation in policy responses by the external actors. The authors in this special issue point to domestic politics in the various countries and inside the regional organization (the EU) considered here. Self-understandings and collective identities provide a complementary explanation for why external actors have acted against their economic and security goals. As to the effects of the external actors' policies in the target countries, the main drivers of events during the Arabellions have been domestic so that external actors could only assume subsidiary roles. Tunisia might be the only case in which external democracy promotion—in this case by the EU—played an auxiliary role.

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Bélangier Marie-Ève

The Enlargement as the Foundation of the Community order: Comparative Analysis of the Europeanity discourse

in *Politique européenne* , n. 45, 2014/3 , 176-198

This article offers a comparative discourse analysis of the enlargement processes between 1970 and 2013. It shows how order is built on the European territory by highlighting the discourses' structuring power. Through an original analytical framework designed from the study of the Schuman Declaration (1950), the europeanity discourse is defined through four propositions about its nature. This discourse is then deconstructed along the recurring themes of origin, becoming, meaning and space. In conclusion, it is shown that European integration occurs in a determinate discursive setting, above and beyond European actors' strategic capabilities or their passive socialization.

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Serena Giusti and Enrico Fassi

The European Endowment for Democracy and Democracy Promotion in the EU Neighbourhood
in *International Spectator (The)*, Vol. 49, No. 4

The European Endowment for Democracy (EED) is a recently established instrument of democracy promotion intended to complement existing EU tools. Fashioned after the US National Endowment for Democracy, the EED's privileged area of action is the European neighbourhood. Meant as a small rapid-response, actor-oriented 'niche' initiative, its main task is to select those actors, from both civil and political society able to produce a change in their country. The EED represents a step forward in the EU's capacity to foster democracy, but does not necessarily go in the direction of more rationality and effectiveness. Not all EU member states support the EED with the same enthusiasm and it is still not clear how it fits into the EU's overall democracy promotion architecture. Its actions may be successful in a very constrained timeframe. However, recent crises at the EU's borders would seem to call for a strategy that takes into consideration systemic hindrances, post-regime change complexities, regional dynamics and finally rival plans of autocracy promotion.

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Guderjan Marius

The European Social Model – Public Support through Social Investment?
in *Europe en formation (L')*, n° 372, 2014/2 , 80-98

The focus of the European Social Model lies on a productive social policy that promotes active labour market participation to achieve sustainable economic growth and social cohesion. In 2013, the European Commission adopted the Social Investment Package as a strategic framework for social policy reform and the modernisation of social protection systems and services. In the light of growing disparities across Member States, anti-EU populist movements and mistrust in political institutions, the article examines the impact of social investment policies on citizens' support for the ESM. Taking into account aggregated and individual welfare attitudes across Europe, the article argues that the transformation from passive towards active welfare models can only gain strong public and political acceptance, if it is effective in fighting poverty and providing social protection without undermining redistributive policies, social solidarity and cohesion.

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Khader Bichara

The European Union and the Palestinian question (1957-2014): the performance-expectation gap
in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, Vol. 81, n. 3, luglio-settembre , 335-365

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 6. The European unification process

Crespo Enrique Barón

The European Union, weaver of peace

in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, Vol. 81, n. 1, gennaio-marzo , 87-94

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Dür Andreas, Mateo Gemma

The Europeanization of interest groups: Group type, resources and policy area

in *European Union Politics* , vol. 15, n. 4, December , 572-594

Large variation exists in the extent to which national interest groups focus on European Union (EU) legislation and carry out their political activities in Brussels and Strasbourg. What explains this variation? We propose a series of hypotheses that suggest that business groups, and groups active in policy areas with high EU competence, are more Europeanized than other groups. The effect of group type, moreover, is conditional on the material resources a group possesses: we expect the difference between business and non-business groups to be largest for actors that are well endowed with material resources. Using novel data on 880 national associations, gained from a survey of interest groups in five European countries, we find support for these hypotheses. The article has implications for the literatures on lobbying, Europeanization, and theories of European integration.

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Sidjanski Dusan

The Eurozone, the Dynamic Core of a European Federation

in *Federalist Debate (The)*, Year XXVII, n. 1, March

The European elections will allow us to take stock of the European Union, to assess the progress made in combating the financial crisis and the extent of the damage to the economy and European society. The sluggish revival of economic growth is not triggering a clear drop in unemployment; companies going bankrupt, poverty and a general sense of depression amongst the population are all factors which have sapped European drive. Jean Monnet's strategy of integration sector by sector ultimately leading to a political Union has reached the end of the line. Worse still, the spillover has been reversed due to the shock of the crisis and the negative effect of austerity.

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Filippo Fontanelli

The Implementation of European Union Law by Member States under Article 51(1) of the Charter of Fundamental Rights

in *Columbia Journal of European Law*, vol. 20, issue 3 , 193-247



The precise scope of application of the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union is, in many respects, still uncharted. In particular, it remains largely unclear to which national measures the Charter applies. The relevant instruction contained in Article 51(1), referring to the elusive concept of the "implementation of EU law," has so far resisted all hermeneutic efforts. As a result, it is difficult to predict whether or not a domestic measure that has legal effects touching upon the sphere of matters regulated by EU law, but that was not adopted to implement EU law directly, will be bound by the Charter. This article traces this state of legal uncertainty to the ambiguous case law of the Court of Justice, which has hesitantly confirmed case law on the application of fundamental rights to national measures as general principles of EU law, and, lately, has sought refuge in the equivalence between the application of the Charter and the application of EU law at large (Fransson, Textdata). It is argued that this minimalist approach simply begs the question of whether or not EU law applies in any specific case, a gateway question that the Court of Justice has been historically ill equipped to answer. This congenital difficulty has carried over in the interpretation of Article 51(1) of the Charter, and has, so far, left national judges without guidance, an undesirable result for the consistent application of fundamental rights across the Union and its Member States. The analysis is updated as of the Siragusa order of March 2014, which seems to call into question the Fransson precedent, and proposes a new composite test, inspired by several cases of the 1990s.

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Francesca Arcostanzo

The Internet and European Integration. Pro-and Anti-EU Debates in Online News Media, di Asimina Michailidou, Hans-Jörg Trencz e Pieter de Wilde

in *Biblioteca della Libertà*, Anno XLIX, n. 210 , 79

http://www.centroeinaudi.it/images/abook_file/210_online%20Arcostanzo.pdf

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Duff Andrew

The Juncker Mandate

in *Europe en formation (L')*, n° 373, 2014/3 , 79-89

The life of a European Commissioner is well paid but not easy. Having survived (bar one) their grilling at the hands of the European Parliament, the new members of the European Commission can only look forward to their mandate with more than a usual degree of anxiety. First, there are some important lessons to be drawn from the process of the selection and then the election of the new college. As Jean-Claude...

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Ali Balci

The Kurdish movement's EU policy in Turkey: An analysis of a dissident ethnic bloc's foreign policy

in *Ethnicities*, Vol. 15, n. 1



This study aims to address a historical paradox: how can we understand the Kurdish movement's EU policy in the two decades subsequent to the end of the Cold War? I argue that the Kurdish movement has pursued two different approaches towards the EU (or Turkey's EU membership bid) in the last...

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Milward Alan S.

The Life and Death of the Great European Boom

in *Journal of European Integration History*, vol. 20, n. 1

No abstract available

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Achim Hurrelmann, Anna Gora and Andrea Wagner

The Politicization of European Integration: More than an Elite Affair?

in *Political Studies*, Volume 63, Issue 1, 43–59

A growing literature in research on the European Union (EU) claims that European integration has become comprehensively politicized in the EU's population. The most convincing evidence for this assertion stems from research on political and societal elites – studies of party manifestos, interest groups' activities, news media reporting and the like. By contrast, evidence on politicization trends in the broader citizenry is much more ambiguous. This article raises the question of whether politicization is more than an elite phenomenon. Based on a differentiated conception of politicization, it analyzes focus groups conducted with EU citizens in four member states. It shows that, for most citizens, only the fundamentals of European integration have gained political saliency, while the EU's day-to-day activities remain largely non-politicized. In addition, patterns of politicization in the European population are conditioned by significant knowledge deficits.

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Uwe Puetter

The Rotating Council Presidency and the New Intergovernmentalism

in *International Spectator (The)*, Vol. 49, No. 4

The Lisbon Treaty fundamentally changed the presidency regime of the European Union at the expense of one of the oldest and most central institutions of European integration: the rotating presidency. The chair positions of the European Council, the Foreign Affairs Council and the Eurogroup have been decoupled from the rotating presidency. Understanding the reduced role of the rotating presidency requires attention for the changing dynamics of EU policymaking, especially for the new intergovernmentalism which implies decision-making outside the classic community method and for the rise of the European Council to the status of a lead institution.



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Phelan William

The Troika: The Interlocking Roles of Commission v. Luxembourg and Belgium, Van Gend en Loos and Costa v. ENEL in the Creation of the European Legal Order

in *European law journal*, Volume 21, Issue 1 , 116–135

Through comparisons with dispute resolution procedures in the North American Free Trade Area's Side Agreements, and with the debate over the direct effect of World Trade Organization obligations in the European legal order, this paper demonstrates that three of the European Court of Justice's most important decisions—Commission v. Luxembourg and Belgium, Van Gend en Loos and Costa v. ENEL—should be understood as combining to reorganise general international law's relationship between the EU Member States by substituting national court application of European obligations for the use of interstate retaliation as an enforcement mechanism, and thus providing the foundations for the EU's distinctive legal order.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Milward Alan S.

The United Kingdom and the European Union

in *Journal of European Integration History*, vol. 20, n. 1

No abstract available

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Bartl Marija

The Way We Do Europe: Subsidiarity and the Substantive Democratic Deficit

in *European law journal*, Volume 21, Issue 1 , 23–43

The new institutional framework of subsidiarity is expected to lower the EU democratic deficit. In contrast to this optimistic scenario, I argue that the success of subsidiarity depends on its capacity to unravel the EU's 'substantive' democratic deficit. Linked to the Union's functionalist institutional design, this dimension of the democratic deficit has developed due to two limitations of EU-level politics. First, the EU functionalist design has narrowed the range of topics open to democratic debate (horizontal substantive democratic deficit). Second, the proportion of the debate which we could genuinely describe as being political is declining as a result of the de-politicisation of EU goals, underpinned by a massive accumulation of allegedly apolitical expert knowledge (vertical substantive democratic deficit). Against this background, I contend that by involving actors relatively alien to the EU functionalist thinking, subsidiarity could offer an opportune ground for the re-politicisation of democratic 'blind spots' in EU policy making.

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Läesmäki Tuuli



The ambiguity of Europe and European identity in Finnish populist political discourse

in *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power*, Volume 22, Issue 1, 2015 , 71-87

Europe is a profoundly flexible concept and, in Ernesto Laclau's terms, a 'floating signifier' which is given various meanings depending on the speaker's political aims. The article focuses on current populist and nationalist political discourses in Finland and the articulation of Europe and European identity in the political rhetoric of The Finns Party. In the rhetoric, Europe is given contradictory meanings. On the one hand, it is perceived as a cultural and value-based community which shares a common (Christian) heritage and values. Identification with Europe and the promotion of European communality are particularly pronounced when a threat towards 'us' is experienced as coming from outside the imagined European borders. On the other hand, the European integration process and Europe as a political project can be articulated as threats not only to national independence, identity and cultural particularity but to European cultural identity as well.

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Simona Milio

The conflicting effects of multi-level governance and the partnership principle: Evidence from the Italian experience

in *European Urban and Regional Studies*, vol. 21, no. 4 , 384-397

With reference to cohesion policy, multi-level governance (MLG) is the policy-making architecture that implements the subsidiarity principle, which aims for direct involvement bringing government closer to the citizen. In parallel, the partnership principle (PP) has been introduced to guarantee the participation of social and economic actors in both decision making and implementation processes in order to better understand and respond to territorial needs. A review of existing literature identifies opposing views on the benefit of this complex architecture. This paper investigates potentially conflicting effects of MLG and the PP on political accountability, for example by blurring responsibilities and corrupting stakeholder engagements. The Italian case is used to test this hypothesis and identify bottlenecks. Initial findings suggest that the empowerment of new actors by means of MLG has had the effect of disclosing political influence from several players in the decision-making arena, therefore obscuring the accountability of the different tiers involved both vertically and horizontally. This is because actors in the governance chain might tend to shift blame of policy failure towards higher or lower governmental levels. Additionally, the engagement of stakeholders may reduce the efficiency of implementation processes both through a lack of inclusiveness in the decision and policymaking style or through a lack of competences within civil society in interpreting local needs in relation to EU cohesion policy goals. This article concludes by outlining possible solutions for cohesion policy practice to minimize the negative consequences of a multi-tier/multi-actor system.

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Peter Kraus, Giuseppe Sciortino

The diversities of Europe: From European modernity to the making of the European Union

in *Ethnicities*, Vol. 14, n. 4

Looking for a concept that condenses the normative added value that the European Union may claim to embody



vis-à-vis its member states, diversity would appear to be a first-rate candidate. For more than four decades, European institutions have endorsed a complex discourse about diversity that...

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Pfister Thomas

The epistemic dimension of European integration

in Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science Research, Volume 28, Issue 1, 2015 , 11-17

This paper departs from the assumption that European integration – in addition to the dimensions of political institutions, markets, and European Union (EU) law – also comprises an epistemic dimension. This dimension contains the concepts and meanings that tell us what an integrated Europe “is,” how it works, and how we could evaluate it. Against this background, the paper develops an account to discuss the role of EU studies in the broader process of European integration. Its particular focus is on how EU studies co-produce conceptual discourses and representations of the EU together with EU politics. Moreover, these concepts and representations inform institutions that link those academic communities to the EU and make the development of EU studies a partial dimension of European integration.

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Anastassios Chardas

The interplay between austerity, domestic territorial reform and European Union Cohesion Policy: Multi-level Governance and the application of the partnership principle in Greece

in European Urban and Regional Studies, vol. 21, no. 4 , 432-444

The purpose of this article is to assess the influences exerted by European Union Cohesion Policy to the patterns of governance of the sub-national actors in Greece and the role played by the latest wave of territorial reforms and the austerity measures that were introduced following the fiscal crisis of 2010 in these processes. It does that through the deployment of the theoretical frameworks of Multi-level Governance and the application of the principle of partnership. The principle of partnership has been an integral aspect of the regulatory framework governing the Cohesion Policy and has remained so after all the reforms of the Structural Funds. The aims of the partnership principle are mediated through domestic policy practices which, in the case of Greece, have been highly centralised. An assessment regarding the changes of governance towards greater sub-national involvement about the current programming period (2008–2013) indicates that there has hardly been any turn towards Multi-level Governance whilst the principle of partnership was only applied in a superficial way. These issues are pertinent in light of the ‘Kalikratis’ plan, which was introduced in 2010 in order to modernise the sub-national authorities, as well as the austerity measures that followed the fiscal crisis which has engulfed Greece since 2010. The interplay between the domestic territorial reforms introduced by ‘Kalikratis’, the austerity measures and the superficial patterns of internalisation of the principle of partnership has led to the rescaling of governance and to less spending, further undermining the already diminished capacities for participation by the sub-national authorities.

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FitzGerald John

The new EU governance arrangements
in *Revue de l'OFCE*, N° 132, 2014/1 , 93-99

Until the economic crisis hit in 2008, the euro area operated with a single set of fiscal rules – the Stability and Growth Pact (SGP). In the first decade of operation of EMU the rules were broken by Germany but this breach did not threaten the stability of the euro area. However, this set of rules did not prevent the crisis occurring in 2008 and it did not prove adequate to manage the subsequent fall-out...

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Flavia Zanon, Giuseppe Sciortino

The newest diversity is the oldest: Religious pluralism and the EU
in *Ethnicities*, Vol. 14, n. 4

This article analyses the European Year for Combating Poverty and Social Exclusion (2010) (EY 2010) with the aim of identifying the nature of gender diversities in European Union policies. We argue that the European Union handles issues related to gender and diversity in particular ways; this...

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Huw Macartney

The paradox of integration? European democracy and the debt crisis
in *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* , Volume 27, Issue 3 , 401-423

Europe is facing both a political crisis of democracy and legitimacy and an economic crisis of debt and competitiveness. These crises seem to point in two distinct directions, growing social unrest over the Europeanized mechanisms of economic adjustment, and increasing efforts at strengthening those same institutions that regulate the adjustment process. Recent analyses have suggested that this failure of democracy will prove decisive; legitimacy for crisis management efforts requires a redemocratization of the European polity. Instead, drawing on an analysis of ordo- and neo-liberal traditions, the article explains how European integration was itself a response to the perceived threat of democratic demands at the domestic level. The body of the article then traces the crisis through three phases, arguing that efforts by state managers reflect a deliberate attempt to depoliticize policy-making processes. Yet the selective intervention—to restore accumulation whilst withdrawing social spending—has only fuelled the politicization of segments of European society. This threatens to test the limits of depoliticization as a governing strategy.

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Milner Susan

The politics of unemployment policy in an age of austerity: France in comparative perspective
in *French Politics*, Volume 12, Issue 3 (September 2014) , 193-217



The diversity of European responses to unemployment has increased since 2008. On the basis of an analysis of French labour market and employment policies since 2008, with a particular focus on the policy output under the Hollande presidency since 2012, this article argues that France has maintained a distinctive mix of labour market policies. Although in some respects France's pattern of labour market segmentation aligns it with what has been defined as a classic Mediterranean model, the Eurozone crisis has led to greater divergence between France and other countries in the Mediterranean cluster. Rather, France is one of several outliers in the continental economies that are undergoing distinctive dualizing processes of transition. Thus although the distinction between liberal market and coordinated market economies remains valid, there is evidence of converging pressures and trends (such as, at a very general level, deregulation and a search for bargained 'flexicurity') while at the same time multiple patterns of domestic change are at work.

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Mondo Emilie

The role of values in EU bioethics politics An American culture wars scenario? The case of abortion in *Politique européenne*, n. 45, 2014/3, 122-150

This article analyzes the effect of values on European morality politics through the abortion issue. In front of the politicization of a sovereign competence within the EU, the American theory of culture wars enables to study the instrumentalization of values by faith-based groups. The qualitative methodological approach relies on both semi-structured interviews and documents analysis. The results confirm that values help actors to (re) assert a particular identity. EU-level controversies on the meaning of secular – but not value-free – notions then induce a shift from values as resources to values as ends. This could have an impact on traditional European politics.

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P.I. Kasatkin & V.A. Avatkov

The soft power of migration – a hard task for the European union in *Defense and Security Analysis*, Volume 30, Issue 4, 311-322

The article studies the range of problems that have emerged due to the growing immigration from Muslim countries into the European Union (EU). While describing the functions of immigrants' communities, the authors focus on their political role in the receiving states. The study of the historical development of government–diaspora relations in three cases (the UK, France, and Germany) shows that Muslim communities' political influence does not reflect their economic and cultural role, which in the future might threaten the EU security, unless these countries develop a new approach to an "acculturation" policy.

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Verheyen Florian

The stability of German export demand equations – have German exports suffered from the strength of the euro?



in *International Economics and Economic Policy*, Volume 11, Issue 4, December 2014 , 529-548

Since its introduction in 1999, the euro has shown pronounced swings against the US dollar and the British pound. In this study, we investigate whether this evolution has affected bilateral German exports to two of its major export destinations: the US and the UK. Applying the autoregressive distributed lags bounds testing approach, we find different elasticities of trade between the two export destinations. Our results show that the export demand equation for the US seems to be more stable than that for the UK. Furthermore, it seems that the short-run dynamics in particular have changed.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Francisco de Borja Lasheras

The times are changing: resetting CSDP and European Defence

in *Cuadernos europeos de Deusto*, n. 50 , 77-103

The EU's Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) has not brought about the step change in European Defence hoped for by some of its proponents. It could not, given the EU's very nature and the different security ambitions and priorities of Member States. It has a purpose, though, as a crisis management tool for soft security tasks, mostly through civilian missions. It can sometimes embody European solidarity for actions led by coalitions of willing Member States, most recently, in Sahel. Overall, Europe faces a strategic momentum, not least with the US pivoting towards Asia and core European players re-shifting policy priorities. The old goal of a fully autonomous European Defence will not come to pass anytime soon, as Europe's defence crunch threatens to jeopardize even minimal goals of limited strategic autonomy. The way forward is a more flexible and realistic approach, emphasizing coherence between the different cooperation frameworks in Europe.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Napolitano Giulio

"This Time is Different" for Public Law too: shifts of sovereignty and power during and after the "2008-? Crisis

in *Revue européenne de droit public*, Vol. 25, N. 1 , 43-65

"This Time is Different" for Public Law too: shifts of sovereignty and power during and after the "2008-? Crisis"

The crisis erupted in 2008 is really "different", not only in economic terms, but also in legal and institutional ones. Existing constraints deriving from international and European treaties and from national Constitutions were unknown in 1929. The legal reactions to the present crisis were deeply influenced by those constraints. Institutional transformations affect in particular: i) multilateralism and international cooperation among governments in order to ensure financial stability and sustainable growth; ii) the European integration process whose efficacy might be threatened by three forms of fragmentation: legal, political and administrative; iii) separation of powers and checks and balances, with reference to the relationship between executive and parliaments at national level, as well as between elected bodies and independent authorities; iv) the interaction between public and private sector, governments and markets.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Padoa-Schioppa Antonio

Towards a New German Nationalism? A Farewell to Europe?
in *Federalist Debate (The)*, Year XXVI, n. 3, November

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Müller Gómez Johannes, Höing Oliver

Towards the German model? Spitzenkandidaten and European Elections 2014
in *Europe en formation (L')*, n° 373, 2014/3, 45-65

The 2014 European elections mark a historic attempt to increase the transparency of the election of the European Commission. Constitutional ambiguities in the Lisbon Treaties encouraged European parties to nominate leading candidates, the so-called 'Spitzenkandidaten', for the position of the Commission President. The election of Jean-Claude Juncker by the European Council was coined by some as "the day we got EU parliamentarianism".

The term 'Spitzenkandidat' indicates a specific understanding of parliamentarianism which is close to the German political system. EU parliamentarianism is, however, still different from most national settings. This paper analyses the political and institutional implications of the new nomination procedure. Although the European Parliament is often considered a winner vis-à-vis the European Council, it is the political parties within the EP that probably benefit the most from nominating Spitzenkandidaten in future elections.

We argue that the personalization of the election campaign does not offer better policy choices on a left-right scale for the electorate, as it was initially desired. The simultaneous increase of votes for Eurosceptical parties forces the pro-European parties to cooperate more closely and thus to take decisions in an ever broader coalition. Similar to other 'consensus democracies', voting in parliamentary elections thus influences – at best – the choice for the chief executive. It does not, however, influence the exact composition of the Commission nor the policy platform it runs on. This is still and will remain a result of complex negotiations among multiple European and national actors.

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CLAUDIO ARANDAZI

UE 2030: objetivo clima y energía
in *Política Exterior*, n° 163

Un 40 por cien de reducción de emisiones, un 27 por cien de renovables y una mejora de la eficiencia del 27 por cien son los objetivos energéticos de la UE para 2030. Los europeos siguen liderando la lucha contra el cambio climático.



¿Cómo atraer al resto del mundo?

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Cautrès Bruno

Un effondrement de la confiance dans l'UE ? Les attitudes des européens vis-à-vis de l'Europe au cours de la grande récession

in *Revue de l'OFCE*, N° 134, 2014/3 , 17 à 27

La période de « Grande Récession » depuis 2008 a entraîné une baisse de nombreux indicateurs de soutien des Européens à l'intégration européenne. Du point de vue de la confiance que les Européens font à l'Europe (une dimension importante de soutien diffus à l'UE), on peut même parler d'une véritable crise de confiance dans l'action de l'Union européenne constatée depuis 2008 dans les opinions des Européens. Dans certains pays (Grèce par exemple), on enregistre même un effondrement de cette confiance. L'analyse des données de deux vagues de l'Eurobaromètre, une vague au début de la crise et une autre en 2011, montre que si cet effondrement est bien avéré, et pas seulement sur les indicateurs de soutien diffus, les Européens n'impute pas la responsabilité de la crise à l'UE seulement. Ils perçoivent la crise et le rôle de l'Europe dans la crise à travers le prisme de l'expérience nationale qu'ils en ont. Par ailleurs, la crise de confiance dans l'UE n'entraîne pas ipso facto une grave crise de confiance dans l'euro : on ne constate pas d'effondrement comparable à celui que l'on observe en termes de confiance générale dans l'UE. Dans les pays membres de la zone euro les évolutions sont en légère baisse mais de manière qui n'est pas très significative ; ce sont dans les pays qui sont hors de la zone euro ou dans ceux qui sont candidats pour y entrer que la baisse du soutien à l'euro est la plus forte.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Perchoc Philippe

Un passé, deux assemblées. L'assemblée parlementaire du Conseil de l'Europe, le Parlement européen et l'interprétation de l'histoire (2004-2009)

in *Revue d'études comparatives Est-Ouest*, vol. 45, n. 3-4, Dossier: La fabrique européenne des politiques de réconciliation , 205 - 235

-Since the fall of the Berlin Wall and the EU's enlargement (2004), issues related to the interpretation of European history have increasingly come up for debate in the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe and the European Parliament. World War II, the Holocaust, the fight against Soviet domination in central Europe and the crimes of Communism have been recurrent themes in a conflict of symbols that sets at odds European nation-states with different historical heritages (West/East) and political lineups (right/left). Although more than half of the member states of the Council of Europe also belong to the EU and share much the same history during the 20th century, we are forced to admit that the debates and the resolutions adopted by the European Parliament and the Parliamentary Assembly are quite different. This difference can largely be set down to the "logics of operation and socialization" in these two assemblies.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Timbeau Xavier

Un « new deal » vert pour relancer l'Europe

in *Revue de l'OFCE*, N° 134, 2014/3, 239 à 248

Pour sortir de la Grande Récession et enclencher la transition vers l'économie à bas carbone, nous proposons ici un plan d'investissement public et privé dans la transition énergétique de l'ordre de 2 points de PIB européen par an. La clef de ce plan repose sur la possibilité de reconsidérer les critères de finances publiques en n'utilisant non pas la dette publique brute (en point de PIB) comme objectif de la stabilité, mais au contraire, en reposant sur un concept de dette publique nette des actifs publics créés. Un organe tiers (par exemple la Commission européenne) pourrait évaluer ex post et ex ante la valeur des investissements réalisée, incitant à des politiques cohérentes et efficaces de dépense publique.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Morrone Andrea

Una costituzione per l'Europa? Per uno Stato costituzionale europeo

in *Federalismi*, Anno XII - Nr 23

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Guillard Christine

Une Union économique et monétaire véritable au risque d'une Union européenne désorganisée

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 584, janvier, 4-15

The sovereign debt crisis made it necessary to complete the monetary economic Union relying on an integrated financial budget and economic policy framework as well as on the setting up of systems guaranteeing democratic legitimacy and the duty be answerable. Though the progress towards an economic and monetary Union is undisputable, the methods used may weaken the European Union. It is increasingly disorganised, both by the inconsistency resulting from the participation in the economic part of the economic and monetary Union - making it necessary to think about a need for a more for a more global approach of the closer cooperation opening - and by the disproportion of the institutional arrangements made, which made alter and even affect the institutional framework of the European Union.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Delpla Isabelle

Une échelle européenne pour la justice internationale?

in *Revue d'études comparatives Est-Ouest*, vol. 45, n. 3-4, Dossier: La fabrique européenne des politiques de réconciliation, 75 - 106



What would a European scale for international (criminal) justice be? The relevance of this question is far from obvious, since anglo-saxon research ignores it as much as research on the European Union overestimates it. According to the latter, this scale would take on significance through a policy of conditionality that leads to a progress toward Europe and its ideals, the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) being a stepping stone in this process. However this conception covers up the divisions, conflicts and paradoxes that permeate the reception of this justice and internal tensions. The very idea of a European scale of justice is analyzed through the reception of the ICTY in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Alvaro Giuseppe

Unione europea: crescita del dissenso

in **Il Ponte**, Numero 1, 2015

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Benoist Alain de

Unione transatlantica: la grande minaccia

in **Diorama**, numero 321, 2014

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Catherine Perron

Using partnership to ameliorate regional policies? The case of Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania

in **European Urban and Regional Studies**, vol. 21, no. 4 , 398-415

The partnership principle in the European Union has often been examined in the context of the emergence of a multi-level type of governance. Recently, a number of studies have focused on the implementation of the European Cohesion Policy in the new member states. They have listed the numerous obstacles to its functioning effectively. However, given the shortfalls, they were not in the position to question the entire range of effects of partnership when it does indeed work. Complementary to this approach, this paper starts from the example of a best-practice, looking at the concrete results of the use of partnership to ensure a place-based approach to regional policies. It uses the example of the East-German Land of Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, a NUTS II region that benefits from structural funding under the convergence objective. After a brief description of how the partnership principle works on the ground, it examines the conditions of its success. It then analyses its contribution to "good governance". Lastly, it examines whether this form of partnership rises to the challenge of implementing a place-based approach as defined in the Barca Report. It argues that it neither offers all individuals a chance to become informed and contribute their knowledge or express their preferences about the delivery of projects, which involve the very technical issues of regional development and the disbursement of



the structural funds. Nor does it allow control and pressure on policy makers by the citizen. The findings show that, as a consequence, the kind of policies promoted fail to fulfil both the objectives of efficiency and equity.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Miccù Roberto

Valori comuni e garanzie costituzionali in Europa: il “progetto europeo” dentro e oltre la crisi in Federalismi, Anno XII - Nr 19

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Cerruti Tanja

Valori comuni e identità nazionali nell'Unione europea: continuità o rottura? in Federalismi, Anno XII - Nr 24

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Cerrina Feroni Ginevra

Verso il Meccanismo Unico di Vigilanza sulle Banche. Ruolo e prospettive della European Banking Authority (EBA) in Federalismi, Anno XII - Nr 17

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Ciarlo Pietro

Voto europeo e trasformazioni delle affinità; politiche in Quaderni Costituzionali, numero 3 , 688-689,

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Habermas Jürgen

Warum der Ausbau der Europäischen Union zu einer supranationalen Demokratie nötig und wie er möglich ist



in *Leviathan. Berliner Zeitschrift für Sozialwissenschaft* , Heft 4, 2014

Europa ist am Scheideweg zwischen intelligenter Erweiterung des Zukunftshorizonts und erschrockenem Einschrumpfen der Perspektiven auf das eigene Revier. Abstiegsängste auf Seiten vieler Bürger einerseits und eine Krisenpolitik mit handgreiflichen Ungerechtigkeiten haben die Nationalgesellschaften gegeneinander aufgebracht, der fehlende Mut, europäische Themen in die Öffentlichkeit zu bringen, auf der anderen Seite gefährden das Projekt Europa. Überwinden lässt sich diese gefährliche Situation nur durch eine demokratisch entwickelte Union, die sowohl die sozialen und bürgerrechtlichen Errungenschaften des Nationalstaates beibehält als auch die Vorzüge einer großen, demokratisch verfassten politischen Einheit bietet, die eine Einheit aus europäischen Bürgern und den europäischen Staatsvölkern bietet.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bruneau Catherine, Delatte Anne-Laure, Fouquau Julien

Was the European sovereign crisis self-fulfilling? Empirical evidence about the drivers of market sentiments

in *Journal of Macroeconomics*, Volume 42, December 2014 , 38-51

We investigate the presence of self-fulfilling dynamics during the European sovereign crisis in the light of a theoretical model that we bring to the data. Our empirical framework allows us to empirically test the presence of self-fulfilling dynamics and to identify what may have driven the market sentiment during this crisis. To do so we estimate the probability of default of five European “peripheral” countries during January 2006 to September 2011 with a panel smooth threshold regression. Our estimation results suggest that (1) both the fundamentals and “animal spirit” ignited the European sovereign crisis; (2) we isolate the risk indicator through which investors’ belief coordinate.

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Heinisch Reinhard, Schlipphak Bernd

Wenn Europa zum Problem wird – die Effekte der Finanzkrise auf Euroskeptizismus und nationales Wahlverhalten in Mittel- und Osteuropa

in *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Politikwissenschaft* , Volume 8, Issue 2 Supplement, November 2014 , 177-196

Abstract

Contrary to widespread assumptions about the flow of causality between the national and European level, this article argues that the European financial crisis—in conjunction with the role played by European actors—has shaped individual euroscepticism and has thus indirectly influenced individual electoral preferences in favor of eurosceptical and extremist parties. The argument is based on both a rationalist and a psychological explanation, derived from recent literature and tested based on data from surveys in Hungary and Slovakia. Owing to differences between the country contexts, we expect some variation regarding the individual-level effects. Initial empirical findings lend cautious support to some of our hypotheses, while results for our other hypotheses yield mixed evidence



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Kerber Markus

**What's needed is a much more visionary EU industrial policy
in Europe's World**, n. 28, Autumn

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Daley Tad, Shevtsov Jane

**Who's Got It Right About the European Union: David Cameron or Alfred Nobel?
in Federalist Debate (The)**, Year XXVI, n. 3, November

Trying to follow the news about the European Union these days may be a whiplash hazard. Last December, the Norwegian Nobel Committee awarded the EU with the Nobel Peace Prize. On January, however, British Prime Minister David Cameron promised that if his party won the 2015 election, the United Kingdom would hold a referendum on EU membership – “in or out”.

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Preda Daniela

**Youth and the United Europe
in Società Mutamento Politica**, Vol 5, N° 10 (2014) , 75-86

The Second World War marked a turning point in European history, leading to a shift from the European to the world system of states and decreeing the historical failure of the absolute national state. The idea of European unification, which in the interwar period still appeared as unrealistic, became concretely achievable in the immediate postwar period, beginning to take shape with the theoretical reflections of many Europeans, who organized associations to promote the idea of a united Europe. The article intends to analyze the history of the birth and of the ideas of the first Europeanist youth organizations in this postwar context.

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Antonin Céline, Blot Christophe, Le Bayon Sabine, Schweisguth Danielle

**Zone euro: convalescence Perspectives 2014-2015 pour l'économie européenne
in Revue de l'OFCE**, N° 135, 2014/4 , 53 à 83

La zone euro a renoué avec la croissance. Pour le troisième trimestre consécutif, le PIB a légèrement progressé. Pour autant, la situation macroéconomique de la zone euro reste critique. La croissance est pour l'instant bien trop fragile



pour enclencher une dynamique de reprise significative. Dans certains pays, le PIB a continué de reculer au quatrième trimestre 2013. Dans d'autres, c'est le chômage qui se maintient à des niveaux records et qui progresse même encore, en raison d'une progression trop faible de l'activité. Les politiques budgétaires restrictives ont de nouveau pesé sur la demande en 2013. Leur dimension procyclique devrait néanmoins s'atténuer en 2014 et 2015. Du côté de la politique monétaire, la BCE maintient le taux d'intérêt directeur à un niveau de 0,25 point mais tarde à engager des actions plus significatives pour soutenir la croissance et accélérer le processus, en cours, de convergence des taux longs. Les enquêtes sur le crédit indiquent une normalisation des conditions d'offre de crédits mais aussi le faible dynamisme de la demande. Dans ces conditions, nous anticipons une accélération de la croissance en 2014, en grande partie liée à une impulsion budgétaire négative (0,2 point au lieu de 0,7 en 2013). Portée par une moindre accélération du commerce extérieur et le début d'une reprise de l'investissement, la croissance atteindrait 1,3 % en 2014 puis accélérerait à 1,6 % en 2015. Avec un PIB toujours inférieur de 2,7 % à son niveau d'avant crise, ce rebond de la croissance est encore trop faible pour avoir un impact significatif sur le chômage. Il baisserait en 2014 et 2015 sur l'ensemble de la zone euro mais seulement de 0,2 puis 0,3 point. Or avec un taux de chômage qui serait encore de 11,4 % en fin d'année 2015, le risque déflationniste va continuer à s'accroître. L'évolution récente des prix reflète cette situation avec une inflation qui ralentit depuis la fin de l'année 2011 et un risque accru de voir les anticipations s'ancrer sur un scénario de baisse des prix.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Hartemann Aline

a réconciliation par les ondes De l'histoire franco-allemande à l'information européenne

in *Revue d'études comparatives Est-Ouest*, vol. 45, n. 3-4, Dossier: La fabrique européenne des politiques de réconciliation , 177 - 204

The European television channel ARTE was designed in the early 1990s to foster the political process of European construction and reconcile erstwhile enemies. The objective of reconciliation was first implemented through a French-German program called "Parallel history", which would, in the following decade, be replaced with a European-oriented news program, "Zoom Europa". This change signalled a shift from a bilateral, backward-looking perspective on history to a European one focused on current events. However "Zoom Europa", designed as a "showcase of institutional Europe", was caught between two contradictory demands : the Europeanization of information and strong local traditions for news broadcasts. The program was pulled three years after its launch. This case study empirically illustrates the difficulty of creating a "European information space".

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

302-312

'Hermann Heller and the European Crisis: Authoritarian Liberalism Redux?'

in *European law journal*, Volume 21, Issue 3 , Scheuerman William E.

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process



JOSEF JANNING

¿Algo más que otros rostros? Nuevo liderazgo en la UE
in *Política Exterior*, n.162

Donald Tusk, Jean-Claude Juncker y Federica Mogherini podrían suponer la revolución institucional silenciosa. Con mensajes al Sur y al Este, el objetivo es crear una estructura de gobernanza más horizontal

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Ruiz Vicioso José

¿Por qué ha ganado UKIP las elecciones europeas en el Reino Unido?
in *Cuadernos de pensamiento político*, n. 44

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Arndt Michael

Advent of a 'Game Changer'?: India's Economic, Political and Strategic Engagement in Sub-Saharan Africa from 1991 until 2014

in *India Quarterly*, vol. 70, no. 4 , 341-357

In her position as a rising power, India has reassessed and reinvigorated the entirety of her relations with Africa in the past decade. These relations cover the economic, political and the security spheres. They are the result of India's ideational foreign policy change, her economic growth trajectory, looming energy insecurity and India's role as an increasingly important international stakeholder. The main argument of the article is that India has successfully worked out her own policies, institutional structures and inter-regional development schemes with unique characteristics to develop and deepen linkages with sub-Saharan Africa. The article concludes that India now has a potential of assuming the role of 'game changer' in the new scramble for Africa's resources and the struggle for votes and support of African states in international institutions and fora.

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Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Heydemann Steven

America's Response to the Arab Uprisings: US Foreign Assistance in an Era of Ambivalence

in *Mediterranean Politics*, Volume 19, Issue 3, Special Issue: The Politics of Foreign Aid in Arab World. The Impact of the Arab Uprisings , 299-317

This article traces the impact of the Arab uprisings on US foreign assistance to the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) in the period since 2011. Despite the Obama administration's rhetoric in support of Arab protesters and their demands for political and economic change, and despite the US President's commitment to place the full weight of the US foreign policy system behind political openings created by mass protests, US foreign assistance programs to the MENA region



were largely unaffected by the dramatic political changes of 2011 and beyond. The article explains continuity in US foreign assistance as the result of several factors. These include the administration's ambivalence about the political forces unleashed by the uprisings; domestic economic and political obstacles to increases in foreign assistance; institutional and bureaucratic inertia within the agencies responsible for managing foreign assistance programming, and institutional capture of the foreign assistance bureaucracy by implementing organizations with a vested interest in sustaining ongoing activities rather than adapting programs in light of the new challenges caused by the Arab uprisings.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Gladys Lechini

América Latina y África. Entre la solidaridad Sur-Sur y los propios intereses.

in *Estudios internacionales : revista del Instituto de Estudios Internacionales de la Universidad de Chile*, Vol.46 No. 179 , 61-88

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Ada Karel, Lo Jacqueline, Tan Danielle, Shannon William

Asia/Europe/Australia dialogue: building knowledge from each other's experiences

in *Asia Europe Journal*, vol. 12, n. 4, December, Special issue: "Asia-Pacific and Europe Dialogue: Building Knowledge from each other's experiences" , 361-363

The publication demonstrates the importance of building knowledge from each other's experiences with particular reference to regional integration processes occurring in Asia and Europe. The Canberra workshop revolved around key questions such as "What can Australia learn from the EU or Asian integration?", "What could Europe and Asia learn from each other?", "How do we understand the drivers of integration and regionalism?", "How do ideas, norms and visions shape region-building?".

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Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Fritz Thomas

CETA: Blaupause der Deregulierung

in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, Februar, 2015 , 25-28

Im Zuge einer Charme-Offensive veröffentlichte die EU-Kommission Anfang des Jahres einige Dokumente zu den Verhandlungen des Freihandelsabkommens TTIP. Zwar ist zu begrüßen, dass die Kommission einen Teil ihrer Karten offenlegt. Zugleich aber sagen die Dokumente recht wenig darüber aus, wie das Abkommen zwischen der EU und den USA am Ende aussehen wird, denn nur ein Teil von ihnen enthält

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Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Bisson Liubov

Cooperation Between Russia and the EU in the Sphere of Migration

in *Russian politics and law*, vol. 52, n. 6, November-December , 42-60

The author attempts to analyze all aspects of cooperation between Russia and the European Union (EU) within the framework of the migration dialogue. She compares the migration policies of Russia and the EU-28 countries, discussing both common problems—the relationship between migration and development, labor immigration, the fight against illegal immigration—and the specific ways in which each side tackles them. She points out that the migration dialogue has great potential for developing further cooperation, exchanging experience, and strengthening trust between Russia and the EU.

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Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Filippini Caterina

Dalla Comunità economica euroasiatica all'Unione economica euroasiatica.

in *Federalismi*, Anno XII - Nr 18

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Glaser Antoine, Steta Annick

De la Françarique à l'AfricaFrance

in *Revue des deux mondes*, Septembre

<http://www.revuedesdeuxmondes.fr/archive/article.php?code=72992&show=picture>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Mouhib Leila

EU Democracy Promotion in Tunisia and Morocco: Between Contextual Changes and Structural Continuity

in *Mediterranean Politics*, Volume 19, Issue 3, Special Issue: The Politics of Foreign Aid in Arab World. The Impact of the Arab Uprisings , 351-372

This paper offers an analysis of democracy promotion through the EIDHR in Morocco and Tunisia, before and after the Arab uprisings. It questions the effect of the Arab insurrections on the EIDHR and European Union democracy promotion. These policies are found to be shaped first and foremost by institutional determinants intrinsic to the EU but secondarily sensitive to the human rights realities in Morocco and Tunisia. Therefore, the Arab uprisings represent a contextual event that can trigger minor adjustments but certainly not truly challenge the essence of EU democracy promotion in the region.



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Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Murray Philomena, Benvenuti Andrea

EU-Australia Relations at Fifty: Reassessing a Troubled Relationship

in *Australian Journal of Politics & History* , Volume 60, Issue 3, Special Issue: Faultlines: Cohesion and Division in Modern Europe, September , 431-448

This article critically examines the Australia-EU relationship over the past five decades or so. A narrow formulation of Australia's national interests has become transformed into a broader engagement, with an increasingly regionalised and multilateralised common agenda. The article argues that the relationship changed because of a number of factors. The first is Australia's changing relationship with the UK as interlocutor and market. The second is the eventual diminution of the pivotal role of a single policy, agriculture. The third is the transformation of the EU's international role, with impact on Australia. The fourth is the development of both traditional and non-traditional security concerns that were increasingly shared by each side. The fifth and final factor is the common interest in the Asia Pacific region.

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Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Prieto Catherine

Et si l'Union européenne se décomposait dans un grand marché transatlantique?

in *Revue Trimestrielle de droit européen*, n. 3 , 575-580

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

ORJEBIN-YOUSFAOUI Caroline

Europe-Méditerranée-Afrique: le temps des défis énergétiques

in *Politique internationale*, n. 144 - Ete, 2014

Entretien avec Caroline ORJEBIN-YOUSFAOUI

Toutes les économies du monde sont confrontées à de nouveaux défis énergétiques : forte augmentation de la demande des pays émergents ; « révolutions technologiques » et nécessité d'une transition énergétique ; gestion des conséquences du changement climatique. Il faut se rendre à l'évidence, la consommation d'énergie mondiale explose : de 2 milliards de tonnes équivalent pétrole (TEP) en 1950, elle est passée à 10 milliards en 2000, puis à 12 milliards en 2012, avant d'atteindre très vraisemblablement 20 milliards de TEP en 2040. En moins d'un siècle, elle aura été multipliée par dix.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation



Thimm Johannes

Herausforderungen für das transatlantische Bündnis: Die Ukraine-Krise und die NSA-Affäre
in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 50-51, 2014

The full text is free:

<http://www.bpb.de/apuz/197165/herausforderungen-fuer-das-transatlantische-buendnis-die-ukraine-krise-und-die-nsa-af-faere>

Seit dem Ende des Zweiten Weltkrieges gehören mehr oder weniger regelmäßige Bestandsaufnahmen der transatlantischen Beziehungen in Europa zur Selbstvergewisserung der eigenen Rolle in der Welt. Während des Kalten Krieges wurde die Partnerschaft zwischen den USA und dem westlichen Europa von keiner der beiden Seiten in Frage gestellt. Nach dem Ende der Ost-West-Konfrontation gab es zwar vereinzelt Rufe nach der Abschaffung der NATO, das Ende der Partnerschaft forderte jedoch kaum jemand. Dennoch ließ bei den langjährigen NATO-Mitgliedstaaten das Bedürfnis nach einem engen Verhältnis nach. Gleichzeitig beförderten neue Entwicklungen unter transatlantisch orientierten Europäern die Sorge, die USA könnten das Interesse an Europa verlieren. Durch den Aufstieg neuer Mächte wie China, Indien oder Brasilien, die nun zunehmend auch eine Rolle in der internationalen Politik einforderten, verlor der "Westen" relativ an Macht. Die Diskussion in den USA über eine Hinwendung nach Asien trug nicht dazu bei, Sorgen in Europa auszuräumen. Dabei waren die verschobenen Prioritäten der USA durchaus ein Resultat der Erfolgsgeschichte Europas. Europa galt als friedlich und stabil, sodass man sich anderen Krisenregionen zuwenden konnte...

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Kristensen Peter Marcus

International relations in China and Europe: the case for interregional dialogue in a hegemonic discipline
in *Pacific Review (The)* , Volume 28, Issue 2, 2015 , 161-187

The international relations (IR) discipline is known as an 'American Social Science' dominated by scholars and theories from the US core. This paper compares IR in two noncore settings, China and Europe. It shows that there is a growing institutional and intellectual integration into global Anglophone, mostly American, IR in both Europe and China. Both Chinese and European IR communities have established top Anglophone journals like the *European Journal of International Relations* and the *Chinese Journal of International Politics* to spearhead their integration into mainstream Anglophone IR and carve out a space for regional thinking. Yet, the analysis of their publication and citation patterns shows that IR outside the American core communicates through a hub-and-spokes system where there is always a connection to the American core but rarely very strong linkages to other peripheral regions. The two journals studied thus function as outlets for 'local' and American scholars, rely on 'local' and American sources, and there is very little integration and exchange between Chinese and European IR. Chinese and European IR would benefit from such a dialogue, especially regarding 'schools' of IR at the margins of an 'American social science'.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Barnier Michel



Maroc-Europe : un partenariat privilégié

in *Politique internationale*, n. 144 - Ete, 2014

Entretien avec Michel Barnier (Commissaire européen au Marché intérieur et aux Services depuis 2010).

Frédéric Encel - Le roi Mohammed VI est monté sur le trône du Maroc en juillet 1999. Comment percevez-vous ces quinze années de règne ?

Michel Barnier - Les quinze premières années du règne de Mohammed VI ont été marquées par de grands chantiers institutionnels et une modernisation accélérée du pays dans toute une série de domaines.

En matière politique, avec l'adoption d'une nouvelle Constitution en juillet 2011 qui affirme ou réaffirme un certain nombre de principes démocratiques (séparation des pouvoirs, indépendance de la justice, égalité homme-femme, liberté d'opinion et d'expression, etc.). Fait unique dans le monde arabe : ce texte reconnaît l'apport du judaïsme dans l'identité marocaine. [...]

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Nosov Mikhail

Russia between Europe and Asia

in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, Vol. 81, n. 1, gennaio-marzo , 15-34

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Gretskiy Igor, Treshchenkov Evgeny, Golubev Konstantin

Russia's perceptions and misperceptions of the EU Eastern Partnership

in *Communist and post-communist studies*, vol. 47, n. 3-4, September-December , 375-383

This article is devoted to the problem of the reaction to the Eastern Partnership by Russia's both the political establishment and the expert community. The question of reactions to the Eastern Partnership in the target countries has been extensively posed in academic literature. However, the question of Russia's reaction to the Eastern Partnership, one of the most important actors of the region, has been rarely raised by the academic community. A wide array of factors impacted Russian elites' perception of the Eastern Partnership – from problematic issues in the EU-Russia relations to the post-Soviet states' political and economic transformation. Studying the dynamics and peculiarities of Russia's perspective on the Eastern Partnership makes it possible to draw meaningful conclusions on the nature of Russia's phobias that fuel its domestic and foreign policy.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Schmucker Claudia

TTIP im Kontext anderer Freihandelsabkommen

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 50-51, 2014



The full text is free:

<http://www.bpb.de/apuz/197169/ttip-im-kontext-anderer-freihandelsabkommen>

Die Verhandlungen über die Transatlantische Handels- und Investitionspartnerschaft (TTIP) zwischen der Europäischen Union und den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika werden gerade in Deutschland sehr kritisch diskutiert. Die Debatten kreisen dabei vor allem um Nahrungsmittelstandards und den Import von Chlorhühnern sowie die umstrittenen Investor-Staat-Schiedsverfahren. Auch wenn man sich mit den einzelnen Details von TTIP kritisch auseinandersetzen muss, lohnt es sich, das Abkommen in einem globaleren Kontext zu betrachten.

Infolge des stockenden Verlaufs der Doha-Runde der Welthandelsorganisation (WTO) werden Liberalisierungsbestrebungen in fast allen Regionen auf bilateraler und regionaler Ebene sichtbar. Vor allem die Staaten in Asien und der Pazifik-Region verhandeln zurzeit untereinander eine Vielzahl von Freihandelsabkommen und regionalen Zusammenschlüssen. Dazu zählen die Transpazifische Partnerschaft (TPP), das Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) und eine Reihe von bilateralen Abkommen zwischen dem Verband Südostasiatischer Staaten (ASEAN), China, Japan, Australien, Neuseeland, Südkorea und Indien. Wirtschaftswachstum findet vor allem in dieser Region statt. Vor diesem Hintergrund ist TTIP für die EU umso wichtiger, um – zusammen mit dem Partner USA – wettbewerbsfähig und handelspolitisch relevant zu bleiben...

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Felber Christian, Falke Andreas

TTIP kontrovers

in **Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte**, Band 50-51, 2014

The full text is free:

<http://www.bpb.de/apuz/197171/ttip-kontrovers>

In den Auseinandersetzungen um das Freihandelsabkommen gibt es eine Reihe immer wiederkehrender Streitfragen. Die APuZ-Redaktion hat neun davon formuliert und den beiden Autoren unabhängig voneinander vorgelegt. Christian Felber und Andreas Falke antworten in abwechselnder Reihenfolge...

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Wright Carl

The Commonwealth: Post Box or Powerhouse?

in **Round Table (The): the Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs**, Volume 103, Issue 6 , 601-604

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Dragneva Rilka, Wolczuk Kataryna

The EU-Ukraine Association Agreement and the Challenges of Inter-Regionalism
in *Review of Central & East European Law*, vol. 39, n. 3-4 , 213-244

Few agreements have become the focus of such dramatic domestic and international events as the EU-Ukraine Association Agreement. This article discusses the evolution of the Agreement against the background of Ukraine's relations with the EU and post-Soviet regional integration projects. We argue that negotiating a binding and comprehensive agreement on deep integration with the EU has been a long-term priority for Ukraine. This is in contrast with its cautious and selective approach to post-Soviet integration initiatives, prizing above all free trade without exemptions. The desire to achieve and maintain this objective has made Ukraine vulnerable to Russia's regional integration plans which increasingly have entailed a veto on Ukraine's engagement with the EU through the Association Agreement. The article discusses Russia's key objections to the Agreement, arguing that they are driven by regional ambition and the need to assert the precedence of its integration regime over the EU. While the overlap of integration regimes is not a unique phenomenon in the modern world, clearly the Association Agreement has shown the limits of EU's and Russia's regional economic integration policies with regard to their shared neighborhood. Postponing the implementation of the Agreement as a result of Russia's objections, however, does not address the core underlying issues behind these limits and creates significant problems of its own. While the crisis over the Agreement has brought up the need for effective inter-regionalism, finding sustainable solutions remains a considerable challenge.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Carbone Roberta

The Eurasian Economic Union: a New Attempt to Regional Integration or an Imperialistic Project?
in *Federalist Debate (The)*, Year XXVI, n. 3, November

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Berkofsky Axel

The European Union (EU) in Asian Security: Actor with a Punch or Distant Bystander?
in *Asia Pacific Review*, Volume 21, Issue 2, 2014 , 61-85

The EU calls itself a "soft power," making "soft power" contributions to Asian security. That is undoubtedly what the EU is and does in Asia and the track record of European contributions to Asian peace and stability through economic and financial as well as development aid and technical assistance over the decades is not unimpressive. As will be shown below, over recent years Brussels and the Union's individual member states have sought to increase their involvement and role in Asian "hard security," attempting to get rid of its reputation of being security a "free-rider" enjoying but not sharing the burden of US regional security guarantees. While the EU will continue to be a "hard security" actor in Asian security within limits, it is advised to concentrate its security cooperation with like-minded partners such as Japan and the US as opposed to hoping that talking to Beijing on regional or global security issues produces tangible results. As will be shown below, it clearly does not as Beijing continues to conduct very assertive and at times aggressive regional



foreign and security policies insisting on the “principle of non-interference” in Chinese domestic and foreign policies. Consequently, EU influence on Chinese foreign and security policies in general and its increasingly aggressive policies related to territorial claims in the East China and South China Seas will continue to exist on paper and paper only.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Simon Julia

The European Union and its Southern Mediterranean Neighbourhood – What Kind of Democracy Promotion after the Arab Spring?

in Europe en formation (L'), n° 371, 2014/1 , 58-81

‘Democracy promotion’ has become a catch-all phrase covering a broad spectrum of foreign policy actions. Nevertheless, the precise understanding of the ‘kind of democracy’ which is to be promoted is hardly ever analyzed—or even specified by the external actors themselves. As the term has (re-) gained centre stage in the European Union’s ‘new’ Neighbourhood policy after the Arab uprisings, the construction of the concept of democracy for export into the Southern Mediterranean states is worth reflecting upon.

This article inductively extracts and qualitatively analyses the specific conceptual objects of transfer as well as the domestic channels relevant for the EU’s democratizing efforts pre- and post-Arab Spring. It argues that the EU’s respective conceptual framework remains largely underspecified and implicit. However, especially in post-Arab Spring period, the EU intends to strengthen features of political, representative democracy. The dominant liberal colouring of the political/societal and economic order to be promoted, which was already evident before 2011, remains intact.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Bicchi Federica

The Politics of Foreign Aid and the European Neighbourhood Policy Post-Arab Spring: ‘More for More’ or Less of the Same?

in Mediterranean Politics, Volume 19, Issue 3, Special Issue: The Politics of Foreign Aid in Arab World. The Impact of the Arab Uprisings , 318-332

This contribution assesses the practices of EU aid to Arab countries in the Mediterranean in the post-Arab spring context, and in particular the role of the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP). It looks at the institutional practices relevant to EU foreign policy vis-à-vis Arab countries, the main ENP policy tenets (often summarized in the ‘more for more’ motto) and the financial practices of committing and disbursing funds on the ENP Instrument. It shows that while there has been a proliferation of institutional actors and a nominal increase in the amount of funds available, the policy tenets did not change and the rate of funds disbursed actually worsened – a situation better described as ‘less of the same’.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Roberta Giaconi

Un trattato ambizioso: la Trans-Pacific Partnership



in *Equilibri*, n.2-Agosto , 331-338

What is the Trans-Pacific Partnership? A way to counterbalance China's influence, the most ambitious trade agreement of the 21st century, or a US attempt to shape the regulatory-setting of commerce in the Asia-Pacific region? Through the opinions of several experts and negotiators, the article analyzes the strategic significance of the US-led agreement in the Pacific area. It also tries to understand whether signing a free trade regional deal in Asia that does not include China is really in the interest of countries such as Australia, torn between their traditional alliance with the US and the increasing economic reliance on Beijing.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Nadalutti Elisabetta

**What kind of governance does emerge in EU cross-border regions and Southeast Asia growth triangles?
Italy-Slovenia and Indonesia-Malaysia-Singapore border zones revisited**

in *Asia Europe Journal*, vol. 12, n. 4, December, Special issue: "Asia-Pacific and Europe Dialogue: Building Knowledge from each other's experiences" , 365-382

This article aims to offer a theoretical background on the meaning of "governance" and "cross-border cooperation" in the European Union (EU) and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). Looking at the European Union cross-border regions and Association of South East Asian Nations growth triangles, this article seeks to understand firstly what changes (if any) cross-border cooperation has occasioned in the state; secondly, whether a kind of "border governance", that is multi-level, is emerging in cross-border areas. It will be argued that cross-border cooperation activities may contribute to transform the operation of power across the various levels of governance on a local/national/supranational level and a "new mode" of governance that is "multi-layered" can emerge from this scenario. Accordingly, the state can be both strengthened and weakened by cross-border cooperation activities. Moreover, the change that is occurring within the concept of governance cannot be fully grasped without considering the emergence and importance of networks, the impact that cross-border movements and relationships have on the livelihoods and everyday trades of the local border communities.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Dai Xinyuan

Who defines the rules of the game in East Asia? The Trans-Pacific Partnership and the strategic use of international institutions

in *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, Volume 15 Issue 1 January 2015 , 1-25

A growing sense among academics and policymakers alike is that the dominant issues of the twenty-first century will be decided in Asia-Pacific. But, the open question is how will these issues be decided: Who defines the rules of the game in the region and how? To address these questions, this paper studies the regulatory competition that is unfolding in the region. In particular, it examines the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP), with its potential to redraw the political-economic geography in Asia. Why is such a significantly path-breaking institution possible? This paper builds on the scholarship of international political economy and especially the literature on international institutions. It argues that this potential of the TPP crucially depends on the institutional environment in East Asia. A state of institutional anarchy enables the TPP to



take hold in Asia. Important policy implications follow regarding the strategic use of international institutions.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Bicchi Federica

'Lost in transition:' EU Foreign Policy and the European Neighbourhood Policy Post-Arab Spring in Europe en formation (L'), n° 371, 2014/1 , 26-40

The article assesses the response of the European Union to the Arab uprisings, by focusing on the Southern dimension of the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP). It shows that the EU vision for the Mediterranean has faded and it has been lost in the transition that Arab countries have been experiencing. Two aspects are analysed. First, the article shows the slow but relentless decline of regionalism as an EU foreign policy goal. The trend started prior to the Arab uprisings and in fact with the launch of the ENP, but the reliance on bilateralism ended up curtailing the European role as the Arab spring led to more fragmentation in the area. Second, the article addresses EU foreign aid to Arab Mediterranean countries and shows that since the inception of the Arab spring the EU has been nominally committing more funds, but actually disbursing less because of the opening gap between conditions for spending the funds and conditions on the ground.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Darío Valcárcel y Áurea Moltó

"América Latina no quiere proyectos hegemónicos". ENTREVISTA A REBECA GRYNSPAN in Política Exterior, n.162

2014 frente a 1991. La Conferencia Iberoamericana se renueva para adaptarse a unos países latinoamericanos más empoderados que han creado organismos regionales propios de diálogo político. La cooperación y la cultura son los ejes del cambio dirigido por Rebeca Grynspar.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 1. Federalism

Martinelli Alberto

Europe between Federalism and Nationalism in Federalist Debate (The), XXVII, Number 2, July 2014

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 1. Federalism

Sidjanski Dusan

Federation of Nation-States? A Contradiction of Incompatible Terms! in Federalist Debate (The), Year XXVI, n. 3, November



I am asking myself whether the use of the name “Federation of Nation-States” is a good choice. This terminology was introduced and publicized by Jacques Delors a long time ago. It raises many questions and doubts about such a coupling against nature between Federation and Nation- State. This self-contradictory idea has been the subject of the thesis of Gaëtane Ricard-Nihoul, former General Secretary of Notre Europe. So it received an academic accolade. Recently publicized again by Ferdinando Riccardi, Director of Agence Europe, this idea of “Federation of Nation-States” has received its official seal by the highest representative of the European Union. Now, everybody gives a different interpretation and makes reference to both the nucleus of States composing the Eurozone (Jacques Delors’ vanguard and differentiation), and the whole of the Union with varying possibilities. How could the debate on the issue be opened? Shall it be placed in this context, that risks spreading confusion from the start? Shouldn’t people refrain from imposing, using their authority, the name “Federation of Nation-States” or other names like “European Federation”, “Federation of European States and peoples”, “European Federation of States and regions” and so on?

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 1. Federalism

Van Cleve George William

The Anti-Federalists’ Toughest Challenge: Paper Money, Debt Relief, and the Ratification of the Constitution in Journal of the Early Republic, Volume 34, Number 4, Winter , 529-560

During the mid-1780s many American states actively managed their economies in the face of widespread financial and social instability following the Revolutionary War. Seven states authorized paper money emissions, and there were unsuccessful efforts to obtain them in others. Several states adopted extensive debtor-relief measures. Some historians of these state anti-recession measures conclude that such efforts to fight deflation, increase money circulation, and protect debtors were beneficial for various reasons. But despite that, the Constitution, as contemporaries understood it, abrogated state powers to issue paper money or provide debtor relief such as property tender laws in Article I, Section 10. Terry Bouton writes that Section 10 “left a host of popular policies in ruins—all in less than fifty words. . . . [it] created a tidal shift in power that favored the interests of moneyed Americans (and European financiers) over ordinary Americans.” Moreover, contemporary observers saw Section 10 as a major weakening of state sovereignty.

Nevertheless, Anti-Federalists in the eleven originally ratifying states were often silent on Section 10 despite Federalist claims that it was one of the Constitution’s most important provisions. However, they did make various attacks tailored to local circumstances. For example, some Anti-Federalists argued that it harmed states; others, that it was also bad policy that favored the wealthy and would hurt ordinary citizens. Ultimately, though, Anti-Federalists did not propose a single amendment to change its key provisions in any of the thirteen states. What light can this sharp disparity between widespread support for economic management and the remarkably constrained public opposition to Section 10 shed on Anti-Federalism and the ratification of the Constitution? Past answers to this question have usually depended heavily on a historian’s perspective on what was at stake, who the Anti-Federalists were, and what they stood for.

Charles A. Beard, for example, famously asserted that economic forces played a central role in the Constitution’s creation. On ratification, his primary conclusion was that “personalty” property owners and their allies engaged in rent-seeking were its main supporters, while those who lacked property or had other forms of it, including many paper money supporters, were its principal opponents. For Beard, Section 10 was central to ratification. He contended that popular forces lost largely because the process was illegitimate. He argued that ratification’s franchise was unrepresentative; that the convention process and media were manipulated by Federalists to prevent a fair contest; and that some delegates and states accepted the Constitution due to extraneous considerations such as economic coercion. Later historians advanced other explanations for ratification, including social, generational, ideological, and state-building theories, and were thus far less interested in the controversy over Section 10.



Pauline Maier's ratification history avoids taking sides in that historiographical debate. Instead, she begins by canvassing various process arguments, many similar to Beard's, and endorses some, such as Federalist media dominance and pressure to rush to judgment. Maier's work shows that groups generally favoring the Constitution included city residents, commercial interests, and large federal creditors. Though she describes Anti-Federalism as a spectrum of opinions, Maier portrays ratification not as a series of conflicts between different social or economic groups but instead as a series of largely distinct contests between shifting interest groups, often influenced by local concerns. Particularly on the paper money issue, with the exceptions of Rhode Island and North Carolina, she repeatedly notes the lack of debate over it without offering any explanation, implying that it played little role nationally. As a result, her work adds relatively little to our understanding of ratification's economic dimensions.

Studies of ratification by Saul Cornell and David Waldstreicher provide additional insight into the nature of Anti-Federalism. They show that during the 1780s those who later became Anti-Federalists characteristically sought to defend a series of localist values including state sovereignty and communitarian, consensual democratic governance. The states' adoption of paper money exemplified such values, Waldstreicher argues. From this perspective, ratification was a clash over whether conflicting values that served elite social and economic interests, such as those embodied in Section 10, would become politically and culturally hegemonic.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 1.Federalism

Bahcheli Tozun, Noel Sid

The Quest for a Political Settlement in Cyprus: Is a Dyadic Federation Viable?

in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, vol. 44, n. 4, Fall , 659-680

Greek and Turkish Cypriot leaders have been negotiating to create a "bi-zonal, bi-communal" federation over a span of thirty-six years, but despite support from the United Nations and other intermediaries, no agreement has yet been reached. This article examines the reasons why the many attempts to negotiate a "federal solution" have failed. Our argument is that dyadic federations have inherent flaws that make them difficult to operate successfully, and even if the two communities could somehow be persuaded to form such a union, it would not be viable as a system of government.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 1.Federalism

Iglesias Fernando A.

What Future for Federalism?

in *Federalist Debate (The)*, XXVII, Number 3, November 2014

I was in Ventotene, the beautiful island where Altiero Spinelli wrote the famous Manifesto for a Free and United Europe, and I was there to participate for the sixth time in the Federalist seminar. Everything looked fine until the woman beside me got nervous. As soon as she realized who we were, as soon as she heard all those young enthusiasts speaking in favor of the European Union, she cried: Europe is destroying everything! The Euro is destroying our economy! Stop the European Union, do me a favor! [...]

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 1.Federalism



Sandra Raponi

What is required to institutionalize Kant's cosmopolitan ideal?

in *Journal of International Political Theory*, 10 (3) , 302-324

Although Kant argues that a world republic with coercive public law is the only rational way to secure a lawful cosmopolitan condition, he states that it is an unachievable ideal, and he proposes a voluntary, non-coercive federation of states as a substitute. While some scholars have criticized Kant for moving away from this ideal due merely to pragmatic considerations, I argue that his rejection of a coercive world republic is based on his conception of state sovereignty and what is required for a lawful condition. I consider how we can institutionalize a lawful condition between states without a coercive world republic in ways that go beyond Kant's voluntary federation. I also consider how we can resolve this dilemma in Kant's account to support a federal world republic.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Risch William

A Soviet West: nationhood, regionalism, and empire in the annexed western borderlands

in *Nationalities Papers*, Volume 43, Issue 1, 2015 , 63-81

Abstract

This article considers the role the Soviet Union's western borderlands annexed during World War II played in the evolution of Soviet politics of empire. Using the Baltic Republics and Western Ukraine as case studies, it argues that Sovietization had a profound impact on these borderlands, integrating them into a larger Soviet polity. However, guerrilla warfare and Soviet policy-making indirectly led to these regions becoming perceived as more Western and nationalist than other parts of the Soviet Union. The Baltic Republics and Western Ukraine differed in their engagement with the Western capitalist world. Different experiences of World War II and late Stalinism and contacts with the West ultimately led to this region becoming Soviet, yet different from the rest of the Soviet Union. While the Soviet West was far from uniform, perceived differences between it and the rest of the Soviet Union justified claims at the end of the 1980s that the Soviet Union was an empire rather than a family of nations.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Van Waarden Betto

Amartya Sen's Identity Pluralism Applied to Will Kymlicka's Liberal Multiculturalism

in *International Journal on Minority and Groups Rights*, Volume 21, Issue 4 , 527-546

Multicultural theory pays surprisingly little attention to the plurality of identity. In addition, there is still dissatisfaction with Will Kymlicka's distinction between polyethnic groups and national minorities and the rights they deserve, as well as continued criticism of liberal multiculturalism more broadly. I revisit this distinction based on Amartya Sen's recent effort to introduce the notion of identity pluralism into liberal debates. In *Identity and Violence: The Illusion of Destiny* (W.W. Norton and Company, New York, 2006), Sen stresses the importance of maintaining political stability through individuals' plural identities mainly in relation to religious divides and global conflict. Sen's theory is criticised for being too abstract, but I interpret these abstract ideas to criticise Kymlicka's distinction between polyethnic groups and national



minorities and strengthen liberal multiculturalism. I argue that the notion of identity pluralism implies that a state must promote multicultural 'participation rights' for all minority identities, rather than 'accommodation rights' for polyethnic groups and 'self-government rights' for national minorities as Kymlicka contends. Consequently, regions like Quebec, Flanders and Catalonia would not merit the level of autonomy they currently enjoy, and Scotland should not be granted independence from the United Kingdom.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Black Antony

Ancient and Non-Western International Thought

in History of European Ideas, Volume 41, Issue 1, Special Issue: David Armitage's Foundations of Modern International Thought, 2-12

In early and prehistoric times, human groups cooperated among themselves and competed viciously with other groups. Concepts of international relations, notably universal hegemony and exclusive nationalism, go back to the earliest recorded history. Only the ancient Greeks experienced inter-state relations somewhat analogous to those of modern Europe; and the first reflections on these may be found in Thucydides. The Greeks, and later the Romans, above all Cicero, developed a notion of cosmopolitanism. During the Latin Middle Ages, the papacy perpetuated the idea of universal hegemony. The principle of state sovereignty was also formulated. The pre-modern Chinese empire was held to rule 'all-under-Heaven'; Confucian ethics contributes the notion of humanity (ren) as the fundamental category. Muslims deepened the us-them distinction by claiming sole legitimacy for their religious community under the Caliph (Deputy of Muhammad). Today, Muslims veer between this and a more Western approach to international relations.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Englund Harri

Anti Anti-Colonialism: Vernacular Press and Emergent Possibilities in Colonial Zambia

in Comparative Studies in Society and History, Volume 57, Issue 1, January, 221-247

African newspapers published in vernacular languages, particularly papers sponsored by colonial governments, have been understudied. A close reading of their contents and related archival sources provides insights into diverse ways in which the colonized framed and made claims. New kinds of claims were mediated by the government-sponsored vernacular press no less than by nationalists. Just as vernacularism was not nativism, African aspirations that posed no direct challenge to the colonial order did not necessarily entail mimicry. I show also how Europeans who debated a newspaper for Africans in the 1930s Zambia voiced diverse approaches to print culture, addressing a variety of objectives. The newspaper that emerged, Mutende, was replaced by provincial newspapers in the 1950s, and I focus on one of these: the Chinyanja-language Nkhani za kum'mawa, published under African editorship in Eastern Province between 1958 and 1965. Its modes of addressing African publics were neither nationalist nor colonial in any straightforward senses. Its editors and readers deliberated on what it meant to be from the province in an era of labor migration, how African advancement and dependence on Europeans were to be envisaged, and how relationships between women and men should be reconfigured. To hold divergent views on a world in flux, they had to keep something constant, and the order of governance itself remained beyond dispute. But this did not preclude emergent possibilities. The newspaper's columns and letters to the editor reveal claims on novel opportunities and constraints of a



sort that mainstream nationalist historiography, with its meta-narrative of anti-colonialism, has rendered invisible.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Keating Michael

Class, Sector and Nation. Support for Minority Nationalism Among Peak Interest Groups in Four Western European Countries

in *Territory, Politics, Governance*, Volume 2, Issue 3, Special Issue: Rescaling Interests , 322-337

The relationship between class and nationality has been a contentious one in the social sciences. Efforts to reduce one to the other have never succeeded. Rather, they interact in complex ways. In contemporary Europe, nationalist movements have revived in some wealthy regions, in what is sometimes seen as a 'revolt of the rich', an effort to promote territorial self-interest. If this were so, we would expect representatives of the main economic interests to support secession. A study of business and trade unions in Scotland, Catalonia, the Basque Country, Flanders and Lombardy, however, shows that both are cross-pressured. Nation-builders seek to build cross-class coalitions of support, but both business and trade unions retain strong ties to the existing states, producing different outcomes in each case.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Moretti Costantino

Considerazioni sulla divisione della Cecoslovacchia

in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, Vol. 81, n. 2, aprile-giugno , 205-212

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Rovere Ange

Corse, du modèle républicain à la « région-état »

in *Pensée (La)*, n° 379, 2014

Les revendications que portent les mouvements nationalistes en Corse ont servi de point d'appui dans l'exploration des voies possibles à un remodelage de la République Française finalisé sur la construction européenne. Aujourd'hui une étape nouvelle semble s'ouvrir que l'on se doit d'analyser en articulation avec le redéploiement du capitalisme financier car « le futur grand marché transatlantique est d'abord un projet politique ».

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Lorenzo COLANTONI (a cura di)



Dalla Scozia un avvertimento per l'Europa

in *Limes*, n.10

Contraddistinto da toni moderati e all'insegna dell'amore civico per la propria «patria», il referendum scozzese potrebbe essere d'esempio anche in altre regioni del Vecchio Continente. Dove la sovrapposizione di diverse appartenenze locali, nazionali e sovranazionali potenzia i movimenti autonomisti.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Lackerstein Debbie

Death in the Cathedral: the Long Battle over French National Identity and the Legacy of Vichy

in *Australian Journal of Politics & History*, Volume 60, Issue 3, Special Issue: Faultlines: Cohesion and Division in Modern Europe, September, 373-383

The reaction to the law legalising same-sex marriage in France shocked the nation and the world in 2013. Opposition to the law seemed to join forces with a plethora of new right-wing activist groups, leading to mass demonstrations, violence in the streets of Paris and even to a death in the cathedral of Notre Dame. The social unrest can be explained in part by the increasing pressures of economic recession and the emergence of the far right as a mainstream but divisive political force; still, the level of passion that the law unleashed seems puzzling. A more profound explanation of that passion is that the law opened a deep faultline that has divided France throughout its modern history — the concept of its national identity. Contemporary France is troubled by frequent comparisons to the political ferment and disastrous turmoil of the 1930s. Diametrically opposed moral visions of national identity seem to recall, above all, the *années noires*, the “dark years” of German Occupation when the Vichy regime attempted to regenerate France through its National Revolution while also pursuing a policy of collaboration. Social reform in France, particularly any reform relating to perceptions of national identity, is still today overshadowed by the legacy of Vichy's moral vision and its attempt to create a New Man for a New Order. This paper will explore that legacy.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Stolfo Marco

Diritti linguistici e diversità culturale. Italia, Spagna, Europa (1945-1992)

in *Spagna Contemporanea*, Anno XXIII, n. 45, 53-83

The article identifies similarities, differences and mutual influences between Italy and Spain in terms of recognition of cultural diversity and protection of language rights. The comparison has been carried out from a European perspective, taking into account constitutional norms and provisions contained in statutes of Regions and Autonomous Communities on “language right protection” and “language standardization”.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Szöcsik Edina, Zuber Christina Isabel

EPAC – a new dataset on ethnonationalism in party competition in 22 European democracies



in **Party Politics**, Volume 21, Number 1, January , 153-160

Datasets in the field of ethnic politics still tend to treat ethnonational groups as unitary actors and do not differentiate between the positions of the organizations representing these groups. Datasets in the field of party politics differentiate between the positions of political parties, yet fail convincingly to conceptualize an ethnonational dimension of competition. This Research Note presents EPAC, a new dataset on Ethnonationalism in Party Competition that seeks to fill this gap. Based on an expert survey, EPAC provides cross-sectional data on the ethnonational positions of 210 political parties in 22 multinational European democracies. The conceptualization of an ethnonational dimension of competition underlying the dataset is introduced and a series of validity and reliability tests performed. Test results show that EPAC provides valid and reliable measures of party positions on an ethnonational dimension that can serve as an empirical base for study of the causes and effects of the mobilization of ethnicity in party competition.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Al Serhun

Elite Discourses, Nationalism and Moderation: A Dialectical Analysis of Turkish and Kurdish Nationalisms

in **Ethnopolitics**, Volume 14, Issue 1, 2015 , 94-112

Scholars of nationalism and ethnicity have long studied when and how nationalist discourses on the one hand and national and ethnic identities on the other are often socially constructed along with their outcomes of ethnic disputes and nationalist polarizations. However, studies on the deconstruction processes of the nationalist discourses, their evolution over time and degrees of ethnic peace and moderation have mostly been limited. By taking the case of Turkish and Kurdish nationalisms in Turkey, this article argues that two competing elite discourses of nationalism have moderated rather than aggravated each other. The article explores the dialectical relationship between the nationalist discourses of the Turkish and Kurdish political elites, especially since the 1980s. Theoretically framing Turkish and Kurdish nationalisms in Michael Hechter's typology of state-building nationalism versus peripheral nationalism, respectively, it is argued that while the Turkish state has become distant from forced assimilation and homogenization goals, pro-Kurdish political mobilization, particularly the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK), has become distant from claims to independent statehood and ethnic autonomy along with respect for Turkey's territorial integrity. These evolving agendas are discussed within the interdependent relationship of both nationalist discourses.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Ashutosh Varshney

Hindu Nationalism in Power?

in **Journal of Democracy**, Volume 25, Number 4 , 34-45

How will the BJP's relationship with India's Muslims evolve? This is among the most significant questions that the BJP's stunning election victory poses. Though ideologically the BJP is suspicious of Muslims, the BJP's rule is unlikely to be a mechanical extension of the party's core ideology. As before, two constraints will matter: constitutional and political. India's constitution is not committed to Hindu nationalism. And if the BJP wants its election victories to be repeated, India's political realities will require alliance building across the nation's diversities. Hindu-Muslim tensions should be expected, but not a return to the era of big riots.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Perez Marco

Il confronto politico tra il vescovato di Vitoria e il PNV durante la presidenza di Luis Arana Goiri in Spagna Contemporanea, Anno XXIII, n. 45 , 23-52

How did the Basque Nationalist party (PNV) manage to detach itself from Catholic electoral coalitions and, more in general, from the Catholic-españolista discourse? The opposition of Vitoria bishop Cadena y Eleta to PNV electoral independence

was a potentially fatal challenge for the newly-founded Catholic party. The long controversy and the resulting compromise discontented nationalist leaders and weakened president Luis Arana. The article deals with an issue which deeply influenced the nationalist collective memory and set the foundations for future strategic changes.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Trouille Jean-Marc

Industrial nationalism versus European partnerships: an analysis of state-led Franco–German interfirm linkages in Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy, Volume 32, Issue 6, December , 1059-1082

This paper examines the impact of state intervention in French–German interfirm linkages and discusses the implications of conflicting national interests for the furthering of single market integration. It demonstrates that, despite initial success in launching large-scale cross-border alliances in strategic sectors, France and Germany have remained divided by their own industrial nationalism. It argues that their respective attitudes towards industrial policy are less contradictory than would appear at first sight, but that transcending industrial nationalism by Europeanising the notion of economic patriotism would be an essential precondition for a more efficient EU-wide industrial policy within a better integrated internal market.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Kuzio Taras

John A. Armstrong's contribution to the study of nationalism and Ukrainian nationalism in Nations and Nationalism, Volume 21, Issue 1, January 2015 , 171–176

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Kolstø Pål

John Armstrong: typologies and grand narratives in Nations and Nationalism, Volume 21, Issue 1, January 2015 , 177–181



No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Lecis Luca

La costruzione dello Stato-nazione in Austria. Una «comunità immaginata»?

in **Ricerche di Storia Politica**, numero 3, dicembre , 337-350

Until the demise of the Habsburg monarchy at the end of World War I, Austria lacked a cultural national homogeneous identity, due to a polysemy presence, within the Empire, of different languages and historical heritages. Austrian political parties began reflecting upon a possible national identity only after the war and the end of the German «occupation». Their priority was to promote a constitutive process of collective memory through the development of a new Austrian belonging based on the «Opfermythos»: the emancipation from the compromising Nazi past. This changed in the 1980s, when the «Waldheim Affair» exploded and a process of revision of Austrian historical memory ensued. This historiographical essay offers a critical analysis of the self-representation of Austria as a Nation in order to investigate the politics of Austria's identity debate and the search for political legitimization.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Ioratim-Uba Godwin

Language, Ethnicity and Conflict: Applying Linguistic Measure to Prevent Ethnic Violence in Middle Belt Nigeria

in **International Journal on Minority and Groups Rights**, Volume 21, Issue 4 , 557-590

This research highlights the efficacy of community-based language planning initiatives in ethnic conflict and violence prevention. As a threshold which elucidates how linguistic measures can help to prevent inter-ethnic violence, the research illustrates that where ethnic safeguarding reaches the extremity of violence, language issues are found to have covert but very strong causal roles as manifested in the ethnic violent conflicts affecting Nigeria's Middle-Belt including the Berom/ Afizere/Anaguta versus Hausa/Fulani; Taroh versus Hausa/Fulani (Plateau State); Tiv versus Etulo (Benue State); Tiv versus Jukun (Benue and Taraba States); and Jukun versus Kuteb (Taraba State). Paired t-test values set at a confidence interval of 95 per cent indicate that the statistical mean differences (1.60 in Tiv/Jukun and 9.60 in the Jos area) are close to the true difference occurrences in the randomly sampled populations. More significant are the two tailed P values of 0.5895 (Tiv/Jukun) showing low bilingualism; and 0.3477 (Jos area) depicting more acute bilingualism decline associated with the ethnic violence. The research then considers the application of linguistic measures vital to prevent ethnic violence. In particular, critiqued aspects of the Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scales (EGIDS) are recommended to ethnic communities, voluntary organisations and governments for implementation in dealing with violent conflicts.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Kopp Robert

Le Village français:Mythe identitaire?



in *Revue des deux mondes*, Avril

Plus longtemps que l'Angleterre, l'Allemagne et même l'Italie, la France a résisté à l'industrialisation et à la -modernisation, pour rester ce qu'elle avait été pendant dix siècles : un pays rural. La fin des paysans, décrite avec tant de pertinence par Henri Mendras en 1967, n'est devenue une réalité tangible qu'après la Seconde Guerre mondiale (1). Si l'équilibre entre populations rurales et urbaines s'est -inversé au profit de ces dernières dès les -années trente, c'est au cours des « trente glorieuses » que l'exode rural a connu sa plus grande -accélération, au point de faire disparaître les deux tiers si ce n'est les trois quarts de toutes les exploitations, à commencer par les petites

<http://www.revuedesdeuxmondes.fr/archive/article.php?code=72697&show=picture>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Kopp robert

Le village français: mythe identitaire?

in *Revue des deux mondes*, Avril

Plus longtemps que l'Angleterre, l'Allemagne et même l'Italie, la France a résisté à l'industrialisation et à la -modernisation, pour rester ce qu'elle avait été pendant dix siècles : un pays rural. La fin des paysans, décrite avec tant de pertinence par Henri Mendras en 1967, n'est devenue une réalité tangible qu'après la Seconde Guerre mondiale (1). Si l'équilibre entre populations rurales et urbaines s'est -inversé au profit de ces dernières dès les -années trente, c'est au cours des « trente glorieuses » que l'exode rural a connu sa plus grande -accélération, au point de faire disparaître les deux tiers si ce n'est les trois quarts de toutes les exploitations, à commencer par les petites.

<http://www.revuedesdeuxmondes.fr/archive/article.php?code=72697&show=picture>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Leddy-Owen Charles

Liberal Nationalism, Imagined Immigration and the Progressive Dilemma

in *Political Quarterly* , Volume 85, Issue 3, July–September 2014 , 340–347

Abstract

The article critically evaluates liberal nationalist perspectives on immigration by drawing on findings from a qualitative research project undertaken in 2014 among White British interviewees in England. From one perspective the study's participants' attitudes seem to support arguments made by David Goodhart and other liberal nationalists regarding immigration, social trust and integration. However, further analysis suggests that these attitudes are to a very significant extent drawn first from partially imagined ideas surrounding immigration and second from potentially unreliable sources. These findings thus provoke the question of whether social trust and notions of a national community are actually being disrupted by immigration, or whether they are being disrupted by prejudiced nationalist and xenophobic perceptions about immigration and immigrants. The article will conclude by arguing for more nuanced research into attitudes towards immigration and in favour of a sceptical approach to nationalist frameworks for interpreting society and politics in Britain



today.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

David S. Siroky, John Cuffe

Lost Autonomy, Nationalism and Separatism

in Comparative Political Studies , 48 (1) , 3-34

Case studies suggest that ethnic groups with autonomous institutional arrangements are more prone to secede, but other evidence indicates that autonomy reduces the likelihood of secession. To address this debate, we disaggregate their autonomy status into three categories—currently autonomous, never autonomous, and lost autonomy—and then unpack how each shapes the logic of collective action. We argue groups that were never autonomous are unlikely to mobilize due to a lack of collective action capacity, whereas currently autonomous groups may have the capacity but often lack the motivation. Most important, groups that have lost autonomy often possess both strong incentives and the capacity to pursue secession, which facilitates collective action. Moreover, autonomy retraction weakens the government's ability to make future credible commitments to redress grievances. We test these conjectures with data on the autonomous status and separatist behavior of 324 groups in more than 100 countries from 1960 to 2000. Our analysis shows clear empirical results regarding the relationship between autonomy status and separatism. Most notably, we find that formerly autonomous groups are the most likely to secede, and that both currently autonomous and never autonomous groups are much less likely.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Grosby Steven

Myth and symbol: the persistence of ethnicity and religion. John Armstrong and nationality

in Nations and Nationalism, Volume 21, Issue 1, January 2015 , 182–186

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Cantle Ted

National Identity, Plurality and Interculturalism

in Political Quarterly , Volume 85, Issue 3, July–September 2014 , 312-319

Abstract

This article examines the similarities and differences between multiculturalism and interculturalism, with particular reference to the impact of globalisation and changing patterns of diversity. It reflects briefly on the origins of multiculturalism—largely from a European perspective—with its focus on ‘race’ and the socio-economic analysis that accompanied it. The article suggests that while multiculturalism was right to continue to focus on inequalities, it failed to adapt to super-diversity and the multifaceted aspects of difference and ‘otherness’, including those based on disability,



age and gender. Further, while multiculturalism became rooted in intra-national differences, between minority and majority populations, an intercultural approach is now necessary to support the changing patterns of national identity and respond to the recent challenge posed by the growth of far-right and popular extremist parties (PEPs).

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Hayes Patricia

Nationalism's Exile: Godfrey Nangonya and SWAPO's Sacrifice in Southern Angola
in *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Volume 40, Issue 6 , 1305-1324

Godfrey Nangonya hardly figures in any liberation narrative in southern Africa. Born and educated in the border region of Namibia/Angola, he gravitated to Cape Town and the ferment of radical, nationalist and pan-African politics in the late 1940s. Departing for Angola, he joined militants who founded the MPLA. He was imprisoned twice under the Portuguese and, because of the complications of plural political affiliations, twice after Angolan independence. This article explores Nangonya's transnational political, nationalist and carceral journeys, and especially the years 1974–75 when, as SWAPO's liaison officer with UNITA in southern Angola, he was 'sacrificed' by the Namibian liberation movement. It examines the open and volatile southern Angolan frontier region in a time of expanding historical possibilities for national liberation, a space that had to be forcibly stabilised, whether as a buffer zone for the South African military, a zone of passage for SWAPO guerrillas, or sovereign territory for the MPLA. The new Cold War dynamics soon resulted in a hardening of political boundaries and the narrowing of nationalist alignments and internal debates. Nangonya was exiled by a Namibian nationalism and its history that was purged of its plural alternative narratives, and which is only now slowly opening up to debate.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Smith Anthony D.

Nations Before Nationalism? Myth and symbolism in John Armstrong's perspective
in *Nations and Nationalism*, Volume 21, Issue 1, January 2015 , 165–170

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Lorenzo COLANTONI (a cura di) Oriol DURAN / Giovanni DALLA-VALLE / Siegfried BRACKE

Secessionisti di tutta Europa, unitevi!
in *Limes*, n.10

Dai movimenti indipendentisti di Catalogna, Veneto e Belgio, il senso di un paradigma geopolitico che ha tratto slancio dall'esempio scozzese, malgrado la sconfitta del Sì. Come separarsi pacificamente dallo Stato di origine restando nell'Unione Europea.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Tucker Joshua

Sounding the Latin Transatlantic: Music, Integration, and Ambivalent Ethnogenesis in Spain

in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Volume 56, Issue 4, October , 902-933

This article uses commentary on and consumption of popular music as a lens to explore how Peruvian immigrants in Spain experience new notions of belonging and alterity as they tack between official Spanish discourses about difference and otherness and distinct notions of unity and sameness that circulate within the country's wider Latin American community. I examine the uneven, tentative emergence of a local Latino identity, and how this formation compares to the tenets that accrue to the formation found in the United States. I explain how the naturalization of this new and alien way of organizing national difference, in concert with native Spanish ideas about European modernity and the need to suppress ethnicity tout court, tends to marginalize distinctive experiences valued by indigenous and mestizo Peruvians from the country's Andean region. I show how they evade the homogenizing tendencies of Latino discourse, bypass native Spanish opposition to the very notion of deep difference, and seek out spaces for asserting difference. Considered also are challenges faced by a country that has undergone rapid and recent multicultural change, even as it seeks to become part of a European project that citizens view widely as an effort to transcend divisive particularity.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Stevens Peter A.J., Charalambous Panayiota, Tempriou Athina, Mesaritou Evgenia, Spyrou Spyros

Testing the Relationship between Nationalism and Racism: Greek-Cypriot Students' National/Ethnic Identities and Attitudes to Ethnic Out-groups

in *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, vol. 40, n. 11 , 1736-1757

-This article builds on a growing body of research that shows an intrinsic but complex relationship between the concepts and the ideologies of nationalism and racism. In doing so, it investigates how different, meaningful national and ethnic in-group identifications of a dominant national/ethnic group (Greek-Cypriots) within a given national context (Cyprus) influence their perceptions of different, meaningful ethnic and racial minority out-groups. Logistic regression analysis of quantitative survey data with secondary school children (N = 738) in Cyprus shows that the relationship between national/ethnic in-group identifications and out-group perceptions varies according to the social and political relationships between particular national/ethnic in- and out-groups. The findings show that future research on the relationship between nationalism and racism should consider the overlap between and context specific nature of national and ethnic in-group identification processes and the historical, political relationships between different in- and out-groups.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Cook Simon John

The Making of the English: English History, British Identity, Aryan Villages, 1870–1914

in *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Volume 75, Number 4, October , 629-649

In the last third of the nineteenth century an older model of folk migration was challenged and ultimately gave way to a



new model of racial invasion. Where the first was associated with comparative philology and an evolutionary account of social institutions, the latter was associated with physiological ideas of race and a quasi-diffusionist idea of institutions. The debate began over the newly discovered pre-Roman prehistory of the British Isles, but was most bitterly fought over ethnological and agrarian interpretations of the Anglo-Saxon conquest. Resolution of the debate saw a redefinition of the nature and scope of English history.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Tas Latif

The Myth of the Ottoman Millet System: Its Treatment of Kurds and a Discussion of Territorial and Non-Territorial Autonomy

in *International Journal on Minority and Groups Rights*, Volume 21, Issue 4 , 497-526

This article re-opens the discussion about the Ottoman millet practice. The best known stereotypes claim that the so-called 'millet system' only offered rights to non-Muslim religious minorities. This article fundamentally challenges this approach. It focuses on how the millet practice was applied to the treatment of Kurds under the early and late Ottoman Empire, and discusses how millet practices were destroyed by the disease of nationalism. The article then considers how practices like those applied by the Ottomans might act as a useful example for modern nation states facing conflicts with national, religious, ethnic or migrant minorities. It suggests that practices like the millet might be beneficial both if minorities gain territorial recognition and also for those minorities who live in non-territorial communities.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Wojnowski Zbigniew

The Soviet people: national and supranational identities in the USSR after 1945

in *Nationalities Papers*, Volume 43, Issue 1, 2015 , 1-7

The full text is free:

<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/00905992.2014.953467>

World War II and the death of Stalin precipitated a major crisis of identity in the Soviet Union. In the shadow of the Cold War, faced with new domestic realities, party leaders and ordinary citizens developed diverse views on what it now meant to be Soviet. Exploring such phenomena as youth cultures (Furst 2010), Russian literature (Jones 2013), and workers' unrest (Kozlov 2002), historians have recently described the period between the 1940s and the 1960s as a "relaunch" of the Soviet revolutionary project that encompassed new utopian hopes and "the troubled awareness of past ambitions, whether realized or thwarted" (Furst, Jones, and Morrissey 2008). During this era, Soviet society experienced both important continuities and radical breaks from the Stalinist 1930s. The 1970s and the 1980s brought new dilemmas that led to further renegotiation of Soviet identities. Although Brezhnev abandoned Khrushchev's bold reform agenda, Soviet society was shaken up by new forms of cultural consumption (see Roth-Ey 2011), Westernization (see Zhuk 2010), and political crises in Eastern Europe (Weiner 2006; Wojnowski 2012)...



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Leerssen Joep

The nation and the city: urban festivals and cultural mobilisation

in *Nations and Nationalism*, Volume 21, Issue 1, January 2015 , 2–20

Abstract

This article attempts to map the relations between nation-building processes in 19th-century Europe and city cultures with their urban sociability. Three patterns are surveyed: [1] the modern-national assimilation of medieval and early-modern city cultures (sample case: Orléans and the French cult of Joan of Arc); [2] the modular replication across cities of urban festivals as cultural mobilizers (sample case: the spread of Floral Games festivals in Southern France and Northern Spain); [3] the reticulation of city-based practices into a nationwide and nation-building network (sample cases: the role of choral societies in German cultural nationalism; and its transnational knock-on effect in the Baltic Provinces). By choosing the city as our social focus and placing it (or rather, its ideal-type 'Urbania') alongside Gellner's ideal-types of 'Megalomania' and 'Ruritania', we can avoid the finalism of studying regionalist and nationalist movements in the analytical framework of the post-Versailles state system, and we gain a better understanding of the granulated, localized social basis of such movements and the translocally homogenizing role of culture.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Láníček Jan

What did it mean to be Loyal? Jewish Survivors in Post-War Czechoslovakia in a Comparative Perspective

in *Australian Journal of Politics & History* , Volume 60, Issue 3, Special Issue: Faultlines: Cohesion and Division in Modern Europe, September , 384-404

Around 50,000 Jewish survivors returned to Czechoslovakia after the Second World War. Prewar Czechoslovakia built its image on the reputation of its perceived excellent treatment of minorities, in particular the Jews. Nevertheless, Jewish survivors coming back to Czechoslovakia after the war faced hostilities from the non-Jewish population and encountered considerable obstacles with their rehabilitation and restitution based on their Jewishness alone. Only 14,000–18,000 Jews remained in the country by 1950, with the rest finding new homes elsewhere, especially in Israel and the United States. Czechoslovakia is often depicted as a country that rejected anti-Semitism and sympathised with the plight of the Jews before, during and after the war. Czechoslovakia was one of the first democratic countries that supported the creation of a Jewish state, both politically and practically. In contrast, this article documents the obstacles that the survivors encountered in their rehabilitation efforts in post-war Czechoslovakia and portrays the country not only as a humanitarian facilitator of the Jewish national aspirations, but especially as a country that with its post-war policies of national homogenization further contributed to the Jewish predicament in post-war Europe. The Jews returning to their places of residence after the war faced hostilities in almost every European country. In some places they were welcomed with physical violence, in others they encountered difficulties with material restitution or were roundly advised to move overseas. In this article I first outline the often unsuccessful Jewish rehabilitation efforts in post-war Czechoslovakia and highlight the main issues which could be considered as unique in comparison with other European countries, such as Poland and France (especially the treatment of the Czechoslovak-Jewish citizens of German nationality).



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Kaufmann Eric

When was the nation? Ethnicity and nationalism in the scholarship of John Armstrong? Introduction
in **Nations and Nationalism**, Volume 21, Issue 1, January 2015 , 162–164

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Harris Mylonas & Nadav G. Shelef

Which Land Is Our Land? Domestic Politics and Change in the Territorial Claims of Stateless Nationalist Movements

in **Security Studies**, Volume 23, Issue 4 , 754-786

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Natalia Moen-Larsen

“Normal nationalism”: Alexei Navalny, LiveJournal and “the Other”

in **Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics**, Volume 30, Issue 4 , 548-567

This article analyses the LiveJournal blog of the well-known Russian opposition figure Alexei Navalny during the period from 2006 to 2012. The blog is analysed through the prism of nationalism and identity construction. The analysis shows that Navalny advocates a “normal” nationalism, which he contrasts with abnormal, radical, and marginal nationalism. He underlines the importance of national rebirth and constructs Russian national identity in connection to a history of victory and greatness. The national identity that Navalny constructs is ethnically Russian. Other ethnic groups, Chechens in particular, are constructed as “Others” who belong outside the boundaries of the Russian imagined community.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Moss Sigrun Marie, TronvollKjetil

“We are all Zanzibari!” Identity formation and political reconciliation in Zanzibar

in **Journal of Eastern African Studies** , Volume 9, Issue 1 , 91-109

Zanzibari social relations were long characterised by disruption and antagonism around election time, between followers of the incumbent Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) and opposition party Civic United Front (CUF). In November 2009, with a top-level political meeting between the leaders of CUF and CCM, this started to change. Based on field interviews and observations, this article argues that Zanzibari politics – over the period from July 2009 to November 2010 – moved from



a hostile and polarised political environment, via a limbo period, to a widely supported reconciliation process, and that over these three phases, intergroup relations changed. Using social identity theory, we argue that the shared Zanzibari identity increased in salience, and intergroup animosity decreased, a process likened to the social psychological dual recategorisation. Second, reasons for this change in intergroup relations are discussed, comparing this recent process to former failed peace processes, stressing shared goals, intergroup communalities, leadership dialogue and cooperation, and focus on the superordinate identity. The material demonstrates that elite-led political discourse can increase or decrease political tension and thus initiate social identity transformation. We argue that this process further created room for the peaceful 2010 elections and the establishment of the current Zanzibar Government of National Unity.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Rosenboim Or

Barbara Wootton, Friedrich Hayek and the debate on democratic federalism in the 1940s
in *International History Review (The)*, Volume 36, Issue 5 , pp. 894-918

In the 1940s many internationalists thought the Second World War created a unique opportunity to establish a new world order to promote peace as well as social welfare. By thinking globally, British internationalists wanted to challenge earlier social theory, and to offer novel solutions to social and economic problems that, according to them, could not be solved domestically. This article focuses on the international social thought of the economist and social scientist Barbara Wootton, who envisaged a world order balancing socialist, democratic, and liberal international ideas. As a leading member of the political organisation Federal Union, she envisaged a global social democracy based on social and economic planning in a federal framework. By taking the British socialist tradition as her point of departure, she sought to integrate socialism, liberal democracy, and internationalism in a harmonious federal world order. While associating herself with the British socialist tradition, Wootton regarded it as insufficient to address the post-war international crisis, and drew inspiration from democratic and liberal political theory. In this article the author discusses Wootton's international thought in historical context, and assesses her intellectual exchanges with prominent intellectuals like Friedrich von Hayek, to reveal her significant contribution to British international thought.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Moos Christian

Federalists in Exile
in *Federalist Debate (The)*, Year XXVI, n. 3, November

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Bosetti Giancarlo

I rischi della stupidità globale
in *Reset*, Numero 155 | Gennaio



No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Gonnelli Filippo

Il diritto come fine morale. Note sul concetto di "progresso" nella tarda filosofia kantiana

in *Rivista di Storia della Filosofia*, Fascicolo 3/2014 , 443-474

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Bosetti Giancarlo

Il lessico di Ulrich Beck

in *Reset*, Numero 155 | Gennaio

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Walter Privitera

In memoria di un intellettuale vero

in *Reset*, Numero 155 | Gennaio

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Billion Jean-Francis

International Justice, the ICC and the Role of the European Federalists

in *Federalist Debate (The)*, XXVII, Number 3, November 2014

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Hope Simon

Kantian Imperfect Duties and Modern Debates over Human Rights

in *Journal of Political Philosophy*, Volume 22, Issue 4, December 2014 , 396–415



No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Anta Claudio Giulio

Lord Lothian: a far-sighted federalist

in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, Vol. 81, n. 3, luglio-settembre , 417-432

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Billion Jean-Francis

The “Phenomenon Garry Davis” in Paris and the Federalists

in *Federalist Debate (The)*, Year XXVI, n. 3, November , Billion Jean-Francis

Garry Davis, a young stage-actor and former pilot demobilized from the US Air Force, on his return to civilian life joined the United World Federalists (UWF), the main world federalist organization in the United States, created at Asheville (N.C.) in February 1947 by the association of various pre-existing movements. The debates, theoretical and strategic, opposed in particular the advocates of a People’s World Constitutional Convention and those who more realistically preferred proposing amendments to the United Nations Charter, adopted in San Francisco in 1945.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Valbruzzi Marco

Un convinto partigiano della causa europea

in *Paradoxa*, ANNO IX - Numero 1 - Gennaio/Marzo 2015

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Balachandran G.

Subaltern cosmopolitanism, racial governance and multiculturalism: Britain, c. 1900–45

in *Social History*, Volume 39, Issue 4 , 528-546

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous



Thomas Christopher A.

The Uses and Abuses of Legitimacy in International Law

in *Oxford Journal of Legal Studies*, Volume 34, Issue 4 - winter , 729-758

In recent decades, the term 'legitimacy' has featured heavily in debates about international law and international institutions. Yet the concept of legitimacy, mercurial as it is, has remained under-scrutinized, leading to confusion and misuse. Rather than advancing a particular conception of what may make international law legitimate, this article seeks to clarify and complicate how international lawyers understand and use legitimacy as a concept. To begin, the article distinguishes between legal, moral and social legitimacy. It highlights the different ways in which these three approaches to legitimacy have been used in international law scholarship, while drawing attention to some of their more problematic tendencies. From there, it breaks the concept of legitimacy down into three major elements: its object, subject and basis. It argues that the tendency to blur these elements has led to much of the uncertainty and obfuscation in legitimacy debates. Finally, the article stresses the importance of distinguishing legitimacy from other grounds for compliance, including coercion, self-interest and habit. Ultimately, it argues that if treated with sufficient rigour, legitimacy provides a useful analytical concept for international lawyers. In doing so, it aims to encourage and facilitate the participation of international lawyers in broader inter-disciplinary debates about legitimacy.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Gross Thomas

"We the People" - What is the Legal Meaning of "People"?

in *Revue européenne de droit public*, Vol. 25, N. 4 , 1791-1822

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Levi Lucio

A Chance for Peace Talks on Syria

in *Federalist Debate (The)*, Year XXVI, n. 3, November

The use of chemical weapons on the Damascus suburbs brought a wave of indignation in international public opinion and led to US President Obama threatening a retaliatory strike against Syria. This threat did not receive the expected support either in the US Congress where its reception was at best tepid nor in Britain: witness Cameron's defeat in the House of Commons. Lack of support was also widespread among the international community in general though with the notable exception of France. The common view was in fact that a military attack would not only result in further civilian casualties, but would also increase the risk of the conflict spreading to the rest of the Middle East, a region which had already become unstable following the widespread democratic movement known as the Arab Spring plus inherited



religious conflicts and the infiltration of terrorism. For all these reasons world peace would be endangered.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Lovett Frank

A Republican Theory of Adjudication

in **Res Publica**, Volume 21, Issue 1, February , 1-18

In recent years there has been a revival of interest in civic republicanism. In light of this revival, it is interesting to consider what sort of theory of legal or judicial adjudication such a doctrine—centered on the value of promoting freedom from domination—would recommend. After discussing the importance of such a theory and clarifying its relationship to broader questions of institutional design, it is argued that theories of adjudication should be assessed according to three criteria: first, their contribution to the republican cause of promoting freedom from domination; second, their suitability to the characteristic features of legal systems; and third, their impact on long-run institutional stability. According to these criteria, a republican theory of adjudication would hold that judges and other legal officials should strive in their decisions and interpretations to maintain and enhance the distinctive value of the rule of law.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Hamer Chris

A Strategy for World Federation

in **Federalist Debate (The)**, XXVII, Number 2, July 2014

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Brooks Douglas H., Joshi Kaushal, McArthur John W., Rhee Changyong, Wan Guanghua

A ZEN approach to post-2015 development goals for Asia and the Pacific

in **Ecological Economics**, Volume 107, November , 392-401

The Asia-Pacific region includes a majority of the world's population and many of its most rapidly growing economies. It is also home to the world's largest number of extremely poor people, many fragile states, and unsustainable environmental practices. The region has increased its influence in the world economy but is still grappling to overcome complex interrelated challenges of poverty, inequality and sustainable development. Its priorities must be addressed as a central element of any post-2015 global development goal framework. Drawing from lessons of the Millennium Development Goals, this paper suggests a conceptual framework to guide a new generation of goals, along with an intergovernmental approach to implementation. The “ZEN” framework stresses the distinct challenges of achieving zero extreme poverty (Z), setting country-specific “Epsilon” benchmarks for broader development challenges (E), and promoting environmental sustainability both within and across borders (N).



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Rolandsen Øystein H.

Another civil war in South Sudan: the failure of Guerrilla Government?

in *Journal of Eastern African Studies* , Volume 9, Issue 1 , 163-174

Popular explanations for the outbreak of a new civil war in South Sudan have centred on ethnic factors and leadership personalities. This article demonstrates that the conflict is rooted in deep cleavages within the ruling political party, the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM). When internal tensions came to a head in late 2013, a combination of neopatrimonial politics, a weak state structure and legacies of violence from the previous civil war allowed this to escalate into a full-scale armed conflict.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Kelly Paul

Armitage on Locke on International Theory: The Two Treatises of Government and the Right of Intervention

in *History of European Ideas*, Volume 41, Issue 1, Special Issue: David Armitage's Foundations of Modern International Thought , 49-61

The paper examines David Armitage's claim that Locke makes an important contribution to international theory by exploring the place of international relations within the Two Treatises of Government. Armitage's suggestion is that the place of international theory in Locke's canonical works is under-explored. In particular, the paper examines the implication of Locke's account of the executive power of the law of nature which allows third parties to punish breaches of the law of nature wherever they occur. The corollary is a general right of intervention under the law of nature. Such a right could create a chaotic individualistic cosmopolitanism and has led scholars such as John Rawls to claim that Locke has no international theory. In response to this problem the paper explores the way in which Locke's discussion of conquest, revolution and the right of peoples to determine the conditions of good government in chapters xvi to xix of the second Treatise contributes to a view of international relations that embodies a law of peoples.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Varella Mollick André, Cabral René

Assessing Returns to Education and Labor Shocks in Mexican Regions after NAFTA

in *Contemporary Economic Policy*, Volume 33, Issue 1, January 2015 , 190-206

This article examines Mexico's (real) wage movements across its 32 subnational entities for post-North American Free Trade Agreement years. Employing dynamic panel data methods, we obtain the following results. First, education (or labor productivity) has slightly higher wage effects in the Border-North region. Second, allowing for foreign capital and labor to respond to wages, returns to education have higher effects in South-Center Mexico, the region with (average) lower education levels. Third, convergence rates become lower with endogenous foreign capital and migration flows: wages move faster in the South-Center region than in Border-North. Overall, migration flows have greater effects on wages than foreign direct investment inflows.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Craig Charmaine

Burma's Fault Lines: Ethnic Federalism and the Road to Peace

in *Dissent*, Fall, 2014

After more than half a century of war and broken ceasefire agreements, Burma is currently in the midst of landmark peace talks between its government and a coalition of ethnic resistance groups. In July, the Nationwide Ceasefire Coordination Team (NCCT)—representing sixteen ethnic nationalities including the Karen, the Kachin, the Mon, the Arakanese, and the Shan—met in Kachin-held Laiza to discuss the terms of a proposed national ceasefire, under negotiation with the government since last November. The ethnic nationalities, of which all but the Kachin and the Ta'ang have already struck bilateral ceasefire agreements with the government, are calling for greater administrative autonomy within a new federal Union of Burma, control over natural resources in their territories, and a guarantee that political dialogue with the government will take place within months of a national ceasefire accord. [...]

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Leonardo BELLODI

Chi ha diritto all'indipendenza

in *Limes*, n.10

Il caso scozzese impone di ripensare in termini giuridici e geopolitici il rapporto tra gli Stati sovrani e i loro territori che vorrebbero diventare tali. La lezione del Québec, un buon esempio per l'Unione Europea.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Ułasiuk Iryna

Comparative Analysis of Legal Guarantees of Educational Rights of National Minorities and Migrants in Europe

in *International Journal on Minority and Groups Rights*, Volume 21, Issue 4 , 469-496

A difference between a framework protecting national minorities established by the Versailles treaties and a framework protecting minorities originating from migration was blurred in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which adopted an all-inclusive approach to human rights. The present article is an attempt to research (a) what exactly the differences between the instruments protecting national minorities and the instruments protecting migrants are in one specific area, education, and (b) to what extent the general inclusiveness of human rights instruments has influenced or should influence the specific instruments pertaining to the protection of educational rights of migrants and national minorities.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Hoppe Robert, Wesselink Anna



Comparing the role of boundary organizations in the governance of climate change in three EU member states in *Environmental Science & Policy*, Volume 44, December, 73-85

A plethora of institutional forms has emerged whose remit is to link climate change science to policy-making. These can be understood as boundary arrangements where science and politics meet and intertwine; when formalized these may be referred to as boundary organizations. This article examines boundary organizations and their role in climate change governance in three EU member states: Germany (FRG), United Kingdom (UK) and the Netherlands (NL). A multi-level conceptual framework and tentative causal model steer the comparison. It demonstrates how context at the political-cultural and problem governance levels is crucial to understanding the operation and impact of boundary organizations. We find that the climate change policy issue is generally treated as a moderately structured problem with goal agreement. However, given this problem structure, 'climate change' is framed differently: as primarily economic (UK) or environmental (FRG) or in between (NL), and as primarily mitigation (UK, FRG) or adaptation (NL). In all countries, but in FRG and the NL more than in UK, climate change issue politics is split in two sub-arenas: one 'environmental' (to do with adaptation), the other 'economic' (to do with mitigation and/or energy transition). National boundary arrangements are more (FRG, NL) or less (UK) stable over time, between bureaucratic-cum-advocacy and technocracy-cum-learning in all three countries, depending on policy domain, policy stage and political context at the time. They in turn sit within national political-cultural spheres that we characterize as, for this policy issue, primarily corporatist (NL), personalized and meritocratic (UK), and corporatist veering towards consensual (FRG). The multilevel conceptual framework for mapping boundary arrangements and detecting causal patterns therefore serves to satisfactorily describe, compare and explain national differences in expert advice on climate change policy.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Gleditsch Nils Petter, Nordås Ragnhild

Conflicting messages? The IPCC on conflict and human security

in *Political Geography*, Volume 43, Special Issue: Climate Change and Conflict, November, 82-90

Violence seems to be on a long-term decline in the international system. The possibility that climate change would create more violent conflict was mentioned in scattered places in the Third and Fourth Assessment Reports from the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), published in 2001 and 2007 respectively. The empirical literature testing for relationships between climate change and various forms of conflict has undergone a major expansion since then. The report from Working Group II of the Fifth Assessment Report contains a much more careful assessment of the climate change-conflict nexus. The Human security chapter reports high agreement and robust evidence that human security will be progressively threatened as the climate changes. But as far as the impact on armed conflict is concerned, it paints a balanced picture, concluding that while individual studies vary in their conclusions, 'collectively the research does not conclude that there is a strong positive relationship between warming and armed conflict'. The chapter also argues that climate change is likely to have an influence on some known drivers of conflict, and this point is reiterated in other chapters as well as the Technical summary and the Summary for policymakers. A chapter on 'Emergent trends ...' has a somewhat more dramatic conclusion regarding a climate-conflict link, as does the Africa chapter, while a methods chapter on 'Detection and attribution' dismisses the climate-change-to-violence link. The entire report is suffused with terms like 'may', 'has the potential to', and other formulations without any indication of a level of probability. Overall, the Fifth Assessment Report of the IPCC does not support the view that climate change is an important threat to the long-term waning of war. Still, the report opens up for conflicting interpretations and overly alarmist media translations.



Full text available online

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Ciplet David

Contesting Climate Injustice: Transnational Advocacy Network Struggles for Rights in UN Climate Politics in Global Environmental Politics, Volume 14, Issue 4, November , 75-96

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Beckman Ludvig

Democracy and the Right to Exclusion

in Res Publica, Volume 20, Issue 4, November , 395-411

A defining feature of democracy is the inclusion of members of the political association. However, the corresponding right to exclusion has attracted undeservedly scant attention in recent debates. In this paper, the nature of the right to exclusion is explored. On the assumption that inclusion requires the allocation of legal power-rights to the people entitled to participate in the making of collective decisions, two conceptions of the right to exclusion are identified: the liberty-right to exclude and the claim-right to exclude. The choice between them depends on the nature of the interests that justifies the power-rights of people included. The position is defended that if rights to democratic participation are power-rights, we must also accept that the people included have claim-rights to the exclusion of non-members.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Lee You-il, Lee Kyung Tae

Economic Nationalism and Globalization in South Korea: A Critical Insight

in Asian Perspective, Volume 39, Issue 1 , 125-151

In this article we explore whether South Korea's long-standing tradition of economic nationalism remains an appropriate development strategy, or whether this approach has been rendered irrelevant by the current wave of neoliberal globalization led by multinational corporations. We examine the changed economic agendas of each Korean regime, with a particular focus on national identity and economic nationalism, mobilized and implemented by the state. We argue that, despite the rapid development of globalization and cosmopolitanism in South Korea, economic nationalism is still prevalent. Korea's adoption of neoliberal economic activities, such as lifting trade barriers to encourage the inflow of foreign direct investment, was necessary to assist certain areas of the economy. Furthermore, changing the direction of the growth trajectory remains subordinate to the goal of state building. Empirical analysis of results collected from survey data and one-on-one interviews conducted in 2010 help to validate our hypothesis.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea



Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Keller Wolfgang, Shiue Carol H.

Endogenous Formation of Free Trade Agreements: Evidence from the Zollverein's Impact on Market Integration
in *Journal of Economic History (The)*, Volume 74 - Issue 04 - dicembre 2014 , 1168-1204

The Zollverein was arguably the most important free trade agreement of the nineteenth century. Although 1834 is the official date of the Zollverein's establishment, member states joined in a non-random sequence over several decades because the benefits of becoming a member increased, both as the size of the union increased, and as membership in the union became increasingly important for accessing foreign markets. We incorporate the endogenous effects of accession into an estimate of the economic impact of the Zollverein customs union. Our estimated effects are several times larger than simple estimates that do not take these effects into account.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Wickson Fern

Environmental protection goals, policy & publics in the European regulation of GMOs
in *Ecological Economics*, Volume 108, December , 269-273

One of the most divisive debates in modern agriculture concerns the use of genetically modified organisms (GMOs). In Europe, the policy debate over GMOs has been met with a persistent attempt to retreat into "sound science" as a potential unifying force. However, environmental risk assessment as an aid to regulatory decision-making is inherently entangled with questions of environmental ethics. This is particularly manifested in the setting of environmental protection goals. For the risk assessment of GMOs, the European Food Safety Authority has presented an inconsistent position on environmental protection goals. There is, however, an emerging trend for biodiversity conservation to be enfolded within an ecosystem services frame, and for ecosystem services to be reduced to biological terms. How environmental protection goals are understood, articulated and used to define risk assessment and shape regulatory decision-making is a significant factor in the entrenched debate over the regulation of GMOs in Europe. In negotiating this territory, I suggest that the attempt to enforce a strict divide between nature and culture or social and ecological systems in Europe's risk assessment of GMOs is emphatically counter-productive, for both robust science and considered ethical action.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Jacob Daniel

Every Vote Counts: Equality, Autonomy, and the Moral Value of Democratic Decision-Making
in *Res Publica*, Volume 21, Issue 1, February , 61-75

What is the moral value of formal democratic decision-making? Egalitarian accounts of democracy provide a powerful answer to this question. They present formal democratic procedures as a way for a society of equals to arrive at collective decisions in a transparent and mutually acceptable manner. More specifically, such procedures ensure and publicly affirm that all members of a political community, in their capacity as autonomous actors, are treated as equals who are able and have a right to participate in collective decision-making. Recently, a number of authors have raised what I describe as the 'no impact' objection. This objection focuses on the egalitarian emphasis on autonomy to cast



doubt on the moral value of formal democratic procedures. It holds that individual participation in formal democratic decision-making has no impact on the eventual result, and therefore cannot be understood as an exercise in autonomy. Consequently, the 'no impact' objection claims that the moral value of formal democracy cannot be explained with reference to an egalitarian ideal of 'rule by the people'. In this article, I refute this objection by complementing an egalitarian account of democracy with an account of basic autonomy.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Costalli Stefano, Ruggeri Andrea

Forging political entrepreneurs: Civil war effects on post-conflict politics in Italy

in Political Geography, Volume 44, January , 40-49

How does violent mobilization affect post-conflict elections? This article studies the impact that violent collective mobilization has on local electoral behavior after domestic conflict. We argue that post-conflict democratic politics at the local level can be dramatically affected by local experience of civil war. The use of violence during the war and especially local political entrepreneurs who have emerged from the conflict can influence post-violent politics. We use as case-study the civil war that took place in Italy during the last phase of World War II. Using new spatially disaggregated data on armed groups' location and violent episodes, we assess the impact of the violent mobilization on the 1946 elections, which took place after the conflict. We find that partisans' mobilization and, more weakly, Nazi-Fascist violent acts influenced local politics, shifting votes towards more radical positions. Our findings hold across numerous robustness checks.

Full text available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Tebaldi Mauro

From Notary to Ruler: The Role of the President of the Republic during the Italian Crisis (2010–14)

in South European Society & Politics, Volume 19, Issue 4, Special Issue: Political Representation in Times of Bailout: Evidence from Greece and Portugal. , 561-581

During the period of political and economic crisis in Italy, the President of the Republic became the central institutional actor of the Italian parliamentary government. This led to a debate among party politicians and scholars of Italian politics concerning the role of the Head of State in Italian democracy. Focusing on the period from 2010 until the beginning of 2014, the article explains the growing power of the President by examining the conditions that allowed presidential powers to increase. It concludes by discussing the potential effects of the increase in presidential powers on the evolution of Italian parliamentary government.

Full text available online.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Held David



**From the American Century to a Cosmopolitan Order
in *Federalist Debate (The)*, XXVII, Number 2, July 2014**

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Croucher Sheila

**From world citizenship to purified patriotism: Obama's nation-shaping in a global era
in *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power*, Volume 22, Issue 1, 2015 , 1-18**

This analysis responds to two questions in recent scholarship. The first is Ulrich Beck's call for scholars to empirically explore how nationhood is evolving in a global context – whether and how nation-states are being cosmopolitanised. The second concerns normative debates regarding what form belonging should take in a global era – patriotic attachments or cosmopolitan ones. The rhetoric of Barack Obama provides empirical fodder for both explorations. As a leader who proclaimed and was widely noted for his cosmopolitan sensibilities, yet ultimately relied heavily on themes of patriotism and American exceptionalism, Obama's case confirms that nationhood remains a potent form of collectivity in the contemporary era; suggests that although the conditions of globalisation may be facilitative ones with regard to cosmopolitanisation, they are not sufficient ones; and calls into question Martha Nussbaum's recent claim that if 'purified', patriotism lends itself to a 'striving for global justice and inclusive human love'.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Welsch Heinz, Biermann Philipp

**Fukushima and the preference for nuclear power in Europe: Evidence from subjective well-being data
in *Ecological Economics*, Volume 108, December , 171-179**

The sustainable supply of energy is high on the agenda of many European countries. One of the pertinent issues, the future role of nuclear power, has gained increasing attention after the nuclear disaster at Fukushima, Japan. As a contribution to preference elicitation, we test whether the relationship between subjective well-being (SWB) of European citizens and the supply of nuclear power has changed after the Fukushima nuclear accident of March 11, 2011. Survey data for about 124,000 individuals in 23 European countries reveal that while European citizens' SWB was statistically unrelated to the share of nuclear power before the Fukushima disaster, it was negatively related to the nuclear share after the disaster. Taking the relationship between SWB and the nuclear share as an indicator of preference, this suggests the existence of an induced preference change.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Dogaru Teodora, Burger Martijn, Karreman Bas, van Oort Frank

**Functional and Sectoral Division of Labour within Central and Eastern European Countries: Evidence from
Greenfield FDI**

in *Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie (Journal of Economic & Social Geography)* , Volume 106,



Issue 1, February , 120-129

In this paper, we analyse the sectoral and functional division of labour in Central and Eastern European (CEE) regions within the convergence debate. By analysing the investment decisions of multinational corporations in 49 NUTS 2 regions across six European CEE countries (Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Romania and Bulgaria), we show that capital city regions not only receive more greenfield FDI but also attract a larger variety of investments in terms of sectors and functions. Capital cities are more likely to host higher-end sectors and functions, which provides an explanation for the existing regional disparities within CEE countries. These results highlight the importance of functional and sectoral divisions of labour in the view of regional profiling and contribute to the recent EU Cohesion Policy debate.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Antal Miklós

Green goals and full employment: Are they compatible?

in Ecological Economics, Volume 107, November , 276-286

Two empirical correlations are studied: one between economic growth and environmental impacts, and the other between the lack of economic growth and unemployment. It is demonstrated that, at a global level, economic growth is strongly correlated with environmental impacts, and barriers to fast decoupling are large and numerous. On the other hand, low or negative growth is highly correlated with increasing unemployment in most market economies, and strategies to change this lead to difficult questions and tradeoffs. The coexistence of these two correlations – which have rarely been studied together in the literature on “green growth”, “degrowth” and “a-growth” – justifies ambivalence about growth. To make key environmental goals compatible with full employment, the decoupling of environmental impacts from economic output has to be accompanied by a reduction of dependence on growth. In particular, strategies to tackle unemployment without the need for growth, several of which are studied in this article, need much more attention in research and policy.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Devetak Richard

Historiographical Foundations of Modern International Thought: Histories of the European States-System from Florence to Göttingen

in History of European Ideas, Volume 41, Issue 1, Special Issue: David Armitage's Foundations of Modern International Thought , 62-77

The foundations of modern international thought were constructed out of diverse idioms and disciplines. In his impressive book, *Foundations of Modern International Thought*, David Armitage focuses on the normative idioms of natural law and political philosophy from the Anglophone world, from Hobbes and Locke to Burke and Bentham. I focus on parallel developments in the empirically-oriented disciplines of history and historiography to trace the emergence of histories of the states-system in the Italian- and German-speaking worlds, from Bruni and Sarpi to Pufendorf and Heeren. Taking seriously Armitage's remark that ‘the pivotal moments in the formation of modern international thought were often points of retrospective reconstruction’, I argue that the historical disciplines supplied another significant intellectual context in which the modern world could be imagined as ‘a world of states’.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Boucher David

Hobbes's Contribution to International Thought, and the Contribution of International Thought to Hobbes

in History of European Ideas, Volume 41, Issue 1, Special Issue: David Armitage's Foundations of Modern International Thought, 29-48

The aim of this article is to explore in what respects Thomas Hobbes may be regarded as foundational in international thought. It is evident that in contemporary international relations theory he has become emblematic of a realist tradition, but as David Armitage suggests this was not always the case. I want to suggest that it is only in a very limited sense that he may be regarded as a foundational thinker in international relations, and for reasons very different from those for which he has become infamous. In the early histories of international thought Hobbes is a cameo figure completely eclipsed by Grotius. In early histories of political literature, the classic jurists were often acknowledged for their remarkable contributions to international relations, but Hobbes is referred to exclusively as a philosopher of a positivist ethics and absolute sovereignty. It is among the jurists themselves that Hobbes is believed to have made important conceptual moves which set the problems for international thought for the next three centuries. He conflates natural law and the law of nations, arguing that they differ only in their subjects—the former individuals, the latter nations or states. This entailed transforming the sovereign into an artificial man, not in the Roman Law sense of an entity capable of suing and being sued; rather, as a subject not party to a contract, but created by a contract among individuals who confer upon it authority. This subject is not constrained by the contractors, but is, as individuals were in the state of nature, constrained by the equivalent of natural law, the law of nations in the international context. Throughout, the methodological implications are drawn for modern historians of political thought and political philosophers who venture to theorise about international relations.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Pater Robert, Lewandowska Anna

Human capital and innovativeness of the European Union regions

in Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science Research, Volume 28, Issue 1, 2015, 31-51

The objective of this article is to analyze and classify European Union (EU) regions according to human capital and innovativeness. Innovativeness of 225 EU NUTS-2 regions within 2008–2010 is analyzed with special attention paid to human capital. Eighteen indicators of innovativeness and human capital were adapted and transformed into four mutually orthogonal components, with use of factor analysis. The use of factor analysis eliminated the portions of information overlapping in indicators proposed in the beginning of the analysis. It is one of the beneficial differences between the approach presented in this article and the Regional Innovation Scoreboard. A second difference is the scope, for in this article the specific meaning of human capital in the innovation process was highlighted. On this basis the EU regions were classified in five homogeneous groups. It enabled the authors to draw conclusions concerning the areas of innovativeness which need specific support and the potential to be exploited. On the basis of our article concerning the issue of relatively poor innovativeness of some EU regions' economies, it's worth stressing that underinvestment in the field of human capital is one of the basic causes which determine different results obtained in innovation activity.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Boriaud Jean-Yves

Ich bin ein Berliner. Origines latines du concept d'identité

in *Revue des deux mondes*, Avril

En s'appuyant sur une référence latine, lointaine mais décisive, John Fitzgerald Kennedy, le 26 juin 1963, soit à cinq mois de sa mort, revendiquait donc, devant le mur de la honte, une identité forte, symbole à elle seule du combat de tout un monde pour la défense de la liberté face à l'« ordre » communiste. Et quand, au moment de s'identifier à ces Berlinois devenus champions, dans leur base avancée, des valeurs occidentales, le président américain invoquait le fameux « Civis Romanus sum », il s'autorisait en fait de la parole ultime d'un -citoyen romain, prononcée deux mille années auparavant à Messine, par un certain Gavius que l'on flagellait en toute illégalité

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Boriaud Jean-Yves

Ich bin ein Berliner. Origines latines du concept d'identité

in *Revue des deux mondes*, Avril

Two thousand years ago, the proudest boast was

« Civis romanus sum ».

Today, in the world of freedom, the proudest boast is

« Ich bin ein Berliner »

John Fitzgerald Kennedy

En s'appuyant sur une référence latine, lointaine mais décisive, John Fitzgerald Kennedy, le 26 juin 1963, soit à cinq mois de sa mort, revendiquait donc, devant le mur de la honte, une identité forte, symbole à elle seule du combat de tout un monde pour la défense de la liberté face à l'« ordre » communiste. Et quand, au moment de s'identifier à ces Berlinois devenus champions, dans leur base avancée, des valeurs occidentales, le président américain invoquait le fameux « Civis Romanus sum », il s'autorisait en fait de la parole ultime d'un -citoyen romain, prononcée deux mille années auparavant à Messine, par un certain Gavius que l'on flagellait en toute illégalité sur l'ordre d'un magistrat

<http://www.revuedesdeuxmondes.fr/archive/article.php?code=72699&show=picture>



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Veneruso Danilo

Il contrasto tra Mussolini e Matteotti sulla vita politica

in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, Vol. 81, n. 2, aprile-giugno , 231-243

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Maurizio Ricciardi

Il problema politico dello Stato globale

in *Equilibri*, n.2-Agosto , 293-300

The article analyses the theoretical problem of the contemporary global State, regarded as the result of the historical vicissitudes of the modern State. By using critically Carl Schmitt's category of the «total State» and Gramsci's conception of hegemony, the author discusses how the global State institutionalizes itself within the growing divide between the authority of the single State and the world society.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Loch Dietmar

Integration as a sociological concept and national model for immigrants: scope and limits

in *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power*, Volume 21, Issue 6, 2014 , 623-632

This article introduces the special issue on the contemporary validity of national models of immigrant integration in Europe. From a historical perspective, we address integration as a sociological concept for the social cohesion of European societies and for the integration of their immigrants; subsequently, we discuss the current 'crisis' facing both. We then outline seven country studies in order to compare the differences and similarities of their integration models. Although the importance of national integration has decreased with urban segregation, cultural pluralisation, European integration and globalisation for citizens and immigrants, most of the contributions in this issue show that national models of immigrant integration have not completely failed.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Shiping Tang

International System, not International Structure: Against the Agent–Structure Problématique in IR

in *Chinese Journal of International Politics (The)*, Volume 7 Issue 4 , 483-506

Since the very beginning of social sciences, the relationship between agents and the social system has been a central



problématique. Unfortunately, the agent–structure problem, which is a much narrower version of the agent–system problem, has mostly replaced the latter in social sciences, including international relations (IRs). This article argues that our long-standing affair with the agent–structure problématique has been disastrous for IR and the broader social sciences, and that it is time to end it. Our obsession with structure or the agent–structure problématique has blinded us to the simple reality that system encompasses much more than agent-and-structure and as such, that focussing on structure alone cannot possibly lead us to an adequate understanding of the dynamics of any social system. Social scientists should embrace a genuinely systemic approach if they desire to understand adequately the dynamics within a system. A refocussing on system rather than on structure not only clarifies some of the key debates in IR theory but also points to important new directions for further research. The discussion here contributes to the recent resurging interest in the systemic approach within the broader social sciences, and IR in particular.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Cavalli Alessandro

Jewish Identity Between Cosmopolitanism and Nationalism

in **Federalist Debate (The)**, Year XXVII, n. 1, March

Is there a Jewish identity? Or there are many? Hebraism is certainly the oldest of the monotheistic religions, but is it a religion or also something else? Can we speak of a history of the Jewish people, or just histories of Jewish peoples? And what about the Jews who associate to the Jewish another national identity (American, French, Italian, Australian, etc.). And those who have chosen to live in Israel, and those who call themselves atheists, regardless of country in which they live? How could a Jewish identity be maintained in the diaspora over two millennia? And what role did pogroms, persecutions, the Shoah and all variants of anti-Semitism play in keeping alive the sense of belonging to a community, however defined?

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Morès Felix

L'Europa carolingia all'avanguardia dell'Unione Europea

in **Diorama**, numero 322, settembre-dicembre 2014

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Fremaux Anne, Guillaume Bertrand

L'horizon postdémocratique et la crise écologique

in **Ecologie et politique**, n. 49, Les servitudes de la puissance : conflits énergétiques , 115-129

The economic crisis and the ecological crisis are operating in a similar way: in both cases, the peoples are being denied their democratic right to express their will, on the pretext that the subjects discussed are too complex to be left to those who are not “experts” or apparently competent on the matter. In both cases, there is an institutional shift towards



postdemocratic procedures that empty of their substance the principles of a vibrant and living democracy. In both cases, rationality understood as “wisdom” is denied in favour of a purely instrumental and technician rationality. This article describes the common functionalism applying to both of these crises and shows to what extent this situation calls for a renewal of the ethical dimension of politics.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Chemillier-Gendreau Monique

Le concept de souveraineté a-t-il encore un avenir

in *Revue du droit public et de la science politique en France et à l'étranger*, n. 5 , 1283-1310

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Fabius Laurent

Les priorité de la politique étrangère de la France

in *Revue des deux mondes*, Mai

<http://www.revuedesdeuxmondes.fr/archive/article.php?code=72860&show=picture>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Caprotti Federico, Bailey Ian

Making sense of the green economy

in *Geografiska Annaler, Series B: Human Geography*, Volume 96, Issue 3, September , 195-200

This special issue editorial explores potential research interfaces between human geography and the rapidly unfolding concept and practices of the “green economy”. The article outlines a range of critical issues about the green economy that are particularly pertinent and suited to geographical analysis. The first concerns questions around the construction of the green economy concept and critical questioning of current, largely hegemonic neoliberal, growth-focused and technocentric definitions of the green economy. The second broaches the spatial complexities of green economic transitions, while the third discusses the need for critical appraisal of the logics and mechanisms of governance and transition that see the green economy as a key mechanism for economic, social and environmental change. The fourth focuses on the crucial issue of micro-level and individual practices and behaviour, and on links between individual behaviour and wider economic-environmental governance and economic systems. Finally, the article discusses the need for scholars to engage in imaginative consideration of alternatives to current, growth-focused paradigms and conceptualizations of the green economy.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea



Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Armitage David

Modern International Thought: Problems and Prospects

in **History of European Ideas**, Volume 41, Issue 1, Special Issue: David Armitage's Foundations of Modern International Thought , 116-130

International intellectual history—the intellectual history of the international and an internationalised intellectual history—has recently emerged as one of the most fertile areas of research in the history of ideas. This article responds to eight essays inspired by my own contribution to this field in *Foundations of Modern International Thought* (2013). It engages with their positive achievements regarding the recovery of other foundations for modern international thought: for example, in theology, historiography and gender history. It addresses some of the methodological problems arising from the search for foundations, notably anachronism, presentism and diffusionism. It expands on others' arguments about the international thought of Hobbes and Locke and the limits of cosmopolitanism. Finally, it points the way forward for international intellectual history as a collaborative, interdisciplinary, transnational and transtemporal enterprise.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Tanasescu Mihnea

Nature Advocacy and the Indigenous Symbol

in **Environmental Values**, Volume 24, Number 1, February , 105-122

In 2008, Ecuador became the first country in history to grant constitutional rights to nature. What is termed the indigenous symbol played a significant role in this event. The rights of nature are used as an occasion to interrogate the indigenous symbol in order to reveal what it does, as opposed to what it says. The account of the rights of nature originating in indigenous sensibilities is presented, and subsequently critiqued. The argument makes use of the notion of representative claim to show the strategic construction of indigeneity as ecologically harmonious. An alternative genesis of the rights of nature is presented. It is further showed that the indigenous symbol is employed as a veneer of moral authority hiding the strategic machinations of representative politics.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Anta Claudio Giulio

Norman Angell's Nobel peace prize lecture

in **Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali**, Vol. 81, n. 1, gennaio-marzo , 94-114

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

McQuillan J. Colin

Oaths, Promises, and Compulsory Duties: Kant's Response to Mendelssohn's Jerusalem

in **Journal of the History of Ideas**, Volume 75, Number 4, October , 581-604



This article argues that Kant's essay on enlightenment responds to Moses Mendelssohn's defense of the freedom of conscience in Jerusalem. While Mendelssohn holds that the freedom of conscience as an inalienable right, Kant argues that the use of one's reason may be constrained by oaths. Kant calls such a constrained use of reason the private use of reason. While he also defends the unconditional freedom of the public use of reason, Kant believes that one makes oneself a part of the machinery of the church or state by swearing an oath to and assuming a position within those institutions.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Colgan Jeff D

Oil, domestic conflict, and opportunities for democratization

in **Journal of Peace Research**, Volume 52, Number 1, January , 3-16

The resource curse literature suggests two stylized facts about oil-producing states ('petrostates') that are not easily reconciled with each other. On one hand, petrostates experience more frequent civil wars than non-petrostates. On the other hand, petrostates have more robust and long-lasting autocratic regimes. This is puzzling because one might expect that one form of instability would lead to the other, as is typical in non-petrostates. If petrostates are more prone to domestic conflict than non-petrostates, and conflicts are opportunities for regime transition and democratization, why do we not observe such transitions more frequently in petrostates? I argue that despite frequent conflicts, rebels rarely succeed in violently overthrowing a petrostate regime or otherwise forcing regime transition. This is because oil generates financial resources that can be used by both an incumbent government and rebels to fund armed conflict, and an incumbent government typically has greater access to these resources. In an analysis of non-democracies for 1946–2004, I also find that oil inhibits democratization in petrostates, but only in the context of violent domestic conflicts. Peaceful pathways to democracy remain open in petrostates. These findings significantly alter our understanding of resource curse. Many scholars argue that oil inhibits democracy because of rentier politics, but this standard interpretation is incomplete. Oil appears to inhibit democratization only in the context of violent domestic conflicts. Ten of the eleven transitions to democracy in petrostates since 1945 occurred without significant domestic conflict.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Jayan Nayar

On the Elusive Subject of Sovereignty

in **Alternatives: Global, Local, Political**, 39 (2) , 124-147

"Sovereignty" confounds, and the fate of the "subject" thus appears uncertain. Thus, sovereignty is perpetually rethought by critical philosophers, borders perpetually reconceptualized, and the "political subject" perpetually resurrected from abandonment. In this essay, I present a different, decolonial, view of sovereignty as a philosophical invention. I begin by identifying three incommensurable conditions of subject-beingness: the precarious citizen-subject, the abject subject of "exceptional" bans, and the trans-territorial subject of "exemptional" license. Rather than aberrations, these are co-constitutively regulated and enforced by the invention of sovereignty that constructs the materialities of differentiated subject-beingness within a global biopolitical regime of (b)ordered bodies-within(/out)-territory based on the incommensurable rationalities of license, containments, and bans. The aim of this correction to the philosophy of sovereignty is to further the tasks of denormalizing the coloniality of (b)ordering that has captured, emplaced, and



banned imaginations of being(-otherwise). Conversely, a decolonial philosophy normalizes the oppositions to sovereign presents and naturalizes the many witnessed refusals and rejections of the present normalities of violence and dispossession. To de-invent sovereignty is to therefore re-invent philosophy as decolonial praxes.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Christie James

One World or None: World Religions and the Quest for Global Community in Federalist Debate (The), XXVII, Number 3, November 2014

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Harris Lane J.

Overseas Chinese Remittance Firms, the Limits of State Sovereignty, and Transnational Capitalism in East and Southeast Asia, 1850s–1930s
in **Journal of Asian Studies (The)**, Volume 74 - Issue 01 - febbraio 2015 , 129-151

In the mid-nineteenth century, a group of overseas Chinese businessmen created a private international remittance network linking the southeastern littoral zone of the Qing empire with the colonies of mainland and archipelagic Southeast Asia. Holding together this transnational network were Qiaopiju remittance firms that succeeded in controlling the remittance trade not by relying on traditional forms of economic organization or behavior, but by pioneering a unique combination of capitalist profit-making strategies, culturalist customer services, and flexible interfirm relations. The organizational structure and business practices of Qiaopiju allowed them to successfully adapt to and negotiate with the emerging regulatory regimes of the nation-state, colonial, and capitalist world systems in order to dominate the international remittance industry for more than a century.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Baskin Jeremy

Paradigm Dressed as Epoch: The Ideology of the Anthropocene
in **Environmental Values**, Volume 24, Number 1, February , 9-29

The Anthropocene is a radical reconceptualisation of the relationship between humanity and nature. It posits that we have entered a new geological epoch in which the human species is now the dominant Earth-shaping force, and it is rapidly gaining traction in both the natural and social sciences. This article critically explores the scientific representation of the concept and argues that the Anthropocene is less a scientific concept than the ideational underpinning for a particular worldview. It is paradigm dressed as epoch. In particular, it normalises a certain portion of humanity as the 'human' of the Anthropocene, reinserting 'man' into nature only to re-elevate 'him' above it. This move promotes instrumental reason. It implies that humanity and its planet are in an exceptional state, explicitly invoking the idea of planetary management and legitimising major interventions into the workings of the earth, such as geoengineering. I



conclude that the scientific origins of the term have diminished its radical potential, and ask whether the concept's radical core can be retrieved.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Slotta James

Phatic Rituals of the Liberal Democratic Polity: Hearing Voices in the Hearings of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples

in Comparative Studies in Society and History, Volume 57, Issue 1, January , 130-160

The truth and reconciliation commissions of Latin America and Africa are paradigms of transitional justice, often regarded as part of the process of transitioning from authoritarian to democratic rule. But truth commissions are also common in first-world settler states, which raises the question of what "transition" such commissions effectuate in Canada, Australia, and the United States. This paper examines the efforts of Canada's Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples to resolve a controversy over a government relocation of Inuit families in the 1950s for which the relocatees were demanding compensation. Concurrent with historical controversies in the Canadian courts concerning Aboriginal rights and title, the historical controversy over the relocation raised questions about the Canadian state's ability to "hear the voices" of First Nations people, who objected that their accounts of the past had been disregarded by government-contracted historians and courts alike. I argue that the Royal Commission's efforts to hear the voices of Inuit relocatees, showcased in nationally televised hearings, was a phatic ritual in which communicative contact between marginalized citizens and the state was ritually established. The ritual was presented as a remedy for failures to achieve phatic communion among citizens and state—a condition of communicative contact held up as essential to the realization of liberal democratic ideals. The work of the Royal Commission and other truth commissions highlights the growing prominence of communication, particularly liberal communicative events construed as "open," "equal," and "free," as a concern of both theory and practice in liberal democratic polities.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Freire André, Lisi Marco, Andreadis Ioannis, Viegas José Manuel Leite

Political Representation in Bailed-out Southern Europe: Greece and Portugal Compared

in South European Society & Politics, Volume 19, Issue 4, Special Issue: Political Representation in Times of Bailout:

Evidence from Greece and Portugal. , 413-433

The emergence of the economic and financial crisis has already shown important electoral and political consequences in southern Europe. Drawing on the experience of two bailed-out countries, Greece and Portugal, we use original data collected before and after 2008 to examine how patterns of political representation have changed during this period. We argue that austerity measures have significantly affected the way MPs represent their electorates, namely in terms of policy congruence. In addition, the economic crisis has also deepened the legitimacy crisis in both countries. Finally, we find that the short-term impact of the crisis has had a greater impact on voters' attitudes than on those of their representatives.

Full text available online.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Cavalli Alessandro

Populism and Nationalism in Today's Europe

in *Federalist Debate (The)*, XXVII, Number 3, November 2014

There is no one country in the EU that has not seen the recent rise of movements combining populism and nationalism, although with different success and different political impact. Even separatist movements, like in the Scottish case, can be considered as belonging to this category.

The populist component of these movements expresses a profound distrust vis-à-vis the power élites and calls directly to the people, as the depository of popular sovereignty and final source of legitimation. Distrust concerns the entire establishment, not only politicians and parties, but also the "Brussel's bureaucracy", the technocrats, the big financial circles, the banks, the multinational corporations, etc. The deep fall of trust is rather generalized, it is more strongly visible however where the financial and economic crisis has hit more severely. Distrust, as I said, involves the whole ruling class and, in particular, the entire political class, right and left, there are no distinctions, like in the slogan "all politicians are the same". The political struggle is either "facade" ("They pretend to fight each other, however under the cover they do agree and divide the loot, which is the product of our work"), or is an expression of the inability to "agree" ("They are capable only to quarrel"). Public sentiments are often contradictory. [...]

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

McDaniel Sean

Post-crisis social democratic policy capacity in France and the United Kingdom: A lesson from the globalisation and social democracy debate

in *French Politics*, Volume 12, Issue 4 (December 2014) , 283–309

Two decades ago many commentators suggested that economic globalisation had eroded social democratic economic policy capacity. Although this argument has largely been discredited, the global financial crisis has revived the state-market debate. As governments succumb to fiscal consolidation, a similar theory of declining state capacity now challenges social democrats. This article redresses the contemporary situation by using the economic globalisation debate from the mid-1990s to 2005 as a lens through which to comparatively analyse the current fiscal policy positions of the Parti Socialiste and the Labour Party. It draws similarities between the two situations and illustrates how contested notions of the contemporary political economy constrain social democratic fiscal policy capacity, suggesting that greater capacity exists than is currently acknowledged.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Sánchez Navarro  Dennis, Cantor Varga Natalia, Herrera Saavedra Juan Pablo, Campo Robledo Jacobo, de Quinto Arrendonda Miguel

Proposed regionalization of the national system of industrial property

in *Revista de economia institucional*, VOLUMEN 16, NÚMERO 31, SEGUNDO SEMESTRE DE 2014



With a principal components methodology, this article describes the dynamics of knowledge generation and use of industrial property systems at the regional level, and proposes an index regionalization that offers objective criteria to advance in the location of regional IP offices in Colombia. Results from the index were complemented by a comparative analysis of transportation costs, which allowed ranking the different departments based on their socioeconomic characteristics and generation of technological innovation activities.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Crandall Matthew

Russian Energy Transit Policy in the Baltic Sea Region

in *Debate: Journal of Contemporary Central and Eastern Europe*, vol. 22, n. 2 , 143-159

This article critically analyzes Russia's 'aggressive' nationalist energy transit policy in the Baltic Sea region to offer an alternative understanding of the consequences for the Baltic states. Four case studies will be used to analyze Russia's energy transit policy in the Baltic Sea region. First, the 2003 closure of the oil pipeline in the port city Venstpils in Latvia, second, the closure of the Druzbha oil pipeline in Lithuania in 2006, third, the construction of the Nord Stream pipeline, and finally, the construction of new Russian ports in Ust-Luga and Primorsk. The case studies will be carried out using a theoretical framework based on Alexander Wendt's constructivist works as well as David Lake's works on hierarchy in international relations. This article concludes that Russia has accepted the fact that the Baltic states were not willing to enter into a hierarchical relationship and that Russia recognizes the Baltic states as independent neighbours. While this does not improve the energy security situation for the Baltic states, it does suggest progress in the normalization of Baltic-Russian relations which could lead to an improved security environment in the future.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Anta Claudio Giulio

Save the League of Nations to save peace: Robert Cecil's Nobel Peace Prize lecture

in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, Vol. 81, n. 2, aprile-giugno , 279-291

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Varró Krisztina

Spatial Imaginaries of the Dutch–German–Belgian Borderlands: A Multidimensional Analysis of Cross-Border Regional Governance

in *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, Volume 38, Issue 6 , 2235-2255

Parallel to the proliferation of cross-border regional cooperation initiatives in the European Union, increasing scholarly attention has been given to conceptualizing cross-border governance in recent decades. In line with the recognition that cross-border regions have not undermined the significance of nation-state spaces but have added to their complexity, conceptual frameworks of analysis have become more and more refined. However, studies still tend to be framed in one



spatial grammar, that of territory, scale or network, and fail to consider the ways in which these different dimensions become interlocked. The aim of this article is to address this lack by developing a multidimensional perspective, in order to finally circumvent state-centric thinking on cross-border regions and to offer a more nuanced account of whether and how new imaginaries of spatial governance institutionalize. These arguments are demonstrated by means of a case study of cross-border regional governance in the Dutch–German–Belgian borderlands.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Kurtzer Daniel C., Duss Matthew, Sachs Natan B., Munayyer Yousef

Symposium: The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: Has the U.S. Failed?

in Middle East Policy, Volume 21, Issue 4, Winter , 1-31

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Wapner Paul

The Changing Nature of Nature: Environmental Politics in the Anthropocene

in Global Environmental Politics, Volume 14, Issue 4, November , 36-54

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Nardin Terry

The Diffusion of Sovereignty

in History of European Ideas, Volume 41, Issue 1, Special Issue: David Armitage's Foundations of Modern International Thought , 89-102

The transmission of ideas about sovereignty and its related practices from one time, place, or intellectual context to another is sometimes characterised as a process of 'diffusion' or even 'contagion'. Intellectual historians may use such metaphors but the explanations they provide are historical, not scientific. Sovereignty was transmitted when European states brought their forms of government to other peoples and when those peoples embraced such forms in declaring their independence from imperial rule. It was also transmitted when the idea of sovereignty was itself transformed in the course of these and other historical passages. In *Foundations of Modern International Thought*, David Armitage explores some of these historical passages, the outcome of which he sees as the world of sovereign states that defines the modern period and the disappearance of which would signal its end. In doing so, he illuminates the larger enterprise of writing the history of international thought or, as he prefers to call it, international intellectual history, inviting reflection on its relationship to other kinds of historical inquiry and the opportunities and dangers it poses.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Schulz Christian, Bailey Ian

The Green Economy and Post-Growth Regimes: Opportunities and Challenges for Economic Geography in *Geografiska Annaler, Series B: Human Geography*, Volume 96, Issue 3, September , 277-291

While mainstream economic geography is doing increasing research on green manufacturing and services, with a few notable exceptions, its predominant conceptual approaches to emerging modes of economic orientation continue to examine economic transitions somewhat unreflexively within the context of traditional growth paradigms. The aim of this article is to explore and critically examine neoliberal discourses on the green economy and smart growth by exploring contributions to debates on green economics proposed by ideas linked to post-growth economies. Based on studies by scholars such as Tim Jackson and Serge Latouche, the article examines the contours of debates on post-growth, décroissance (de-growth) and prosperity without growth. We begin by examining growth debates and existing contributions by economic and other geographers to the exploration of alternatives to conventional growth-centred economics. We then identify some emergent spatial facets of post-growth transitions and utilize these to explore potential research topics and opportunities for empirical and conceptual contributions by economic geographers to academic and societal debates on economic transitions and post-growth paradigms. Particular attention is paid to approaches currently discussed in economic geography, such as socio-technical transition studies.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Palen Marc-William

The Imperialism of Economic Nationalism in *Diplomatic History*, vol. 39, n. 1, January , 157-185

Debunking the common laissez-faire myth surrounding turn-of-the-century American foreign relations allows for a reconceptualization of American imperialism from 1890 to 1913. The Republican Party, the party of protectionism, found itself riven by internal disagreements over the future of the protectionist system and U.S. imperial expansion. From within Republican protectionist ranks arose a progressive wing that increasingly looked beyond the home market for the country's growing American agricultural and manufacturing surpluses. They did so against staunch anti-imperial opposition not only from American free-trade independents, but also from the Republican Party's isolationist home-market protectionists, who yet feared or disdained foreign markets and colonial acquisitions. These progressive Republican proponents of empire combined coercive trade reciprocity with protectionism—an expansive closed door—and worked hard to extend American imperial power through informal means of high tariff walls, closed U.S.-controlled markets, and retaliatory reciprocity if possible, by formal annexation and military interventionism when necessary. The American Empire thus arose owing to the imperialism of economic nationalism, not the imperialism of free trade.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Uimonen Jari

The Personal Status in French Law: With Special Focus on Overseas Territories in *International Journal on Minority and Groups Rights*, Volume 21, Issue 4 , 451-468



France has reputation as a highly centralised unitary state. In the background there is, however, a long history of particularism: during the pre-Revolutionary ancien régime, the country had a large number of local coutumes. The colonies formed another question: even after the Revolution of 1789 they were considered as an exception to the major rule. From the 18th century France has used the notion *spécialité législative*, which recognises the legal difference in overseas areas. This policy continues in modern France as a different legal treatment of more integrated overseas regions (former territories) belonging to the European Union, and the other overseas collectivities, more loosely connected to Metropolitan France. Signs of legal pluralism can be found from both Metropolitan France and overseas collectivities, but three of the last-mentioned are of special interest to this article: New Caledonia, Wallis and Futuna and Mayotte. In all of them the French Constitution recognises the existence of separate personal status. In New Caledonia and Wallis and Futuna this status is closely related to indigenous custom, dominating the daily life in family relations and land owning. In Mayotte, the personal status is a mixture of Islamic law and African customary law. In other overseas collectivities there are also remnants, or pockets, of personal status visible, but they have no constitutional or official legal recognition. The article shows that although the official French policy has considered the personal status a transitory measure, it is not completely vanishing. In the Pacific region it is even strengthening, as the example of New Caledonia well indicates.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Kumar Krishan

The Return of Civilization—and of Arnold Toynbee?

in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Volume 56, Issue 4, October , 815-843

After a period of neglect, civilization as a concept seems once more to have regained popularity among a number of historians and social scientists. Why? What is the appeal of civilization today? And might the return of civilization also herald a return to the work of Arnold Toynbee, once regarded as the towering figure of civilizational analysis? This paper considers the history of the concept of civilization, and argues for the continuing importance and relevance of Toynbee's multi-volume *A Study of History* within that tradition. The claim is that, whatever the weaknesses of Toynbee's general approach, the civilizational perspective he adopts allows him to cast an illuminating light on many important historical questions. Moreover his belief in the "philosophical contemporaneity" and equal value of all civilizations should make him peculiarly attractive to those many today who reject Eurocentrism and who are increasingly persuaded of the need to consider the total human experience from earliest times up to the present.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Spinelli Barbara

The Sleeping Kings of Europe

in *Federalist Debate (The)*, XXVII, Number 2, July 2014

Grouped in a Union that has nothing to say in foreign policy – neither on its own borders in the East or in the Mediterranean, nor on its alliance with the United States, nor about the democracy they wish to represent –, the European governments are wandering through the world scene as stupefied, their eyes listless, their ideas strewn over and most of all variable. They act as kings, but have forgotten what a crown and a sceptre are. Their obsession is doing business, and they continue to ignore the faults of the markets, although they did experience them. They cling to a



totally unequal Atlantic Alliance, dominated by a superpower in decline which seeks to reproduce in Europe the old bipolar order, the Russian-American one, legacy of the Cold War.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Todorov Tzvetan

**The Union of the Peoples of Europe and the Example of Mandela
in Federalist Debate (The), XXVII, Number 2, July 2014**

The Union of the peoples of Europe commenced as a reaction against the wars which had devastated the continent in the 20th century, or against the menace of totalitarian regimes. Paradoxically, the politicians who contributed most to its birth were the worst enemies of those peoples: first Hitler, then Stalin. The overcoming of national divergences was possible as a result of the perils threatening the continent: the return of war, the imposition of a Communist regime. On the one hand, the constitution of (unified) European politics is a success: wars have become impossible between member-States and attempts to overthrow democratic governments have failed.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Sperotto, Federico

**The future of the American fight against terrorism
in Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali, Vol. 81, n. 2, aprile-giugno , 221-230**

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Gamlen Alan

**The impacts of extra-territorial voting: Swings, interregnums and feedback effects in New Zealand elections
from 1914 to 2011**

in *Political Geography*, Volume 44, January , 1-8

How are elections affected by the votes of people living abroad? The majority of states now allow extra-territorial voting in some form, but the research literature on this topic remains underdeveloped. Moreover, even though extra-territorial voting raises issues about the relationship between territory and political obligation that are relevant to political geographers, political geography has been under-represented in discussions on the topic. Against this background, this research examines a century of overseas voting impacts in New Zealand, a country with an unusually long recorded history of such activity. The study identifies three types of extra-territorial voting impact over the period 1914-2011, referred to as swings, interregnums and feedback effects.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous



Mahmood Ahmad

The legality of unmanned aerial vehicles outside the combat zone: a case study of the Federally Administered Tribal Areas of Pakistan

in *Defense and Security Analysis*, Volume 30, Issue 3 , 245-253

The drone is the latest tool to promote interests of a nation-state. It is clear that USA as well as other major powers anticipate that robotics will play a key role in future warfare. Today, more than 70 countries have already acquired drone technology and many others are desperate to join the ranks. This urge for drone technology will ultimately lead to a "boundless and borderless war without end." In the case of Pakistan, the US drone campaign has raised some important issues regarding how their use could, or should, be regulated in the future. This article analyses the legal issues raised by the US's use of drone technology in non-combat zones, such as Pakistan. It is argued that a reckless disrespect of Pakistan's sovereignty has had adverse implications and consequences for the legitimacy of the Pakistani government. Drone strikes have prompted instinctive opposition among the Pakistani population, hurt their feelings and estranged them from the government. This in turn has added to Pakistan's instability and stimulated a ground-swell of animosity toward the USA.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Smith Nicholas W. S.

The machinations of the Majerteen Sultans: Somali pirates of the late nineteenth century?

in *Journal of Eastern African Studies* , Volume 9, Issue 1 , 20-34

This article explores the history of Somali piracy in the nineteenth century. Focusing on the Majerteen Sultans, and especially the late nineteenth century rulers Uthman Mahmud Yusuf and Yusuf 'Ali, who ruled over the coast of contemporary Puntland, I argue that Majerteen rulers used piracy as a political tool to consolidate their power over the Somali littoral in the face of colonial conquest. They used piracy to goad the European powers into signing treaties of mutual protection and channelled European patronage to buttress their rule over the Majerteen population. In contrast to the literature which frames piracy in terms of state collapse and maritime anarchy, I argue piracy was a diplomatic strategy to exploit inter-imperial competition. As well as offering a historical perspective on Somali piracy, the article takes a comparative approach, drawing on theories about non-state actors and violence to bring interdisciplinary and historical insight to bear on the topic of the Somali piracy.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Veres Valér

The minority identity and the idea of the 'unity' of the nation: the case of Hungarian minorities from Romania, Slovakia, Serbia and Ukraine

in *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power*, Volume 22, Issue 1, 2015 , 88-108

A comparison analysis of the ethno-national identity of Hungarian minorities living in Romania, Slovakia, Serbia and Ukraine is performed in the paper, including the identifications to majority community and the relationship with Hungary, respectively.



According to the empirical results in every country, the community with the pan-Hungarian ethnocultural nation, and the identification with actual Hungary, is less important than regional Hungarianness in the minority identity of Hungarian minority members from outside the borders of Hungary. The primary in-group is the self-minority community in every country. This may be empirically grasped both on the level of the perceptions of social distances and on stereotypes toward Hungarians from Hungary and toward majority populations (Romanians, Slovaks, etc.).

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Bain William

Thomas Hobbes as a Theorist of Anarchy: A Theological Interpretation

in History of European Ideas, Volume 41, Issue 1, Special Issue: David Armitage's Foundations of Modern International Thought , 13-28

Scholars of international relations generally invoke Hobbes as the quintessential theorist of international anarchy. David Armitage challenges this characterisation, arguing that Hobbes is regarded as a foundational figure in international relations theory in spite of as much as because of what he wrote on the subject. Thus, for Armitage, Hobbes is not the theorist of anarchy that he is made out to be. This article agrees with the general thrust of Armitage's critique while maintaining that it is still possible to imagine Hobbes as a theorist of anarchy. Hobbes is a theorist of anarchy, not in a political sense, but in a metaphysical sense. This conception of anarchy is a reflection of a comprehensive theological account of reality that is grounded in an omnipotent God. Any historical inquiry into the foundations of modern international thought must take account of theology, because theology defines the ultimate coordinates of reality in terms of which the concepts of international thought are intelligible.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Van Well Lisa, Lange Scherbenske Stefanie

Towards a macroregional climate change adaptation strategy in the Baltic Sea Region

in Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy, Volume 32, Issue 6, December , 1100-1116

In this paper we ponder this question: what types of institutional principles would help to establish a macroregional climate change adaptation strategy in the Baltic Sea Region? Inspired by a new institutionalism approach, we trace some of the important elements of regulatory and normative institutional functions. We then discuss how top-down and bottom-up government and governance can contribute to a macroregional climate change adaptation strategy, and profile the local, national, and transnational development efforts that are already underway to facilitate coordination and learning about climate change adaptation in the Baltic Sea Region. Finally, we look at the specific role that a macroregional climate change adaptation strategy has in helping to manage institutional complexity inherent in a multilevel governance context.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Sluga Glenda

Turning International: Foundations of Modern International Thought and New Paradigms for Intellectual History



in History of European Ideas, Volume 41, Issue 1, Special Issue: David Armitage's Foundations of Modern International Thought , 103-115

This essay provides an overview of the disciplinary and analytical significance of David Armitage's Foundations of Modern International Thought in the context of the new international history, and the so-called 'international turn'. It then goes on to discuss the significance of the absence of women in this new sub-field of intellectual history.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Wildeman Jeremy, Tartir Alaa

Unwilling to Change, Determined to Fail: Donor Aid in Occupied Palestine in the aftermath of the Arab Uprisings in Mediterranean Politics, Volume 19, Issue 3, Special Issue: The Politics of Foreign Aid in Arab World. The Impact of the Arab Uprisings , 431-449

Since 1993 the international community has invested more than \$24 billion in 'peace and development' in the occupied Palestinian territory (oPt). That aid was meant originally to support the Oslo Peace Process through economic development. However, neither peace nor development has been realized, and both seem increasingly unlikely. While examining donor operations, priorities and the 'aid-for-peace' agenda, this article investigates whether patterns in oPt donor aid have changed following the Arab uprisings of 2011. Building on 28 original interviews with Palestine aid actors, it was found that patterns remain unchanged and that donors remain transfixed on a long failed 'Investment in Peace' framework that was designed for economic development by the World Bank back in 1993. By comparing these research findings with the literature on aid to Palestine, this article argues that donors are not ready to alter a framework dominated by policy instrumentalists who emphasize pre-determined normative values over actual results, quietly trading financial inducements to Palestinians to forgo political rights within a 'peace dividends' model. Meanwhile, critics of the existing aid framework remain largely ignored and have little influence on aid policy, in spite of two decades of instrumentalist failure to produce peace or economic growth using the existing model.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Tarrow Sidney

War, States, and Movements: With Tilly; beyond Tilly
in Studi Storici, a. 55, n.4

In his scientific output, Charles Tilly broke new ground in two major areas: the study of war and state-building, and the study of contentious politics and social movements. Many scholars followed and elaborated on each of these strands, but few – including Tilly – attempted to link them to one another. Both in the historical study of war and state-building, and in recent «new wars», social movements – and contentious politics in general – play a vigorous but a poorly-understood role. Building on four historical examples – the French revolutionary wars, the American Civil War, the Italian fascist state, and the development of the national security state in the United States during the «global war on terror» – this article argues that the United States after 9/11 has not become a «Schmittian» state, but one that uses the instruments of «infrastructural power» to control and mobilize civil society. The difference lies in the capacity of civil society's actors to use these instruments to contest – and at times to reverse – the state's power in wartime.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Ingram Mrill, Ingram Helen, Lejano Raul

What's the story? Creating and sustaining environmental networks

in Environmental Politics, Volume 23, Issue 6, November , 984-1002

Networks have been embraced as appropriate means for environmental governance because of their potential inclusivity, flexibility, resilience, and ability to comprehend multiple values and ways of knowing. Analysis of networks, however, falls short of accounting for the emergence and persistence of these innovative and complex modes of governance, as well as their failures. We offer a framework for using narrative to understand and evaluate networks. We understand networks to be sets of relationships, between humans and also between humans and their environment, that define and guide behaviour. Narrative is a constitutive element of these networks; narrative and network are co-produced. Narrative analysis enables a critical investigation of environmental action and policy that at the same time captures the variety of environmental relationships and associated meanings and emotions that can inspire collaborative behaviour. Using a case study of the development of alternative agriculture in the United States, we provide a methodology for investigating 'narrative-networks' that affords deeper explanations of how and why emergent, often informal and unlikely, environmental networks endure over time.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Cansino José M., Román Rocío, Rueda-Cantuche José M.

Will China comply with its 2020 carbon intensity commitment?

in Environmental Science & Policy , Volume 47, March , 108-117

At the Conference of the Parties held in Copenhagen in 2009 (COP15), the Chinese government announced its 2020 commitment to reduce the carbon intensity of the Chinese economy to 40–45% of its 2005 level. A number of analysts have criticised this target, indicating that these reductions can be achieved without the implementation of any active climate change policy. In this paper, we test this argument using a combined input–output based econometric projection approach and the World Input–Output Database (WIOD). Our results show that the projected carbon intensity for 2020 is likely to be 50% lower than the carbon intensity of 2005, without additional active climate change policy measures performed by the Chinese government. On top of it, our study indicates that the total volume of CO₂ emissions would be by 2020 seven times the volume of the year 2005.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Del Corno Nicola

«Il pistolero di Barcellona e il funzionario di Madrid». Socialisti e repubblicani di fronte alla Seconda repubblica spagnola (1931-1936)

in Spagna Contemporanea, Anno XXIII, n. 45 , 7-21

Socialists, republicans as well as Italian GL and LIDU militants were understandably enthusiastic about the



establishment of the Spanish Second Republic; a few years ahead of Carlo Rosselli's 1937 famous call «today in Spain, tomorrow in Italy», anti-Fascist exiles started to hope that the Spanish progressive turn would boost the battle for democracy in Italy. Subsequent to the November 1933 election defeat, the movement started discussing the limitations of the Centre-

Left. Some believed the Azaña government wasn't revolutionary enough, especially in terms of social policy, others accused it of scaring part of the moderate public opinion, favouring the maximalist faction of Largo Caballero and some anti-clerical positions of anarchists. After another progressive victory in February '36, Italian exiles became persuaded that the Popular Front should not be satisfied with the successful poll outcome, but rather speed up the reforms it had guiltily neglected. The article accounts for this debate, which was joined by Aurelio Natoli, Carlo Rosselli, Fernando De Rosa, Luigi Campolonghi and Emilio Lussu, amongst others.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Grosser Pierre

État de littérature. L'histoire des relations internationales aujourd'hui
in *Critique Internationale*, n. 65 , 173-200

<http://www.cairn.info/revue-critique-internationale-2014-4-page-173.htm>