



Bulletin n. 3/2015 - January 2016

List of contents

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

Subsection 1. The theory of federation

Steven G. Calabresi

Does Institutional Design Make a Difference?

in *Northwestern University Law Review*, vol. 109, issue 3, 577-600

This Essay argues that there are two unappreciated aspects of U.S. constitutional design that have contributed to our country's success. The first is the fact that the United States is divided into fifty rather than four states. This greatly strengthens the national government and renders secession almost impossible. The second is the formidable set of checks and balances set up on presidential power that makes it impossible for U.S. presidents to become dictators. The fact that thirty-nine of the fifty state governors are elected in off-year or midterm elections, elections in which the incumbent president's party almost always loses ground to the opposition, greatly limits U.S. presidential power.

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

Subsection 1. The theory of federation

Anderson Liam

Ethnofederalism and the Management of Ethnic Conflict: Assessing the Alternatives

in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, vol. 46, n. 1, Winter, 1-24

The use of ethnofederalism as an institutional means of managing ethnic problems remains controversial. For critics, it is an imprudent institutional choice that hardens and deepens ethnic divisions and all but guarantees secession and state collapse. To dismiss ethnofederalism as an imprudent choice, however, is to imply that alternative institutions exist that are both feasible to implement and that would plausibly succeed where ethnofederalism fails. To date, critics have struggled to make a convincing case on either point. This article examines empirically the viability of institutional alternatives to ethnofederalism. Based on data drawn from post 1945 and using a "same-system" comparative design, the results indicate that where ethnofederal systems have failed, they have generally failed in contexts where no institutional alternatives could plausibly have succeeded, and that in the majority of cases, ethnofederalism has succeeded where other institutional forms have demonstrably failed.

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

Subsection 1. The theory of federation

Luiz Magno Pinto Bastos Junior

Territorialidad, soberanía y Constitución: las bases institucionales del modelo de Estado territorial soberano

in *Revista de Derecho Constitucional Europeo*, no. 23

This article aims to identify the constitutive elements of the sovereign territorial state model that comprises the modern state process of consolidation, and, therefore, the constitutional theory itself. Those elements enable the identification of the institutional foundations upon which the modern State was built, and the elements that compound the operational



matrix that structures the ordering of the political dimension in modernity. By this way, the model identified (sovereign territorial state) will be treated as a ordering principle and will be unfold into four different dimensions (authority, ordering principle, basis of legitimacy, and criteria for identity construction) that will be used as analysis parameters to understand the transformations on the way of the ordering process of the political community, and their influences on the sovereignty concept.

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

Subsection 1. The theory of federation

Ibáñez Angulo Mónica

The Governance of Cultural Diversities in Spain Linguistic, Religious and Artistic Diversity in Two Autonomous Spanish Communities

in *Fédéralisme Régionalisme* , Volume 15, The Management of Immigration Related Cultural Diversity in Federal Countries

This chapter examines how the Spanish state and two autonomous communities (the Basque Autonomous Community and Galicia) have addressed linguistic, religious, and artistic diversity. The first section provides a general overview on the constitution of autonomous communities and on immigration policies. The following subsections analyze the ways in which different sources of linguistic, religious and artistic diversity have been included in and excluded from “normalization policies”, i.e. policies aiming at the recognition and support of cultural diversity, at the state and regional levels. The focus of cultural policies on territorial forms of cultural diversity and on cultural difference, as well as the focus of immigration policies on the social integration of migrants, usually disregarding their cultural rights, have reified the symbolic boundaries among cultures and social groups, preventing the development of social interaction and cultural hybridization between and among different social groups.

Full text available online at <http://popups.ulg.ac.be/1374-3864/index.php?id=1565>

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

Subsection 1. The theory of federation

Steven G. Calabresi

in *Northwestern University Law Review*, vol. 109, issue 3 , 577-599

This Essay argues that there are two unappreciated aspects of U.S. constitutional design that have contributed to our country's success. The first is the fact that the United States is divided into fifty rather than four states. This greatly strengthens the national government and renders secession almost impossible. The second is the formidable set of checks and balances set up on presidential power that makes it impossible for U.S. presidents to become dictators. The fact that thirty-nine of the fifty state governors are elected in off-year or midterm elections, elections in which the incumbent president's party almost always loses ground to the opposition, greatly limits U.S. presidential power.

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

Subsection 2. Constitutional reform

Jurgen Goossens and Pieter Cannoot

Belgian Federalism after the Sixth State Reform



in *Perspectives on federalism*, vol. 7, issue 2 , 29-55

This paper highlights the most important institutional evolutions of Belgian federalism stemming from the implementation of the sixth state reform (2012-2014). This reform inter alia included a transfer of powers worth 20 billion euros from the federal level to the level of the federated states, a profound reform of the Senate, and a substantial increase in fiscal autonomy for the regions. This contribution critically analyses the current state of Belgian federalism. Although the sixth state reform realized important and long-awaited changes, further evolutions are to be expected. Since the Belgian state model has reached its limits with regard to complexity and creativity, politicians and academics should begin to reflect on the seventh state reform with the aim of increasing the transparency of the current Belgian institutional labyrinth.

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

Subsection 2. Constitutional reform

Sanchez Palacio Aurora

Challenges in the Nepalese Constitutional Process: Federalism, Ethnicity and Representation

in *Verfassung und Recht in Übersee*, Heft 2, 2015 , 165-196

ABSTRACT: This paper addresses the adequacy of ethnic federalism in Nepal, and the implications of such a structure for minority protection and representation. After the end of the civil war and the approval of an Interim Constitution in 2007, popular movements led to the adoption of a provision establishing federalism. Since numerous ethnic groups coexist in the country, one of the proposals for the new system is federalism based on ethnicity. I first consider the role of ethnic groups in Nepal from a historical perspective, to examine the degree to which minorities have been represented in previous regimes. In addition, I study the social composition of Nepal to understand the meaning of “ethnic group” in the present constitutional process. Finally, I take a comparative approach to determine whether the experiences of India, Sri Lanka and Ethiopia are useful in order to frame the new Nepalese system. Due to the difficulty of defining ethnic groups, and the risk of conflict in an ethnic federal system, I argue that territorial ethnic federalism is not an appropriate model for Nepal, and other inclusive structures focusing on personal federalism should be considered in order to achieve the integration of disenfranchised ethnic groups. In this line, the precedents of the Millet system in the Ottoman Empire and the Belgian communities provide useful guidance on how to frame a federal system in Nepal with a strong personal component.

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

Subsection 2. Constitutional reform

Sturm Roland, Munz Achim

Federalismo en Myanmar: un proyecto con un resultado abierto

in *Cuadernos Manuel Giménez Abad*, n. 10, diciembre , 10-21

On November 8, 2015 elections were held in Myanmar with a massive turnout. It was the first national election organised by a civilian government. Burmese went to the polls five years after the elections that led to a government of former generals, but which started a process of democratic reforms. A major issue during the electoral campaign was the constitutional reform which should transform the country in a federal state. This debate will be an important issue during the next years.

Full text available online at

http://www.fundacionmgimenezabad.es/images/Documentos/Cuadernos/cuadernos10_diciembre_2015.pdf



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

Subsection 2. Constitutional reform

Alessandro Sterpa

Il pendolo del "federalismo all'italiana" e la proposta di riforma costituzionale del governo Renzi

in *Revista d'Estudis Autònomicos i Federals*, no. 22 , 11-63

Aquest article vol proporcionar la clau per entendre els elements legals i reguladors del regionalisme italià, amb especial referència a la reforma constitucional del 2001 i el projecte de reforma constitucional que s'ha sotmès a consideració del Parlament el 2015. L'assaig recorre a la figura del pèndol com a instrument que pot oscil·lar entre dos extrems: autonomia local i estat centralitzat. El regionalisme italià en aquests darrers anys ha pres posicions diverses en el recorregut del pèndol, exactament com un pèndol ho faria, però sempre amb moviments sobtats que han restat elements d'estabilitat al sistema. L'article se centra especialment en l'evolució de l'autonomia regional tant des del punt de vista formal (la Constitució) com substantiu (la jurisprudència constitucional i l'aplicació institucional). Avui les regions italianes sembla que sofreixen un procés de doble d'erosió competencial: per una banda, el paper creixent de la Unió Europea, les restriccions pressupostàries i l'enfortiment resultant per als poders de l'Estat; per l'altra, l'enfortiment de les ciutats metropolitanes. Podem dir que després d'un període curt de reformes que han reforçat la política d'autonomia regional, durant els 5 anys passats, ara la perspectiva és completament contrària i, si s'aprova la reforma constitucional, les regions italianes perdran molta de la seva autonomia. L'article pretén assenyalar alguns factors estructurals com a causes del debilitament del regionalisme italià, com per exemple la reduïda mida i població de les administracions locals. A més a més, després de la reforma constitucional del 2001, han estat poques les regions que han aprovat legislació en les noves àrees competencials, mentre que moltes regions han continuat desenvolupant les seves activitats de naturalesa fonamentalment administrativa, deixant de banda el seu paper com a legisladors.

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

Subsection 2. Constitutional reform

Pere Morell i Torra

La (difícil) construcción de autonomías indígenas en el estado plurinacional de Bolivia. Consideraciones generales y una aproximación al caso de la autonomía guaraní Charagua Iyambae

in *Revista d'Estudis Autònomicos i Federals*, no. 22 , 94-135

Des de l'entrada en vigor de la nova Constitució (gener de 2009), Bolívia ha experimentat importants transformacions polítiques i institucionals, marcades pel protagonisme dels pobles indígenes després de dècades de fortes mobilitzacions. En el centre d'aquestes transformacions trobem la proclamació de Bolívia com a "Estat Plurinacional" i l'ampli reconeixement de drets col·lectius a la població indígena, entre els quals destaquen el dret a la lliure determinació, que obre la possibilitat de conformar sistemes d'autogovern indígena. Tanmateix, malgrat que la Constitució boliviana és la més avançada de les constitucions llatinoamericanes en reconeixement de drets col·lectius als pobles indígenes, estan sorgint moltes dificultats en el procés d'implementació. Aquesta situació està generant una distància significativa entre el model formal d'estat plurinacional i l'Estat Plurinacional "en els fets", tal com s'observa en els múltiples requisits burocràtics exigits a les autonomies indígenes per a la seva plena conformació. Aquests requisits, expressió de la falta de voluntat política de l'Estat, expliquen per què no hi ha encara cap autonomia indígena en funcionament a Bolívia, malgrat que el 6 de desembre del 2009, 11 municipis van començar el procés de "conversió" a autonomies indígenes. En aquest context, el present article pretén donar compte de la distància entre el model d'estat



plurinacional i la seva implementació pràctica a partir de l'anàlisi del sistema d'autonomies indígenes, prenent en consideració el cas concret de l'Autonomia Guaraní Charagua Iyambae i el seu nou sistema de govern.

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

Subsection 2. Constitutional reform

Suberu Rotimi

Managing Constitutional Change in the Nigerian Federation

in **Publius: The Journal of Federalism**, vol. 45, n. 4. Fall , 552-579

Since making the transition from military to civilian rule in 1999, Nigeria has witnessed intensive, but largely unfulfilled, pressures for comprehensive federal constitutional change. This article analyzes the multiple ethno-political drivers and institutional themes of Nigeria's constitutional struggles, the conflicting approaches to federal reform by governmental, civic, and ethno-regional groups, and potential pathways to a more effective governance of the country's constitutional challenges. The article contends that incremental constitutional change and non-constitutional renewal, including benign constitutional transgressions and creative legislative and judicial interventions, offer the most feasible path to federal accommodation and development in Nigeria in the absence of national consensus on the desirability and modality of wholesale, mega-constitutional reform.

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

Subsection 2. Constitutional reform

Anna Mastromarino

Modificaciones constitucionales en Bélgica. La Sixième Réforme de l'Etat: un proceso en marcha

in **Revista d'Estudis Autònoms i Federals**, no. 22 , 64-93

La sisena reforma de l'Estat a Bèlgica s'ha desenvolupat a partir de la firma de l'acort titulat Un Etat Fédéral plus efficace et des entités plus autonomes, més conegut com Accord du papillon. Després d'una llarga crisi institucional, la negociació entre els principals partits belgues (sense els nacionalistes flamencs) va semblar el camí més adequat per assegurar la formació del govern i permetre l'inici d'una nova època de reformes que, fins ara, s'ha desenvolupat en dues etapes, al 2012 i al 2014, a través d'actes de naturalesa legislativa i constitucional alhora, entre els quals en destaquen dos. La sisena reforma de l'Estat defineix les bases per a la divisió de la circumscripció Bruxelles-Hal-Vivorde. En segon lloc, amb la reforma s'ha impulsat la revisió del bicameralisme belga. Darrerament, l'afany reformista belga dels últims anys ha anat disminuint. Les causes cal buscar-les, probablement, en els resultats de les últimes eleccions. Però previsiblement es tracta només d'un desinterès contingent i temporal: a Bèlgica sempre és tot una mica més complicat del que sembla, de manera que l'última paraula mai no està dita.

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

Subsection 2. Constitutional reform

Milbradt George

Reformas constitucionales en países federales y políticamente descentralizados

in **Cuadernos Manuel Giménez Abad**, n. 10, diciembre , 35-43



Full text available online at

http://www.fundacionmgimenezabad.es/images/Documentos/Cuadernos/cuadernos10_diciembre_2015.pdf

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

Subsection 2. Constitutional reform

Tiernan, Anne

Reforming Australia's Federal Framework: Priorities and Prospects

in *Australian Journal of Public Administration*, Volume 74, Number 4 , 398-405

No abstract available

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

Subsection 2. Constitutional reform

Roux Theunis

Reinterpreting 'the mason court revolution': An historical institutionalist account of judge-driven constitutional transformation in Australia

in *Federal Law Review*, Volume 43 Issue 1

There have been two major periods of judge-driven constitutional transformation in Australia. The first spanned the High Court's successful transformation over the course of the last century of the strongly federalist 1901 Constitution into a weakly federalist one. The second took the form of what is generally thought to have been the less than fully realized 'Mason Court revolution' - the Court's attempt, from 1987-1995, to turn the Constitution into a device for expressing core Australian political values. What explains these different outcomes - why was the first transformation so successful and the second only partially achieved? This article proposes an answer to this question based on a generalisable account of the role of constitutional courts in processes of constitutional transformation. In short, the argument is that the seminal Engineers decision triggered a self-reinforcing trajectory of institutional development that led to a stable politico-legal equilibrium by the middle of the last century. The judges responsible for the second attempted transformation sought to break free of this equilibrium in order to respond to what they thought were pressing social needs. In the absence of a significant exogenous shock to the system, however, the equilibrium structured and constrained what they were able to do.

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

Subsection 2. Constitutional reform

Kay, Adrian

Separating Sovereignty and Sharing Problems: Australian Federalism and the European Union

in *Australian Journal of Public Administration*, Volume 74, Number 4 , 406-418

From its origins in the study of the European Union, the concept of multi-level governance (MLG) can contribute to understanding the capacity for, and barriers to, dynamism and innovation in the Australian federation. By placing the quality of the interactions between different jurisdictions at different spatial scales at the centre of analysis, the concept helps to underpin the argument that constitutional change in formal roles and responsibilities is not sufficient, and may not even be necessary, for reform of Australian federalism. The following steps are made in the paper. The first defines



the main elements of MLG and its advantages for extra-constitutional analysis of multi-level policy coordination. The characteristics of MLG observed in contemporary Australian federalism are set out next. The final section presents a critique of the current Reform of the Federation White Paper. The concept of multi-level governance illuminates the capacity for, and barriers to, dynamism and innovation in the Australian federation. The focus is interactions between different jurisdictions at different spatial scales, showing that constitutional change in formal roles and responsibilities is not sufficient, perhaps not necessary, for reform of Australian federalism.

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

Subsection 2. Constitutional reform

Heinemann Friedrich, Janeba Eckhard, Moessinger Marc-Daniel, Schröder Christoph

Who Likes to Fend for Oneself? Revenue Autonomy Preferences of Subnational Politicians in Germany
in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, vol. 45, n. 4. Fall , 653-685

In the context of German federalism and its current reform debate, this article explores the federal reform preferences of members from all sixteen German Länder parliaments. We examine the role of Länder self-interest, party ideology, and individual characteristics to understand the preferences for tax autonomy and fiscal equalization. One clear result is the joint importance of ideology and jurisdictional interests. We use the empirical results to simulate which type of reform would garner the necessary support in Germany's upper house, the Bundesrat. Finally, we draw conclusions for federal reform strategies which could enjoy the support of veto players who feel disadvantaged.

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

Edward Grodin

An Internationally Intelligible Principle: Comparing the Nondelegation Doctrine in the United States and European Union

in *Perspectives on federalism*, vol. 7, issue 2 , 56-84

This article analyzes the degree of convergence between the United States and the European Union regarding the structural role of administrative agencies. As will be argued, the United States and European Union have arrived at the same broad conclusion about a "nondelegation doctrine": delegations to administrative agencies should be permitted so long as some limiting principle governs the exercise of that power and allows for sufficient judicial review. However, the Supreme Court has taken a more permissive approach than the Court of Justice in defining the limiting principle. The United States has loosened the reins for the sake of modern administration while the European Union has maintained a firmer grip to keep better control over the Europeanization project. Stated another way, the nondelegation doctrine is simply a reflection of the systems' relative levels of integration. Thus, the nondelegation doctrine will be stretched in Europe as functional regulatory demands arise from wider and deeper integration. At the same time, the focus will be redirected from substantive limits to procedural controls; accordingly, this Note advocates for a European Administrative Procedure Act.

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 Vandenbruwaene, Patricia Popelier and Christina Janssens

Article 260 TFEU Sanctions in Multi-Tiered Member States

in Perspectives on federalism, vol. 7, issue 2, 133-162

The question at hand is located at the intersection of EU law and national constitutional law, and aims to answer the following problem: namely, how to mitigate federal concerns in the context of infringement procedures and financial sanctions under art. 260 TFEU. This article approaches this question both from the perspective of the Commission and the Court of Justice, as well as from the vantage point of the central and regional governments involved. After analysing the composition of the financial sanctions, we cover the involvement of subnational entities in the infringements proceedings in six tiered Member States (Austria, Belgium, Germany, Italy, Spain, and the UK) and the relevant national provisions for the partition of financial sanctions. The conclusions pertain to both the central and regional level and the EU institutions concerned, adhering to the multi-level relationship subjacent to this article.

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

Rottinghaus Brandon

Assessing the Unilateral Presidency: Constraints and Contingencies

in Congress & the Presidency, Volume 42, Issue 3, pp. 287-292

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

Hawthorne Lesleyanne

Australian Strategic Approaches to Managing National and State Diversity

in Fédéralisme Régionalisme, Volume 15, The Management of Immigration Related Cultural Diversity in Federal Countries

Australia is a global exemplar of nation-building through government planned and administered skilled, family and humanitarian migration programs. By 2011 26% of the population were immigrants, at a time when extraordinary linguistic, religious, racial and cultural diversity were evident. The federal government's role since the 1901 establishment of the Commonwealth of Australia has spanned migration policy formation, selection, admission, compliance and naturalization functions. The settlement responsibilities of the eight state and territory governments have also grown – a process facilitated by generally amicable federal – subnational relations. Within this context this article describes contemporary Australian approaches to managing linguistic, religious and artistic diversity, comparing federal and state government roles in a period associated with significant multicultural challenges.

Full text available online at <http://pupus.ulg.ac.be/1374-3864/index.php?id=1583>

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

Michael Hurta

Counting the Right to Vote in the Next Census: Reviving Section Two of the Fourteenth Amendment



in *Texas Law Review*, vol. 94, issue 1 , 147-173

In this Note, Mr. Hurta explores the role that Section Two of the Fourteenth Amendment can play in protecting the right to vote. Section Two of the Fourteenth Amendment, which states that a state's congressional apportionment basis shall be lessened when it abridges or denies citizens' right to vote, is often viewed as a historical anomaly. While Section Two does not directly invalidate any laws, it has no limitations on the intent of voter abridgments, so it reaches farther than any other voter protection in American law. Furthermore, statutory law already gives the power to enforce Section Two to an executive agency: the Census Bureau has the authority to collect data as necessary for congressional apportionment. Mr. Hurta therefore argues that the 2020 Census should ask questions about people's right to vote, and the subsequent apportionment calculations ought to take that data into account. By adhering to this legal duty, the Census Bureau will become one of the most powerful protectors of voting rights in the government.

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

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

Armony Victor

Diverging Policy Approaches to Diversity in a Bi-National Country: The Case of Canada

in *Fédéralisme Régionalisme* , Volume 15, The Management of Immigration Related Cultural Diversity in Federal Countries

This article deals with Canada's policy approach to immigration- and minority-related diversity in light of its federal structure and the contrast between the predominantly French-language province of Québec and the mainly English-speaking rest of the country, with a particular focus on the province of Ontario. While the two parts of the country share many common features, some contrasts are quite significant. Canada is bilingual at the federal level, but French is Québec's only official language and the Charter of the French Language, which regulates the use of language in many areas of social life, has constitutional status in that province. A long-standing agreement lets Québec handle the selection of its own immigrants with a similar system than the one used by the federal government for Ontario and other provinces, but with different weighing assigned to language skills. Also, religious diversity is treated differently in the two Canadian provinces, on account of diverging views on secularism, even if both share a public commitment to the protection of minorities. Likewise, there is a difference in their policy approaches regarding the promotion of cultural expressions and the arts, partly because of the French-speaking people's nationalist outlook. In sum, Canada's case demonstrates that a country can embrace more than a single approach to diversity. Québec has taken a different path and, in a way, showcases a "third way" between North American multiculturalism and European-like integrationism. Full text available online at <http://popups.ulg.ac.be/1374-3864/index.php?id=1542>

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

Salvador Sigüenza Orozco

El sistema educativo estatal y los primeros años de la federalización educativa en la Sierra Norte de Oaxaca (1920-1942)

in *Relaciones (Messico)*, vol. 36, no. 143 , 129-159

El texto refiere, de manera general, dos décadas del servicio educativo en Oaxaca y se divide en tres apartados. El primero aborda el periodo de coexistencia de dos sistemas educativos: el estatal y el federal; se señalan algunas de sus características en términos legales, administrativos y de jerarquía. Asimismo, se precisa la incapacidad económica



del gobierno estatal para expandir el sistema escolar, lo que generó una federalización de facto. Posteriormente se refiere el proceso de federalización, el cual inició a partir del Convenio firmado en 1937 entre los gobiernos estatal y federal; se reseñan los principales acuerdos y compromisos en él establecidos, los cambios en la administración escolar y la necesidad de incrementar el servicio educativo. La tercera parte plantea el caso de la región Mixe en la Sierra Norte de Oaxaca, advierte la importancia del arribo de la escuela federal a una zona que había sido atendida de manera marginal por el servicio estatal; se trata de un contexto de pobreza y marginación que condiciona el servicio escolar. El texto concluye con una breve reflexión sobre los retos y las ventajas que la federalización de la educación tuvo en y para el estado de Oaxaca.

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

Ariadna Acevedo Rodrigo

Entre el legado municipal y el avance del gobierno federal: las escuelas de la sierra norte de Puebla, 1922-1942
in Relaciones (Messico), vol. 36, no. 143 , 51-84

Este artículo examina la continua presencia de las escuelas municipales y las limitaciones de la expansión de las escuelas federales en la sierra norte de Puebla (1922-1942), destacando el aporte de los recursos locales a la escolarización. Las escuelas federales fueron menos numerosas en las zonas menos comunicadas y de mayor monolingüismo indígena y funcionaron intermitentemente, mientras que las escuelas municipales y las sostenidas por “donativos voluntarios” de la población complementaron la oferta educativa.

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

Juan Ramón Manzanilla Dorantes

Espita. Federalización educativa, concurrencia y conflicto 1922-1935
in Relaciones (Messico), vol. 36, no. 143 , 103-127

Este trabajo aborda la federalización educativa en el municipio de Espita, en el Estado de Yucatán de 1922 a 1935. La federalización educativa centralizadora fue precedida por la disputa entre los gobiernos municipal y estatal. Durante el siglo XIX y principios del XX, la Iglesia, las comunidades y los ayuntamientos dejaron de tener injerencia en el sistema escolar. En Espita, la federalización educativa se dio por la concurrencia y conflicto entre redes escolares en la zona urbana y por complementariedad con la instalación de escuelas en las haciendas donde no las había, en un proceso de rápida expansión de la red federal educativa.

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

Franklin Sacha

Excising Federalism: The Consequences of Baker v. Carr Beyond the Electoral Arena
in Virginia Law Review, vol. 101, issue 8 , 2263-2300

Some scholars argue that, because the post-Baker political question doctrine only implicates separation of powers at the



federal level, the doctrine should be subsumed into standing doctrine, as the latter is similarly grounded in separation-of-powers concerns. This Note illustrates that we should not be too quick to relegate the political question doctrine to the doctrinal dustbin. As the history of the doctrine shows, a concern with federal courts' involvement in the affairs of state governments informed the Court's application of the doctrine before Justice Brennan transformed it in *Baker*. And as the examples of post-*Baker* cases like *Larsen* illustrate, there are areas of state governance where federal courts could use a doctrinal hook to avoid entangling themselves in state governmental procedures.

Justice Frankfurter argued in his *Baker* dissent that any list of factors for deciding justiciability should include federalism. As he put it, the "reluctance to interfere with matters of state government in the absence of an unquestionable and effectively enforceable mandate," along with factors similar to those in Justice Brennan's list, had "been decisive of the settled line of cases" dealing with Guarantee Clause challenges to state governmental action. As this Note has shown, Justice Frankfurter's view not only carries historical weight, but his own list of relevant factors in political question cases could better handle cases like *Larsen*. Justice Brennan stated in *Baker*, "The political question doctrine, a tool for maintenance of governmental order, will not be so applied as to promote only disorder." Ironically, his excision of federalism from the political question doctrine could promote the disorder he feared in cases like *Larsen* or *DeJulio*. Reincorporating federalism into the political question doctrine would therefore not only adhere to historical practice, but would also promote the "maintenance of governmental order" between the federal government and the states.

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

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

Rudalevige Andrew

Executive Branch Management and Presidential Unilateralism: Centralization and the Issuance of Executive Orders

in Congress & the Presidency, Volume 42, Issue 3, pp. 342-365

Despite the useful simplifying assumptions of recent work on unilateral power, archival analysis shows the issuance of executive orders is a process rife with transaction costs as presidents bargain with the bureaucracy over formulating their scope and substance. As a result, presidents must create what Williamson (1985) called "governance structures" to minimize those costs, with the Office of Management and Budget's clearance process at its heart. As with legislative policy formulation, presidents assert more centralized control over executive orders (EO) production on items that affect large numbers of departments, on matters of executive reorganization, and on significant matters. Political contexts are trumped by managerial concerns. Orders dealing with implementation of recently passed statutes or other presidential "clerkship" functions tend to follow a far less centralized formulation process.

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

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

André Audrey, Bradbury Jonathan, Depauw Sam

Explaining Cooperation over Casework between Members of National and Regional Parliaments

in Parliamentary Affairs, Volume 68, Issue 4 October, pp. 665-689

Dealing with constituent inquiries has long been a central component of political representation. Increasingly responsibilities for public policy are either divided or shared between regional and national legislatures and constituents frequently misdirect their inquiries. This article demonstrates how demand and supply factors determine the extent to



which regional and national legislators across seven European democracies redirect inquiries on matters outside their jurisdiction, as well as the party to which they are forwarded. The choices they make have important consequences for our understanding of political representation in multi-level democracies; they may also matter to the quality of service responsiveness.

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

Reutter Werner, Lorenz Astrid

Explaining the Frequency of Constitutional Change in the German Länder: Institutional and Party Factors

in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, vol. 46, n. 1, Winter , 103-127

In this article, we try to explain why some German Land constitutions are changed more frequently than others. Notably, we consider three arguments: first, we point out that subnational constitutional politics are an important, permanent, and salient issue in the German Länder. Second, we examine the extent to which parties and features of subnational constitutions impact the number of constitutional amendments in the German Länder. The analysis shows that both institutional and party factors partially explain the policy variation. Third, based on these findings, we conclude that theories trying to explain subnational constitutional amendments need to combine institutional and actor-centered approaches. Furthermore, German consensus democracy seems to work in a specific way at the Länder level.

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

Ouyanga Yu, Watermanb Richard W.

How Legislative (In)Activity, Ideological Divergence, and Divided Government Impact Executive Unilateralism: A Test of Three Theories

in *Congress & the Presidency*, Volume 42, Issue 3 , pp. 317-341

During the past two decades scholars from a variety of different fields (law, history, journalism, political science) have written extensively about the development and implementation of the Unilateral Presidency. Because several explanations for unilateral action have been posited, we provide a thorough test of three theories of executive unilateral action. Applying a newly-developed methodology to the most comprehensive dataset of unilateral presidential directives to date, results of the Bayesian Poisson Vector Autoregressive model suggest that although executive orders, memoranda, and proclamations are all strategic tools that presidents utilize to unilaterally alter policy, fundamental differences exist between them, as well as the inter-dependence among them. More important, our results show that whereas the percentage of bills passed is related to presidential proclamations, legislative activity actually depends on the number of executive orders issued. However, CQ success scores are related to both executive orders and presidential proclamations. We also find that presidential ideology and congressional ideology are related to executive action, whereas the impact of divided government is at best only weakly related.

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



Massimo Lando

Intimations of Unconstitutionality: The Supremacy of International Law and Judgment 238/2014 of the Italian Constitutional Court

in *Modern Law Review (the)*, vol. 78, issue 6 , 1028-1041

Judgment 238/2014 of the Italian Constitutional Court reopens the debate on the extent of the immunity enjoyed by states for violations of jus cogens. The decision, which questions the authority of the ICJ's 2012 judgment in Germany v Italy, could certainly have effects on the formation of customary international law. In addition, it revives the discussion on the relationship between national and international law and on the supremacy of the latter over the former, especially if read in light of the previous Medellín and Kadi I decisions. Judgment 238/2014 is an opportunity to reappraise the role played by international law in domestic courts, particularly in cases where international law conflicts with core domestic constitutional values.

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

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

Massimo Lando

Intimations of Unconstitutionality: The Supremacy of International Law and Judgment 238/2014 of the Italian Constitutional Court

in *Modern Law Review (the)*, vol. 78, issue 6 , 1028-1041

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

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

Juan B. Alfonseca Giner de los Ríos

La federalización de la enseñanza. Concurrencia escolar y alianzas sociales en contextos rurales del oriente del Valle de México, 1922-1947

in *Relaciones (Messico)*, vol. 36, no. 143 , 11-50

Este escrito analiza la escolarización rural federal en la región de Texcoco y Chalco, mostrando como en ella operó una dinámica de sustitución y desplazamiento entre las redes escolares del gobierno estatal y del federal. Interesa valorar el impacto que localmente tuvo el proceso federalizador y como durante su desarrollo se fueron gestando relaciones de concurrencia con la escuela estatal sobre las que se definieron espacios de influencia de uno y otro poder jurisdiccional.

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



Angel Rodríguez Díaz

La mayor protección interna de los derechos de la Convención Europea de Derechos Humanos y el impacto del margen de apreciación nacional

in *Revista de derecho político*, n. 93 , 75-102

En este trabajo se estudian las cuestiones que suscita la aplicación interna de la doctrina del TEDH sobre el margen de apreciación estatal en un contexto de protección multinivel de derechos, con especial atención al caso español. El estudio se centra en el impacto que la aplicación por parte de los propios tribunales nacionales del estándar de protección de derechos que puede deducirse de las sentencias del TEDH que aplican el margen de apreciación puede tener en relación con la regresión o backsliding en la protección de Derechos Humanos.

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

Petersohn Bettina, Behnke Nathalie, Rhode Eva Maria

Negotiating Territorial Change in Multinational States: Party Preferences, Negotiating Power and the Role of the Negotiation Mode

in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, vol. 45, n. 4. Fall , 626-652

In this article, we offer an explanation for varying patterns of territorial reforms aimed at accommodating claims for more substate autonomy in multinational states. We argue that the interaction between preferences of state-wide and non-statewide parties, their negotiation power and the negotiation mode accounts for specific patterns of territorial change. Analytically, we advance existing research in two ways: First, by analyzing territorial change in a two-dimensional space (vertical and horizontal), we pay explicit attention to jurisdictional heterogeneity between substates. Second, by applying an actor-centered institutionalist approach, we highlight the strategic potential of actors within the institutional setting. The comparative analysis of thirteen processes of territorial change in four multinational Western democracies—Canada, Belgium, Spain, and the UK—reveals, first, certain conditional effects of the independent variables on specific patterns of territorial change and, second, how the negotiation mode impacts on a party's negotiation power.

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

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

Mari Minn

Patenting in Europe: The Jurisdiction of the CJEU over European Patent Law

in *Perspectives on federalism*, vol. 7, issue 2 , 1-28

This paper will deal with EU competence over patent law, especially in the context of the TRIPS Agreement with reference to the ruling of CJEU in the Daiichi Sankyo case (CJEU case C-414/11 Daiichi Sankyo v DEMO Anonimos). The first part will explain the process of claiming patents at the national as well as the European level in order to understand the complexity of patent law, the second part will deal with the implications of jurisdiction and developments in EU patent regulations, the third part will deal with the effects of EU competence over the TRIPS patent provisions and the forth part will deal with the interpretation of substantive patent law in the light of the Daiichi Sankyo case.



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

Arretche Marta, Schlegel Rogerio, Ferrari Diogo

Preferences Regarding the Vertical Distribution of Authority in Brazil: On Measurement and Determinants
in **Publius: The Journal of Federalism**, vol. 46, n. 1, Winter , 77-102

This article examines individual preferences toward the vertical distribution of authority in Brazil by means of a representative national survey. We propose an original methodology to tackle two challenges the current literature faces: the effects of multipolarity over voters' preferences and the conflation of two concepts—"wishes for change" and "preferences over the architecture of the state—both concerning attitudes toward the vertical distribution of authority. We test various theories concerning the importance of territorial identity, socio-demographic factors, and geography of income in determining individual preferences regarding vertical distribution of authority. We find that in Brazil territorial identity does not play a role in determining preferences, whereas socioeconomic status and within-regions inequality do matter, suggesting that Brazil is a type of federation where a dual identity (belonging to one's region and the national state) prevails as well as within- and cross-region inequality.

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

Ludovica Benedizione and Eleonora Paris

Preliminary Reference and Dialogue Between Courts as Tools for Reflection on the EU System of Multilevel Protection of Rights: The Case of the Data Retention Directive
in **German Law Journal**, vol. 16, no. 6 , 1727-1769

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

Matthew Eshbaugh-Soha and Paul M. Collins JR.

Presidential Rhetoric and Supreme Court Decisions
in **Presidential Studies Quarterly**, Volume 45, Issue 4 , 633–652

Despite the centrality of speeches to the American presidency, no research has specifically investigated the frequency of presidential public commentary about Supreme Court decisions. We do so and also examine why presidents discuss Supreme Court cases in their public comments from the Eisenhower to Obama administrations. Our empirical findings support our theoretical expectations in two primary ways. First, presidents speak most frequently after cases have been decided. Second, the monthly volume of presidential remarks on Court cases is shaped to varying degrees by presidents' desires to bolster their reelections, policy goals, and historical legacies. By shedding new light on why presidents comment publicly on Supreme Court cases, this research contributes to our understanding of presidential speechmaking, executive–judicial branch interactions, and how norms and institutions shape the behavior of political actors.



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

Fisher Louis

**Presidential Unilateral Actions: Constitutional and Political Checks
in Congress & the Presidency**, Volume 42, Issue 3 , pp. 293-316

Throughout history, presidents have invoked a broad array of powers. Some are legitimate and well grounded; others exceed constitutional boundaries and have met defeat in Congress, the courts, and the public. Still others originate from historical errors by the Supreme Court, particularly in the field of external affairs. The powers analyzed in this article begin with these: enumerated, implied, inherent, prerogative, ministerial, and discretionary. Presidential instruments of power include executive orders and proclamations. The erroneous "sole organ" doctrine, first appearing in the Curtiss-Wright case of 1936, was at issue in the Jerusalem passport case of *Zivotofsky v. Kerry*. The scope of unilateral executive authority is being tested in initiatives by the Obama administration in the field of immigration policy.

http://manager.federalism-bulletin.eu/Bollettino/index.php?PAGE=Bollettino/Bollettino2_Details&MODE=NW

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

Carlos Escalante Fernández

**Respuestas locales a la escuela rural federal en el norte del Estado de México (1927-1940)
in Relaciones (Messico)**, vol. 36, no. 143 , 85-101

La federalización de la educación mexicana ocurrida en la primera mitad del siglo XX tuvo repercusiones importantes en la cultura escolar, las cuales involucraron a diferentes actores y modificaron prácticas locales. En este trabajo se analizan las condiciones que permitieron el establecimiento de escuelas rurales federales en el norte del Estado de México y se describen algunas de las respuestas locales a este proceso operado a lo largo de las décadas de 1920 y 1930.

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

Wasserfallen Fabio

The Cooperative Capacity of Swiss Federalism

in Swiss Political Science Review - Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft - Revue suisse de science politique, Volume 21, Issue 4, December 2015 , 538–555

The full text is free:

<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/spsr.12187/abstract>

Abstract

The federal structure is a defining feature of the Swiss polity. According to the disenchanting hypothesis, which argues



that the Swiss political culture of accommodating competing interests has come under pressures, we should expect that cooperation among the cantons and between the federal and cantonal governments has deteriorated over the last 25 years. However, inter-cantonal coordination has increased substantially. In addition, the successful negotiation of the NFA shows that the federal and cantonal governments can reach comprehensive agreements. This study provides empirical analyses of the NFA reform and of inter-cantonal tax competition. The NFA analysis shows that the cantons successfully coordinated their interests vis-à-vis the federal government, and the findings of the spatial econometric tax competition investigation suggest that inter-cantonal coordination in the NFA had an attenuating effect on tax competition. Overall, the problem-solving capacity of the Swiss federal system is remarkably high—not disenchanted.

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

Andreas Orator

The Decision of the Austrian Verfassungsgerichtshof on the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights: An Instrument of Leverage or Rearguard Action?

in German Law Journal, vol. 16, no. 6 , 1429-1447

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

Irene Wieczorek

The EPPO Draft Regulation Passes the First Subsidiarity Test: An Analysis and Interpretation of the European Commission's Hasty Approach to National Parliaments' Subsidiarity Arguments

in German Law Journal, vol. 16, no. 5 , 1247-1270

This contribution discusses National Parliaments' subsidiarity objections raised in the context of the Early Warning Mechanism (EWM) to the European Public Prosecutor Office proposal, and the European Commission response to them. It argues that National Parliaments raised important points, on how does subsidiarity apply respectively, when the wording of the Treaty grants the Council the option to act, as opposed to an obligation to act; on how to assess the inefficiency of the national level; on how does subsidiarity apply in a geographically fragmented context, and on the legitimacy for the EU to regulate non cross-border behaviors. It criticizes the Commission's hasty dismissal of all National Parliaments' objections, and its decision to leave the proposal's text untouched. It further argues that the Commission's interpreted the EWM as an arena where to test the political feasibility of the proposal, as it had occurred in the past, rather than as a proper subsidiarity policing mechanism. It finally provides some observation on how this interpretation of the EWM has negative implications to terms of subsidiarity policing, of understanding the substance of the principle, and of input legitimacy.

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

Thomas Verellen

The ERTA Doctrine in the Post-Lisbon Era: Note under Judgment in Commission v Council (C-114/12) and Opinion 1/13



in *Columbia Journal of European Law*, vol. 21, issue 2 , 383-410

The "ERTA" or "pre-emption" doctrine has stirred much debate since its conception in the seminal 1971 ERTA case. At Lisbon, the framers of the EU Treaties inserted a provision on the subject. This provision in turn raised a number of questions. In its recent judgment in Case C-114112 ("Neighboring Rights") and in Opinion 1113, rendered shortly thereafter, the Court of Justice of the European Union was given two opportunities to clarify the meaning of the provision and, indirectly, of the ERTA doctrine itself. In both proceedings, the Court was presented two competing interpretations of the doctrine. The purpose of this case note is to present these competing interpretations, trace their origins, and examine their impact on the Court's interpretation of the ERTA doctrine in Neighboring Rights and Opinion 1113. It will be suggested that, rather than opting for one particular conception, the Court attempted to maintain elements of both. The result leads to incoherence and, ultimately, an undermining of the rule of law in the European Union.

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

Matthew Saul

The European Court of Human Rights' Margin of Appreciation and the Processes of National Parliaments
in *Human Rights Law Review*, vol. 15, no. 4 , 745-774

This article addresses how the processes of national parliaments feature in the ECtHR's practice of affording states a margin of appreciation. The analysis is centred on a collection of recent case law, including prominent cases such as *Animal Defenders International v United Kingdom* and *S.A.S. v France*, which have been associated with a deepening of the Court's concept of subsidiarity. Questions addressed include the following. How does the Court's attention to the quality of parliamentary process relate to a theory of deepened subsidiarity? Which cases support the thesis of deepened subsidiarity in the context of parliamentary process? What is the scope of the Court's concept of parliamentary process? What criteria have the Court used for assessing the quality of parliamentary process? And to what level of scrutiny have parliamentary processes been examined? A key argument is that although there is considerable ambiguity in how the Court depicts its engagement with the quality of parliamentary processes, the extent to which certain considerations and approaches are repeated across the case law makes it possible for a start to be made at outlining the subsidiarity-based framework that structures the Court's assessment of national parliamentary processes.

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

Nicholas C. Starr

The Historical Presidency: Competing Conceptions of the Separation of Powers: Washington's Request for an Advisory Opinion in the Crisis of 1793
in *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, Volume 45, Issue 3 , 602–618

President Washington's request for a formal advisory opinion at the height of the neutrality crisis and the Supreme Court's refusal to grant his request have never received more than passing attention from political scientists. Yet these events bear directly on fundamental issues regarding the purpose and practice of the separation of powers and the relation between a republican government and the citizenry it serves. In this article, I argue that, properly understood, Washington's request and the Court's refusal shed new light on the underlying theoretical rationale for executive-judicial



cooperation and the political dangers of this cooperation. Moreover, by attending to the actions of the Washington administration in the aftermath of the Court's refusal, I show that the manner in which presidents interact with the people cannot be neatly separated from the institutional relationships between the branches of government.

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

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

Michael T. Morley

The Intratextual Independent Legislature and the Elections Clause

in *Northwestern University Law Review*, vol. 109, issue 3 , 847-869

Many states have delegated substantial authority to regulate federal elections to entities other than their institutional legislatures, such as independent redistricting commissions empowered to determine the boundaries of congressional districts. Article I's Elections Clause and Article II's Presidential Electors Clause, however, confer authority to regulate federal elections specifically upon State "legislatures," rather than granting it to States as a whole. An intratextual analysis of the Constitution reveals that the term "legislature" is best understood as referring solely to the entity within each state comprised of representatives that has the general authority to pass laws. Thus, state constitutional provisions or laws creating independent redistricting commissions that purport to limit a state legislature's power to draw congressional districts or otherwise regulate federal elections violate the Elections Clause.

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

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

Marco Longobardo

The Italian Constitutional Court's Ruling against State Immunity When International Crimes Occur: Thoughts on Decision No. 238 of 2014

in *Melbourne Journal of International Law*, vol. 16, issue 1 , 255-269

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

D'Amato Gianni

The Management of Immigration Related Cultural Diversity In European Federated Entities. The Case of Switzerland

in *Fédéralisme Régionalisme* , Volume 15, The Management of Immigration Related Cultural Diversity in Federal Countries

Switzerland is experiencing since the late 19th century immigration as economic necessity and cultural threat. The Bilateral Agreement with the EU (2002) changed fundamentally the setting, allowing free circulation for Europeans, but restricting access to third country nationals. With regard to migrant-related political fields, cantons use their autonomy to experiment with various approaches. Particularly the issue of language has become an indicator for measuring integration at the level of cantons and municipalities, strengthening in some areas of the country regional monolingualism. The cantons are also responsible for regulating the relationship between religious communities and the state. In particular recognition of new religious communities are dependent of the historical legacy, and how cantons want to



regulate religious pluralism. Cultural promotion is primarily the duty of the cantons, but the Confederation supports the activities of the cantons. Cultural public sponsoring increasingly detects challenges as demographic change and societal pluralization, supporting artistic initiatives that reflect this transformation.

Full text available online at <http://popups.ulg.ac.be/1374-3864/index.php?id=1532>

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

Martiniello Marco

The Management of Immigration Related Cultural Diversity in Federal Countries: Introduction

in *Fédéralisme Régionalisme*, Volume 15, The Management of Immigration Related Cultural Diversity in Federal Countries

Full text available online at <http://popups.ulg.ac.be/1374-3864/index.php?id=1573>

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

Clouser McCann Pamela J., Shipan Charles R., Volden Craig

Top-Down Federalism: State Policy Responses to National Government Discussions

in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, vol. 45, n. 4. Fall, 495-525

The national government can influence state-level policymaking by adopting laws that specifically direct the states to take certain actions or by providing financial incentives. But can national institutions also influence state-level policy change by drawing attention to an issue and by providing information about it, even when these activities do not produce new national laws? In other words, do policy ideas diffuse from the national government to the states? In this article, we examine whether hearings and the introduction of bills in Congress about antismoking restrictions influenced state-level adoptions between 1975 and 2000. Our findings reveal that national policy activities stimulated state policy adoptions, but only for states with professionalized legislatures and strong policy advocates.

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

Subsection 4. The legislative branch

Lara Trucco

Elezioni 2015: Liguria Regione «pilota» per contenzioso ed astensionismo?

in *Regioni (Le)*, no. 3, 693-704

No abstract available

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

Subsection 4. The legislative branch

Field Bonnie N, Hamann Kerstin

Framing legislative bills in parliament. Regional-nationalist parties' strategies in Spain's multinational democracy

in *Party Politics*, Volume 21, Number 6, Special issue: Position, selective emphasis and framing: Party competition in multinational



democracies, November , 900-911

This article analyzes the strategies parties employ during the inter-electoral phase of party competition. It focuses on Spain's multi-national democracy and how regional-nationalist parties frame their policy proposals in the statewide parliament (Congress of Deputies) for the period 1979–2011. Using the Catalan Convergence and Union (CiU) and the Basque Nationalist Party (PNV), it examines how frequently the parties rhetorically connect their bill proposals to the center-periphery dimension of party competition, and their justifications of these proposals in parliamentary debate. Challenging the niche party thesis, our findings indicate that the parties frame a small share of bills in center-periphery terms. They most frequently justify their center-periphery bills with reference to legal-constitutional compliance and administrative efficiency and less frequently with reference to culture, citizen rights, and economic performance. This can in part be explained by the fact that these parties are mainstream parties within their regions and operate in a clearly demarcated two-dimensional space in a multilevel state.

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

Subsection 4. The legislative branch

Alessio Rauti

**Il sistema di elezione dei Consigli regionali fra antiche e nuove questioni di «topografia costituzionale»
in Regioni (Le), no. 3 , 567-608**

No abstract available

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

Subsection 4. The legislative branch

Antonio Floridia and Fabio Sciola

**Il «federalismo elettorale», dieci anni dopo: il gioco vale la candela?
in Regioni (Le), no. 3 , 643-682**

No abstract available

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

Subsection 4. The legislative branch

Auerbach Adam Michael

**India's urban constituencies revisited
in Contemporary South Asia, Volume 23, Issue 2, 2015 , 136-150**

This article examines patterns of voter turnout and electoral competition in India's urban parliamentary constituencies. It places the 2014 Lok Sabha elections in historical context, drawing on constituency-level data from national elections since 1977 to explore broad changes and continuities in electoral competition, party structures, and voter turnout, with particular focus on comparisons between urban and rural India. The purpose of the article is descriptive, seeking to fill a gap in the literature on electoral competition in urban India. I find evidence that India's urban constituencies have recently, on average, been less competitive and participatory than non-urban constituencies, though this has not been a consistent trend since the mid-1970s. This article concludes with a brief outline for a research agenda on electoral



politics in urban India.

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

Subsection 4. The legislative branch

Eric-Adol T. Gatsi

Mise en place du Sénat au Cameroun: légitimité et légalité en question

in *Revue de droit international et de droit comparé.*, no. 4 , 459-495

La mise en place effective, en 2013, du Sénat camerounais pourtant créé par la révision constitutionnelle du 18 janvier 1996, a soulevé une vague d'enthousiasme dans l'opinion publique nationale. Une étude objective du processus de mise en place du Sénat amène à questionner sa légitimité et sa légalité. À ce titre, mis à part cet enthousiasme, force est de reconnaître que de nombreux aspects viennent jeter le doute sur la légitimité et même la légalité du processus. Le Sénat camerounais a, en effet, été mis sur pied à travers un processus qui semble obéir plus à des considérations d'ordre politique que juridique, avec pour conséquence l'emprisonnement du droit par la politique. C'est notamment le cas du caractère peu démocratique de certaines étapes de ce processus ainsi que des imperfections législatives qu'on peut y déceler.

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

Subsection 4. The legislative branch

Federico de Montalvo Jääskeläinen

Multipartidismo territorial y forma de gobierno parlamentaria: la West Lothian Question como paradigma de los efectos del fenómeno

in *Revista Espanola de Derecho Constitucional*, no. 105 , 77-104

The territorial organization developed under our Constitution has set up a specific political parties system characterized by the presence of various nationalist and regionalist parties in the Lower House. This scene has given to these parties a strong position in the Chamber when the main party was not able to get an absolute majority. Therefore, these parties have played a very important position beyond territorial matters. This dilemma has been almost virtually ignored by our scholars in contrast to other States like the UK.

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

Subsection 4. The legislative branch

Stecker Christian

Parties on the Chain of Federalism: Position-Taking and Multi-level Party Competition in Germany

in *West European Politics*, vol. 38, n. 6 , 1305-1326

ABSTRACT: Germany's federalism imposes significant constraints on sub-national parties. They cannot enact their ambitious policy agenda as most legislative powers are concentrated at the federal level. This article demonstrates how sub-national parties use position-taking strategies to escape these constraints. By position-taking, parties try to induce regional voters and interest groups to judge them for what they stand for instead of blaming them for the policies they cannot deliver. This argument is illustrated empirically by analysing all 1,715 announcements of legislative initiatives in the Bundesrat in 562 electoral manifestos and coalition agreements that were published during all 92 regional elections



since 1990 and all 1,619 Land bills from the period between 1972 and 2013. It is shown that regional parties and governments that are in opposition at the federal level announce and submit significantly more legislative initiatives that aim at changing federal policies.

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

Subsection 4. The legislative branch

Javier Ruipérez Alamillo

Podría suprimirse el senado español mediante la técnica de la reforma constitucional? (una primera aproximación al problema práctico desde las ciencias constitucionales) (II)

in Teoría y realidad constitucional, no. 36 , 131-169

This essay studies, regarding the proposed elimination of the Senate in Spain and Italy, the legal nature of this House in the political decentralized States, confronting the thesis of Zorn, Le Fur, Smend y Mouskheli and that the Durand, to arrive, finally, to a conclusion, with La Pergola, that in Germany and the United States the Bundesrath and the Senate are a waste of their confederal past, dispensable in other States.

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

Subsection 4. The legislative branch

Giovanni Di Cosimo

Quando la politica si autolimita: realtà e finzione nel caso della legge elettorale della Regione Marche in Regioni (Le), no. 3 , 683-692

No abstract available

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

Subsection 4. The legislative branch

Tillin Louise

Regional resilience and national party system change: India's 2014 general elections in context

in Contemporary South Asia, Volume 23, Issue 2, 2015 , 181-197

For the first time in 30 years, a single national party has won a majority on its own in the Indian parliament, and does not depend on the support of regional party allies for a parliamentary majority. Yet it is too soon to pronounce the decline or marginalisation of regional parties in India's national political life. The aggregate performance of regional parties remained resilient in the 2014 elections, even marginally improving over 2009. This article considers whether the 2014 elections mark a critical break in the position of regional parties at the national level. The principal argument is that the 2014 elections do not reflect a fundamental alteration in the dynamics of political regionalisation. Rather they suggest a new phase in the impact of regionalisation on the party system at the national level. In a landscape of continually increasing voter choice, electoral outcomes at the national level have begun to narrow to favour a smaller range of parties since 2004. The number of parties able to achieve influence via participation in cabinet governance or coalition has begun to decline. Political fragmentation has not gone away, but its consequences for election outcomes have changed.



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

Subsection 4. The legislative branch

Matteo Cosulich

Sette Regioni per sette modelli (di competizione elettorale). Osservazioni sulle elezioni regionali del 2015 in Regioni (Le), no. 3 , 609-620

No abstract available

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

Subsection 4. The legislative branch

Bihonegn Tesfa

The House of Federation: the practice and limits of federalism in Ethiopia's second federal chamber in Journal of Eastern African Studies , Volume 9, Issue 3 , 394-411

Multiethnic Ethiopia has been “exercising” federalism for the last two decades with unique constitutional and institutional designs. This article deals with House of Federation, the second chamber of the federal parliament, which, in both its composition and competence, hardly shares the attributes that characterize federal chambers elsewhere. While previous studies have focused on its powers of constitutional interpretation, this article attempts to provide a wider picture of the House of Federation by discussing its composition and competences, the constitutional and political underpinnings behind its (unique) design, and associated ramifications and paradoxes. It shows how representing individual groups rather than member states at the federal chamber, though constitutionally justifiable, is practically problematic in light of the powers constitutionally attributed to the House of Federation, which are predominantly regional in their dimensions and implications. With regard to its competences, the article argues, the fact that the House of Federation is non-legislative is not only an indication to the paucity of “shared-rule” in Ethiopia, but also paradoxical in view of the emphasis on group “self-rule” and the guardian powers that the House has in respect to the federal constitutional order. Discussing its considerable arbitration assignments, apart from the widely discussed constitutional interpretation, it demonstrates that Ethiopia's House of Federation is also unusually and predominantly adjudicative.

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

Subsection 4. The legislative branch

Dandoy Régis, Dodeigne Jérémy , Reuchamps Min, Vandeleene Audrey

The New Belgian Senate. A (Dis)Continued Evolution of Federalism in Belgium? in Representation, Volume 51, Issue 3 , pp. 327-339

The 2012–14 reform of the Belgian state has deeply transformed its Senate. Not only does the reform reduce the legislative powers of the Belgian upper chamber, but it also alters its composition. The former appointment of Senators based on a system of direct and community-based election is replaced by a system of indirect and mixed regional and community-based designation. This article presents this important reform. On the basis of a comprehensive dataset of federal and regional political careers, it also comparatively analyses the profile of the Senators, before and after the reform. Overall, although rules regarding seats allocation have been thoroughly remodelled, we conclude that the reform had neither dramatically affected the subtle balances upon which the Belgian federal state relies nor altered the patterns



of Senators' profiles.

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

Subsection 5. The executive branch

Emmett Collins

Alternative routes: Intergovernmental relations in Canada and Australia

in Canadian Public Administration, vol. 58, issue 4 , 591-604

Canada and Australia bear many similarities, but historical developments have affected the way each country practices federalism. This article seeks to answer the following question: Why have institutionalized horizontal relations been present in Canadian intergovernmental relations (IGR), while they have generally not in Australia? Developments in each country have produced different dynamics in intergovernmental relations which serve to favour vertical relations in Australia and open up space for horizontal relations in Canada. These dynamics become especially apparent when the histories of the institutions for facilitating intergovernmental relations in each country, notably the Canadian Council of the Federation and the Council of Australian Governments, are considered.

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

Subsection 5. The executive branch

Lupo Nicola

I "governni tecnici" nell'esperienza repubblicana italiana

in Ventunesimo Secolo. Rivista di Studi sulle Transizioni, Anno XIV, n. 36, "Tecnici e politica", giugno , 9-37

Abstract available at

http://www.francoangeli.it/riviste/Scheda_Rivista.aspx?IDArticolo=55026&Tipo=Articolo%20PDF&lingua=it&idRivista=185

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

Subsection 5. The executive branch

James P. Pfiffner

The Constitutional Legacy of George W. Bush

in Presidential Studies Quarterly, Volume 45, Issue 4 , 727–741

This article examines the assertions of constitutional power by President George W. Bush and argues that he established significant precedents that have enlarged the range of future presidential discretion. Bush broke new constitutional ground in authorizing coercive interrogations, denying suspected terrorists the privilege of habeas corpus, warrantless surveillance of Americans, and the excessive use of signing statements. Senator Barack Obama often criticized Bush on constitutional and policy grounds. When he became president, he curbed some of President Bush's excesses, but he adopted similar policies and extended executive power in other areas. That a president so different from President Bush on partisan affiliation, policy priorities, and temperament would accept and continue important aspects of his constitutional legacy attests to the foresight of the framers of the Constitution that executives continue to seek power.



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

Subsection 5. The executive branch

Ian Ostrander

The Contemporary Presidency: Powering Down the Presidency: The Rise and Fall of Recess Appointments
in **Presidential Studies Quarterly**, Volume 45, Issue 3 , 558–572

While established in the Constitution as a means of filling key posts during long gaps between legislative sessions, recess appointments have recently become a common and essential tool for bypassing procedural hurdles in the Senate and maintaining adequate staffing in federal bureaucracies. Despite being ubiquitous in the past three decades, recess appointments may now be relegated to the status of constitutional relics. This development is due to the related trends of using pro forma congressional sessions to deny presidents an opportunity to issue recess appointments and the recent Senate precedent that all reduces the power of the filibuster on executive nominations. Now, depending on whether government is divided, presidents either cannot use or do not require recess appointments. This article explores the future prospects for recess appointments as well as the theoretical implications for the demise of this unilateral power.

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

Subsection 5. The executive branch

Giovanni Tarli Barbieri

Una questione «politicamente scottante» all'esame del Collegio di garanzia statutaria della Toscana: la revoca della Vicepresidente della Giunta regionale
in **Regioni (Le)**, no. 2 , 533-562

No abstract available

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

Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Samo Bardutzky

Constitutional Courts, Preliminary Rulings and the “New Form of Law”: The Adjudication of the European Stability Mechanism
in **German Law Journal**, vol. 16, no. 6 , 1771-1789

No abstract available

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

Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Bercholc Jorge O.

El Tribunal constitucional español y el desarrollo autonomico a través del control de constitucionalidad
in **Cuadernos Manuel Giménez Abad**, n. 10, diciembre , 50-64



The constitutional model of “integrated” federalism, with many competing competences, does that they are more diffuse generating conflicts for the delimiting of the same ones. In the Spanish case the Constitutional Court (TC) must assume an intense activity and a very active, major role of the one that generally must assume a high court, to solve conflicts of competence in federations of “dualistic” model. The dispersion of opinions and approaches of the doctrine require to produce objective, rigorous and microscopic knowledge, which allows to approach at the process and to understand it with more sophistication, not only from positions, in excess, “general practitioners”. In pursuit of this more objective, rigorous and microscopic knowledge, we will see and analyze information on the performance of the TC in judicial conflicts where the court has exercised the control of constitutionality and that involved the autonomous community.

Full text available online at

http://www.fundacionmgimenezabad.es/images/Documentos/Cuadernos/cuadernos10_diciembre_2015.pdf

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

Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Mihail Vatsov

European Integration Through Preliminary Rulings? The Case of the Bulgarian Constitutional Court
in *German Law Journal*, vol. 16, no. 6, 1591-1622

No abstract available

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

Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Vladimir Golitsyn

Judicial Practice of the International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea - an Overview
in *Revue belge de droit international*, no. 1, 225-234

Although the International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea has not been in existence for a very long time, it has developed a substantial body of jurisprudence since it first came into existence. The aim of the present contribution is to briefly summarize the main findings reached by the Tribunal in its decisions. The contribution is structured in four parts, dealing respectively with the Tribunal's case-law in contentious cases, decisions pursuant to requests for provisional measures, "prompt release" cases, and advisory proceedings.

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

Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Lim Brendan

Laboratory federalism and the 'Kable' principle
in *Federal Law Review*, Volume 42, Issue 3

Federalism permits sub-national diversity and experimentation. The Kable principle limits sub-national diversity and experimentation in relation to state courts. But this apparent tension between 'laboratory' federalism and the Kable principle is somewhat illusory. Kable does not always hinder experimentation, but rather enables it by securing its necessary preconditions. By preventing state legislatures and governments from conscripting state courts to implement political designs, the Kable principle prevents state legislatures and governments from using state courts as a 'cloak'



against political accountability. This preserves the capacity of sub-national communities to compare policies across multiple jurisdictions, to express their preferences through 'exit and voice', and thereby to render sub-national experimentation effective on its own terms.

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

Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Margaret H. Lemost, Kevin M. Quinn

Litigating State Interests: Attorneys General as Amici

in *New York University Law Review* , vol. 90, issue 4 , 1229-1268

An important strain of federalism scholarship locates the primary value of federalism in how it carves up the political landscape, allowing groups that are out of power at the national level to flourish-and, significantly, to govern-in the states. On that account, partisanship, rather than a commitment to state authority as such, motivates state actors to act as checks on federal power. Our study examines partisan motivation in one area where state actors can, and do, advocate on behalf of state power: the Supreme Court. We compiled data on state amicus filings in Supreme Court cases from the 1979-2013 Terms and linked it up with data on the partisanship of state attorneys general (A Gs). Focusing only on merits-stage briefs, we looked at each AG's partisan affiliation and the partisanship of the AGs who either joined, or explicitly opposed, her briefs. If partisanship drives amicus activity, then we should see a strong negative relationship between the partisanship of AGs opposing each other and a strong positive relationship between those who cosign briefs.

What we found was somewhat surprising. States agreed far more often than they disagreed, and-until recently-most multistate briefs represented bipartisan, not partisan, coalitions of A Gs. Indeed, for the first twenty years of our study, the cosigners of these briefs were generally indistinguishable from a random sampling of A Gs then in office. The picture changes after 2000, when the coalitions of cosigners become decidedly more partisan, particularly among Republican AGs. The partisanship picture is also different for the 6% of cases in which different states square off in opposing briefs. In those cases, A Gs do tend to join together in partisan clusters. Here, too, the appearance of partisanship becomes stronger after the mid-1990s.

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

Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Monica Claes

Luxembourg, Here We Come? Constitutional Courts and the Preliminary Reference Procedure

in *German Law Journal*, vol. 16, no. 6 , 1331-1342

No abstract available

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

Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Giorgio Repetto

Pouring New Wine into New Bottles? The Preliminary Reference to the CJEU by the Italian Constitutional Court

in *German Law Journal*, vol. 16, no. 6 , 1449-1470



No abstract available

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

Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Fruzsina Gárdos-Orosz

Preliminary Reference and the Hungarian Constitutional Court: A Context of Non-Reference

in German Law Journal, vol. 16, no. 6 , 1569-1589

No abstract available

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

Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Aleksandra Kustra

Reading the Tea Leaves: The Polish Constitutional Tribunal and the Preliminary Ruling Procedure

in German Law Journal, vol. 16, no. 6 , 1543-1567

No abstract available

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

Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Louk David Scott

Repairing the Irreparable: Revisiting the Federalism Decisions of the Burger Court

in Yale Law Journal (The), Volume 125, Issue 3 - 2016

The text of a Supreme Court opinion rarely tells the full story of the debates, discussions, and disagreements that resulted in a particular decision. Drawing on previously unexamined archival papers of the Justices of the Burger Court, this Note tells the story of the Burger Court's federalism jurisprudence between 1975 and 1985, famously bookended by a pair of rare and abrupt reversals of Supreme Court precedent. The Note documents the Justices' deliberations for the first time, sheds new light on the institutional workings of the Court, and enriches our understanding of the foundations of modern federalism. In its federalism cases, the Burger Court grappled with the challenge of balancing the states' autonomy against the rise of new national problems and an expanding federal government's solutions to them. The Justices' papers show that they were more attuned to policy outcomes and the real-world consequences of their decisions than may typically be assumed. Above all, the papers reveal the Burger Court's deep struggle to articulate a sustainable federalism jurisprudence given the constraints of judicial craft. As the Note concludes, however, the Burger Court's uneven federalism experiments nonetheless laid the groundwork for the Court's subsequent attempts to fashion more workable doctrines. The Rehnquist and Roberts Courts have adjudicated federalism disputes more effectively by avoiding impracticable doctrines and remaining mindful of the institutional limitations of courts as federalism referees.

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

Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Clelia Lacchi



Review by Constitutional Courts of the Obligation of National Courts of Last Instance to Refer a Preliminary Question to the Court of Justice of the EU

in *German Law Journal*, vol. 16, no. 6 , 1663-1700

No abstract available

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

Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

François-Xavier Millet and Nicoletta Perlo

The First Preliminary Reference of the French Constitutional Court to the CJEU: Revolution de Palais or Revolution in French Constitutional Law?

in *German Law Journal*, vol. 16, no. 6 , 1471-1490

No abstract available

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

Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Eva Julia Lohse

The German Constitutional Court and Preliminary References—Still a Match not Made in Heaven?

in *German Law Journal*, vol. 16, no. 6 , 1491-1508

No abstract available

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

Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Ulrich Everling

The Member States of the European Community before their Court of Justice

in *European Law Review*, Vol. 36, issue 5 , 645-666

No abstract available

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

Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Maria Dicosola, Cristina Fasone and Irene Spigno

The Prospective Role of Constitutional Courts in the Advisory Opinion Mechanism Before the European Court of Human Rights: A First Comparative Assessment with the European Union and the Inter-American System

in *German Law Journal*, vol. 16, no. 6 , 1387-1428

No abstract available



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

Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Pierre-Vincent Attresses

The Return of the Huron, or Naïve Thoughts on the Handling of Article 267 TFEU by Constitutional Courts when Referring to the Court of Justice

in **German Law Journal**, vol. 16, no. 6 , 1701-1726

No abstract available

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

Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Viorica Vișnău;

The Romanian Constitutional Court and the Principle of Primacy: To Refer or Not to Refer?

in **German Law Journal**, vol. 16, no. 6 , 1623-1662

No abstract available

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

Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Miryam Rodríguez-Izquierdo Serrano

The Spanish Constitutional Court and Fundamental Rights Adjudication After the First Preliminary Reference

in **German Law Journal**, vol. 16, no. 6 , 1509-1528

No abstract available

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

Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Alessia Fusco

The Supreme Court of the United Kingdom and Preliminary References to the European Court of Justice: An Opencast Constitutional Lab

in **German Law Journal**, vol. 16, no. 6 , 1529-1541

No abstract available

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

Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Stellios James

The centralisation of judicial power within the Australian federal system

in **Federal Law Review**, Volume 42, Issue 2

This article considers the patterns of centralisation within the federal judicial system. While centralisation of legislative,



executive and fiscal power within the federal system has been well documented, the architecture of judicial federalism has been the subject of less attention. The article, first, seeks to show that principles derived from Chapter III of the Constitution have, on the whole, exhibited broadly similar centralising characteristics and exerted centralising effects, and, secondly, offers explanations for this centralisation.

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

Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Barry Eichengreen, Ugo Panizza

A surplus of ambition: can Europe rely on large primary surpluses to solve its debt problem?

in *Economic Policy*, Volume 31, Issue 85, 5-49

IMF forecasts and the EU's Fiscal Compact foresee Europe's heavily indebted countries running primary budget surpluses of as much as 5 percent of GDP for as long as 10 years in order to maintain debt sustainability and bring their debt/GDP ratios down to the Compact's 60 percent target. We show that primary surpluses this large and persistent are rare. In an extensive sample of high- and middle-income countries there are just three (non-overlapping) episodes where countries ran primary surpluses of at least 5 per cent of GDP for 10 years. Analyzing a less restrictive definition of persistent surplus episodes (primary surpluses averaging at least 3 percent of GDP for five years), we find that surplus episodes are more likely when growth is strong, when the current account of the balance of payments is in surplus (savings rates are high), when the debt-to-GDP ratio is high (heightening the urgency of fiscal adjustment), and when the governing party controls all houses of parliament or congress (its bargaining position is strong). Left wing governments, strikingly, are more likely to run large, persistent primary surpluses. In advanced countries, proportional representation electoral systems that give rise to encompassing coalitions are associated with surplus episodes. The point estimates do not provide much encouragement for the view that high-debt European countries will be able to run a primary budget surplus as large and persistent as officially projected.

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

Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Lunder Trond Erik

Between centralized and decentralized welfare policy: Have national guidelines constrained the influence of local preferences?

in *European Journal of Political Economy*, Volume 41, January 2016, Pages 1-13

Decentralized welfare services allow more flexibility toward individual needs assessment, but may also have negative consequences such as welfare competition or lack of equity between regions. Does national standardization require full centralization of individual assessment, or can a set of unbinding national guidelines reduce unwanted variation between regions? The case of this article is a national benefit norm for municipal social assistance payments issued by the Norwegian central government in 2001. A large share of municipalities changed their local norms to match the national norm in the following years, but data show that local benefit norms are uncorrelated with the actual payments. The apparent compliance to national guidelines does not translate into actual welfare generosity. Although caseworker discretion is important for individual payments, the municipal level of welfare payments is clearly influenced by local preferences and budget constraints. This implies that political control is active, but through other instruments than the local benefit norms.



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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Elisabetta Croci Angelini, Francesco Farina, Enzo Valentini

Contagion across Eurozone's sovereign spreads and the Core-Periphery divide

in Empirica: Journal of Applied Economics and Economic Policy, Volume 43, Issue 1 , 197-213

This paper investigates the causes of disproportionate increases of sovereign yields with respect to the interest rate on the 10 years German Bund within the Eurozone. Empirical evidence drawn from the Bank for International Settlements dataset on banks' portfolios shows that rapid financial integration, following the launch of the monetary union, resulted in excess exposure of Core countries' banks in the Peripheral countries' financial assets. In order to endogenize the possibility of contagion effects, we conduct econometric estimates through a Global Vector Autoregressive model, where each country's spread depends upon all Eurozone countries' spreads. Results show that after the burst of the financial crisis the Core countries' sovereign yields are essentially determined by the international risk aversion, whereas the spreads of Peripheral countries mainly depend on fundamentals, namely the public debt/GDP ratio and the Real Effective Exchange Rate values with respect to the Eurozone average. These results are supported by the estimate of an impulse response analysis. Macroeconomic failures in public finances and competitiveness seem to originate the exceptional increases in sovereign spreads of the Periphery, through a contagion effect which is limited to this group of Eurozone countries.

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Ezcurra Roberto

Fiscal decentralization and internal conflict: an empirical investigation

in Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy, Volume 33, Issue 3, June , 580-600

This paper examines the relationship between fiscal decentralization and internal conflict in seventy-seven countries during the period 1972–2000. The results show that the devolution of fiscal power to subnational tiers of government reduces the incidence of civil conflict. This finding is robust to the inclusion in the analysis of the degree of political decentralization and of a number of control variables commonly employed in the literature. Likewise, the observed relationship does not depend on the estimation strategy or the specific measures used to quantify the degree of fiscal decentralization and the incidence of civil conflicts within the various countries.

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Letelier-Saavedra Leonardo E , Sáez-Lozano José L

Fiscal decentralization in specific areas of government: an empirical evaluation using country panel data

in Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy, Volume 33, Issue 6, December , 1344-1360

While there is an extensive list of publications to explain fiscal decentralization across countries and over time, with this being defined as the share of all subnational government expenditure compared with that of the general government, a vacuum still exists when it comes to a similar analysis for the separate functions of the state. This research addresses



that challenge by estimating an empirical model that explains the fiscal decentralization of six specific public goods. Since the data available from the International Monetary Fund, as well as from other sources, are incomplete, an imputation procedure is conducted in order to produce a balanced panel of forty-four countries. As opposed to studies based on subnational expenditure as a whole, our results suggest that, generally, fiscal decentralization does not exhibit the same pattern across specific government functions. This entails important policy lessons, as it suggests that fiscal decentralization should not be seen as an all-across-the-board strategy to modernize the state.

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Eccleston, Richard; Smith, Helen

Fixing Funding in the Australian Federation: Issues and Options for State Tax Reform

in Australian Journal of Public Administration, Volume 74, Number 4 , 435-447

The structural pressures confronting the federal budget are well documented. Given the political risks associated with reducing the federal deficit by either increasing taxes or reining in expenditure at a national level, the Commonwealth has outlined its intention to freeze (in real terms) tied grants to the states from 2017. If implemented, this strategy will see Commonwealth transfers to the states decline from a peak of 29% of federal expenditure in 2001 to a projected 21% in 2024. Cost shifting on this scale is unprecedented in the Australian federation and arguably heralds a new era of 'fend‐for‐yourself federalism'. The potential significance of this move is exacerbated by the current budgetary context and the concurrent reviews of the national tax system and Australian federation. This article presents an analysis of tax and funding reform options available to the states that could bolster own‐source revenues and fill the funding gap left by the Commonwealth while enhancing the efficiency of the national tax system. This paper outlines the tax and funding challenges facing states in the Australian federation. It argues that comprehensive reform including income, consumption and land taxes is required to improve the efficiency of the national tax system and to provide states and territories with adequate and sustainable funding.

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Luigi Melica

Grexit: l'espediente negoziale di un'Europa incompiuta

in Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo, no. 3 , 575-582

No abstract available

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Georgios Anagnostaras

In ECB We Trust... The FCC We Dare! The OMT Preliminary Ruling

in European Law Review, vol. 40, issue 5 , 744-762

In its first-ever preliminary reference, the German Federal Constitutional Court dictated in essence to the Court of Justice of the EU the interpretation that it should give to the Outright Monetary Transactions programme of the European



Central Bank in order to avoid its ultra vires pronouncement. In its ruling, the Court proceeds to a teleological interpretation of the programme that acknowledges the wide margin of appreciation possessed by the ECB in the performance of its powers, and the interrelation that exists between monetary and economic policy. The Court also confirms that it is not intimidated by ultra vires threats and that it intends to protect its prerogatives under the preliminary reference procedure and the centralised system of judicial review prescribed by the Treaties. At the same time, its interpretation of the contested programme makes it challenging for the German constitutional court to proceed to an ultra vires ruling in the absence of a manifest breach on the part of the ECB.

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Flamand Sabine

Interregional transfers, group loyalty and the decentralization of redistribution

in Economics of Governance, Volume 16, Issue 4, November 2015 , 307-330

We study the relative merits of centralized and decentralized redistribution in a political economy context assuming cross-regional heterogeneity in average income and identity. While centralizing redistribution allows to pool and redistribute resources at the country level, it may decrease the degree of solidarity in the society as a result of group loyalty. We show that total welfare maximization is closely linked to the minimization of income inequality within and between regions. Analyzing separately two particular cases under direct democracy—no interregional inequality and no group loyalty—we stress the existence of a scope effect and a pooling effect of centralized redistribution, respectively. In both cases, centralization welfare-dominates decentralization, from which it follows that the rationale for decentralizing redistribution only arises when the two sources of cross-regional heterogeneity interact.

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Agnello Luca, castro Vitor, Sousa Ricardo M

Is fiscal fatigue a threat to consolidation programmes?

in Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy, Volume 33, Issue 4, August , 765-779

Building on a narrative approach to identify episodes of fiscal consolidation, data for a group of seventeen industrial countries over the period 1978–2009, and continuous-time duration models, we find evidence suggesting that the likelihood of a fiscal consolidation ending increases over time, but only for programmes that last fewer than six years. Additionally, fiscal consolidations tend to last longer in non-European than in European countries. Our results emphasize that chronic fiscal imbalances might lead to a vicious austerity cycle, while discipline in the behaviour of fiscal authorities is a means of achieving credible and shorter adjustment measures. Therefore, fiscal fatigue is likely to compromise the implementation and successfulness of fiscal consolidation programmes.

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Pinilla Diego E., Jiménez Juan de Dios, Montero Roberto

La descentralización fiscal en América Latina. Balance de un proceso

in Revista de economía institucional, VOLUMEN 17, NÚMERO 33, SEGUNDO SEMESTRE DE 2015



La mayor población urbana, la apertura política y económica y el área territorial son factores comunes que explican el origen y la profundidad de la descentralización en América Latina. La descentralización como objetivo obligó a transferir grandes recursos al nivel subnacional y dio lugar a un grave deterioro fiscal. En el intento de establecer incentivos adecuados, la segunda generación de reformas fijó nuevas prioridades: finanzas locales sanas, endeudamiento moderado y mayor esfuerzo tributario local. Este proceso requiere un marco institucional adecuado y habrá de continuar promoviendo una autonomía financiera local real.

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

David R. Agrawal

Local fiscal competition: An application to sales taxation with multiple federations

in **Journal of Urban Economics**, Volume 91 , 122-138

Local sales tax rates influence the location of retail activity. This paper develops a theory and empirical identification strategy for studying sales tax competition with “multiple federations,” as exemplified by multiple counties each containing several cities. In addition to strategic interactions with nearby cities and a city’s own county, city tax rates are influenced by the tax rates of neighboring counties. Cities react heterogeneously to own-county sales tax rates depending on distance to the county border. Using data on the driving time to county borders and a comprehensive cross-section of local sales tax rates, I exploit variation in proximity to county borders to identify vertical fiscal competition. Cities located near county borders react more intensely to their county’s tax rate in comparison to towns at the interior. An increase in the neighboring county tax rate raises city tax rates in nearby counties.

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Gupta Bhanu, Mukhopadhyay Abhiroop

Local funds and political competition: Evidence from the National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme in India

in **European Journal of Political Economy**, Volume 41, January 2016 , Pages 14-30

The National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (NREGS) in India is one of the largest public employment programs in the developing world. It was introduced by the central government led by Indian National Congress (INC). While it's implementation is, in principle, based on demand for work from households, we investigate how political competition affects intra district allocation of funds under the scheme. Using longitudinal data on funds allocated to blocks and elections held for block councils, we find that greater amount of funds were allocated to blocks where INC had lower seat share. Further, we address the issue of endogeneity by focusing on a subsample of blocks where the aggregate vote share of INC was close to that of it's rivals. Our results suggest that 1.5 percentage point more funds were approved for blocks that had 1 percentage point lower seat share for INC. We also provide a mechanism for the effect by showing that the results are only true when the MP of the district, a member of the body that approves the block fund allocation, is from INC.

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism



Bimonte Salvatore, Stabile Arsenio

Local taxation and urban development. Testing for the side-effects of the Italian property tax
in *Ecological Economics*, Volume 120, December , 100-107

Land is an essential yet limited natural resource. Its current unsustainable use asks for a better understanding of the main determinants of urban expansion. A heuristic approach is used to analyze urban development in Italy. In particular, the paper estimates an econometric model to test the impact of the Italian property tax (ICI) on the local authorities' behavior and, in particular, on urban planning and development. It tests whether its introduction has fostered rather than dampened construction activity. The hypothesis put forward is that, because of the concurrent market conditions, the introduction of the tax has facilitated urban development. The structure of the tax and the devolution process that began in the '90s induced local municipalities to adopt less tight (accommodative) urban policies to offset budgetary needs. A more elastic urban policy reduces price volatility. However, its overall welfare effect is not clearly determined. Indeed, ceteris paribus, geographical areas with more elastic housing supply witness larger land consumption. The land use changes we witnessed in the last decades could be the combined effect of financial and fiscal aspects. If this is so, careful attention should be given to the issue of whether leaving urban planning and the power to levy property taxes under the same jurisdiction.

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Foresti Pasquale

Monetary and debt-concerned fiscal policies interaction in monetary unions

in *International Economics and Economic Policy*, Volume 12, Issue 4, October 2015 , Pages 541-552

In this paper a monetary union model with debt-concerned fiscal authorities is presented. Under this circumstance it is assumed that monetary policy is implemented on the basis of union-average data, while in each member country fiscal policies are conducted on the basis of national data. It is shown that in this setup the effects of macroeconomic shocks on national debts and deficits are heterogeneous across countries and a country by country analysis is needed. Moreover, the gap between the debt in a single member country and its union average turns out to be a key element, more than the level of debt itself. Countries with a debt above the union average do not attain the targets and different equilibrium levels of debt can endanger the existence of the union.

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Libich Jan, Thanh Nguyen Dat, Stehlík Petr

Monetary exit and fiscal spillovers

in *European Journal of Political Economy*, Volume 40, Part A, December 2015 , Pages 184-206

The aftermath of the 2008 financial crisis has seen two types of monetary policy concerns. Some economists (e.g. Paul Krugman) worry primarily about possible deflation caused by a secular stagnation. In contrast, others (e.g. John Taylor) worry about excessively high inflation caused by quantitative easing and monetization of fiscal imbalances. The paper shows that these two seemingly contradictory threats may in fact be mutually consistent. Our analysis demonstrates that some countries may experience both – deflation in the short term and high inflation in the long term – whereas some countries are likely to experience neither. This is done in a game theoretic framework with dynamic leadership;



stochastic revisions of policy actions. Such framework enables us to examine strategic monetary–fiscal interactions, the policies' institutional features, as well as uncertainty about business cycle conditions (as present during the 2010–2015 period). Our empirical section then quantifies indices of monetary and fiscal leadership for high-income countries to put them in the Monetary-dominance, Fiscal-dominance and Regime-switching regions derived in the theoretic analysis, and thus assess their deflationary/inflationary prospects. It is shown that such undesirable departures from price stability are much more likely in the United States and Japan than in Australia or New Zealand.

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Fidrmuc Jan

Political economy of fiscal unions

in European Journal of Political Economy, Volume 40, Part A, December 2015 , Pages 147-157

Fiscal unions often use fiscal transfers to counter asymmetric shocks, but such transfers may be politically controversial. I present a model of a two-region fiscal union with region-specific shocks where the threat of secession imposes a limit on fiscal redistribution between regions. I show that both correlation of shocks across regions and their persistence over time are important for political support for integration. The gains from inter-regional risk sharing are potentially large when shocks are negatively correlated and temporary. In contrast, unions with negatively correlated permanent shocks are likely to be fragile.

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Helm Dieter

Rethinking the economic borders of the state—ownership, assets, and competition

in Oxford Review of Economic Policy, Volume 31 Issue 2 SUMMER 2015 , 168-185

The paper sets out a new asset-based framework for the economic borders of the state. It considers how the economic borders have changed in response to major shocks, notably in the 1980s, and the economic concepts which lay behind these shifts—notably, on the microeconomic side, the market and government failure framework and, on the macroeconomic side, the monetarist challenge to the Keynesian paradigm. The missing elements are the balance sheet and the treatment of assets, debt, and the interests of future generations. Particular attention is paid to utility and infrastructure assets as core public goods, and to the neglect of natural capital.

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Sorens Jason P.

Secession Risk and Fiscal Federalism

in Publius: The Journal of Federalism, vol. 46, n. 1, Winter , 25-50

Why is fiscal federalism so often dysfunctional from an economic point of view? Particularly in the developing world, fiscally decentralized systems often lack hard budget constraints and an open, common market. This article argues that preventing secession can require fiscally deleterious institutions. Beyond the well-known device of “fiscal appeasement,”



central governments facing potential secessionist challenges try to hamstring regional tax collection and permit regional protectionism against goods and labor. While ethnic diversity has helped to preserve relatively robust forms of fiscal federalism in Canada and Switzerland, it has had the contrary effect in developing countries. Even among Western democracies, those governments unwilling to countenance secession are less likely to respond to secessionist challenges by decentralizing taxation powers. The political logic of decentralization may stymie efforts to reform decentralized institutions along the lines recommended by economists and the multilateral lending institutions.

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Andreea Stoian, Filip Iorgulescu

The study of public debt: which are the distinctions between the emerging and advanced economies in the European Union?

in *Empirica: Journal of Applied Economics and Economic Policy*, Volume 43, Issue 1, 167-196

The aim of this paper is to provide a comprehensive study of public debt, emphasizing the existing distinctions between the emerging and advanced economies across the European Union. Using annual data ranging from 1995 to 2013, we conducted a manifold investigation. Firstly, we studied the descriptive statistics of key variables affecting public debt dynamics. We found that the ex-communist countries recorded lower public debt ratios, negative flow costs and primary deficits. By comparison, the advanced economies achieved primary surpluses in order to balance larger public debt-to-GDP ratios and positive flow costs. Secondly, using the accounting approach we analyzed the dynamics of public debt. The results indicated unstable patterns for the Czech Republic, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia, Cyprus, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Malta, Portugal, Spain and the United Kingdom. Employing a logit model with fixed effects, we also showed that running primary deficits is more likely to increase the probability of having unstable dynamics of public debt. Thirdly, we examined the distribution of the flow cost which revealed the existence of fat tails, suggesting an increased likelihood of large debt burdens. We also found that the uncertainty of the future debt burden is mainly driven by the variability of the real GDP growth rate.

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Fredriksson, Per G., Matschke, Xenia

Trade Liberalization and Environmental Taxation in Federal Systems

in *Scandinavian Journal of Economics*, Volume 118, Number 1, 150-167

The literature on trade liberalization and environment has not yet considered federal structures. In this paper, we show how the design of environmental policy in a federal system has implications for the effects of trade reform. Trade liberalization leads to a decline in pollution taxes, regardless of whether pollution taxes are set at the federal (centralized) or local (decentralized) level, and it increases social welfare. The effect under a decentralized system is smaller than if these taxes are set by the federal government, and pollution emissions therefore decline in this case. Moreover, majority bias interacts with trade liberalization if federal taxes are used.



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

Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)

Sveva Del Gatto

Il problema dei rapporti tra la Banca centrale europea e l'Autorità bancaria europea

in Rivista trimestrale di diritto pubblico, no. 4 , 1221-1260

Since the autumn of 2014, the European Central Bank (ECB) has had the authority to supervise the banking sector in the entire Eurozone. This new regime is a significant departure from the previous system: pursuant to the creation of the Single Supervisory Mechanism (SSM), the EBA's regulatory role should remain essentially unchanged; however, in the realm of supervision, in certain areas a need for clarity as to the allocation of responsibilities between the EBA and the ECB is necessary. The ECB regulation provides for cooperation between the ECB and the NSAs, but these provisions alone are not sufficient.

This article examines the significant legal issues raised by the creation of the SSM, especially with reference to competences and the cooperation between the ECB and the EBA. In particular, the article analyses the role of the ECB as a prudential supervisor and that of the EBA as a European banking regulator, and analyses the interaction between the EBA and the ECB. The article concludes that the SSM's performance could suffer due to the unclear state of the relationships between the ECB and the EBA. More specifically, the banking supervisory regime needs a leading authority to coordinate supervision among all European countries. This role could be played by the EBA, but for the moment, the EBA appears to be an "overarching umbrella which has no teeth".

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Holman Nancy, Thornley Andy

Backlash in the London suburbs: the local-strategic tension in multilevel governance

in Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy, Volume 33, Issue 3, June , 496-511

In this paper we explore the tensions in metropolitan-level governance between strategic planning and desires for political decentralisation. We do this through a three-part analysis. First, we focus on the 2008 election strategy of Boris Johnson to become Mayor of London, with its aim of gaining suburban votes and giving more autonomy to the local borough level. We then look at the impacts of this campaign on electoral results; and, finally, we look at the outcome of the Outer London Commission, which was set up by the Mayor after the election to deal with strategic issues concerning London's suburbs. We find that a strategic intent to benefit suburban residents and the decentralisation of power to the boroughs are contradictory and have led to a policy stalemate.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Tronconi Filippo

Bye-Bye Bipolarism: The 2015 Regional Elections and the New Shape of Regional Party Systems in Italy

in South European Society & Politics, Volume 20, Issue 4 , 553-571

In May 2015, 19 million Italians were called to renew the legislative assemblies and presidencies of seven regions, thus concluding an electoral cycle begun in February 2013 that involved all the 15 ordinary statute regions. Beyond their immediate relevance – of the 15 incumbent presidents only three were confirmed in office – these elections represented



a turning point for regional party systems, paralleling the earthquake of the 2013 general elections. The 'fragmented bipolarism' characterising elections in Italy at the two levels since the mid-1990s, has been replaced by a multipolar competition, as a consequence of the consolidating presence of the Movimento 5 Stelle and the internal divisions of the centre-right coalition. At the same time, fragmentation of regional councils has remained high. The evolution of regional party systems and patterns of competition are analysed in this paper, taking into account the electoral offer, turnout and results in the majoritarian and proportional arenas of the 15 ordinary statute regions.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Adam Ilke, Torrekens Corinne

Different Regional Approaches to Cultural diversity. Interpreting the Belgian Cultural Diversity Policy Paradox in *Fédéralisme Régionalisme*, Volume 15, The Management of Immigration Related Cultural Diversity in Federal Countries

In Belgium, the authority over cultural diversity policies resulting from immigration has been devolved from the central state to the regions since 1970. Consequently, Flanders and Francophone Belgium have progressively developed divergent policy tools. By describing the divergent evolution of Francophone and Flemish cultural diversity policies, our paper demonstrates the existence of a "Belgian Cultural Diversity Paradox", namely the existence of more multicultural minority rights in the region that has most experienced electoral success by an extreme-right anti-immigrant party (Flanders), and a more colour blind and radical secular approach in the region where anti-immigrant politicization is barely a factor (Francophone Belgium). This finding is counter-intuitive because an important strand of immigrant policy research has emphasized the relationship between the politicization of immigration and restrictive immigrant citizenship rights. Our paper demonstrates that the different degrees of politicization of immigration in Flanders and Francophone Belgium cannot fully account for divergent cultural diversity policies. By insisting on the historical path dependency of the linguistic and religious cleavages in Belgium and their overlap, this paper offers an addendum to the politicization approach. The historical linguistic and religious differences of the Belgian regions clearly mediate the impact of the politicization of immigration on both sides of the linguistic border.

Full text available online at <http://popups.ulg.ac.be/1374-3864/index.php?id=1526>

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Marcos Almeida Cerredá

El impacto de la Ley 27/2013, de 27 de diciembre, de racionalización y sostenibilidad de la Administración local, en la distribución de competencias en materia de educación, salud, sanidad y servicios sociales
in *Revista d'Estudis Autònomic i Federals*, no. 22, 219-264

El present article té per objecte analitzar en quina mesura la Llei 27/2013, de 27 de desembre, de racionalització i sostenibilitat de l'Administració local, incideix, directament, en la regulació estatal sectorial i en la normativa autonòmica, sigui aquesta estatutària o ordinària, local o sectorial, en els àmbits de l'educació, la sanitat, la salut i els serveis socials. Amb aquesta finalitat, en primer lloc s'exposaran de forma detallada les variacions que l'esmentada norma tracta d'implantar en el marc competencial dels ajuntaments espanyols, tant mitjançant la modificació dels apartats 2n i 3r de l'article 25 de la LBRL i l'addició dels paràgrafs 4t i 5è, com a través de les disposicions addicional quinzena i transitòries primera, segona i tercera; en segon lloc, s'estudiarà no només la viabilitat constitucional de la limitació i condicionament del sistema d'atribució de competències als municipis que l'esmentada Llei inclou en l'esmentat article



25, sinó també la legitimitat i l'eventual abast -tant en el pla jurídic com en el pràctic- de la pretensió de transferir determinades funcions, en els camps indicats, d'aquells a les comunitats autònomes, sobre l'esmentada nova base normativa.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Dietz Andreas, Meyer Stephan

Erweiterte Drittanfechtungsklagen von Kommunen am Maßstab der Aarhus-Konvention und des Artikel 28 Absatz 2 Satz 1 GG

in Archiv des öffentlichen Rechts , Volume 140, Number 2, April 2015 , 198-266

Abstract:

The First Part of the essay indicates significant disparity among the rights of action against the legal approval of projects which may have an impact on the environment. Natural persons, legal entities under private law and municipalities are required to claim a violation of individual rights for an action against such an approval to be admissible (§ 42 (2) VwGO [Verwaltungsgerichtsordnung – Federal Code of Administrative Court Procedure]), In contrast, private associations for the protection of the environment are relieved of that restriction and have a right of action based only on the public interest in protecting the environment. Granting municipalities the same relief should be considered in order to contain growing inconsistencies. The Convention of Aarhus does provide the necessary legal points of contact for integrating extended municipal rights of action into the overall European framework of judicial review in environmental matters.

The Second Part examines the compatibility of extending municipal rights of action with the overall German governmental and administrative structure. Granting a right of action where no municipal substantive rights are involved would require that municipalities are already competent to at least discuss the implementation of environmental law through other public entities. Whether that is the case depends on the interpretation of article 28 (2) GG [Grundgesetz – German Basic Law], which defines municipalities' jurisdiction as concerning "matters of the local community". The Federal Constitutional Court assumes that the provision limits jurisdiction to matters concerning local population "as such". The implementation of environmental law does not seem to generally fit into that limitation, which would bar municipalities from discussing it. However, it can be demonstrated that dropping the limitation would be in line with the provision's legislative history. Additionally, the debate on municipal action against the deployment of nuclear weapons has already provided an example of limited municipal jurisdiction in a matter where it lacks responsibility for implementation entirely. The Second Part further develops the theoretical background of that finding and concludes that municipalities indeed are competent to at least discuss other public entities' implementation decisions.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Kantor Paul, Nelles Jen

Global city region governance and multicentered development: a North American perspective

in Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy , Volume 33, Issue 3, June , 475-495

The impact of governance on multicentered development is examined by surveying the political responses of two leading North American global city regions (GCRs): New York and Toronto. Although both GCRs have experienced very similar policy tensions during recent decades, their process of economic restructuring is strongly mediated by four



systemic features in regional governance: concentration of political authority, prevailing social cleavages, civic group resources, and intergovernmental coordination. Differences in these characteristics are found to influence collective action to manage tensions in three major policy areas. Their impact is not entirely cumulative, however. Even though there is evidence that having more of certain governing attributes enhances the possibilities for joint intervention on a regional scale, interaction among system components affects forms of intergovernmental collaboration. Further, the impact of governance systems on collective action also varies with policy area.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Luis Eduardo Thayer Correa and Carlos Durán Migliardi

Gobierno local y migrantes frente a frente: nudos críticos y políticas para el reconocimiento in Reforma y democracia (Venezuela), no. 63

El propósito de esta investigación es identificar los nudos críticos del proceso de incorporación de los migrantes latinoamericanos y caribeños a un contexto local, en función de definir los ejes estratégicos para orientar las políticas migratorias desde el gobierno municipal. La propuesta se fundamenta en la teoría del reconocimiento como un enfoque complementario pero más amplio que el enfoque intercultural como base de las políticas públicas locales. En primer término, el trabajo pone en discusión los supuestos teóricos que asume esta política pública: los derechos humanos como fundamento de la ciudadanía, la centralidad de lo local y la gobernanza democrática como enfoque. En segundo lugar, se identifican los nudos críticos en el proceso de incorporación de migrantes y refugiados en cuatro dimensiones: salud, educación, vivienda y trabajo. Se concluye, finalmente, señalando que la implementación de las políticas migratorias a nivel local enfrenta desafíos en cinco ejes estratégicos: información sobre los derechos, participación y politización de los colectivos migrantes, educación y sensibilización de la población nativa, mediación para la convivencia y transnacionalismo. El trabajo de campo realizado en la comuna de Quilicura, en Santiago de Chile, se presenta como un recurso para el abordaje de los desafíos que supone para los gobiernos locales la presencia de colectivos de migrantes en el contexto comunal.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Giovanni Tarli Barbieri

I sistemi elettorali comunali anche alla luce delle elezioni del maggio 2015: ripensare la «rivoluzione» del 1993? in Regioni (Le), no. 3 , 705-762

No abstract available

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Filippini Rita, Maglieri Alessandra

Il procedimento legislativo di fusione di Comuni nelle leggi regionali in Istituzioni del federalismo, n. 2 , 313 -330

No abstract available



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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Ricardo Completa Enzo

La articulación intermunicipal en Argentina. Origen, balance y recomendaciones

in *Istituzioni del federalismo*, n. 2 , 357 - 380

357 - La articulación intermunicipal en Argentina. Origen, balance y recomendaciones / Enzo Ricardo Completa
381 -

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Toscano Gil Francisco

Las Áreas metropolitanas en el derecho español: modelos vigentes e incidencia de la crisis económica

in *Istituzioni del federalismo*, n. 2 , 381 -422

No abstract available

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Cadiou Stéphane

Les exécutifs locaux

in *Revue française d'administration publique*, 2015/2 (N° 154) , 337 -349

No abstract available

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Kada Nicolas

Les exécutifs locaux, une définition juridique entre unité et diversité

in *Revue française d'administration publique*, 2015/2 (N° 154) , 351- 362

It has been argued that decentralisation law finds itself worked throughout by a dynamic which “pulls” it towards constitutional law. If the idea is tempting, it is nonetheless misleading because local and regional law does not only integrate constitutional law but also a political dimension. In that matter, the notion of local executives commonly finds a partial and prejudiced juridical definition. So if on one hand, the study of local law allows to draw the relative statutory unity of the notion, on the other hand, it barely hides the existing functional diversity attached to it.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)



Bunte Jonas B, Thaut Vinson Laura

Local power-sharing institutions and interreligious violence in Nigeria

in *Journal of Peace Research*, Volume 53, Number 1, January , 49-65

News reports of clashes between Muslims and Christians in countries such as Nigeria are increasingly common. Yet, interreligious violence erupts only in some communities but not others. Under what conditions does religious identity become the fault line of communal violence? We argue that informal power-sharing institutions on the communal level are essential in shaping the incentives of potential perpetrators. We provide both qualitative and quantitative evidence for our claim that districts in which informal power-sharing agreements exist are less likely to experience interreligious violence. We conducted interviews with community leaders in 38 Nigerian districts to trace the process by which local power-sharing institutions exert influence on actors' incentives to engage in religious violence. We complement this with quantitative analyses of a new dataset capturing interreligious violence on a subnational level. The analyses show that the overall degree of interreligious violence is significantly lower in districts with power-sharing than in those without. We also identify two causal mechanisms through which informal power-sharing institutions operate. First, these institutions affect the incentives of elites to appeal for cooperation. We show that the rhetoric of elites in districts with power-sharing is significantly more conciliatory. Second, power-sharing affects the general population's perception of the interreligious tensions. Individuals living in districts with power-sharing institutions are less likely to experience religious diversity as threatening. Local-level informal power-sharing institutions are therefore an important foundation for communal peace and interreligious cooperation.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Kada Nicolas

L'intercommunalité sous les feux de la rampe

in *Revue du droit public et de la science politique en France et à l'étranger*, n. 5 , 1187-1204

No abstract available

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Pradel-Miquel Marc

Making polycentrism: Governance innovation in small and medium-sized cities in the West Midlands and Barcelona metropolitan regions

in *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, Volume 33, Issue 6, December , 1753-1768

The development of metropolitan regions shows increasing patterns of polycentrism, with growing relevance of small and medium-sized municipalities, suburbs and outskirts, which become economic subcentres within enlarging metropolitan realities. Nevertheless, governance analysis has focused primarily on the role of central cities or on the metropolitan region as a whole. This article focuses on the social configuration of small and medium-sized municipalities as collective actors and their role in the emergence of polycentrism. The article analyses how the economic, political and social hegemonic actors in these cities organise innovative strategies to ensure the centrality of their area in the metropolitan region presenting the analysis of two areas in two European metropolitan regions; the Black Country in the West Midlands conurbation (United Kingdom) and the Vallès Occidental area in the Barcelona Metropolitan Region



(Spain). In both areas, innovative forms of governance oriented towards local economic development and social cohesion have emerged involving municipalities, chambers of commerce, trade unions and third sector actors. Beyond the implementation of local policies these forms of governance reinforce specific scales for economic agglomeration to reinforce subcentrality of certain municipalities. The analysis of these cases shows that there are dynamics of competitiveness and collaboration within metropolitan regions in which subcentres are trying to compete with the central city and but at the same time taking profit from the overall metropolitan strategy in the global arena.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Schultz Caroline, Kolb Holger

Managing Cultural Diversity in Federal Germany: Bavaria and Berlin as Classic Antagonists

in *Fédéralisme Régionalisme* , Volume 15, The Management of Immigration Related Cultural Diversity in Federal Countries

Due to the type of federalism applied in Germany the level of analysis best suited for studying integration is that of the 16 Länder. For comparing the approaches of two of these - Bavaria and Berlin - in managing migration-related diversity, the paper uses a double differentiation as analytical starting point. The first refers to the bulk of literature of different national models of integration and proposes two ideal types of integration/diversity policy. The second differentiation seizes the suggestion that integration in some areas of life is socially much more consequential than in others with the consequence that state intervention in these areas is much easier to justify from a normative point of view. From the descriptive comparison it becomes clear that both Länder, though coming from rather diverging starting points, by now employ hybrid strategies to accommodate or manage different aspects of cultural diversity.

Full text available online at <http://popups.ulg.ac.be/1374-3864/index.php?id=1557>

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Lee Taedong, Koski Chris

Multilevel governance and urban climate change mitigation

in *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, Volume 33, Issue 6, December , 1501-1517

Cities worldwide have taken the lead in addressing climate change; however, this does not tell the full story in understanding the puzzle of local climate action. Rather than in isolation, city actions occur in the context of a complex of other government arrangements. Whereas the majority of the literature concerning subnational responses to climate change in the US is addressed in the literatures of federalism and diffusion, we offer an explanation of climate actions through a multilevel governance approach. Multilevel governance allows us to consider the horizontal city-to-city influences on climate action while also considering the vertical influences of state-to-local action. We conduct a large quantitative study of climate actions in all US cities with populations greater than 50,000 people. We find that cities' and states' climate action efforts are complementary, rather than attenuating; however, we note that horizontal influences are generally stronger than vertical influences in motivating climate action at the local level. We conclude that, in spite of the potential for an increased role of federal and state governments in climate action in the United States, city-to-city networks are likely to remain important in motivating cities to mitigate climate change.

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



Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Robinson Pamela, Gore Christopher

Municipal climate reporting: gaps in monitoring and implications for governance and action

in Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy, Volume 33, Issue 5, Special issue on: Environmental Governance in South East Europe/Western Balkans, October , 1058-1075

For over two decades, municipal climate progress has been inventoried and analysed using a common reporting framework. While useful for highlighting the extent of municipal engagement in greenhouse gas mitigation efforts, we know little about how comprehensive this reporting framework is. Are municipal governments engaging in mitigation activities outside this framework? And what about climate adaptation activity for which no long-standing milestone reporting framework has existed? Based on results from a national survey of municipal governments in Canada, the paper reveals that municipal governments are engaged in many climate activities and processes that common inventories and reporting systems do not capture. The paper argues that these 'in between activities' – the not-yet counted climate actions that take place between and outside of milestone initiation and completion – have practical importance for future climate action and theoretical importance by complementing growing evidence about the nature of municipal climate activities and climate governance.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Maennig Wolfgang, Ölschläger Michaela, Schmidt-Trenz Hans-Jörg

Organisations and regional innovative capability: the case of the chambers of commerce and industry in Germany

in Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy, Volume 33, Issue 4, August , 811-827

Spatial innovation models focus on the region and highlight the social and economic interactions of the actors as a main factor in regional innovative output. This paper examines the role of German chambers of commerce and industry (CCIs), which could be relevant for the innovation process through: (1) moderating or founding regional and local (innovative) initiatives; (2) creating and maintaining formal and informal networks; (3) building reputations and providing references; (4) providing information and advisory services; (5) conducting final examinations in vocational training; and (6) founding educational institutions. The empirical analyses show a positive impact of CCI expenditures on the number of start-ups and the number of patents, as well as a positive impact of seminar and information day participation on the number of start-ups. The results lead to the assumption that the network effect (functions 2 and 3) plays a more important role than providing pure information and advice (function 4).

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Cidell Julie

Performing leadership: municipal green building policies and the city as role model

in Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy, Volume 33, Issue 3, June , 566-579

The recent rise in the use of third-party standards and rating systems to evaluate the sustainability or greenness of urban programs and policies includes their explicit incorporation into municipal policy in the case of certified green buildings. In this paper the theoretical framework of performativity is used to explain how multiple forms of city activity



interlock through policy to name, repeat, and recount the city as a leader—which, in this particular discursive formation, means being green. By performing greenness to their peers, city staff and elected officials work on the city's identity as an innovator and leader. Furthermore, the internal performance of greenness to residents and businesspeople indicates the appropriate role of local government in relation to private sector activity and protecting citizens, including taking on the risks of new technologies and practices to ease the way for private capital.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Matthews Tony

Storylines of institutional responses to climate change as a transformative stressor: the case of regional planning in South East Queensland, Australia

in Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy, Volume 33, Issue 5, Special issue on: Environmental Governance in South East Europe/Western Balkans, October , 1092-1107

Institutional responses to climate change stresses through planning will require new and amended forms of governance. Institutional framing of change imperatives can significantly condition associated governance responses. This paper builds on scholarly conversations concerning the conceptual role of 'storylines' in shaping institutional responses to climate change through governance. I draw on conceptual perspectives of climate change as a 'transformative stressor', which can compel institutional transformation within planning. The concepts of storylines and transformative stressors are conceptually linked. The conceptual approach is applied to an empirical enquiry focused on the regional planning regime of South East Queensland (SEQ), Australia. In this paper I report on and examine three institutional storylines of responding to climate change through planning governance in SEQ. I conclude that the manifestation of climate change as a transformative stressor in SEQ prompted institutional transformation, leading to a dominant storyline focused on climate adaptation as an important facet of regional planning governance.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Sotiriou Alexandra, Tsiapa Maria

The asymmetric influence of structural funds on regional growth in Greece

in Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy, Volume 33, Issue 4, August , 863-881

In this paper we aim to explore the conditioning effect of structural funds (SF) on regional growth in Greece for the period 1994–2006 by detecting if the ability of regions to convert any financial aid into welfare gains is related to certain region-specific characteristics. The analysis shows that, albeit that important financial aid has been channelled to the less-developed regions, the most advanced regions seem to have benefited more from it. Furthermore, we divide the SF into expenditure categories and conclude that the SF have a positive impact on growth only for those regions in which the regions' endowments are related to the expenditure received. This interaction of the expenditure categories with the characteristics of the recipient region accentuates the role of the 'identity' of each region to the impact of SF on regional growth, thereby signifying valuable policy implications.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)



Salet Willem, Savini Federico

The political governance of urban peripheries

in *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, Volume 33, Issue 3, June , 448-456

The paper introduces the challenges of this theme issue with regards to the dilemmas of political governance in upcoming urban peripheries. While becoming more and more topical in processes of urban transition and ongoing rescaling, urban peripheries struggle with the gap between the potential of new centrality and the consolidated sociopolitical marginality. The authors highlight the dilemmas of transforming subjects in the urban periphery positioned in asymmetric contexts of political power (the central city, the state, and the market). Furthermore, they set the agenda for the investigation of politically constructing cross-border planning within metropolitan areas.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Porter James J., Demeritt David, Dessai Suraje

The right stuff? informing adaptation to climate change in British Local Government

in *Global Environmental Change*, Volume 35, Special Section on The Politics of Adaptation; Edited by Siri H. Eriksen, Andrea J. Nightingale and Hallie Eakin, November , 411-422

Local government has a crucial role to play in climate change adaptation, both delivering adaptation strategies devised from above and coordinating bottom-up action. This paper draws on a unique longitudinal dataset to measure progress in adaptation by local authorities in Britain, comparing results from a national-scale survey and follow-up interviews conducted in 2003 with a second wave of research completed a decade later. Whereas a decade ago local authority staff were unable to find scientific information that they could understand and use, we find that these technical-cognitive barriers to adaptation are no longer a major problem for local authority respondents. Thanks to considerable Government investment in research and science brokerage to improve the quality and accessibility of climate information, local authorities have developed their adaptive capacity, and their staff are now engaging with the 'right' kind of information in assessing climate change risks and opportunities. However, better knowledge has not translated into tangible adaptation actions. Local authorities face substantial difficulties in implementing adaptation plans. Budget cuts and a lack of political support from central government have sapped institutional capacity and political appetite to address long-term climate vulnerabilities, as local authorities in Britain now struggle even to deliver their immediate statutory responsibilities. Local authority adaptation has progressed farthest where it has been rebranded as resiliency to extreme weather so as to fit with the focus on immediate risks to delivering statutory duties. In the current political environment, adaptation officers need information about the economic costs of weather impacts to local authority services if they are to build the business case for adaptation and gain the leverage to secure resources and institutional license to implement tangible action. Unless these institutional barriers are addressed, local government is likely to struggle to adapt to a changing climate.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Phelps Nicholas A, Tarazona Vento Amparo, Roitman Sonia

The suburban question: grassroots politics and place making in Spanish suburbs

in *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, Volume 33, Issue 3, June , 512-532



Manuel Castells spoke of the urban as a unit of collective consumption, yet much of the politics of collective consumption he documented was evident in the suburbs. The tendency for suburbs of most complexions to lack services and amenities has been and continues to be a focus of politics in Europe. In Spain, as elsewhere in Europe, a grassroots politics surrounding the making good of these deficits in basic services and amenities has broadened and formalised somewhat to become part of a competitive local representative politics concerned with shaping a sense of place. Here we consider this legacy of grassroots politics as it has played out more recently in a politics of place making in Getafe and Badalona in metropolitan Madrid and Barcelona, respectively. In conclusion, we suggest that this enduring suburban question—of making the suburban urban—places them at the centre of contemporary metropolitan governance and politics. However, it also raises further issues for study—notably, the scalar politics in which suburban place making is empowered or constrained, the role of political parties and individual politicians on the place-making process, and the point at which grassroots politics of collective consumption becomes urban entrepreneurialism.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Bianchi Davide Gianluca

Trasformismo in Italian regional assemblies: a systemic interpretation

in Journal of Modern Italian Studies , Volume 20, Issue 4 , pp. 547-566

The article studies trasformismo (party-switching) in Italian regional councils, examining Lombardy, Emilia Romagna, Tuscany, and Puglia from 1970 to 2010. Although lato sensu trasformismo – enrollment in the mixed group and party switches among the electoral lists – also has empirical relevance at regional level, stricto sensu trasformismo – the transition from the majority to the opposition, or vice versa – was quantitatively negligible. In the transition from the first to the second phase of the Italian Republic (after 1994), the regional system was reorganized according to a government model in which there is a clear distinction between the roles of the majority and the opposition, by virtue of the direct election of presidents from 1995 onwards. Thus, the thesis formulated by Giovanni Sabbatucci is confirmed: trasformismo is a pattern of government from the ‘center’ of the political space, which is a very different option from the adversarial model of democracy which has emerged in the regions over the last two decades. As a result, this also seems to confirm the neo-institutionalistic thesis expressed by Robert D. Putnam in his classic *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy* (1993), according to which ‘institutions shape politics’ and the behavior of its actors.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Almeida Cerrada Marcos

Un nuevo instrumento para el redimensionamiento de la planta municipal española: el convenio de fusión entre ayuntamientos

in Istituzioni del federalismo, n. 2 , 331 -356

No abstract available

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)



Savini Federico, Majoor Stan, Salet Willem

Urban peripheries: reflecting on politics and projects in Amsterdam, Milan, and Paris

in Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy, Volume 33, Issue 3, June , 457-474

In this paper we question the political and financial drivers of urban development in the contemporary context of multiactor and multilevel governance. We focus on the processes that drive spatial planning and large-scale development projects in the inner periphery of three metropolitan areas: Amsterdam, Paris, and Milan. Peripheral development is conceptualized as the outcome of the realignment of three major sources of urban power: the national government, the core city, and large market investors. Early research has largely demonstrated how each of these elements influences metropolitan transformations, often separately, with special focus on economic logics of development. We propose to instead empirically investigate the political drivers of the changing relationship between these three powers. Focusing on three particular projects, we show how different spatial outcomes of peripheral development spring from a particular articulation of the relationship between the three sources of power. These relationships are pinned over electoral strategies of power consolidation, political confrontation between emerging parties, and their (dis)connections with business interests.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Andrews Rhys

Vertical consolidation and financial sustainability: evidence from English local government

in Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy, Volume 33, Issue 6, December , 1518-1545

Proponents of the vertical consolidation of lower-tier units into a smaller number of single-tier local governments suggest that it improves the financial sustainability of governments by generating economies of scale and scope. However, critics suggest that such structural change is beset with disruptive and unanticipated costs that outweigh any potential efficiency savings. I investigate the validity of these contrasting arguments by analysing the expenditure and fiscal health of English county councils before and after the consolidation of the lower-tier units within several counties that took place in 2009. Levels of financial sustainability are modelled using a difference-in-difference estimator for the years 2003–2012. The results suggest that in the short run the consolidated governments have been able to realize administrative economies, but their fiscal health has weakened. These findings appear to be robust to the possibility of selection effects. Theoretical and practical implications are discussed.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Giancarlo Rolla

Alcune considerazioni in merito al fondamento costituzionale del regionalismo speciale. L'apporto del diritto comparato

in Regioni (Le), no. 2 , 333-356

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

Norbert Roulaud

Autonomie et autochtonie dans la zone Pacifique sud : approches juridique et historique

in *Revue française de droit constitutionnel*, no. 104 , 911-934

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

Masseti Emanuele, Schakel Arjan H

Between autonomy and secession. Decentralization and regionalist party ideological radicalism

in *Party Politics*, Volume 22, Number 1, January , 59-79

The literature on regionalist parties has traditionally focused on the origins of their electoral strength while their ideology remains an under-explored aspect of territorial party politics. This is surprising because for the question of whether decentralization 'accommodates' or 'empowers' regionalist pressure one needs to consider both. In this paper we single out the factors that increase the probability of adopting a radical (secessionist) as opposed to a moderate (autonomist) ideological stance, with a particular focus on the effect of decentralization. We make use of a large and original dataset, covering 11 countries, 49 regions, and 78 parties for the 1940s–2000s. Beyond the level of decentralization and decentralization reforms, we analyze the impact of two sets of factors: the first concerns regional identity and includes regional language, regional history and geographical remoteness; while the second concerns institutional/political variables which include voting systems, competition from statewide parties and from other regionalist parties, and office responsibility. We find that all variables matter for regionalist party ideology but with different effects across regional and national electoral arenas. We also find that level of decentralization and regional reform is significantly associated with radicalism, which suggests that policy success and accommodative strategies by statewide parties may lead to a polarization on the centre-periphery dimension.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Fernando Joseph, Ling Ho Hui

British and Commonwealth legacies in the framing of the Malayan constitution, 1956–1957

in *Britain and the World*, Volume 8, Issue 2: (September) - 2015 , 181-203

The drafting of a constitution is a complex consultative process. No country, including the United States and India, can claim that its constitution was entirely the original creation of its draftsmen. Framers of constitutions are inspired and influenced by a variety of sources from ancient and modern forms of government and laws. The 1957 Malayan federal constitution drafted by the Reid commission was no exception. While it is known that the drafting of the Malayan (now Malaysian) constitution was influenced by Commonwealth constitutions, the extent of this influence has remained unclear. This article reveals through a close scrutiny of the primary constitutional documents that the framing of the Malayan constitution was mainly influenced by three connected yet varied sources of constitutionalism. Their influences can be discerned at two inter-related levels. At the first level, it is clear that the underlying constitutional principles which formed the foundations of the Malayan constitution were largely based on English constitutionalism and principles of Common law. At the second and more visible level, this article reveals that the drafting of the Malayan constitution was



largely influenced by two contemporary Commonwealth constitutions which served as the main reference templates for the framing of the articles

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Jean-François Kerleo

**Concept de recentralisation et réformes territoriales en Europe et au-delà
in *Revue internationale de droit comparé*, no. 3 , 795-821**

Les réformes territoriales actuelles en Europe et au-delà semblent issues d'un même moule politique tendant à recentraliser le pouvoir local et à renforcer le contrôle de l'Etat sur les collectivités territoriales. Influencée à la fois par la concentration et la décentralisation, la recentralisation ne se comprend pas seulement comme un transfert de compétence des collectivités vers l'Etat, mais renvoie aussi à un transfert au profit de la collectivité territoriale la plus étendue (régions, Länder, etc.). Une fois conceptualisée à partir d'un double critère organique et territorial, la notion de recentralisation doit être éprouvée au regard de l'évolution structurelle des Etats, et confrontée aux principes de libre administration et de subsidiarité. Il en ressort que la recentralisation se fonde sur une volonté de simplification territoriale et une rationalisation structurelle, dans le but d'éviter le chevauchement des compétences et des organes. Elle concentre le pouvoir au niveau local, et réorganise la décentralisation en lui retirant ou en ignorant les logiques démocratiques qui la sous-tendent pour favoriser une approche principalement économique.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Benito Aláez Corral

**Constitucionalizar la secesión para armonizar la legalidad constitucional y el principio democrático en estados territorialmente descentralizados como España
in *Revista d'Estudis Autònomic i Federals*, no. 22 , 136-183**

Aquest article es proposa d'analitzar la constitucionalització d'un procediment de secessió com a via per conciliar la funcionalitat del respecte a la legalitat constitucional i al principi democràtic a l'hora de donar solució al secular debat territorial espanyol. La principal raó per a això rau en el bloqueig del debat territorial en l'Estat pluriètnic espanyol i la visió del dret a la secessió com un mecanisme que el mateix sistema jurídic pot introduir per reforçar l'eficàcia normativa de la Constitució espanyola, amenaçada pels moviments separatistes. Atès que la funció de la reforma constitucional és coadjuvar a la preservació de l'existència diferenciada de l'ordenació jurídica, donant via d'expressió jurídica a la voluntat del poder constituent originari sota la forma de poder constituent-constituït, i a la vista sobretot que en el nostre sistema legal no hi ha límits materials absoluts a la reforma de la Constitució espanyola, i en particular a la unitat nacional, es podria introduir aquest dret a la secessió a través del procediment agreujat de reforma constitucional de l'art. 168. La hipotètica clàusula constitucional de secessió, que hauria d'estar d'acord amb els principis estructurals que mantingui el sistema constitucional, tindrà per objecte canalitzar el dret a l'autodeterminació externa de les entitats territorials en les quals s'organitza l'Estat espanyol, a dia d'avui les comunitats autònomes, permetent-los, mitjançant la seva decisió unilateral, posar fi a la vigència de la Constitució en el territori que inclouen. I s'articularà a través d'un procediment amb dues fases decisòries: una d'iniciativa per majoria qualificada dels representants parlamentaris de les entitats territorials que optin a la secessió, i una altra decisòria per majoria qualificada dels electors de l'esmentada entitat territorial, separades per una fase intermèdia de negociació de dos anys en la qual l'entitat territorial



secessionista i l'Estat matriu haurien de negociar una alteració del marc constitucional com a alternativa per evitar la secessió, i els termes concrets de la secessió.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Simone F. van der Driest

Crimea's Separation from Ukraine: An Analysis of the Right to Self-Determination and (Remedial) Secession in International Law

in *Netherlands International Law Review*, vol. 62, issue 3 , 329-363

This article considers the (il)legality of Crimea's unilateral secession from Ukraine from the perspective of public international law. It examines whether the right to self-determination or an alleged right to (remedial) secession could serve as a legal basis for the separation of the Crimean Peninsula, as the Crimean authorities and the Russian Federation seem to have argued. The article explains that beyond the context of decolonization, the right to self-determination does not encompass a general right to unilateral secession and demonstrates that contemporary international law does not acknowledge a right to remedial secession. With respect to the case of Crimea, it argues that even when assuming that such a right does exist, the threshold in this regard is not met. In the absence of a legal entitlement, the article subsequently turns to the question whether Crimea's unilateral secession was prohibited under international law. It contends that while the principle of territorial integrity discourages unilateral secession, it does not actually prohibit it. Nonetheless, there are situations in which an attempt at unilateral secession is considered to be illegal in view of the circumstances. It is argued that it is precisely this exception that is relevant in the case of Crimea.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Jason Tockman

Decentralisation, socio-territoriality and the exercise of indigenous self-governance in Bolivia

in *Third World Quarterly*, Volume 37, Issue 1 , 153-171

This article analyses the 'indigenous autonomy' being constructed in two dozen Bolivian municipalities and territories, in accordance with the 2009 Constitution. It finds that Bolivia's 1994 decentralisation reforms, which created the country's system of municipalities, are central to understanding the contemporary implementation of indigenous autonomy. Some indigenous people view as favourable the representative and material gains achieved by municipalisation, which helps explain why more majority-indigenous communities have not yet chosen the new option of indigenous autonomy. However, the new legal framework also limits indigenous self-governance, because territorial delimitations of the country's municipalities are generally inconsistent with indigenous peoples' ancestral territories. The new institutions of self-governance are legally obligated to include discrete legislative, executive and administrative functions, reflecting not indigenous norms but a municipal structure of liberal design. This study illustrates the way that indigenous self-determination may encounter obstacles where indigenous territorial jurisdictions must coincide with contemporary boundaries of colonial origins, rather than with pre-colonial territories.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization



Blane D. Lewis

Decentralising to Villages in Indonesia: Money (and Other) Mistakes
in *Public Administration and Development*, Volume 35, Issue 5 , 347-359

Nearly 15 years after embarking on its large-scale decentralisation programme, Indonesia has decided to extend its efforts to the village level. Decentralising to villages is intended to improve service delivery performance at the lowest administrative tier and reduce social inequality and poverty. A number of potential difficulties with the design of Indonesia's nascent village decentralisation initiative have already become apparent. Methods used to allocate funds to villages are particularly problematic. Oddly, fund distribution procedures insist to a large extent on equal per village allocations, despite the significant heterogeneity of villages. And they ignore other sources of revenue to which villages have access. In the event, village revenues will be very inequitably distributed: villages with high levels of poverty will receive less money than they need and villages with access to significant funding from oil and gas revenues will receive more than required. Also, village service responsibilities are unclearly defined, village financial management systems are inadequately prepared to handle large increases in funding, and mechanisms to monitor and control village spending are underdeveloped. These difficulties will severely constrain the achievement of official objectives and create further challenges for reformers in their attempts to combat corruption at the subnational level.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Elliott Green

Decentralization and Development in Contemporary Uganda
in *Regional and Federal Studies*, Volume 25, Issue 5 , 491-508

There has long been an emphasis on the importance of decentralization in providing better quality public services in the developing world. In order to assess the effectiveness of decentralization I examine here the case study of Uganda, which has seen major decentralization of power over the last quarter-century. In particular the current government has introduced a five-tiered local government structure, decentralized both fiscal and political power to local governments and introduced regular local government elections. However, initial excitement about Uganda's decentralization programme has tapered off in recent years due to a number of problems outlined here. In particular, I show that decentralization in Uganda has suffered from a lack of independence from central government control, which has led to a lack of effectiveness in the provision of high quality public goods.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Tinashe Carlton Chigwata

Decentralization in Africa and the Resilience of Traditional Authorities: Evaluating Zimbabwe's Track Record
in *Regional and Federal Studies*, Volume 25, Issue 5 , 439-453

This paper looks at one of the most important endogenous factors influencing the workings of decentralization in Zimbabwe. Successive waves of formal institutional change that took place during Zimbabwe's colonial and post-colonial history have been unable to uproot the influence of traditional leaders. Due to their home-grown legitimacy, various traditional authorities continue to play an ever-present role in the lives of people in rural areas. But, as it is the case throughout most of Africa, the powers of traditional leaders have mostly been uncoded under modern law and these



power relations tend to be rather informal and culturally inaccessible to most outsiders. Consequently, the scholarly literature has not been able to systematically acknowledge their pervasive influence. The article concludes with a reflection on how the influence of traditional authorities can be translated into the democratic and progressive empowerment of rural populations in the developing world.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

West Karleen Jones

Decentralization, the Inclusion of Ethnic Citizens, and Support for Democracy in Latin America

in Latin American Research Review, Volume 50, Number 3, 2015 , 46-70

Decentralization has been considered a tool of democracy promotion because of its ability to improve citizen participation and increase equity by allocating resources to long-neglected populations. I examine these claims by focusing on decentralization's effects for indigenous and Afro-Latino individuals in fifteen Latin American countries. Using AmericasBarometer survey data provided by the Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP), I first analyze how the inclusion of ethnic citizens in local government affects attitudes that are considered crucial for democratic consolidation, such as satisfaction with democratic governance. I then assess whether decentralization has increased inclusion by examining how political, fiscal, and administrative decentralization affect ethnic individuals' participation and engagement in local government. The analyses demonstrate the limits of decentralizing reforms for democratization. I find that the inclusion of marginalized citizens is not substantially enhanced by decentralization, which is especially important given the other significant result of this study: that local inclusion increases ethnic individuals' support for democracy. The results suggest that individual reserves of social capital may be most important for enhancing local inclusion, and hence support for democracy.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Dejen Mezgebe

Decentralized Governance under Centralized Party Rule in Ethiopia: The Tigray Experience

in Regional and Federal Studies, Volume 25, Issue 5 , 473-490

In the mid-1990s Ethiopia adopted a federal constitution promising regional autonomy and the creation and strengthening of local government units below the regional level. Some observers attribute the various shortcomings of Ethiopian federalism that have emerged since then to the original institutional/constitutional design. This paper, however, argues that what is not in the constitution has come to influence the workings of decentralization more than what is codified in it. The dominant national party in power, the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF), either directly or through affiliates, controls political office at all levels of government, thereby limiting the room for local initiative and autonomy. The presence of a national dominant party limits the responsiveness and downward accountability of Wereda (district) authorities; it also undermines political competition, and by extension, good governance at the grassroots level. The paper is based on field research carried out in the Tigray regional state of Ethiopia. The conclusion is that when one party dominates the politics of the region and its institutions, extra-constitutional intra-party politics determine how things work, thereby subjugating localities' autonomy and impeding their ability to deliver on promises of decentralization.



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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Carolina de Stefano

Dissoluzione e ristrutturazione statale sullo spazio ex-sovietico

in Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo, no. 2 , 503-526

The unilateral secession of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea and its annexation to the Russian Federation in March 2014 has to be placed in the historical and institutional context that characterizes the whole Central-Eastern Europe and that stands in a line of continuity with the widespread post-soviet autonomist and secessionist phenomenon. The article firstly focuses on the main historical elements related to the birth of the State-Nation in Central and Eastern Europe. In a second part the main elements of the Socialist Soviet Federation will be described as well as the legislative and constitutional initiatives and reforms operated by the central power in the years 1988-1991 (with a brief comparison with the dissolution of the Yugoslav and Czechoslovak Federations). The final part focuses on post-Soviet de-facto States and, ultimately, on the events that led to the secession of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Razin Eran

District plans in Israel: post-mortem?

in Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy, Volume 33, Issue 5, Special issue on: Environmental Governance in South East Europe/Western Balkans, October , 1246-1264

In this paper, I qualitatively examine the rise and possible fall of statutory district plans as a major tool of regional planning in Israel. Rigid statutory regional plans are a top-down means, and the Israeli case demonstrates that their days are not necessarily over in an era of 'soft spaces' and complex governance networks. The swing of the pendulum in attitudes toward these plans is not associated with centralization-decentralization trends. Rather, it reflects power relations between two centralized coalitions of stakeholders. The one led by elected politicians favors proactive-developmental goals, aiming at state-led open-ended or non-statutory planning. The other coalition, led by central state bureaucrats, favors strict regulation. NGOs, assumed to form the core of soft horizontal governance networks, paradoxically support top-down 'hard' modes of regional planning, in the name of environmental sustainability that is not necessarily best served by bottom-up soft approaches.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Guidi Pierre

D'une à plusieurs langues légitimes : langues d'enseignements et stratégies linguistiques en Éthiopie

in Politique africaine, n. 139 , pp. 43-62

En 1994, le gouvernement éthiopien a instauré l'usage des langues locales dans l'éducation scolaire, après des décennies de domination de la langue amharique. Tandis que les élites locales sont favorables à la réforme, les paysans tendent à la rejeter car ils redoutent la déperdition de l'amharique, clé de la mobilité sociale. Cet article analyse



les perceptions distinctes de ces groupes sociaux, à partir de leur position dans la distribution du pouvoir et du capital linguistique, tout en replaçant les enjeux locaux dans la politique nationale et les discours internationaux.

From One to Several Legitimate Languages: Languages of Schooling and Language Strategies in Ethiopia
In 1994, the Ethiopian government introduced the use of local languages in schools, after several decades of dominance of the Amharic language. While local elites are in favor of the reform, peasants question it because they suffer from the loss of Amharic, the key to social mobility. This article analyzes the distinct perceptions of these social groups, based on their positions in the distribution of power and of linguistic capital, while placing local issues in the national policy and international discourses.

Plan de l'article

- Les dynamiques scolaires et l'amharique en perspective historique
 - L'imposition d'un ordre linguistique dans les régions conquises à la fin du xix^e siècle
 - L'école comme lieu de tensions pour le monopole de l'amharique (1941-1974)
 - Vers une appropriation de l'amharique sous le régime socialiste (1974-1991) ?
- La société du Wolaita divisée par l'éducation en langue locale (depuis 1994)
 - Les choix linguistiques opérés dans le Sud éthiopien et dans le Wolaita
 - Les élites pour la langue locale ?
 - Les paysans pour le retour de l'amharique ?
- Le gouvernement, les institutions internationales et leurs critiques éthiopiens

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Golemboski David

Federalism and the Catholic Principle of Subsidiarity

in **Publius: The Journal of Federalism**, vol. 45, n. 4. Fall , 526-551

With the adoption of subsidiarity as a key norm in governance structures of the European Union, the principle has gained a degree of public currency. In this article, I consider subsidiarity as it has been invoked in support of decentralization and federalist political arrangements generally. I note that prevailing conceptions of subsidiarity have tended to neglect or only superficially appreciate its foundations in Catholic social doctrine. This, I contend, is no mere genealogical oversight: the separation of subsidiarity from its theological grounding obscures important features of the normative principle. These features—principally assumptions regarding social ontology and the normative function of civil associations—ultimately render the Catholic principle of subsidiarity incompatible with some of the prescriptive conclusions it is regularly alleged to support.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Rudie Hulst, Wilhelm Mafuru, Deogratias Mpenzi



Fifteen Years After Decentralization by Devolution: Political-administrative Relations in Tanzanian Local Government

in *Public Administration and Development*, Volume 35, Issue 5 , 360-371

One of the professed goals of the 1998 Tanzanian Local Government Reform Program, entailing substantial decentralization, was to provide for a democratic administrative set up in local government. Elected local councils were invested with responsibilities for a wide range of policy sectors and services; the local administrative staff, formerly recruited and instructed by central government, would be appointed by and accountable to the local councils. A well-functioning local politico-administrative system was considered paramount to improve service delivery and ensure control of decision making by the local community. This article reports on research into the relations between councilors and administrators in two Tanzanian municipalities. Overall, these relations were found to be tense and full of discordance, caused by clashing role perceptions and mutual distrust. The research suggests that the main factor underlying the behavior and attitudes of councilors and administrators is the very system of public administration, which — despite the ambitions expressed in the Local Government Reform Program — remains very centralistic in character.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Pablo José Castillo Ortiz

Framing the Court: Political Reactions to the Ruling on the Declaration of Sovereignty of the Catalan Parliament
in *Hague Journal on the Rule of Law*, vol. 7, issue 1 , 27-47

This article analyses the reactions by political actors to the ruling of the Spanish Constitutional Court on the Declaration of Sovereignty of the Catalan parliament. It is suggested that political framings of the ruling can be classified into the legalist, attitudinal and institutional academic models of judicial behaviour. As will be shown, these models have a normative dimension, with implications for the ideal of the rule of law. These implications are skilfully captured and exploited by political actors as part of a wider battle for the framing of the ruling. The rule of law thus becomes politicised as a result of the tension around the judicialisation of the so-called Catalan 'sovereignist process'.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Franck Laffaille

Identité(s) et autonomie(s) des entités infra-étatiques. A propos de la Région de Sardaigne (en passant par l'Ecosse)

in *Revue internationale de droit comparé*, no. 3 , 769-778

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

Nicolas Dupont

Il federalismo belga al bivio

in *Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo*, no. 2 , 381-404



Belgian federal characteristics are connected to Belgian history. Belgium's federalism, in fact, tells the history of a difficult coexistence between the Flemish and the Walloons. So, we can speculate that there exists a federalism "à la belge", that in recent time has been pressed by a strong dynamic centrifuge power. The last years have seen an escalation of independent Flemish claims, connected to the consolidation of the electoral vote obtained by the nationalist party. Paradoxically, nevertheless the root of the independent position has not led to the secessionist hypothesis. Rather to imagine a conversion of Belgium to a confederal system "sui generis".

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Jan Erk

Iron Houses in the Tropical Heat: Decentralization Reforms in Africa and their Consequences
in *Regional and Federal Studies*, Volume 25, Issue 5 , 409-420

Decentralization reforms introduced to Africa have not always delivered the intended outcomes. Through interaction with the broader historical, political, social and economic context, reforms seem to have engendered political consequences beyond decentralization itself. Most of the literature on decentralization and development emphasizes questions of institutional design and policy, but here we expand the focus of analysis and incorporate the harder-to-pin-down political patterns marking the workings of decentralization in Africa. Through the case-studies of Ghana, Senegal, Zimbabwe, Namibia, Ethiopia and Uganda we seek to connect the debates on development with the scholarly literatures on comparative federalism, comparative decentralization and local democracy. The conclusion that emerges is that no magic formula which can turn countries into peaceful, stable and prosperous democracies overnight exists. And, importing formal institutions without regard to the local historical, political, social and economic context risks leaving us with elegant but dysfunctional iron houses in the tropical heat.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Natividad Fernández Sola

La crisis de Ucrania como laboratorio de reajustes de poder en el siglo XXI
in *Revista Española de Derecho Internacional*, vol. 67, no. 2 , 239-243

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

Jordi Jaria i Manzano

La independència com a procés constituent. Consideracions constitucionals sobre la creació d'un estat català
in *Revista d'Estudis Autònoms i Federals*, no. 22 , 184-218

Aquest treball pretén definir el marc constitucional per a la materialització eventual de la voluntat majoritària del poble de Catalunya de constituir un estat propi i independent. L'estudi parteix de la rellevància que té el sistema constitucional de partida, això és, l'espanyol, així com de la impossibilitat d'adequar a aquest marc la secessió. Això és així perquè la secessió, en la mesura que suposa l'emergència i la plenitud d'un subjecte polític originari que l'estructura



constitucional existent ignora, es configura com l'exercici del poder constituent, desvinculat, per tant, del poder de reforma de la Constitució, que no és d'aplicació a aquest supòsit. Tot i això, es distingeix entre la manifestació de la voluntat constituent, que cabria dintre del marc constitucional vigent, i la seva materialització, que en restaria fora. Ara bé, el procés constituent de la comunitat emergent hauria de ser respectuós amb la comunitat política preexistent, en un marc supraconstitucional d'entesa entre tots dos actors, basat en el respecte al principi democràtic i l'estat de dret en sentit substancial.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Alcaraz Hubert

La organización territorial francesa en 2015: ¿hacia una redefinición territorial?

in **Cuadernos Manuel Giménez Abad**, n. 10, diciembre , 22-35

The territorial distribution of political power in France is simple and clear: the central government concentrates the political power and local authorities, departments, as well as regions have no political power. Nevertheless, in recent years there have been approved several reforms which affected the territorial organization of the country. In this text, the author analyses the current debate related to a more decentralized organization of the French Republic.

Full text available online at

http://www.fundacionmgimenezabad.es/images/Documentos/Cuadernos/cuadernos10_diciembre_2015.pdf

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Pamela Martino

La questione indipendentista scozzese: le nuove frontiere della Britishness

in **Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo**, no. 2 , 405-428

On 5 May 2011, at the election for the Holyrood Parliament, the Scottish National Party won 69 of the 129 seats. This success gave the SNP government a mandate to hold a referendum, long promised, allowing Scotland to secede from the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. Holyrood chose 18 September 2014 for the referendum when, with an astonishing 85% of the registered voters taking part, 44.7% favoured seceding from the Union, 55.3% remained loyal. This article discusses the constitutional significance of the referendum and its legal and political consequences.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Cecchetti Marcello

Le 'facce nascoste' della riforma costituzionale del regionalismo

in **Federalismi**, Anno XIII - Nr 23



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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Emilio Rodríguez

Le début de la fin ? Retour sur les élections andalouses du 22 mars 2015

in *Pôle Sud*, 2015/2 (n° 43)

Fin du bipartisme ? Puntition électorale du Parti Populaire (PP) après quatre ans d'austérité ? Érosion du PSOE (Parti Socialiste Ouvrier Espagnol) après 35 ans au pouvoir ? Émergence des nouveaux partis ? Hausse de l'abstention ? Malgré leur caractère régional, les élections andalouses du 22 mars 2015 revêtaient une importance capitale.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Joan Ridao i Martín

Le « droit à décider » et le cas de la Catalogne

in *Revue belge de Droit constitutionnel*, no. 1, 179-200

Le 25 mars 2014, le Tribunal constitutionnel espagnol a accepté partiellement le recours du Gouvernement espagnol contre la Résolution 5/X du Parlement de la Catalogne par laquelle a été approuvée la Déclaration de souveraineté et du droit à décider du peuple de la Catalogne. Dans le même temps, le Tribunal a reconnu aux citoyens de la Catalogne un droit constitutionnel à décider. Les juges constitutionnels ont considéré que les dispositions relatives à ce droit pouvaient être interprétées comme permettant à une aspiration politique de se matérialiser dans un processus respectueux de la légalité constitutionnelle, et spécialement les principes de « légitimité démocratique », de « pluralisme » et de « légalité ». Le Tribunal se réfère, malgré les différences entre les deux cas, à la doctrine de la Cour suprême du Canada sur la sécession du Québec.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Begg Chloe, Walker Gordon, Kuhlicke Christian

Localism and flood risk management in England: the creation of new inequalities?

in *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, Volume 33, Issue 4, August, 685-702

There has been a noticeable shift in the way in which flood risks are managed in England. This is being driven in part by European developments but also by changes in governance across diverse domains of public policy. A key characteristic is a move to transfer responsibility for the management of flood risk away from the central government and towards the local level. This paper aims to describe and evaluate the potential implications of this shift by focusing on three connected policy areas: flood defence, spatial planning, and emergency management. We draw on an analysis of policy documentation and expert interviews to map out current changes in governance. We then outline a number of potential scenarios for how these changes may play out in the future, emphasising that differences in resource availability and local motivation could result in new patterns of vulnerability and inequality.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization



Faure Bertrand

L'épisode constitutionnel de la réforme des collectivités territoriales (2014‑2015)

in *Revue du droit public et de la science politique en France et à l'étranger*, n. 5 , 1173-1186

No abstract available

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Paul Smoke

Managing Public Sector Decentralization in Developing Countries: Moving Beyond Conventional Recipes in Public Administration and Development, Volume 35, Issue 4 , 250-262

Decentralization has become a nearly universal feature of public sector reform in developing countries, but it has unevenly met the often considerable and diverse expectations placed on it. This paper contends that the popular reform has been framed and assessed in standardized—yet disjointed and incomplete—ways that do not offer a suitably robust basis for its effective application. Decentralization is a complex process that is pursued in variable environments, and superficial commonalities that suggest routine remedies are often overwhelmed by great heterogeneity in how it is perceived and unfolds in context. The drivers of diversity—the country setting, national and local political and bureaucratic dynamics, available resources and capacities, and in some cases the role of aid agencies, among others—shape what is intended and what is feasible relative to normative goals. Deeper attention to these factors can inform possibilities for more appropriate design and implementation. This paper discusses basic elements of the persistent decentralization challenge and outlines a preliminary approach to broaden contextual analysis and to define pragmatic ways to tap its potential more productively.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Yang Anastasia L., Rounsevell Mark D. A., Haggett Claire

Multilevel Governance, Decentralization and Environmental Prioritization: How is it working in rural development policy in Scotland?

in *European Environment/Environmental Policy and Governance*, Volume 25, Issue 6, November/December , 399-411

Adopting a 'multilevel' governance system and environmental prioritization for the Rural Development Policy (RDP) in Europe are key actions recommended by the European Commission. Member States can decide how and to what extent these actions are incorporated into their RDP design. Through 61 semi-structured in-depth interviews with institutional stakeholders, this study assesses the application of these recommendations in RDP in Scotland. The findings indicate that many barriers to effective implementation and environmental prioritization exist due to rigid centralized policy controls. A lack of regionalized autonomy has hindered the ability of regional actors to effectively prioritize local needs. For future policy design, a successful multilevel governance system will require a clearer link between central regulatory requirements and how these link to practical policy implementation. In addition, recognizing an emphasis on 'policy process' there will be trade-offs in effectiveness by outweighing consideration of actual policy outcomes.



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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Veenendaal Wouter P.

Origins and Persistence of Federalism and Decentralization in Microstates

in **Publius: The Journal of Federalism**, vol. 45, n. 4. Fall , 580-604

Like their larger counterparts, even the smallest states in the world have delegated powers and competences to subnational units. The present article aims to examine why these microstates, which are themselves smaller than the average municipalities of larger states, apparently recognized a need for political decentralization, and why their decentralized jurisdictions have remained in place. Building on the literature on the origins and persistence of federalism, the analysis reveals that the choice for decentralization in European microstates was made largely according to patterns suggested by the general literature, whereas insular identities and colonial legacies provide the strongest explanations for the origins of federalism in the African, Caribbean, and Pacific cases. On the basis of two case studies of St. Kitts and Nevis in the Caribbean and Palau in Oceania, it is found that the persistence of federalism can be explained by means of both historical-institutional and rationalist arguments.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Thomas Olivier

Peut-on justifier la suppression des départements français ? Une revue de la littérature

in **Revue française d'administration publique**, 2015/2 (N° 154) , 505 - 522

The aim of this contribution is to review the main arguments justifying an eventual suppression of departments as local collectivities. The paper first critically analyses the reasons in favor of maintaining the departments. It then examines the simplification procedures proposed such as the increased municipalities' autonomy, the harmonization of the departments' legal statutes and prerogatives and finally the safeguard of the financial backing for the exercise of the departments' social competencies.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Gerrit Krol

Policy Decentralization and the Endogenous Effects of State Traditions: Devolution of Water Management in Ghana and Senegal

in **Regional and Federal Studies**, Volume 25, Issue 5 , 421-438

The widely held belief that decentralization of public services would reduce the fiscal burden of deeply indebted states led a large number of developing countries throughout the 1980s and 1990s to embark on devolution and public sector reform. Among the responsibilities that have generally been devolved are the provision and support of drinking water facilities. There is, however, a substantial cross-national difference in implementation records of public service devolution. This paper argues that state-building legacies, which shaped the capacity of local governments and the opportunity structure of local governments to cooperate with indigenous communities, explain this variation. This



argument is analyzed in the context of devolution of water supply in Ghana and Senegal. The analysis shows that the weak capacity of local governments is compensated in Ghana, but not in Senegal, through co-optation of historically strong traditional authorities into local governance structures.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Slight Penny, Adams Michelle, Sherren Kate

Policy support for rural economic development based on Holling's ecological concept of panarchy
in *International Journal of Sustainable Development and World Ecology*, Volume 23, Issue 1, 1-14

Globally, rural regions are searching for innovative growth opportunities to reinvigorate their economies. This paper examines the redevelopment of rural communities through an ecological lens – based on the notion of continuous cycles of adaptive change within complex systems as first identified within Holling's concept of panarchy. Panarchy suggests that complex systems have more than a single equilibrium point and, instead, have some inherent resiliency based on the notion of multiple stable regimes. As such, panarchy provides a conceptual model that describes the ways in which complex social and ecological systems are organized and structured both spatially and temporally. By drawing parallels between the characteristics of ecological communities and rural economic systems, a novel framework is developed to assist policy-makers reflect on a rural community's position along its own adaptive change cycle and, then, implement appropriate inventions to improve system resiliency – which in this case is linked with economic resiliency through development and/or growth. Supported by empirical data emerging from both key informant interviews and content analysis of current rural development policy, this work also identifies leverage points where policy intervention may be most advantageous by specifying the timing of policy instruments on the cycle. Specifically, this framework describes four leverage points, three major and one minor, to help push or pull rural regions into an area of higher resilience.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Martín Blanco Ignacio

Reflexiones sobre Cataluña tras el 27-S
in *Cuadernos de pensamiento político*, Número 48 Octubre/Diciembre

<http://www.revistascultrales.com/articulos/103/cuadernos-de-pensamiento-politico/1858/1/reflexiones-sobre-catalu-a-tras-el-27-s.html>

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Matteo Nicolini

Regional Demarcation, Territorial Alteration, and Accommodation of Divided Societies
in *Revista de derecho politico*, no. 94, 53-84

This article examines the accommodation of divided societies through constituent units, and concentrates on "legal geography" as a principle of organization in multi- or bi-ethnic federal states. It then considers the key concepts related thereto: regional demarcation and territorial alteration. Comparative legal studies show that divided societies can be



governed through territorial demarcation and alteration. However, ethnic-based demarcation is currently under strain. Indeed, economic factors reduce the relevance of ethnic, linguistic and religious factors. The intersection of traditional and socioeconomic factors represents a challenge to ethnic-construed territorial identity, and implies a reassessment of the criteria presiding over political demarcation.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Rawlings Richard

Riders on the Storm: Wales, the Union, and Territorial Constitutional Crisis

in *Journal of Law and Society*, Volume 42, Issue 4 , 471–498

The United Kingdom continues to undergo a rapid process of constitutional change, with an ongoing redistribution of law-making and governmental powers to different parts of the Union under an expanded rubric of 'devolution'. This article illuminates a pervasive sense of territorial constitutional crisis and opportunity in the most recent period, familiarly associated with, but not confined to, Scotland. Constructive and flexible federal-type responses inside a famously uncoded constitution are championed. Wales, commonly treated as a junior partner in the United Kingdom, presents special challenges for constitutional and legal analysis and distinctive perspectives on the Union which have not received the attention they deserve. In tackling this deficiency, the article elaborates a 'new Union' concept of a looser and less hierarchical set of constitutional arrangements in which several systems of parliamentary government are grounded in popular sovereignty and cooperate for mutual benefit.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Antonello Tancredi

Secessione e diritto internazionale: un'analisi del dibattito

in *Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo*, no. 2 , 449-478

It is traditionally maintained that international law neither prohibits nor authorizes secession. This affirmation still maintains much of its validity despite recent attempts to demonstrate the emergence of a prohibition to secede hinged on the respect due to peremptory norms of international law or on the extension of the subjective scope of the principle of territorial integrity towards secessionist groups. On the other hand, the idea of the existence of a right to remedial secession does not yet correspond to positive international law. However, the fact that international law neither prohibits nor authorizes separation does not imply that secession is totally unregulated. Firstly, international law generally disfavours secession by means of a high threshold of effectiveness required in order to rebut the presumption favorable to State sovereignty, and also through the overall regime regulating secessionist conflicts. Secondly, international law, while not regulating the "substance" of phenomena of secession (which therefore remain essentially guided by the traditional criteria of effectiveness and independence), does not refrain from governing the way through statehood is achieved. Accordingly, independence is not prohibited "per se", but not all means to reach it are allowed under general international law. If these "procedural" rules are not abided by, then, all other States will be obliged not to recognize the "illegitimately born" entity. This will result in a condition of social isolation that produces a material impossibility to act and may negatively affect the consolidation of effectiveness.



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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

De Villiers Bertus

Special regional autonomy in a unitary system – preliminary observations on the case of the Bangsomoro homeland in the Philippines

in Verfassung und Recht in Übersee, Heft 2, 2015 , 205-226

ABSTRACT: The region of Bangsomoro, situated within the island Mindanao, which in turn is part of the Philippines, has been experiencing one of the longest self-determination struggles in the world. Recently, with the enactment of the Basic Law (special law to set out autonomy for Bangsomoro), a system of asymmetrical self-government was introduced for Bangsomoro. This article places the Bangsomoro arrangement in context of international experiences with asymmetrical autonomy and makes recommendations about how certain aspects of the Basic Law can be improved. The article focuses particularly on conceptual clarity about some of the terms used in the Basic Law, demarcation of boundaries of Bangsomoro, intergovernmental relations between Manila and Bangsomoro, representation of Bangsomoro in national institutions, and amendments of the Basic Law.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Stjepanović, Dejan

Territoriality and Citizenship: Membership and Sub-State Politics in Post-Yugoslav Space

in Europe-Asia Studies, vol. 67, n. 7 , 1030-1055

This article deals with the issue of sub-state citizenship in the post-Yugoslav countries and focuses on the emergence and definitions of membership. The article analyses conceptions of nationhood and territorial compositions of the states, proceeds with the analysis of sub-state entities' governance arrangements and compares conceptions of nationhood and membership in state-wide and sub-state politics. The article identifies four broad categories of sub-state politics and two diverging tendencies in the definition of membership. At one end of the spectrum, there are cases in which membership in regional politics is based on territorial, multi-ethnic and civic principles. At the other end, membership is defined in ethno-national terms.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Mar Campins Eritja

The European Union and the Secession of a Territory from a EU Member State

in Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo, no. 2 , 479-502

This paper analyses the issue of whether, from the perspective of European Union law, a breakaway territory of a EU Member State that establishes a new State must negotiate accession to the European Union like any other membership candidate or whether it can automatically gain member status in its new form, either by negotiating as if it were a "de facto" EU Member State or by using a fast-track procedure for admission.

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



Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Josep Maria Castellà Andreu

The Proposal for Catalan Secession and the Crisis of the Spanish Autonomous State

in *Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo*, no. 2 , 429-448

The essay starts with an analysis of the crisis in Spain's State of the Autonomies, which is the backdrop to the emergence of the Catalan secessionist movement. It examines the legal initiatives adopted to achieve a more rational management of the State of the Autonomies. It then studies the political decisions taken by Catalan institutions concerning the organization of a popular vote on the secession of Catalonia and the responses of the Spanish government, including a series of appeals made to the Constitutional Court.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Patrick Dumbery

The Secession Question in Quebec

in *Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo*, no. 2 , 357-380

This chapter examines legal questions related to the secession of Quebec from Canada. The paper first briefly examines Canada's basic political structure and the events which led to the 1995 referendum on independence. It then analyses the aftermath of that cornerstone vote. Specifically, this paper critically examines the "Quebec Secession Reference" before the Supreme Court of Canada and the "Clarity Act" passed by the federal parliament. We will also refer to Quebec's own response to that legislation.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Atkinson David C.

The White Australia Policy, the British Empire, and the World

in *Britain and the World*, Volume 8, Issue 2: (September) - 2015 , 204-224

This article recovers the essential imperial and international context of the Immigration Restriction Act in 1901, and argues that the foundational deliberations that produced the White Australia Policy cannot be fully understood without attention to that global perspective. Indeed, the real and potential imperial and international implications of Asian restriction dominated the parliamentary debates and influenced the policy's character and application from the outset. The debate was not about whether to implement a restrictive immigration regime, it was about how to implement that regime, a calculus suffused with a range of imperial and international considerations. This paper therefore argues that the White Australia Policy was a consciously and deliberately imperial and international act that imparted a distinctly global inflection to the Australian nation building project at its inception.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Dai Guowen

The impact of policy networks on the urbanisation around High-Speed Railway stations in China: the case of



Wuhan

in Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy, Volume 33, Issue 3, June , 533-551

In this paper I address the nationwide impulse to use new High-Speed Railway (HSR) stations to catalyse the urban extension of Chinese cities. I aim to unfold four modalities of actor relations in the process of urbanisation around the HSR stations— that is, the vertical intergovernmental relations, horizontal intergovernmental relations, government-market relations, and government-society relations. By introducing the network perspective, I demonstrate how the particular policy networks in China shape actor relations in policy games, and correspondingly impact on the outcomes of such urban policies. The new subcentre in Wuhan is taken as an in-depth case study. I identify key policy networks as the institutional settings, and analyse the role of such policy networks in the key policy games: location choice, infrastructure integration, functional diversity, and the quality of environmental and public space. Finally, as a consequence, the characteristic coordination problems that yield the policy games of urbanisation are characterised, which concern: tension between central and local competences of decision making; cross-jurisdiction separation; the overdominant role of governments and their opportunist behaviours; and, finally, lack of public participation.

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

Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization

Melo Zurita Maria de Lourdes, Cook Brian, Harms Louise, March Alan

Towards New Disaster Governance: Subsidiarity as a Critical Tool

in European Environment/Environmental Policy and Governance, Volume 25, Issue 6, November/December , 386-398

Major natural disasters are events where day-to-day governance activities are disrupted and a large range of different actors – governmental and non-governmental – are required to (re)act. Given the inherently chaotic nature of disaster events, and the diverse groups responding to their attendant impacts, clarity about how authority and responsibility are allocated across key disaster management actors is essential. This raises numerous pertinent questions: Are there areas of shared competence between different disaster management actors? Is there a need for them to act in common? Is credible cooperation feasible? Can responsibilities be allocated in a clear and effective manner? In this paper, drawing upon the subsidiarity principle, we provide a review of the academic literature using the role of different actors in disaster management in Australia as the case. The objective of the paper is to synthesise what is known and to, thereby, provoke greater conversation and research of responsibilities during disaster events in Australia and beyond. The ultimate contribution is to help understand how the roles of different disaster management actors can be better reconciled to ensure more effective and efficient outcomes.

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

Subsection 10.Processes of federalization and decentralization

Jacob Suraj

What Do We Know About Village-Level Change and Stasis in India?

in India Review, Volume 14, Issue 4 , 399-418

The study documents considerable spatial variation in change and stasis in development outcomes over the decade from 2001 to 2011 (proxied by women's literacy and child sex ratio) even across villages within the same micro-region (taluk or sub-taluk) and with similar starting points. However, neither decentralization policy / practice nor other forms of public policy has identified village-level factors that mediate the impact of policy. Although extant literature has explored



spatial variation, it has not explored such variation across different micro-regions of India, nor has it used methodologies that validate explanatory inference from spatial-longitudinal comparisons. The article notes that the degree of spatial variation in change over such a short period of time is remarkably similar across different micro-regions of the country. It also proposes a tentative methodology for identifying village pairs to produce more rigorous comparative longitudinal analysis of the drivers of development change and stasis.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Daniela Behr, Roos Haer, Daniela Kromrey

What is a Chief without Land? Impact of Land Reforms on Power Structures in Namibia
in Regional and Federal Studies, Volume 25, Issue 5 , 455-472

Land is a key element to socio-economic development, peace- and state-building in Africa. It is inherent to local identity and inextricably linked to power. In Namibia, land rights were historically administered and allocated by traditional authorities. However, with the adoption of the 2002 Communal Land Reform Act, these customary land rights were codified. Drawing on qualitative interviews conducted in Namibia with state officials, traditional authorities of the Nama and Ovambo ethnicity, workers and farmers, we show that although it was presented as a decentralization reform, the Act reintroduced the Namibian state as a central actor in land tenure. This has resulted in power struggles between the state and traditional authorities, albeit to varying intensities as some traditional authorities have historically restricted access to communal land and limited political leverage.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Laffaille Franck

État & territoire(s) en Italie. À propos d'un État régional à la recherche de son identité constitutionnelle
in Revue du droit public et de la science politique en France et à l'étranger, n. 5 , 1205-1216

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Oren Gross

Applying the Extra-Legal Measures Model to Humanitarian Interventions: A Reply to Devon Whittle
in European Journal of International Law, vol. 26, no. 3 , 699-708

In 'The Limits of Legality and the United Nations Security Council: Applying the Extra-Legal Measures Model to Chapter VII Action', Devon Whittle analogizes the United Nations Security Council's Chapter VII powers to domestic emergency powers. He then seeks to apply the extra-legal measures (ELM) model of emergency powers, which I developed some 20 years ago, to exercise by the Council of its Chapter VII powers. This brief comment seeks to expand the discussion of ELM in international affairs beyond the collective security system by exploring the application of ELM in the setting of unilateral humanitarian intervention.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Paul James A.

Bekämpft und benötigt: 70 Jahre Vereinte Nationen

in **Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik**, November, 2015 , 59-71

Sieben Jahrzehnte sind vergangen seit der Gründung der Vereinten Nationen, deren Charta am 24. Oktober 1945 in Kraft trat. Damals löste dieses Ereignis in der Öffentlichkeit große Begeisterung aus. Nach all dem Leid und den gesellschaftlichen Zusammenbrüchen im Gefolge des Zweiten Weltkriegs und der Weltwirtschaftskrise begrüßten viele die neue Institution als Hoffnungsträger, als außergewöhnliches Instrument zur Schaffung dauerhaften Friedens, wachsenden Wohlstands und einer gerechten Weltgesellschaft. Der gescheiterte Völkerbund verblasste im öffentlichen Gedächtnis. Die Vereinten Nationen sollten einen Neubeginn einläuten.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Çali Başak, Ghanea Nazila, Jones Benjamin

Big Promises, Small Gains: Domestic Effects of Human Rights Treaty Ratification in the Member States of the Gulf Cooperation Council

in **Human Rights Quarterly**, vol. 38, n. 1, february , 21-57

ABSTRACT: In recent years, the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) states have been increasingly willing to ratify United Nations human rights instruments. This article examines the underlying rationales for these ratifications and the limited range and drivers of subsequent domestic reforms post ratification. Drawing on both a quantitative analysis of engagement with the UN treaty bodies and Charter-based mechanisms in over 120 UN reports and qualitative interviews with over sixty-five government officials, members of civil society, National Human Rights Institutions, lawyers, and judges from all six states, this article argues that in the GCC states, UN human rights treaty ratification results from a desire to increase standing in the international community. Treaty ratification has limited effects driven by international socialization and cautious leadership preferences.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Langmore John, Farrall Jeremy

Can Elected Members Make a Difference in the UN Security Council? Australia's Experience in 2013–2014

in **Global Governance**, vol. 22, n. 1, january-march , 59-77

ABSTRACT: The UN Charter gives the Security Council the extraordinary function of being responsible for international peace and security. Although the Permanent Five members are disproportionately powerful, there is nevertheless scope for elected members to influence the Council's decisionmaking processes during their short two-year terms. This article uses Australia's membership in 2013 and 2014 as a case study to examine why states seek election to the Council, means through which they can strengthen their influence, how they can navigate P5 power, how successful they are in achieving their objectives, and how the effectiveness of both elected members and the Council as a whole could be



improved. Despite the substantial constraints facing elected members, those that are imaginative and industrious can nevertheless make influential contributions to achievement of the Council's purposes.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Stepherd Laura J.

Constructing civil society: Gender, power and legitimacy in United Nations peacebuilding discourse
in *European Journal of International Relations* , vol. 21, n. 4, december , 887-910

ABSTRACT: The United Nations Peacebuilding Commission was created in 2005 to have oversight of United Nations peacebuilding operations. In the foundational resolution, adopted simultaneously by the United Nations Security Council (S/RES/1645) and the United Nations General Assembly (A/RES/60/180), the Peacebuilding Commission is mandated to encourage meaningful participation in peacebuilding-related activities by civil society actors. This article investigates the construction of 'civil society' as a subject of United Nations peacebuilding discourse, drawing on both policy documents and interview data. The inclusion of civil society actors in peacebuilding-related activities is currently considered central to the success of these activities; if it is taken for granted that the meaningful participation of civil society actors ensures that United Nations programmes build better peace, and I argue that it is, then it is important to understand what is meant by 'civil society' and to comprehend the kinds of actions that are prescribed and proscribed by the meanings attached to the concept. Specifically, I map out a peacebuilding discourse that (re)produces the United Nations — as representative of 'the international community' — as the architect/legitimate knower of peacebuilding practice, and the communities working on building peace as the labourers/known objects. This has significant implications for the ways in which civil society organisations, and the forms of knowledge that these organisations represent, are encountered and engaged in peacebuilding practices; 'local' knowledge is at once valued (in the process of extraction) and yet subordinated.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Anna Hood

Ebola: A Threat to the Parameters of a Threat to the Peace?
in *Melbourne Journal of International Law*, vol. 16, issue 1 , 29-51

In September 2014 the United Nations Security Council ('Council') passed Security Council Resolution 2177, which declared that the Ebola virus ('Ebola') was a threat to the peace under art 39 of the Charter of the United Nations. The Resolution was the first time that the Council had determined that a health issue constituted a threat to the peace. This article explores how the Council came to see Ebola as a threat to the peace, what reasons it provided to justify classifying the disease as a threat and what the significance of the Resolution is. The article argues that many of the rationales provided by states to justify the classification of Ebola as a threat to the peace represented a significant extension of the scope of a threat to the peace and that it is questionable whether under these rationales any substantive limits remain within the concept. It then turns to discuss the idea that the erosion of the limits within the term 'a threat to the peace' gives rise to the possibility that the Council's approach to determining a threat to the peace is beginning to resemble the Copenhagen School's theory on securitisation and it examines how viewing the Council's art 39 activity through the lens of securitisation may open up new ideas and questions about the Council's practice.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Francesc Xavier Pons Rafols

El brote del virus del Ébola en África occidental como amenaza para la paz y la seguridad internacionales
in *Revista Espanola de Derecho Internacional*, vol. 67, no. 2 , 258-262

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Biermann Frank

Erdsystem-Governance – Ein neues Paradigma der globalen Umweltpolitik
in *Zeitschrift für Außen- und Sicherheitspolitik* , vol. 8, n. 1 , 1-8

ABSTRACT: Recent scientific findings suggest that the entire earth system operates outside the state that was common over the last 500,000 years. The central political challenge of our time thus is to bring human development in line with the exigencies of the earth system, and to create and strengthen stable social institutions that guarantee a long-term coevolution of natural and social systems. This is the challenge of what is described here as earth-system governance. This essay explores the notion of earth system governance and sketches the outline of the Earth System Governance Project.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Krige John

Euratom and the IAEA: the problem of self-inspection
in *Cold War History* , Volume 15, Issue 3 , 341-352

The IAEA was saddled with one burden at its inception, a burden that dogged it for many years afterwards. It was that Euratom, which had formally come into being in 1958, was authorised to implement its own safeguards, i.e. it was accorded the right of 'self-inspection'. The first US director of the IAEA, Sterling Cole, fought a bitter battle to have this overturned, insisting that it undermined the core mission of the Agency and that it set an impossible precedent, and would trigger demands for a 'Latinatom' etc. This paper describes the circumstances that led the State Department to grant Euratom this privilege (a policy choice that is indicative of the deep investment that both J.F. Dulles and Eisenhower made in supranationality) and discusses the steps that Cole took to overturn it, to no avail.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Freedman Rosa, Mchangama Jacob

Expanding or Diluting Human Rights?: The Proliferation of United Nations Special Procedures Mandates
in *Human Rights Quarterly*, vol. 38, n. 1, february , 164-193



ABSTRACT: The United Nations Special Procedures system was described by former UN Secretary General Kofi Annan as “the crown jewel” of the UN Human Rights Machinery. Yet, in recent years, the system has expanded rapidly, driven by states creating new mandates frequently on topics not traditionally viewed as human rights. This article explores the connection between forms of governance and the states voting for and promoting these newer mandates. We explore states’ potential motivations for expanding the system and the impact on international human rights law. This article forms an important part of discussions about Special Procedures and rights proliferation.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Knottnerus Abel S.

Extraordinary Exceptions at the International Criminal Court: The (New) Rules and Jurisprudence on Presence at Trial

in Law and Practice of International Courts and Tribunals (The), vol. 13, n. 3 , 261-285

ABSTRACT: After their election as President and Vice-President of Kenya, Uhuru Kenyatta and William Ruto asked to be excused from continuous presence during their trials at the icc. This request raised difficult questions for the Court’s Judges. First, can the accused be excused or is continuous presence a procedural requirement? Secondly, can an excusal be granted because the accused has to fulfil demanding functions as (Deputy-) Head of State or would this be a prohibited distinction on the basis of official capacity? Thirdly, under what circumstances would it be reasonable to excuse the accused? Do the daily tasks of a (Vice-) President justify an excusal? This article examines and criticizes how the Judges of the Trial Chamber(s) and subsequently of the Appeals Chamber have answered these questions. It concludes that the two Kenyan leaders have obtained extraordinary exceptions that cannot be reconciled with the relevant provisions of the Rome Statute.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Gerlach Christian

Famine responses in the world food crisis 1972–5 and the World Food Conference of 1974

in European Review of History - Revue Européenne d'Histoire, Volume 22, Issue 6 , pp. 929-939

In the early 1970s, there was scarcity in the world grain market, soaring prices and famines in several countries of Asia and Africa. The commercial grain trade was expanded at the expense of food aid. After a brief look at policies addressing the situation in terms of modernised methods of agricultural production for small producers, the article sketches how such policies also affected relief efforts, from the low availability for food aid, the provision of food that was not useful and late deliveries through efforts to tie food aid to local changes in agricultural production and settlement patterns. In part, food aid thus reinforced processes of social differentiation that had contributed to causing the famines in the first place.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Kabasakal Arat Zehra F.

Feminisms, Women's Rights, and the UN: Would Achieving Gender Equality Empower Women?



in *American Political Science Review*, vol. 109, issue 4, november , 674-689

ABSTRACT: Although all theories that oppose the subordination of women can be called feminist, beyond this common denominator, feminisms vary in terms of what they see as the cause of women's subordination, alternatives to patriarchal society, and proposed strategies to achieve the desired change. This article offers a critical examination of the interaction of feminist theories and the international human rights discourses as articulated at the UN forums and documents. It contends that although a range of feminisms that elucidate the diversity of women's experiences and complexities of oppression have been incorporated into some UN documents, the overall women's rights approach of the UN is still informed by the demands and expectations of liberal feminism. This is particularly evident in the aggregate indicators that are employed to assess the "empowerment of women." In addition to explaining why liberal feminism trumps other feminisms, the article addresses the problems with following policies that are informed by liberal feminism. Noting that the integrative approach of liberal feminism may establish gender equality without empowering the majority of women, it criticizes using aggregate indicators of empowerment for conflating sources of power with empowerment and making false assumptions.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Mani Rama

From 'dystopia' to 'Ourtopia': charting a future for global governance

in *International Affairs* , vol. 91, issue 6, november , 1237-1258

ABSTRACT: Global governance is in a state of chronic dysfunction. The 70th anniversary of the United Nations offers a timely opportunity to both analyse its disrepair and chart its future through this period of unprecedented upheaval. This article begins with a comparative analysis of two prominent endeavours to redesign global governance in order to address global challenges: the Commission on Global Governance, whose report was launched at the UN's 50th anniversary in 1995; and the Commission on Justice, Security and Governance, which launched its report for the UN's 70th anniversary in June 2015. Despite worthwhile recommendations, both reports suffer from two shortcomings common to such reform efforts. First, pragmatism overrules vision, reducing meaningful global transformation to piecemeal institutional restructuring. Second, the prevailing model of governance, based on nation states and shaped by national interests, remains unquestioned. Such endeavours neither acknowledge nor redress the unfettered pursuit of national interests— geopolitical, economic and military—that caused or failed to prevent today's dystopia of fear and want for most and security for some. The paradigm of global governance needs urgent renewal to equip it to transform this dystopia. This requires two steps. First, looking backwards at the trajectory of philosophical thought on governance and the ideal state, in order to reground global governance in 'utopian vision'. Second, looking outwards at four unfolding global trends of civics, ethics, physics and metaphysics that are reshaping reality, in order to update global governance to an 'Ourtopian' paradigm.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Wichterich Christa

Globale Frauenrechte: Der große Backlash

in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, September, 2015 , 29-30



The full text is free:

http://manager.federalism-bulletin.eu/Bollettino/index.php?PAGE=Bollettino/Bollettino2_Details&MODE=NW

1995 unterzeichneten 189 Regierungen die Agenda der 4. Weltfrauenkonferenz – und schrieben damit aus feministischer Sicht Geschichte. Von der einstigen Aufbruchstimmung ist heute allerdings nur noch wenig zu spüren, konstatiert die Soziologin Christa Wichterich.

Die Weltfrauenkonferenz in Peking vor 20 Jahren markiert eine Zäsur in der Politik der UNO. Mit großen Hoffnungen begrüßten Frauenbewegungen die damals verabschiedete Agenda...

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Dykman Klaas

How International was the Secretariat of the League of Nations?

in International History Review (The), volume 37, Issue 4 , pp. 721-744

In recent years, scholars have contested conventional narratives such as that the League of Nations was a complete 'failure' or that the United Nations was a novelty in comparison with the League. Scholars now offer more nuanced and archive-based analyses. However, while traditional research has emphasised the establishment of the first formally independent international civil service and the corresponding secretariat as one of the League's few big achievements, the subject has not substantially benefitted from these new historical studies. This article helps to shed some light on the secretariat's nature and how international the staff really was. After examining the prevailing image of the international civil service at the League, the data will be supplemented by an analysis of the archive material with regard to recruitment and selected personnel files. This article argues that the secretariat was international in a European understanding of the notion. The administration further built on an understanding of international affairs that implied a separation in European 'high politics' and non-European regional affairs.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Mayers David

Humanity in 1948: The Genocide Convention and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights

in Diplomacy & Statecraft, vol. 26, n. 3 , 446-472

ABSTRACT: By approving prohibitions on genocide and embracing the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), the United Nations in 1948 sustained a theory premised on the centrality of people—both in their collective and individual capacities—that enjoyed primacy over the claims of the sovereign state. This affirmation of human rights dovetailed with the UN's earlier endorsement of the Nuremberg principles with their emphasis on personal accountability. The melding of privileges and responsibilities gestured toward, although it did not fully encompass, that philosophical line strenuously espoused at the time by the eminent legal theorist, Hersch Lauterpacht: the state is not a sanctified end but merely the custodian of the welfare and ultimate purpose of human beings.

This analysis examines the Genocide Convention and the UDHR and brings into conversation their drafting histories, politics, and diplomacy. It traces the saga of two seminal documents and their tandem fates in Cold War America. The



collectivist project of the Genocide Convention and the individualistic emphasis of the UDHR are usefully placed in the same analytical frame, something seldom done in the literature that deals with human rights and norms-making of the late 1940s and their interaction with Cold War dilemmas. As peoples and governments pick their way through the hazards of the twenty-first century, it is exigent—for the sake of upright bearing—to stay mindful of the orientation prescribed in the Genocide Convention and the UDHR.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Scott Shirley W.

Implications of climate change for the UN Security Council: mapping the range of potential policy responses in *International Affairs*, vol. 91, issue 6, november, 1317-1333

ABSTRACT: Over the last decade there has been an evolving debate both within the United Nations and within the scholarly literature as to whether it would be feasible, appropriate and/or advantageous for the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) to consider climate change to be within its remit. Given that irreversible global warming is under way and that this will inevitably have multiple global security implications—and indeed, that the Council has to some degree already addressed the issue—such a debate has become anachronistic. What is needed at this stage is nuanced analysis of how this complex policy issue may have already impacted, and may in future impact, the function and functioning of the Council. This article first reviews key variables that need to be taken into account in moving beyond a binary discussion of whether or not the Security Council should consider climate change. It then maps four broad categories of possible UNSC response, spanning from rejection of any involvement through to the Council using its Chapter VII powers and functioning as the peak body in respect of global climate change governance. It then places developments to date within those categories and concludes by considering the prospects for an increased UNSC role in the future.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Vasiliev Sergey

International Criminal Tribunals in the Shadow of Strasbourg and Politics of Cross-fertilisation in *Nordic Journal of International Law*, vol. 84, issue 3, 371-403

ABSTRACT: This article takes a critical view on the debates around the phenomenon of jurisprudential cross-fertilisation between international criminal tribunals and human rights courts, in particular the European Court of Human Rights. Asymmetries of cross-citation and influence along this axis of cross-judicial communication can be explained by distinct judicial styles and uneven mutual relevance, rather than by any sort of hierarchy. However, the discourse surrounding the tribunal-oriented 'cross-fertilisation' has a normative pull that introduces an informal hierarchy, which is a means to ensure the tribunals' conformity with human rights law. However valid its agenda may be, this approach is legally groundless and incompatible with the terms of transjudicial communication and it underestimates the pluralist nature of international human rights, among other discontents. Ultimately, it is also ineffective in serving its main ideological purpose.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations



Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Klare Michael T.

Klima und Krieg. Der Pariser Gipfel als Friedenskonferenz

in **Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik**, Dezember, 2015, 45-50

The full text is free:

www.blaetter.de/archiv/jahrgaenge/2015/dezember/klima-und-krieg

Das Gipfeltreffen, zu dem sich Delegationen aus fast 200 Staaten Ende November in Paris versammeln, gilt als die wichtigste Klimakonferenz aller Zeiten. Offiziell firmiert es als COP21, als die 21. Konferenz der Teilnehmerstaaten der UN-Rahmenkonvention zum Klimawandel (des Vertrages von 1992 also, der eben diesen Klimawandel als Bedrohung des Planeten und des Überlebens der Menschheit kennzeichnet). Im Zentrum der Pariser Beratungen stehen Maßnahmen, die die Erderwärmung unter die Katastrophenschwelle drücken sollen. Gelingt dies nicht, so werden die Temperaturen wahrscheinlich um mehr als 2 Grad Celsius ansteigen und das Höchstmaß dessen überschreiten, was die Erde nach Auffassung der meisten Wissenschaftler noch ohne irreversible Klimaschocks mit großer Hitzeentwicklung und einem wesentlichen Anstieg der Meeresspiegel aushalten könnte...

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Laurent Trigeaud

L'influence des reconnaissances d'Etat sur la formation des engagements conventionnels

in **Revue générale de droit international publique**, vol. 119, no. 3, 571-604

L'adhésion de la Palestine aux conventions de Genève et à certaines autres conventions multilatérales, opérée au cours du mois d'avril 2014, fait rejaillir le débat sur le statut des entités dont la nature étatique est controversée, et sur leur capacité à s'engager conventionnellement. Il est certes habituel de considérer que la reconnaissance d'Etat précède toujours la relation juridique conventionnelle, ou à tout le moins que celle-ci implique celle-là. Mais les Etats n'hésitent pas, dans certains cas, à développer des relations conventionnelles avec des entités sur la nature juridique desquelles ils préfèrent ne pas s'attarder longtemps, ou au sujet desquelles ils excluent formellement toute reconnaissance. soudainement, les reconnaissances d'Etats perdent alors le privilège d'être absolument décisives. L'affaire des adhésions de la Palestine témoigne même d'une sorte d'entre-deux, les dépositaires ayant accepté les instruments d'adhésion sans s'appuyer formellement sur l'avis des parties, mais sans que leurs reconnaissances n'aient été malgré tout ignorées. Ainsi, aucune séparation entre engagement conventionnel et reconnaissance ne peut être véritablement appliquée à l'espèce, ce qui renseigne sur les rapports complexes, souvent ambigus, entre traités et reconnaissances d'Etat.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Juliette Genevaz

La Chine et les opérations de maintien de la paix de l'ONU : défendre la souveraineté

in **Politique Etrangère**, n° 4, hiver 2015

La Chine est devenue l'un des principaux contributeurs en personnel aux opérations de maintien de la paix de l'ONU, et



le premier parmi les membres permanents du Conseil de sécurité. Elle exprime ainsi sa volonté de participer à l'élaboration d'une gouvernance internationale selon ses principes, en même temps qu'elle confirme ses choix diplomatiques, en particulier en Afrique. Pékin entend également projeter vers l'extérieur une image positive de sa modernisation militaire.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Dahan Amy

La gouvernance climatique onusienne : un cadre à sauvegarder, transformer, ou faire exploser ?

in *Cité, philosophie, politique, histoire*, n° 63 , pp.161-174

Le problème du réchauffement climatique anthropique est à l'agenda mondial depuis près de vingt-cinq ans et un processus multilatéral s'est mis en place au sommet de Rio (1992) pour y répondre. L'investissement humain, financier, politique, déployé autour de cette gouvernance est immense. Pourtant, le bilan est très maigre. Les courbes d'émissions ne cessent d'augmenter. Et les concentrations de gaz...

Plan de l'article

bref historique d'un schisme de réalité
réduire le schisme, sortir des illusions
que faire du cadre onusien ?
inventer une représentation de la terre ?
en conclusion

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Joël Hubrecht

La justice pénale internationale a 70 ans : entre âge de fer et âge d'or

in *Politique Etrangère*, n° 4, hiver 2015

Nuremberg crée le principe moderne de justice pénale internationale, dans un contexte très spécifique. Les années 1990 sont celles d'une renaissance, en particulier avec l'ex-Yougoslavie et le Rwanda. C'est la convention de Rome qui constitue une percée majeure, en créant une Cour permanente. Celle-ci est critiquée, et son statut n'est pas ratifié par la majorité des membres du Conseil de sécurité. Mais à 70 ans, l'idée de justice pénale internationale est jeune, et toujours une espérance.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Jean-Arnault Dérens

Le Tribunal pénal international pour l'ex-Yougoslavie : une faillite annoncée ?

in *Politique Etrangère*, n° 4, hiver 2015



Institué pour juger les crimes commis lors des guerres des années 1990 en ex-Yougoslavie, le TPIY s'est égaré entre son objectif punitif et celui d'écrire l'histoire. Il a, en outre, largement échoué à juger des crimes commis au Kosovo à la fin de la décennie. Enfin, une succession d'acquittements est venue questionner la notion même de responsabilité retenue par le TPIY. L'échec final de ce dernier obère la réconciliation régionale au profit d'une course politique à l'intégration européenne.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Jules Guillaume

**Le droit à réparation devant la CPI : promesses et incertitudes
in *Politique Etrangère*, n° 4, hiver 2015**

L'avènement de la Cour pénale internationale a permis la pleine reconnaissance de la place de la victime dans le procès international, avec l'affirmation d'un droit à réparation pour le crime de génocide, les crimes contre l'humanité et les crimes de guerre. A l'heure des premières condamnations prononcées par la Cour, la question demeure toutefois entière de savoir non pas seulement s'il est possible de réparer l'irréparable, mais comment tenter de le faire.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Geneuss Julia

**Obstacles to Cross-fertilisation: The International Criminal Tribunals' 'Unique Context' and the Flexibility of the European Court of Human Rights' Case Law
in *Nordic Journal of International Law*, vol. 84, issue 3 , 404-427**

ABSTRACT: International criminal courts (icts) frequently refer to the European Convention on Human Rights and the jurisprudence of the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR). While this practice is often regarded as cross-fertilisation, in this paper cross-fertilisation is used in a more demanding way and refers to the "transmission of meaning from one (legal) context to another". For such a cross-fertilisation to ensue legal norms or concepts need to be translated from original to the borrowing legal system without losing its normative meaning. However, a translation from ECtHR-language into ict-language is problematic because of the specific contexts in which both courts operate. Since those obstacles primarily affect the outcome and not the method of the translation process, this paper concludes with an attempt to develop a coherent and transparent method of translating human rights into ict-language taking the frequent characterisation of ECtHR jurisprudence as "persuasive authority" as a starting point.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Brackel Benjamin von, Mihatsch Christian

**Paris 2015: Die Schicksalskonferenz
in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, Dezember, 2015 , 9-12**

The full text is free:



www.blaetter.de/archiv/jahrgaenge/2015/dezember/paris-2015-die-schicksalskonferenz

Muss die Rettung der Welt erneut verschoben werden, weil sich kurzfristig akutere Probleme dazwischenschieben? Kurz vor dem UN-Gipfel in Paris, auf dem etwa 200 Staaten ab dem 29. November einen Weltklimavertrag schmieden sollen, drängt sich dieser Verdacht regelrecht auf.

Eigentlich hätte die zweite Novemberwoche die Weichen für einen erfolgreichen Gipfel stellen sollen: zuerst mit einem Treffen der zuständigen Minister aus 60 Staaten in Paris, dann am darauf folgenden Wochenende mit dem G8-Gipfel in der Türkei. Aber während die Minister die zentralen Streitfragen offen ließen, wurden für das Treffen der Industrie- und Schwellenländer völlig neue Prioritäten gesetzt: Neben das Flüchtlingsthema schoben sich die Terroranschläge in Paris ganz nach oben auf die Agenda.

Vor sechs Jahren in Kopenhagen war es bereits ähnlich gewesen: Damals wollten die Staats- und Regierungschefs mit einem Klimaabkommen den Durchbruch im Kampf gegen die Erderwärmung schaffen. Aber der Gipfel war schlecht vorbereitet und die Staats- und Regierungschefs überfordert. Vor allem aber kam die globale Finanzkrise dazwischen: Diese lähmte die Industrieländer und ließ sie (insbesondere die USA) vor größeren Finanzausgaben zurückschrecken, während die Schwellenländer ihr bis zu zweistelliges Wachstum nicht mit Klimazusagen gefährden wollten. Das Ergebnis ist bekannt: In der finalen Verhandlungsnacht scheiterte der Gipfel auf ganzer Linie – weil sich vor allem die USA und China gegen neue Ziele verbündeten...

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Binder Martin

Paths to intervention What explains the UN's selective response to humanitarian crises?

in Journal of Peace Research, Volume 52, Number 6, November , 712-726

Over the past two decades, the United Nations Security Council has responded more strongly to some humanitarian crises than to others. This variation in Security Council action raises the important question of what factors motivate United Nations intervention. This article offers a configurational explanation of selective Security Council intervention that integrates explanatory variables from different theories of third-party intervention. These variables are tested through a comparison of 31 humanitarian crises (1991–2004) using fuzzy-set qualitative comparative analysis. The analysis shows that a large extent of human suffering and substantial previous involvement in a crisis by international institutions are the key explanatory conditions for coercive Security Council action, but only when combined with negative spillover effects to neighboring countries (path 1) or with low capabilities of the target state (path 2). These results are highly consistent and explain 85% of Security Council interventions after the end of the Cold War. The findings suggest that the Council's response to humanitarian crises is not random, but follows specific patterns that are indicated by a limited number of causal paths.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Gaibullov Khusrav, George Justin, Sandler Todd, Shimizu Hirofumi

Personnel contributions to UN and non-UN peacekeeping missions A public goods approach

in Journal of Peace Research, Volume 52, Number 6, November , 727-742

Based on spatial panel regressions for 1990–2012, this article draws publicness differences between peacekeeping



personnel contributions to UN and non-UN peacekeeping operations. The analysis shows that UN missions are much less responsive to personnel spillovers, derived from other contributors' peacekeepers, than is the case of non-UN missions. UN peacekeeping missions display either no response or free riding to these personnel spillovers, while non-UN missions indicate spillover complementarity. Moreover, a number of controls distinguish the two kinds of peacekeeping, where non-UN missions display income normality and UN missions' deployments increase with the number of concurrent peacekeeping missions. The latter suggests that some countries specialize in supplying UN peacekeepers as a money-making venture. The positive response to the population variable supports this conjecture for UN missions, because a greater population base provides the recruits for peacekeeping operations. Our spatial empirical analysis accounts for the endogeneity of peacekeeper spillovers. The article concludes with a host of robustness tests that account for the alternative classes of peacekeepers, African Union and ECOWAS missions, and other empirical variants.

Full text available on line at <http://jpr.sagepub.com/content/52/6/727.full.pdf+html>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Uzonyi Gary

Refugee flows and state contributions to post-Cold War UN peacekeeping missions

in **Journal of Peace Research**, Volume 52, Number 6, November , 743-757

Why do states participate in United Nations peacekeeping missions? Extant theory revolves around two benefits states derive from participation: the financial benefits participants receive for their contributions and the ability to further liberal norms abroad. Yet, these theories have received limited empirical support. In addition, they cannot explain where and when leaders send troops. To rectify these limitations, I focus on a more straightforward benefit states receive from limiting conflict and providing stability to war-torn regions. Namely, stabilizing conflict areas helps stem the externalities caused from ongoing conflicts, such as refugees. This explanation of participation in peacekeeping predicts who is most likely to send support (those fearing refugee inflows), the size of contribution (increasing relative to the inflows), and where they send assistance (to the specific conflict area producing the externalities). Statistical analysis of all UN peacekeeping missions since 1990 provides support for this argument and reveals that refugee flows better predict who is likely to contribute troops, and to what conflict, than the size of those contributions. While other realpolitik considerations strongly influence which states participate in UN peacekeeping, neither democracy nor state need is a statistically significant explanator of who contributes. However, state need does predict the size of contribution.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Hélène Dumas

Rwanda : comment juger un génocide ?

in **Politique Etrangère**, n° 4, hiver 2015

Face au caractère extraordinaire des massacres de 1994 au Rwanda se lève une exigence de «justice intégrale», qui met en oeuvre un processus judiciaire à plusieurs niveaux. Le TPIR applique le droit pénal international sous l'incrimination de génocide. Novateurs, les procès gacaca témoignent de la volonté de rendre une justice d'une extrême proximité, sur les lieux et avec les acteurs du drame. Et les tribunaux français jouent leur rôle en fonction du concept de «compétence universelle».



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Gfeller Aurélie Éliisa, Eisenberg Jaci

Scaling the Local: Canada's Rideau Canal and Shifting World Heritage Norms

in **Journal of World History**, Volume 26, Number 3, September , pp. 491-520

Challenges to the predominantly European conception of heritage enshrined in the 1972 World Heritage Convention arose in the early 1990s, from both the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and its member states. In 1992, the Friends of the Rideau, a Canadian nongovernmental organization in charge of the eponymous canal's heritage, launched a campaign to inscribe their site on the UNESCO World Heritage List. The Canadian government, spurred to action by the Friends' initiative, took the lead in orchestrating the diplomatic ballet necessary to validate canals as a form of World Heritage—one that challenged the predominantly European aesthetic understanding of heritage. The Friends' and Canada's interactions in favor of inscribing the Rideau demonstrate how global norms can be appropriated by local communities, and how the process can in turn influence the very same global norms. Furthermore, this case provides empirical evidence for the legitimizing function of expertise.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Jacob Katz Cogan

Stabilization and the Expanding Scope of the Security Council's Work

in **American journal of international law**, vol. 109, issue 2 , 324-339

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Müller Lars

The Force Intervention Brigade—United Nations Forces beyond the Fine Line Between Peacekeeping and Peace Enforcement

in **Journal of Conflict and Security Law**, Volume 20, Issue 3 , 359-380

As United Nations (UN) peacekeeping evolved from interposition forces to multidimensional missions, the UN adjusted its peacekeeping principles and allowed a wider use of force. As the latest adjustment, the Security Council adopted a new mandate for UN Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo creating the 'Force Intervention Brigade', described as the first contingent of troops to conduct targeted offensive operations against armed groups. However, this role of the UN as an enforcement actor within a non-international armed conflict was not prepared by an assessment of the rules applicable to UN missions. These rules provide the Force Intervention Brigade with an ambiguous double status being at the same time a specially protected peacekeeping force and a party directly engaged in hostilities. As a consequence, peacekeeping missions as a whole are put at a higher risk of failing to perform their assigned mediation between the conflict parties and of themselves becoming the target of attacks. As a preliminary policy advice, I propose a clear distinction between peacekeeping and peace enforcement troops with a view to protect



the peacekeeper's perceived legitimacy and to reconcile the status of peace enforcement troops with the law applicable to the conflicts they, in fact, became a party to

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Hammerstad Anne

The International Humanitarian Regime and its Discontents: India's Challenge

in Round Table (The): the Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs, Volume 104, Issue 4 , pp. 457-471

In recent years, concerns over whether the humanitarian regime as we know it will survive a many-pronged challenge have spurred humanitarian organisations to embark on processes of soul-searching and innovation. With a steadily increasing aid budget and its more active and vocal role in development and humanitarian politics—and in global politics more generally—India has acquired the label of 'emerging' humanitarian actor. This article, however, shows that in many ways India has been a humanitarian pioneer, and connects the norms and values of the international humanitarian regime with India's own philosophical, religious and democratic traditions. It also discusses how Indian policy-makers have critiqued the current United Nations-led international humanitarian regime and investigates how the government of an increasingly powerful and influential Commonwealth country from the South interacts with an international regime created in Europe. For many Indian policy-makers, current humanitarian practices are tainted by what they see as North American and European interventionist and highly political agendas in the South. The article concludes that while there is still a lot to be said for a global, multilateral humanitarian regime led by the United Nations, it need not be Western-biased, either in theory or in practice.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Devon Whittle

The Limits of Legality and the United Nations Security Council: Applying the Extra-Legal Measures Model to Chapter VII Action

in European Journal of International Law, vol. 26, no. 3 , 671-698

The United Nations Security Council (UNSC) is, in many ways, a unique institution. It exercises legislative, judicial and executive powers; operates with few legally binding checks and balances and has even been described as being 'unbound by law'. The Council has broad powers to maintain international peace and security, most notably under Chapter VII of the UN Charter, and its decisions are binding on UN members. At the same time, some of the Council's actions have been labelled as ultra vires and the lack of a binding, legal oversight mechanism to reign in Council action has been decried. Accepting that there is a difficulty in imposing legally binding checks and balances on the UNSC, this article argues that approaching the Council's Chapter VII powers as a form of emergency powers may help to illuminate the role that non-legal restraints can play in curbing its power. In particular, this article uses Oren Gross' 'extra-legal measures model' to conceptualize the Chapter VII regime and restraints upon it. It shows how the extra-legal measures model offers a descriptive account of UNSC action under Chapter VII and then builds on the gaps in the application of the model to the Council to highlight areas for the development of better restraints, in particular, in areas that may be missed by a traditional legal analysis.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Ahl Björn

The Rise of China and International Human Rights Law

in **Human Rights Quarterly**, vol. 37, n. 3, august , 637-661

ABSTRACT: This study focuses on the Universal Periodic Review of the United Nations Human Rights Council in order to investigate the impact of China's official human rights position on international human rights discourses. China's Review, including its National Report, the Chinese government's reactions to statements and recommendations on its domestic human rights situation, as well as its statements and recommendations on other states under review are investigated in order to find out whether China is able to project successfully its official human rights view on the international arena.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Chesterman Simon

The Secretary-General We Deserve?

in **Global Governance**, vol. 21, n. 4, october-december , 505-514

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Rosalyn Higgins

The United Nations at 70 Years: The Impact upon International Law

in **International and Comparative Law Quarterly**, vol. 65, issue 1 , 1-19

This article is about the United Nations (UN) and International Law. It is not about internal developments at the UN. It is not about new Committees or other UN structures, relations with Specialized Agencies or indeed other major international organizations. I have not taken a snapshot today, but rather seek to show how the UN has, through the 70 years of its existence, had an impact on international law.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Weiss Thomas G.

The United Nations: before, during and after 1945

in **International Affairs** , vol. 91, issue 6, november , 1221-1235

ABSTRACT: The 70th anniversary of the signing and entry into force of the United Nations Charter provides a good moment to revisit the conditions under which Allied governments decided to establish the second generation of intergovernmental organization. The wartime commitments to defeating fascism and multilateralism made the establishment of the world organization a logical outgrowth of the wartime origins and the best guarantee of peace and



prosperity. Ironically, the ideals of Immanuel Kant were found to be essential to the Hobbesian objective of state survival; multilateralism was a powerful strategy and not merely liberal window-dressing. That historical backdrop is complemented by two largely invisible variables from that time—the role of ideas and of non-state actors—which have since been driving change in the world organization. A future research agenda suggests ways to lift the UN from its current doldrums. Many of the debates and operational activities in the United Nations beginning in the 1970s reflected two topics—interdependence and the proliferation of actors—which profoundly affected what, since the 1990s, we have come to call ‘global governance’. On the positive side, these preoccupations helped us move towards a better understanding of a very complex world. On the downside, they also tend to celebrate unduly the ability of non-state actors and ignore the crucial role of intergovernmental organizations.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Krommendijk Jasper

The domestic effectiveness of international human rights monitoring in established democracies. The case of the UN human rights treaty bodies

in Review of International Organizations (The) , vol. 10, n. 4, december , 489-512

ABSTRACT: Although the reporting process under UN human rights treaties is considered one of the most important universal mechanisms to monitor the implementation of human rights, its actual domestic effects have hardly been studied. This is surprising in the light of the rather extensive work involved and resources spent on the reporting process by states and UN human rights treaty bodies. This article attempts to fill the scholarly neglect by examining the effectiveness of this process in three countries, the Netherlands, New Zealand and Finland. It also explores some more general conceptual, theoretical and methodological issues with respect to the definition and measurement of effectiveness of international (human rights) standards at the domestic level. The empirical results, which are based on extensive document analysis as well as 175 interviews, are used to test two hypotheses based on domestic and transnational mobilization as well as reputational and legitimacy-based explanations. The article especially finds support for the liberalist mobilization thesis, while only limited support is found for reputational and legitimacy-based explanations, at least in established liberal democracies.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Gallagher Adrian

The promise of pillar II: analysing international assistance under the Responsibility to Protect

in International Affairs , vol. 91, issue 6, november , 1259-1275

ABSTRACT: In the lead up to the 10th anniversary of the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) agreement, pillar II (which refers to international assistance with state consent) was heralded by the United Nations Special Advisor on R2P as the most promising aspect of the Responsibility to Protect. With so little written on pillar II, however, it is difficult to evaluate this judgement. Addressing this lacuna, this article scrutinizes the promise of pillar II to highlight two key strengths. First, the consensual support for pillar II among UN member states reveals that even those that were critical of the R2P in the aftermath of Libya in 2011 still favour the idea of international assistance. At the same time, there remain concerns over the use of force within pillar II as illustrated by events in Côte d'Ivoire in 2011. Second, the utility of pillar II lies in its potential for addressing the threat posed by non-state armed groups. This is particularly important when one considers



that in thirteen of the fourteen years since 2000, rebel groups (rather than governments) have been the primary perpetrators of one-sided mass killing against civilians. Accordingly, pillar II can be seen to hold considerable promise for tackling the threat of mass violence by non-state armed groups in the twenty-first century. However, the article also raises concerns over unintentionally legitimizing illegitimate governments through assistance. To illustrate these points it draws on the assistance provided in Mali (2013–15) and Iraq (2014–15).

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Annie Herro

The responsibility to protect, the use of force and a permanent United Nations peace service
in *International Journal of Human Rights (The)*, vol. 19, issue 8 , 1148-1162

The United Nations Emergency Peace Service (UNEPS) is a civil society-led idea to establish a permanent service that would improve United Nations peace operations and operationalise the emerging norm, the 'responsibility to protect'. The idea, however, has encountered multiple obstacles, especially in relation to its proposed capacity to use of force. This article argues that when the right conditions have been met, there may be cases where force could be applied by the proposed UNEPS. Support for a UNEPS might also be found if its deployments were conditional on UN Security Council authorisation and backed by the consent of the host country.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Janina Isabel Steinert

Too good to be true? United Nations peacebuilding and the democratization of war-torn states
in *Conflict Management and Peace Science* , 32 (5)

This article examines the effectiveness of UN peacebuilding missions in democratizing war-torn states, emphasizing those missions that include democracy promotion components in their mandates. Based on a multinomial logistic regression, we reveal that democratization is significantly more likely if a UN peacebuilding mission is deployed. Furthermore, regimes categorized as more liberal at the outset have an increased risk of revealing antidemocratization trends over the post-war period. Oil wealth impedes democratization and clear victory of one conflict party makes regime transitions more likely, yet in both directions. Descriptive statistics suggest that an increase in the mission's capacities may be conducive to democratization.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Tourinho Marcos

Towards a world police? The implications of individual UN targeted sanctions
in *International Affairs* , vol. 91, issue 6, november , 1399-1412

ABSTRACT: This article explores the normative and institutional implications of the long-term use of individual sanctions by the United Nations Security Council (UNSC). It identifies the systematic and extensive use of individual sanctions as the most fundamental qualitative change in international sanctions policy during this century. It argues that policy is



developing towards their use not only in order to address international crises and disputes of relatively limited scope and duration, but also to address enduring criminal activities, notably (but not exclusively) related to terrorism. While these sanctions remain associated with threats to international peace and security in the classic sense, they have in many cases transformed into long-term confiscations of individual assets, instead of temporary freezes. The UNSC, designed to address international crises on an exceptional basis, now engages in permanent sequestrations and is tasked with the monitoring of individual criminal activities on a massive scale. While individual sanctions have on some occasions proven effective, their systematic use by inadequate institutions complicates the Council's implementation of sanctions and undermines its legitimacy.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Arnould Valérie

Transitional justice and democracy in Uganda: between impetus and instrumentalisation in *Journal of Eastern African Studies* , Volume 9, Issue 3 , 354-374

While claims abound regarding transitional justice's importance for democracy building in transitioning countries, empirical investigations of these remain limited or have produced contradictory findings. This article seeks to contribute to these debates by investigating the relationship between transitional justice and democratic institution building in Uganda – looking in particular at the rule of law, the security forces and participation. It does so by exploring the causal mechanisms linking transitional justice to democracy, that is, the means through which transitional justice exerts its impact. Transitional justice is widely expected to impact democratic institution building through three mechanisms: (de)legitimation, reform, and empowerment. However, this article finds that in Uganda, transitional justice's impact through these is more circumscribed than has so far been assumed, and that it sometimes impacts democratic institution building negatively. The Ugandan experience furthermore suggests that in contexts of armed conflict and a hybrid regime, expectations about the extent to which transitional justice can support democratic institution building should be lowered.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Bellamy Alex J., Hunt Charles T.

Twenty-first century UN peace operations: protection, force and the changing security environment in *International Affairs* , vol. 91, issue 6, november , 1277-1298

ABSTRACT: United Nations peace operations are deployed in greater numbers to more difficult operating theatres in response to more complex conflict situations than ever before. More than 100,000 UN peacekeepers are deployed in missions mandated under Chapter VII of the UN Charter to use 'all necessary means' to protect civilians from direct harm as well as to achieve a host of other tasks such as supporting the (re)building of state institutions, facilitating humanitarian aid, and overseeing compliance with ceasefire agreements and political commitments. With increasing regularity, UN peacekeepers are instructed to complete these tasks in contexts where there is no peace to keep or where peace is fragile. To understand these changes, and the implications for UN peace operations, this article examines three key transformations: the emergence of the protection of civilians as a central mission goal (and accompanying principles of due diligence); a subtle move away from peacekeeping as an impartial overseer of peace processes towards the goal of stabilization; and a so-called 'robust turn' towards greater preparedness to use force. It



identifies the challenges posed to contemporary UN peacekeeping operations by these transformations and evaluates the UN's efforts thus far to make peacekeeping fit for purpose in the twenty-first century, noting that while significant progress has been made in areas such as policy and guidance, force sustainment and deployment, and the application of force enablers, there remains a considerable way to go.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Pace William R.

UN General Assembly Agrees to Negotiate Text on UN Security Council Reform

in Federalist Debate (The), Year XXVIII, Number 3, November 2015

These notes are a contribution of the author to an exchange of opinions which took place in the WFM Council web forum on the UN General Assembly decision to re-open negotiations on Security Council reform. We trust this intervention will stimulate a wide and in-depth discussion and written contributions to be published in next issue of *The Federalist Debate*.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Alan Boyle

UNCLOS dispute settlement and the uses and abuses of Part XV

in Revue belge de droit international, no. 1, 182-204

This paper addresses some of the questions which the growing volume of UNCLOS litigation has begun to expose. As in any system of compulsory adjudication, states will seek to use the system, to their best advantage. Does it make any difference which forum the parties choose? What should the scope of compulsory jurisdiction be? Should an UNCLOS tribunal facilitate, or even encourage, evolutionary interpretation of Part XV? Some states have been pushing to expand the exceptions to jurisdiction; others have sought to contract them. Whether these exceptions can or should remain stable - or be changed only by a consensus of all the parties - has emerged as one of the most contested contemporary issues facing UNCLOS courts and tribunals. Finally, the paper considers whether there is evidence of fragmentation in the case law from different tribunals dealing with the same legal questions. This had been one of the fears expressed about the so-called cafeteria system of dispute settlement adopted in Part XV. We are now at the point where we can begin to evaluate all these questions against a significant body of jurisprudence.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Tom Ruys

UNCLOS rules the waves

in Revue belge de droit international, no. 1, 7-14

When in 1982 States adopted the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, the success of the new Convention was anything but certain, particularly in light of the controversy over the Convention's regime for the exploration and exploitation of the deep seabed. Twenty years after the Convention's entry into force in 1994, however, it can be



concluded that the Convention has fared well, and that UNCLOS truly rules the waves. The present contribution offers a quick tour d'horizon of some of the main strengths and weaknesses of the UNCLOS regime, and the challenges ahead. It subsequently goes on to introduce the remaining contributions of the dossier spécial.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Ecker-Ehrhardt

Why do citizens want the UN to decide? Cosmopolitan ideas, particularism and global authority
in *International Political Science Review* , vol. 37, n. 1, january , 99-114

ABSTRACT: Why do citizens support or reject the idea of global authority? The article addresses this question by examining individual attitudes about UN authority in a comparative perspective. Using data from the fifth wave of the World Values Survey (2005–2007), the analysis shows that global public support for UN authority largely depends on a cosmopolitan understanding of global interdependence and moral universalism. However, the analysis of contextual variables also suggests that a “particularist” calculus of national costs and benefits explains citizens’ support for (and rejection of) UN authority to a significant extent. Most remarkably, citizens of powerful states favor UN authority much more than do those from weaker countries – a possible indication that UN authority is expected to further privilege the former to the disadvantage of the latter.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Brock Lothar

Zurück zum Völkerrecht! Friedensarchitekturen in kriegerischer Zeit
in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, Januar, 2016 , 47-58

Das Nachdenken über den Frieden ist stets eingebunden in die Erfahrung des Krieges. Heute ist es die „aus den Fugen geratene Welt“, das „globale Chaos“, es sind die mörderischen Exzesse der Gewalt in Irak und Syrien, aber auch in der Zentralafrikanischen Republik, im Südsudan oder in Nordnigeria, es ist das Elend der Flüchtlinge, die erneute militärische Konfrontation zwischen Ost und West im Gefolge des Ukraine Konflikts und es ist das Säbelrasseln Chinas im südchinesischen Meer, die unser Denken herausfordern.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Reinisch Jessica

‘Forever Temporary’: Migrants in Calais, Then and Now
in *Political Quarterly* , Volume 86, Issue 4, October–December 2015 , 515-522

Abstract

This article examines two recent refugee crises in Calais: the debate around the Sangatte refugee camp, which was resolved in 2002, and the ongoing problems in Calais, which have been escalating since autumn 2014. It asks: why are these events repeating? What, if anything, has changed between 2002 and now? It points to a number of new



developments since 2002, such as growing numbers of migrants worldwide, and a changing European political and legal landscape. But it also argues that a number of the same factors that led to the Sangatte crisis are still shaping events and responses in Calais today. They concern the persistent shortcomings of European states' immigration controls, the failures to reach Europe-wide and international agreements on migration, and the inadequacies of international bodies such as the UNHCR and the 1951 Refugee Convention which it upholds.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Van der Borgh Kim

Accession of the Russian Federation to the World Trade Organization: A New Player Joins the Trade Game in Review of Central & East European Law, vol. 40, n. 3-4 , 321–365

To date, no country has taken longer to join the World Trade Organization than the Russian Federation despite the fact that the USSR (of which the Russian Federation is the legal successor) participated in the drafting conference of the Charter to the International Trade Organization, i.e., the original source of the rules of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade and the later WTO. While the USSR never joined the ITO, Russia finally joined the WTO in 2012, eighteen years after its first application had been made. The reasons for the lengthy accession process were partially economic, as the WTO was established to remove trade impediments; however, the context also was highly politicized. The economic aspects of the WTO accession process are the concessions made to existing members. These entail removing the cover offered to domestic producers by opening up to international competition. This process also has political aspects, as domestic lobbies representing economic sectors likely to suffer from an increasingly competitive international environment seek compensation. The politicization is facilitated by a custom contra legem in WTO decision-making procedures that gives a de facto veto to existing members. Georgia used this to reassert its position on South Osetia and Abkhazia. China brought a border dispute into the process, and the US entangled the process in a broad-ranging debate linked to human rights. In joining the WTO, a dual process of domestic and international negotiations results in the final package of commitments to which an acceding member needs to agree as it joins the WTO. Part of our focus in this article will be on key economic and political obligations that the Russian Federation took upon itself by becoming a member of the WTO.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Nohyoung Park, Myung-Hyun Chung

Analysis of a New Mediation Procedure under the WTO SPS Agreement in Journal of World Trade, Vol.50, Issue 1 , 93-115

The Dispute Settlement Understanding (DSU) of the World Trade Organization (WTO) provides a basis for the Members to settle their disputes through Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR) involving good offices, conciliation, and mediation, in addition to the formal dispute settlement procedures. However, ADR has not been operational so far under the DSU. The SPS Committee recently adopted a new mediation procedure under Article 12.2 of the SPS Agreement to facilitate a mutually agreed solution by the consulting Members. The Member participation in the mediation procedure is voluntary, and the consulting Members may decide the confidentiality of the information delivered or communications created during the mediation. In addition, the mediation procedure does not constitute a legally binding agreement, and the consulting Members are free to decide the acceptability of the mediation result. The role of the Facilitator is to



encourage and facilitate exchange between the consulting Members, suggest possible ways to resolve the concerns, and issue a written factual report on the mediation. Although it is early to assess whether the new mediation procedure under the SPS Agreement is successful, its success is certainly to increase the possibility of introduction of a mediation procedure under other agreements of the WTO.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Block-Lieb Susan

Austerity, Debt Overhang, and the Design of International Standards on Sovereign, Corporate, and Consumer Debt Restructuring

in *Indiana Journal for Global Legal Studies*, vol. 22, issue 2 , 487-541

ABSTRACT: Following the Asian Financial Crisis, sovereign debt defaults prompted calls by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) for a statutory Sovereign Debt Restructuring Mechanism (SDRM). In promoting the SDRM, IMF leaders argued that countries' sovereign debt problems needed something like U.S. Chapter 11, which is to say that IMF leaders supported the SDRM proposal with reference to legal claims rather than relying on purely economic arguments about the welfare benefits of resolving debt overhang. Framing the debate in this way caught on, but by 2005 the IMF board of directors had rejected the SDRM proposal. The current Global Financial Crisis similarly has resulted in more than several sovereign borrowers' defaults and has, in turn, renewed calls for revision of the process for restructuring sovereign indebtedness. This time, however, the rhetoric has shifted away from legal metaphor. Rather than comparing sovereign borrowers to corporations in financial distress, sovereign debt has been discussed in terms reminiscent of household debt. Countries should, we are told, practice financial austerity. This paper unpacks the differences among indebtedness owed by public and private, corporate and consumer, borrowers, and the distinct implications for restructuring these different sorts of debt. It argues that modern economic literature on sovereign debt has been chasing the wrong metaphor. The puzzle of sovereign debt shifts when sovereign borrowing is viewed through the lens of consumer (not corporate) borrowing. This shift in metaphor promises more than a new rhetoric.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Clegg Liam

Contesting Sovereignty: Informal Governance and the Battle over Military Expenditure at the IMF

in *Global Governance*, vol. 22, n. 1, january-march , 117-134

ABSTRACT: There is a battle over military expenditure at the International Monetary Fund, with consistent pressure from its most powerful member for the Fund to get tough on military expenditure being pitted against lowerorder states' invocation of the organization's sovereignty-protecting rules and practices. While the formal victory of the lower-order states has been codified in the Fund's relatively weak Guidelines on Military Expenditure, on a case-by-case basis policy shifts continue to be imposed on borrowers through the application of informal influence by the US Executive Director in the IMF boardroom. By integrating insights from literature exploring the tension between formal rules and informal practices in international organizations, this case study extends the understanding offered in the international relations literature of the foundations of sovereign inequality in international politics.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Kim Anderson

Contributions of The GATT/WTO to Global Economic Welfare: Empirical Evidence

in **Journal of Economic Surveys**, Volume 30, Issue 1 , 56-92

This paper surveys estimates of the value of the GATT/WTO's contributions to global welfare through providing a forum for negotiating reductions in policy-induced distortions to trade flows, including through the process of accession by new members. After reviewing measures of the price-distorting effects of trade-related policies, it assesses estimates from global simulation models of the welfare effects of trade liberalizations prior to the WTO's Doha round, including the net benefits and transfers associated with implementing the Uruguay Round agreement on trade-related intellectual property rights, and then reviews estimates of the potential welfare effects of a Doha round agreement to cut tariffs and subsidies. Econometric estimates of past trade and related effects of the GATT/WTO are then examined, before turning to estimates of the benefits of WTO accession and of potential benefits from WTO-sponsored trade facilitation. The paper concludes that while it remains difficult to attribute reforms directly to the GATT/WTO, the overall body of evidence presented supports the economic profession's consensus that this institution has contributed substantially to global economic welfare.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Esmel Alexandra

Currency Wars: The Need for International Solutions

in **Denver Journal of international law and policy**, Vol. 43, No. 4, Summer

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Tristan Kohl, Steven Brakman, Harry Garretsen

Do Trade Agreements Stimulate International Trade Differently? Evidence from 296 Trade Agreements

in **World Economy**, Volume 39, Issue 1 , 97-131

In a seminal article, Rose (2004) found that the assumed positive impact of the WTO on international trade was questionable. This finding has been scrutinised and modified in subsequent research, using different data sets, econometric methods and separating the WTO from other forms of trade agreements. A key characteristic of the subsequent literature is the rather simplistic way in which trade agreements are treated whereby all trade agreements are lumped together. Trade agreements come, however, in many different forms and shapes. This study addresses these differences in trade agreements. Using a unique database of 296 trade agreements, we distinguish 17 trade-related policy domains and indicate whether the agreements contain legally enforceable commitments. This extensive and novel taxonomy of trade agreements enables us to allow for the possible heterogeneity of the impact of trade agreements on international trade. Using a gravity model, we find that trade agreement heterogeneity indeed matters for international trade and that countries experience significant trade increases due to comprehensive trade agreements even if not all participants are in the WTO



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Schirm Stefan A.

Domestic ideas, institutions or interests? Explaining governmental preferences towards global economic governance

in *International Political Science Review* , vol. 37, n. 1, january , 66-80

ABSTRACT: Controversies in global economic governance are strongly shaped by domestic societal forces. In some instances, however, governmental positions reflect domestic interests, while ideas influence positions in other instances. Under which conditions do ideas prevail over interests and vice versa? How do they interact with each other and with domestic institutions? I argue that governmental positions predominantly follow interests if the governance issue at stake impacts the cost–benefit calculations of specific sectors, while ideas dominate when sectoral interests are affected in a diffuse way and fundamental questions on the role of politics in steering the economy are at stake. Furthermore, governmental positions tend to be consistent with national institutions, when the global governance issue concerned refers to questions related to domestic patterns of socio-economic regulation. In enhancing the societal approach to international political economy (IPE), the article exemplifies the relevance of these arguments in case studies on the G20 and the International Monetary Fund.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Kirk Jason, Yadav Vikash

From Swagger to Self-Advocacy: India's Postgraduate "Transition" in the World Bank

in *India Review*, Volume 14, Issue 4 , 377-398

The International Development Association (IDA), the World Bank's facility for low-income countries, has granted India an unprecedented exception to its usual "graduation" policy—extending transitional support to its largest borrower, even though it has crossed the normal eligibility cutoff for IDA's soft loans (based on per capita income). Before 2012, some Indian officials had called for a "graceful graduation," believing that India did not need concessionary development assistance any longer. But with IDA graduation imminent in 2013 and facing a limit on borrowing from the Bank's other window for middle-income countries, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, India successfully appealed for continued IDA access. This article draws on official interviews and documents to show how India secured post-graduation transitional support from IDA—suggesting that while India's leaders seek to present their country as a rising power with influence in multilateral institutions, they can also be pragmatic in their status demands and quietly persuasive in their economic diplomacy.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Tsai-yu Lin

Inter-Mingling TRIPS Obligations with an FET Standard in Investor-State Arbitration: An Emerging Challenge for WTO Law?

in *Journal of World Trade*, Vol.50, Issue 1 , 71-91



The boundary and shape of evolving investment regimes are heavily influenced by investors' claims. Bringing a host state's obligations under other trade agreements as a part of the Fair and Equitable Treatment (FET) standard in investment treaties represents a new challenge. As argued here, a host state's violation of the World Trade Organization (WTO) Agreement on Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS Agreement) establishing a violation of the FET standard not only serves as a unique single issue to be decided in an investment dispute, but would also have important legal implications. That is, investor-state arbitration might function as a competing forum with the WTO for setting future trade matters, and the risk of fragmenting WTO law in various arbitral awards would be increased. Ultimately, the security and predictability of the WTO law system would be undermined and eroded in the context of investment treaties. It is suggested that WTO Members should develop more efficient rules to safeguard the integrity of WTO law from undue interferences by investors in their investment treaties.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Maarten J. Punt, Justus Wesseler

Legal But Costly: An Analysis of the EU GM Regulation in the Light of the WTO Trade Dispute Between the EU and the USA

in World Economy, Volume 39, Issue 1, 158-169

In this study, we investigate the new European Union (EU) regulations in the light of the ruling by the World Trade Organization (WTO) panel on the trade in genetically modified crops. To this end, we describe: the basic differences in approaches between the EU and the complaining parties with regard to genetically modified crops, what the main arguments were of the complaining parties as well as the defence of the EU, what the final judgement of the panel was and finally, we describe the current EU regulations. We then analyse to what extent, the arguments and conclusions of the panel still hold regarding the new EU legislation. We find that parts of the current EU legislation, that is, the safety bans as they are currently in place, are in breach of the WTO commitments. Moreover, the new approval procedures have the potential to also break these rules, although whether or not they will, depends on how the European Commission acts. Whether or not the EU will be challenged at the WTO remains an open question, as the decision to fight before the WTO may be more costly than working out new bilateral trade agreements.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

John Biggins and Colin Scott

Licensing the gatekeeper? Public pathways, social significance and the ISDA Credit Derivatives Determinations Committees

in Transnational Legal Theory, vol. 6, issue 2, 370-398

Regulatory relationships in financial markets exemplify the important and changing nature of transnational business governance interactions (TBGI) which involve reciprocal forces of influence between private and public regulators. We examine one key case of private governance in financial markets: the Credit Derivatives Determinations Committees (DCs) of the International Swaps and Derivatives Association (ISDA). We find ISDA to be a particularly resilient private regulator in an environment subject both to the significant external shock of the global financial crisis and intense pressure on governmental actors to demonstrate that they are counteracting risk. Clearly, ISDA operates as a key gatekeeper in TBGI, appearing to have a form of 'regulatory licensing' power in the DCs. This power is derived in an



immediate sense from the propagation of a web of contracts and norms established by market actors, the content of which is substantially derived from instruments such as the Master Agreement, set down by ISDA itself. Equally important, we find that this regulatory licensing capacity is ultimately backstopped by an implicit delegation from public actors, which lends additional legitimacy to the DCs.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Edwards Martin S., Senger Stephanie

Listening to Advice: Assessing the External Impact of IMF Article IV Consultations of the United States, 2010–2011

in International Studies Perspectives , vol. 16, issue 3, august , 312-326

ABSTRACT: Since 1997, the International Monetary Fund's (IMF) role in surveillance of member countries has changed dramatically. Surveillance, as mandated in Article IV of the Articles of Agreement, has moved from a private process to a public one, with documentation from the consultation freely available at the Fund's Website. But does this public process of surveillance make a difference in generating policy debates? To answer this question, we evaluate whether the Fund's Article IV review was referenced on Capitol Hill and by the White House during two consecutive reviews in the summers of 2010 and 2011. Given the debate about the debt ceiling, the summer of 2011 is a most likely case for the Fund's advice to enter into the policy process. There is little evidence that findings from these reports percolated into the public sphere, casting doubt on the effectiveness of IMF surveillance in developed countries.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Hopewell Kristen

Multilateral trade governance as social field: Global civil society and the WTO

in Review of International Political Economy , Volume 22, Issue 6, 2015 , pages 1128-1158

The 1999 Seattle protests, which brought thirty thousand people to the streets in opposition to the World Trade Organization (WTO) and set off a series of other protests against the multilateral economic institutions, helped spark significant academic interest in global civil society and its potential to act as a transformative force in global economic governance. In this article, however, I argue that many of the civil society actors that have sought to engage with and influence the WTO have been transformed in the process. They have both become more technocratic and increasingly moved toward advocating positions that accord with the neoliberal trade paradigm. I draw on Bourdieu's field theory to explain why and how this transformation has occurred. I argue that, in order to understand these changes among parts of civil society, we need to see multilateral trade governance as a social field, which civil society actors enter into as they seek to impact outcomes at the WTO. The case of the WTO challenges existing theories that conceive of global civil society as an exogenous force that acts upon the institutions of global governance, showing instead that global civil society is not in fact independent or autonomous but shaped and influenced by the institution it targets.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Espa Ilaria, Holzer Kateryna,



Negotiating an Energy Deal under TTIP: Drivers and Impediments to U.S. Shale Exports to Europe
in *Denver Journal of international law and policy*, Vol. 43, No. 4, Summer

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Nwakoby G. Chukwudi, Emenogha Aduaka Charles

Obstacles Facing International Commercial Arbitration
in *Journal of Law and Conflict Resolution*, vol. 7, n. 3, july

ABSTRACT: Arbitration is a private exercise based on the agreement of the parties and is administered by appointed ad hoc arbitral tribunal or established arbitral centre or institution. International commercial arbitration which is one of the procedures for resolution of international commercial disputes is patronized by many commercial men and women including corporate bodies and states. The essence of this paper is to inquire into the obstacles confronting this international lucrative procedure for settlement of commercial disputes between private individuals, private individuals and state, and between state and state parties. This paper will among others consider the obstacle of national courts, cost of arbitration, nationality of the arbitrators, political instability and unrest, etc.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Brolin Matilda J.

Procedural Agreements in WTO Disputes: Addressing the Sequencing Problem
in *Nordic Journal of International Law*, vol. 85, issue 1 , 65-88

ABSTRACT: To ensure compliance with the outcome of its dispute settlement procedures, the World Trade Organization (WTO) authorises the claimant Member to retaliate in case the respondent Member fails to comply within a certain period of time. However, the rules and procedures regarding retaliation and determination of compliance are ambiguous and have caused an interpretational problem called the sequencing problem. To address the problem, the parties to any dispute generally conclude bilateral ad hoc procedural agreements. However, by examining the procedural agreements concluded to date and by analysing the potential problems of these agreements, this article concludes that due to the dependence on the will of the parties and various aspects of the uncertain legal status of the agreements, the procedural agreements do not constitute a satisfactory method for addressing the sequencing problem. Alternatives should be considered and attempted promptly.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Mansbach Richard W., Pirro Ellen B.

Putting the Pieces Together: International and EU Institutions After the Economic Crisis
in *Global Governance*, vol. 22, n. 1, january-march , 99-115



ABSTRACT: This article examines the role of global financial institutions, the World Bank, and the International Monetary Fund, as well as the Group of 20 and the main European financial institution, the European Central Bank, in the aftermath of the 2008 financial crisis. The central question is whether these institutions are helping or hindering Europe's recovery. Looking at the activities of these institutions from 2008 to 2014, the article concludes that they have had little impact on the recovery itself. Instead, their focus has been on preventing further damage and eliminating the possibility of such a crisis in the future.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Sebastian Valdecantos, Gennaro Zezza

Reforming the international monetary system: a stock-flow-consistent approach

in Journal of Post Keynesian Economics, Volume 38, Issue 2 , 167-191

The emergence and persistence of large trade imbalances as well as the volatility of financial flows among countries have been attributed, at least in part, to the inadequacy of the current international monetary system after the breakdown of Bretton Woods. From a different perspective, the current eurozone crisis is also the result, in our view, of a flawed institutional setting. These problems call for reforms to mitigate or avoid the recessionary bias that is the outcome of current systems, as Keynes predicted in the discussion preceding the Bretton Woods agreements. In this paper we briefly review the evidence on international imbalances, and survey the rapidly growing literature on the subject. We introduce a set of models based on the stock-flow-consistent approach pioneered by Godley (1999) and Lavoie and Godley (2003). We discuss how to use these models to explore potential reform of the international monetary system.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Mosconi Antonio

Renminbi and De-dollarization

in Federalist Debate (The), Year XXVIII, Number 3, November 2015

Much noise was made in August on the so-called "undervaluation of the renminbi", so as to overshadow even the third European bailout of Greece, which also contains substantial innovations to reshape the relationship between austerity and growth, in favour of this latter. It is understandable that journalists, driven by sales targets, overdramatise the fact of the day. After all, Greece has been in the spotlight for too long not to have bored the readers, as it would have happened even to the poor victims of hope, that turns every day into a tragedy in our Mediterranean, if Angela Merkel, as a true stateswoman, had not determined a gear change for almost all Europe, and surely for the entire euro-zone.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Obi Cyril

Repositioning South Africa in global economic governance: a perspective from Nigeria

in South African Journal of International Affairs , vol. 22, issue 2 , 165-184



ABSTRACT: This paper adopts a Nigerian perspective to South Africa's position in global economic governance, particularly in relation to its role in the BRICS and G20. It is informed by the challenge of transforming Africa's current marginal role in global economic governance, and the kind(s) of regional partnerships that Africa's largest economies can strategically develop and use to place the continent on a higher economic pedestal globally. The paper places challenges confronting Africa in context, exploring how South Africa, by negotiating a strategic partnership with other continental economic powers outside of the BRICS, such as Nigeria, stands to leverage Africa's role and global position on a 'win-win' basis. It concludes by noting the costs and potential benefits of such a partnership, and offers some suggestions on the way forward.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Koichi Kagitania, Kozo Harimaya

Safeguards and voluntary export restraints under the World Trade Organization: The case of Japan's vegetable trade

in *Japan and the World Economy*, Volume 36, 29-41

Though the WTO agreement of safeguards prohibits VERs, WTO members can still use VERs without formal intergovernmental agreements. Our theoretical analysis shows that the fear of invoking a safeguard measure by an importing country on a good can induce a disruptive exporter of the good to enforce such a VER under certain conditions (for example, if the number of exporting country is not large). Our empirical analysis, using Japan's first safeguard actions as a case study, suggests that if producers of an exporting country capture an export market and if there is a large drop in their export price, the producers seeing a growing threat of safeguards will enforce such VERs. Our results highlight the need for amendments to the WTO Agreement on Safeguards.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Qobo Mzukisi, Dube Memory

South Africa's foreign economic strategies in a changing global system

in *South African Journal of International Affairs*, vol. 22, issue 2, 145-164

ABSTRACT: South Africa's foreign policy has evolved through various presidents, from Nelson Mandela to Jacob Zuma. One characteristic lacuna through the various administrations has been the weak linkage between foreign economic strategies and domestic economic objectives. There is a gap between what is expressed in rhetoric and the actual execution of foreign policy. Further, since the dawn of democracy there has also been a gradual shift from a foreign policy that exhibited strong normative expressions, inclined to the West, to a more pragmatic foreign policy that is aligned with the new rising powers. Yet, beyond the tilt, there seems to be a lack of clarity of ideas that inform the various decisions and activities associated with foreign policy activities. This paper takes a closer look at these changes in South Africa's foreign policy, with particular focus on foreign economic strategies as played out in the country's role in multilateral economic processes such as the World Trade Organisation, the G20 and the BRICS, which comprises Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations



Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Vinh T. H. Cao, Lisandra Flach

The Effect of GATT/WTO on Export and Import Price Volatility

in World Economy, Volume 38, Issue 12 , 2049-2079

Despite much interest and discussion concerning the trade-promoting effects of membership in multilateral trade agreements, little is known about the effect of membership on world trade prices. This paper fills this gap by studying the effects of membership on export and import price volatility. We document a surprisingly strong and robust empirical regularity: GATT/WTO membership reduces the volatility of prices over time for both import and export countries, with similar results found for free trade agreements. We show that results are not driven by sample selection or endogeneity concerns and that the effect is captured by members subject to rigorous accession procedures.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Kumar Kanungo aNIL

The Process of China's Accession to the World Trade Organization: Obstacles and Implications

in International Studies, vol. 48, n. 3/4, july-october , 305-316

ABSTRACT: The process of China's accession to the World Trade Organization (WTO) is considered to be one of the toughest challenges faced by any country. Denied the status of a developing economy because of pressure from the US, the European Union and Japan, it has had to make commitments to cut tariffs and open its markets. China has been slow in abiding by its commitment with considerations of national sovereignty and security taking precedence over the issue of allowing greater access to the Chinese market and greater trade liberalization. Thus, the country's sovereignty and security were considered more important than consumer satisfaction, development of telecommunications network, innovation and, to a large extent, its services sector.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Kasturi Das

The Protracted WTO Battle over a Multilateral GI Register: What Lies Beneath?

in Journal of World Trade, Vol.49, Issue 6 , 1073-1101

The November 2014 breakthrough on the Trade Facilitation Agreement might have gone some way in infusing a new lease of life to the WTO as an institution, the same can hardly be said for most of the other Doha Round issues that still appear to be trapped in a blind alley. The issue of the creation of a multilateral register of Geographical Indications (GIs) for wines and spirits is one such area. Despite several years of wrangling, arriving at a landing zone on this issue still appears to be a far-fetched dream, if the mood expressed by the WTO Members in the December 2014 informal meeting on the multilateral register is anything to go by! Written against this backdrop, the present article has two objectives. First, it makes an attempt to trace the historical, legal as well as economic reasons underlying the protracted debates on GIs under the WTO and beyond – which have widely been referred to as one between the 'Old World' (e.g., the EU, Switzerland) and the 'New World' (e.g., the US, Australia, Canada, Argentina, Chile, etc.). Second, the article provides a snapshot of the long-drawn WTO negotiations on the multilateral register for wines and spirits under the Doha Round.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Ciravegna Daniele

The Recent World Financial Crisis: an Ethical Approach to Reform Financial and Monetary Markets in EuroAtlantic Union Review (The), Volume 2, Number 2 , 31-72

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Lorand Bartels

The Relationship between the WTO Agreement on Agriculture and the SCM Agreement: An Analysis of Hierarchy Rules in the WTO Legal System

in Journal of World Trade, Vol.50, Issue 1 , 7-20

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Eliason Antonia

The Trade Facilitation Agreement: A New Hope for the World Trade Organization

in World Trade Review, Volume 14 - Issue 04 - ottobre 2015 , 643-670

The new WTO Trade Facilitation Agreement (TFA) is a significant step forward for the international trading regime, representing new hope for the relevance of the WTO.

The TFA is the first multilateral agreement since the creation of the WTO in 1995 and includes novel measures to help developing countries build capacity, while also taking into consideration regulatory concerns of WTO members through the application of the general GATT exceptions to the new agreement. While the TFA may appear narrow in scope, with regards to goods it is arguably the broadest WTO Agreement besides the GATT, since all goods that cross national borders find themselves subject to trade facilitation measures. If the TFA is properly interpreted, the combination of capacity-building measures, a focus on technological improvements and the judicious invocation of Article XX could result in a win-win situation wherein routine positive trade is streamlined, reducing time required to cross borders, while negative trade is more easily controlled and regulated at the border.

Despite regulatory questions concerning implementation, it is likely that the TFA will reduce the cost of trading across borders, while improving trade for developing countries and allowing WTO members to better control trade flows, through a combination of procedural streamlining and regulatory discretion.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations



Ben Czapnik

The Unique Features of the Trade Facilitation Agreement: A Revolutionary New Approach to Multilateral Negotiations or the Exception Which Proves the Rule?

in *Journal of International Economic Law*, Volume 18 Issue 4, 773-794

The Trade Facilitation Agreement (TFA) has received much attention for its unique approach to special and differential treatment, especially the ability of developing countries to self-designate their implementation periods and technical assistance needs. However, the Agreement contains other unique features which, though they have received less attention from commentators, may turn out to be more significant for multilateral rulemaking. Most notably, the self-designation and categorization of measures result in each developing country taking a Member-specific approach to its TFA commitments. While a Member-specific approach to market access commitments has been commonplace since the original GATT, rules commitments have tended to have a broad application to all Members or, where some differentiation of Members is used, to broad groups of Members based on objective criteria. In this sense, the TFA may have broken the mould for how rules commitments are negotiated. This article explores whether the TFA could open the door for Member-specific approaches to other rules areas at the WTO. With the current deadlock in multilateral trade negotiations, this aspect of the TFA may provide a template for negotiators to seek more nuanced and balanced outcomes for other rules negotiations such as anti-dumping.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Biglaiser Glen, Lee Hoon,

The effects of the IMF on expropriation of foreign firms

in *Review of International Organizations (The)*, vol. 11, n. 1, march, Staats Joseph L.

ABSTRACT: This paper seeks to explain the determinants of foreign expropriation in the developing world. We argue that the International Monetary Fund (IMF) helps to reduce the likelihood of nationalization because of the direct leverage the Fund holds over borrowers, especially as expropriation is a blatant violation of international property rights. Using expropriation data from 1961 to 2006, and several different measures for the Fund, we find that countries under IMF agreements are less likely to nationalize foreign firms. We also show that the Fund's influence is greatest when the IMF loan represents a larger share of the borrower country's gross domestic product (GDP) as well as in countries with weaker political institutions. The takeaway is that IMF continues to influence policy choices in the developing world.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Biziwick Mayamiko, Cattaneo Nicolette, Fryer David

The rationale for and potential role of the BRICS Contingent Reserve Arrangement

in *South African Journal of International Affairs*, vol. 22, issue 3, 307-324

ABSTRACT: This article examines the potential role the BRICS Contingent Reserve Arrangement (CRA) could play in stabilising countries experiencing a high degree of economic volatility. The CRA is a US\$100 billion pooled reserve fund that has its origins in the fifth BRICS Summit hosted in Durban. The CRA was set up to help emerging nations deal with liquidity shortages and to strengthen financial systems during crisis. The article examines the debate on the effect of capital market liberalisation and collates some relevant macroeconomic data on the BRICS economies in order to



explore the case for a contingent reserve facility. It is found that emerging economies that rapidly liberalised their capital accounts experienced increased economic volatility, creating an uncertain macroeconomic environment and hampering the ability of policymakers to conduct appropriate stabilisation policy. The article takes the position that the CRA could play an important role in providing liquidity to distressed emerging economies. However it concludes that the CRA facility does not signal a significant break from the Bretton Woods institutions on the part of the BRICS countries.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Qobo Mzukisi, Soko Mills

The rise of emerging powers in the global development finance architecture: The case of the BRICS and the New Development Bank

in South African Journal of International Affairs , vol. 22, issue 3 , 277-288

ABSTRACT: Although the ascent of the BRICS and the NDB represents a challenge to the Western-dominated world order, there is little evidence to suggest that the BRICS grouping has intentions to overhaul the current global order. Nevertheless, the decision by the BRICS countries to establish the NDB has not only underscored the growing institutionalisation of the BRICS grouping, it has also potentially heralded the emergence of a counterweight to the traditional international financial institutions. The BRICS grouping is poised to play a key role in reforming the global financial system and in shaping a new development agenda. However, the new regime order that will evolve will not necessarily supplant the Bretton Woods institutions. The degree to which the BRICS countries will be able to assume a global leadership role will be contingent upon their willingness and ability to address their domestic socio-economic vulnerabilities as well as their sometimes conflicting interests and values.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Justin Greenwood and Christilla Roederer-Rynning

The “Europeanization” of the Basel process: Financial harmonization between globalization and parliamentarization

in Regulation & Governance, Volume 9, Issue 4 , 325–338

Public policy initiatives aimed at the prevention of future financial crises originate with global harmonization in the form of executive standards issued by the Basel Committee on Banking Supervision. This article explores the role of the European Parliament (EP) in the process of adapting the standards in European Union legislation passed in 2013 as the Capital Requirements Regulation/Capital Requirements Directive IV. Unlike accounts casting the EP as increasingly dependent upon outside sources in order to meet its enhanced legislative role, we find it increasingly dexterous in developing and using in-house policy ideas, expertise, and not least a common sense of institutional purpose. Notable EP successes in final legislation include (but are not restricted to) a headline cap on bankers' bonuses in the face of entrenched business and national interests. The argument is developed by drawing upon a broad range of interviews together with other primary and secondary sources, tracing the contribution of the EP from the early stages of agenda-setting through to the development of an “esprit de corps” among the committee lead team which survived intact throughout the “black box” of trilogue negotiations. Besides illuminating the notoriously opaque trilogue process, the analysis also contributes to contemporary debates about whether the EP's increased legislative powers are resulting in a shift away from its traditional allegiances with diffuse interests toward a greater engagement with producer sources in



order to fulfill requirements for policy expertise.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Paolo Davide Farah, Elena Cima

WTO and Renewable Energy: Lessons from the Case Law

in *Journal of World Trade*, Vol.49, Issue 6 , 1103-1116

This contribution illustrates some unresolved issues and tensions that characterize the way the WTO deals with renewable energy subsidies. Indeed, the indisputable urgency to address the negative impacts of climate change on the one hand, and the use of subsidies to boost and support a country's renewable energy sector on the other, provide momentum to better define the legal framework offered by the World Trade Organization (WTO). It is fundamental to ascertain whether the current framework represents an adequate model to address renewable energy subsidies, or whether a more flexible interpretation of WTO Agreements toward sustainable development and the protection of the environment should be adopted instead. In view of that, this paper carefully investigates the evolution of the WTO subsidies disciplines, focusing in particular on the approach of the WTO towards renewable energy subsidies. This article is divided in three sections. The first one offers an overview of WTO disputes involving subsidies in the renewable energy sector, the second one focuses on the recent decisions in the Canada – Renewable Energy and Canada – Feed-in Tariff Program disputes and on some important issues they raise, while in the last one we draw our conclusions.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Jaime Tijmes

Who Wants What? – Final Offer Arbitration in the World Trade Organization

in *European Journal of International Law*, vol. 26, no. 3 , 587-606

The World Trade Organization's (WTO) Dispute Settlement Understanding (DSU) favours negotiated settlements for disputes. However, arbitrations according to Article 22.6 of the DSU have been carried out as compulsory conventional arbitrations, even though such arbitrations do not offer strong incentives for the parties to reach a settlement. For quite some time, scholars have studied other forms of arbitration that may encourage settlements more strongly, such as final offer arbitration. Yet this form of arbitration has received rather limited attention in the academic discussion about dispute settlement under the WTO. This article explores to what extent final offer arbitration might make sense for settling WTO disputes and concludes that it would be suitable for arbitrations pursuant to Article 22.6 of the DSU, specifically for setting the level of suspension of obligations and, under certain circumstances, for deciding on so-called cross-retaliation pursuant to Article 22.3 of the DSU. Before negotiations start, parties to a dispute should agree on final offer arbitration if arbitration should be deemed necessary. Such an agreement might be expressed in a pre-emptive joint proposal on procedural aspects. Amendment of the DSU would then be unnecessary.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Allee Todd, Elsig Manfred



Why do some international institutions contain strong dispute settlement provisions? New evidence from preferential trade agreements

in Review of International Organizations (The) , vol. 11, n. 1, march , 89-120

ABSTRACT: To understand why some international institutions have stronger dispute settlement mechanisms (DSMs) than others, we investigate the dispute settlement provisions of nearly 600 preferential trade agreements (PTAs), which possess several desirable case-selection features and are evoked more than is realized. We broaden the study of dispute settlement design beyond “legalization” and instead reorient theorizing around a multi-faceted conceptualization of the strength of DSMs. We posit that strong DSMs are first and foremost a rational response to features of agreements that require stronger dispute settlement, such as depth and large memberships. Multivariate empirical tests using a new data set on PTA design confirm these expectations and reveal that depth – the amount of policy change specified in an agreement – is the most powerful and consistent predictor of DSM strength, providing empirical support to a long-positied but controversial conjecture. Yet power also plays a sizeable role, since agreements among asymmetric members are more likely to have strong DSMs due to their mutual appeal, as are those involving the United States. Important regional differences also emerge, as PTAs across the Americas are designed with strong dispute settlement, as are Asian PTAs, which contradicts the conventional wisdom about Asian values and legalization. Our findings demonstrate that rationalism explains much of international institutional design, yet it can be enhanced by also incorporating power-based and regional explanations.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Galen Carpenter Ted

NATO’s Worrisome Authoritarian Storm Clouds

in Mediterranean Quarterly, Volume 26, Number 4, December , pp. 37-48

Western leaders portray the North Atlantic Treaty Organization as a league of democratic nations as well as a security alliance. Although the organization tolerated illiberal members during the Cold War, it would be more than a little embarrassing to have an outright autocracy emerge in NATO’s ranks today. Yet worrisome manifestations of authoritarianism and intolerance have surfaced in several members. Two NATO countries, Hungary and Turkey, have engaged in repeated autocratic behavior reminiscent of Vladimir Putin’s regime in Russia. Such developments provide yet another reason why US policymakers should reconsider America’s continuing role as NATO’s leader.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Roy Nabarun

Assuaging Cold War Anxieties: India and the Failure of SEATO

in Diplomacy & Statecraft, vol. 26, n. 2 , 322-340

ABSTRACT: This analysis examines how Indian diplomacy enabled Burma and Ceylon to turn down requests by the West to join the Southeast Asian Treaty Organisation [SEATO]. It shows how this diplomacy allowed elements in Burma and Ceylon that favoured a non-aligned approach to hold their own in the face of calls to join SEATO. Contrary to the depiction of Indian diplomacy as being simply idealistic and given to pious invocations, this article shows how India used different resources to strengthen the non-aligned constituency in the region. It also shows that whilst many de-colonised



states favoured non-alignment, threats to their security led some to align with the Great Powers. Whilst Burma and Ceylon did perceive a clear threat from communism, the example set by India in its own foreign policy, its aid policies, and its relationship with China helped them reduce their fear of communism and stay committed to non-alignment.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Baratta Joseph Preston

Is the Iran Deal a Post-Westphalian Act?

in Federalist Debate (The), Year XXVIII, Number 3, November 2015

The Iran deal — technically an executive agreement between the United States of America, Britain, France, Germany, Russia, China, and Iran to contain Iran's potential to develop nuclear weapons — has now met the test of opposition in the U.S. Senate.

The agreement was not a treaty requiring, under the U.S. Constitution, a two-thirds majority vote in the Senate for ratification, but President Obama found it prudent to invite Senate debate on so "historic" a step in diplomacy. The Republicans might have passed a resolution to reject it by simple majority, but the president promised a veto, which meant, to override, a two-thirds majority would be needed. In the end he found 42 Democrats to support the agreement, so that, under evolving Senate rules, the Republicans did not have the 60 votes necessary to break a Democratic filibuster to stop any resolution.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Procacci Stefano

La sicurezza e le relazioni internazionali, tra teoria e storia del concetto. Riflessioni sul bilancio di un'avventura critica

in Filosofia Politica, numero 3, dicembre 2015 , 475-492

In the 20th century, security has been conceived by International Relations as a form of political rationality that the international system adopted so as to build a positive order outside the space of sovereignty, thus granting the pluralistic character of that order and the possibility for projects of political emancipation inside it. The transformations of the contemporary system allowed a greater consciousness of security as an operative political mark, but they make it ineffective as a regulatory principle of the world politics.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Charron Andrea, Portela Clara

The UN, regional sanctions and Africa

in International Affairs , vol. 91, issue 6, november , 1369-1385

ABSTRACT: Sanctions are frequently applied by the UN Security Council (UNSC) as well as regional organizations.



While the objectives sought often vary, a frequent commonality is that they target African states. Indeed, Africa is the most frequently targeted continent by the UNSC and regional organisations including the African Union, Economic Community of West African States and the European Union. However, little attention has been paid to the confluence of this sanctions activity by these different organizations. This article seeks to address this gap in the research. While the UNSC continues to focus on sanctioning to end hostilities, the regional organizations have assigned themselves unconstitutional changes to government as the principal reason to sanction African states. Drawing on data from the Targeted Sanctions Consortium (TSC), this article suggests that: 1) regional organisations are leading UNSC activity more often than is appreciated in the literature; 2) the UNSC has of late been expanding its sanctioning activity to consider issues of democracy and good governance; 3) the UNSC uses sanctions to endorse the activity of African regional organizations to deal with crises on the continent; and 4) UNSC and regional sanctions are intimately tied to crisis management in Africa.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Ostermann Falk

The end of ambivalence and the triumph of pragmatism? Franco-British defence cooperation and European and Atlantic defence policy traditions

in *International Relations*, vol. 29, n. 3, september , 334-347

ABSTRACT: This article investigates the Franco-British rapprochement in security and defence cooperation under Nicolas Sarkozy, Gordon Brown and David Cameron from 2008 to 2012. While in the past British Atlanticism and the French Europeanist tradition had stood in the way of close bilateral cooperation, the conclusion of several treaties of defence cooperation in this period delivered closer ties. By adopting an interpretivist perspective on events, this article argues that the rapprochement can be explained with reference principally to changes in the French tradition, which took it closer to the British Atlanticist tradition. Drawing on parliamentary and executive statements, the article traces the influence of, and changes in, the balance between Europeanism and Atlanticism in the defence policy traditions in the two countries. The article argues that the dilemmas that compelled a revision of the traditions particularly in France arose from a series of new beliefs at elite level about sovereignty over defence policy, national role conceptions and the recognition of dire budgetary constraints. In this context, Franco-British rapprochement served both countries' national interests.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Wolff Andrew T.

The future of NATO enlargement after the Ukraine crisis

in *International Affairs* , vol. 91, issue 5, september , 1103-1121

ABSTRACT: Russian President Vladimir Putin claims that his country's annexation of Crimea in March 2014 was partly in response to NATO enlargement. NATO leaders counter that eastern enlargement is not a cause of the Ukraine crisis, and they argue that enlargement does not threaten Russia, but rather it creates stability for all of Europe. This article examines the history of NATO–Russian tensions over enlargement, considers how NATO's enlargement policy factored into the Ukraine crisis, and reviews options for the future of enlargement. Drawing on diplomatic history and geopolitical theory, the article explains Russia's persistent hostility towards NATO's policy of eastward expansion and highlights



NATO's failure to convert Russia to its liberal world-view. The alliance's norm-driven enlargement policy has hindered the creation of an enduring NATO–Russia cooperative relationship and helped fuel the outbreak of conflict in Georgia and Ukraine. In light of this, NATO should alter its current enlargement policy by infusing it with geopolitical rationales. This means downgrading the transformative and democratization elements of enlargement and, instead, focusing on how candidate countries add to NATO capabilities and impact overall alliance security. A geopolitically-driven enlargement policy would prioritize countries in the Balkan and Scandinavian regions for membership and openly exclude Georgia and Ukraine from membership. Ultimately, this policy would have the effect of strengthening NATO while giving it more flexibility in dealing with Russia.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Nordenman Magnus

Whither the Transatlantic Community?

in *Mediterranean Quarterly*, Volume 26, Number 4, December , pp. 1-12

The southern Mediterranean rim forms part of what the former Swedish foreign minister Carl Bildt called in a recent speech in Washington, DC, the “ring of fire” around Europe. Coupled with continued sluggish growth across Europe, the ongoing Greek crisis, and the rise of populist parties in many European countries, the European neighborhood faces a long litany of challenges, and the outcomes will define and determine the future of Europe and regions beyond. The broader Mediterranean region plays an integral role in this drama. While the economic and political problems of Europe have been simmering for more than five years, the security challenges have arguably emerged more suddenly and quickly.

European security and stability have been disrupted in recent years by the twin challenges of a crumbling Middle East order and a newly assertive Russia that is willing and able to use force to keep nations out of the orbit of the European Union and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and also to test the credibility of NATO in Europe's north and southeast. Quite arguably, European security is at its worst since the Cold War, notwithstanding the turbulence and sometimes violence that was generated in the early 1990s due to the breakup of the Soviet Union and the wars in the Balkans. Little suggests that this is a passing crisis; it looks instead like the beginning of a new era of geopolitical competition in Europe and intractable conflicts and unrest across the broader Middle East and along Europe's southern rim. So far, the transatlantic community has been able to devise only stopgap measures in response to these challenges—measures that are made increasingly complex [End Page 1] because they are generated by revanchist state power and by the collapse of states and social governance. Effective responses to them have also, in part, been frustrated by the economic and political interdependence that has been the dominant characteristic of global developments over the past thirty years.

These challenges have strategic implications for the transatlantic community in general and for Europe's Mediterranean countries in particular. The EU, NATO, the United States, and leading European countries must devise long-term and holistic strategies in order to effectively face the challenges in the east and south and to preserve the peace, stability, integration, and prosperity that has increasingly defined Europe in the post–Cold War period.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Recchia Stefano

Why seek international organisation approval under unipolarity? Averting issue linkage vs. appeasing Congress

in *International Relations*, vol. 30, n. 1, march , 78-101

ABSTRACT: What motivates the United States, the world's most powerful country, to seek multilateral approval from the United Nations or NATO for its military interventions? Drawing on interviews with top-level US policymakers and combining process tracing with a structured-focused comparison of several cases, this article reveals that American leaders do not value multilateral approval primarily to avert negative issue linkage, or 'soft balancing' in other policy domains. Instead, they are motivated by narrower concerns. Their main goal is to facilitate sustained military and financial burden sharing on the prospective intervention, in the expectation that this will assuage congressional concerns about resource costs, reducing the risk that Congress might withdraw its support once American troops are deployed. The article therefore demonstrates that (1) US policymakers worry less about issue linkage than many International Relations theorists, as policymakers are confident that overall, US power inclines other countries to bandwagon with the United States, and (2) contrary to widespread belief, executive-branch concerns about congressional opposition do significantly influence US military intervention decision-making.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Chiampan Andrea

'Those European Chicken Littles': Reagan, NATO, and the Polish Crisis, 1981–2

in *International History Review (The)*, volume 37, Issue 4 , pp. 682-699

This article focuses on transatlantic relations in the run-up to and aftermath of the imposition of Martial Law in Poland in December 1981. Through an analysis of British, US, German, and NATO sources, this article highlights the fundamental differences and consequent disagreements that occurred between the Reagan administration and its European allies in 1981–2. It argues that these divergences originated from economic considerations, from a fundamentally discrepant conception of détente on the two sides of the Atlantic, and from the Reagan administration's mismanagement of the crisis. Not only did Reagan disregard NATO's contingency plans dating from 1980 and did not consult the allies, he also designed US sanctions specifically to dash a joint agreement between the Europeans and the Soviet Union for the construction of a pipeline that was to deliver Siberian gas into Western Europe.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Plesch Dan, Weiss Thomas G.

1945's Lesson: "Good Enough" Global Governance Ain't Good Enough

in *Global Governance*, vol. 21, n. 2, april-june , 197-204

No abstract available



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Joseph Besigye Bazirake and Paul Bukuluki

A critical reflection on the conceptual and practical limitations of the responsibility to protect
in International Journal of Human Rights (The), vol. 19, issue 8 , 1017-1028

The Responsibility to Protect (R2P) is without a doubt an iconic representation of the international system's effort to reinterpret the traditional understanding of state sovereignty within a growing trend towards human rights considerations. This article presents the scepticism surrounding the R2P's journey within a conservative and state-centric status quo of international relations, framed on a basic set of 1648 Westphalia treaty ideals. The article analyses the limitations in the conceptualization and actual practice of the R2P, with an incisive examination of its tendency towards becoming the norm. An African introspection based on the application of the R2P also offers an insightful critique of the principle in the changing global order.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Fisher Arabella

A left-libertarian proposal for egalitarian world ownership

in Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy, Volume 18, Issue 6, 2015 , 599-619

Abstract

In this paper I advocate a left-libertarian approach to egalitarian world ownership that combines common ownership of land, following Henry George (where private appropriation is subject to the payment of rent), with joint ownership of finite and exhaustible resources such as oil (where use is subject to a collective decision-making process and tax paid at the point of extraction). This rent and tax together create a common fund available for global distribution. I argue that this approach offers improvements on Hillel Steiner's proposal for a global fund, and Thomas Pogge's proposal for a Global Resources Dividend (GRD) since it does not penalize states for the inclusion of valuable resources within their territory that are not being used, while it also does not allow states to benefit from the use of resources elsewhere while simultaneously refusing to exploit the resources within their own borders. Moreover, joint ownership need not conflict with the libertarian commitment to self-ownership, as is often thought to be the case, and when supplementing common ownership of land it can provide an egalitarian outcome as well as greater protection for future generations and the environment.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Waldmueller Johannes M.

Agriculture, knowledge and the 'colonial matrix of power': approaching sustainabilities from the Global South
in Journal of Global Ethics, Volume 11, Issue 3, 2015 , 294-302

Abstract

The proposed list of 17 UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) sets out to reframe development according to a



more holistic perspective. Yet, drawing on the example of the need for sustainable, resilient and biodiverse agriculture, it is argued here that the SDGs remain essentially grounded within one cultural understanding of how to address poverty. At least with regard to agriculture, the SDGs thus remain mono-cultural, one-dimensional, overly technocratic, and are far from universal as they fail to acknowledge the stipulated alternative pluriverse, frequently understood in the Global South. The problem outlined is neither a technical nor political one: being essentially related to knowledge production it calls for the pluralization of approaches to both global ethics and sustainability.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Peter Mateja

Between Doctrine and Practice: The UN Peacekeeping Dilemma

in Global Governance, vol. 21, n. 3, july-september , 351-370

ABSTRACT: Mandates of recent peacekeeping operations across Africa have shown substantial innovation in the thinking of the UN Security Council. Offensive use of force, use of unmanned aerial vehicles, strategic intelligence and communication, and state-building mandates in the midst of conflicts have all expanded the scope of activities beyond what the UN peacekeepers are accustomed to. The UN is entering a new era of enforcement peacekeeping. Enforcement peacekeeping manifests itself both in enforcement of political solutions through support of a government's state-building ambitions and its attempts to extend state authority in the midst of conflict and in enforcement of military victories through the offensive use of force. These developments further unsettle the basic principles of UN peacekeeping—consent, impartiality, and nonuse of force—resulting in a schism between the doctrine and practice. This contribution argues that such fundamental challenges, when not properly acknowledged, create a wall between operational activities and strategic considerations. They preclude a proper debate on the problematic externalities, in particular on political processes and peacebuilding.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Reidel Laura

Beyond a State-centric Perspective on Norm Change: A Multilevel Governance Analysis of the Retreat from Multiculturalism

in Global Governance, vol. 21, n. 2, april-june , 317-336

ABSTRACT: This article argues that constructivist literature on norm diffusion could benefit from using a multilevel governance perspective. The case study is a retreat from the multicultural approach to governing state-minority relations in liberal democratic states, focusing on Canada and the Netherlands. It argues that, although actors at the national level may be retreating from the norms underlying this multicultural approach, this is not true of the substate and suprastate levels. Instead, in both countries, there is evidence of work at these levels to maintain these norms.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Schuppert Fabian

Beyond the national resource privilege: towards an International Court of the Environment



in *International Theory*, vol. 6, issue 1 , 68-97

ABSTRACT: The national resource privilege, which holds that states are allowed to control all the natural resources found in their territory, is a cornerstone of international politics. Supporters of the national resource privilege claim that without the privilege states would fail to be sovereign and self-determining entities which provide for the needs of their citizens. However, as this paper shows the case is not as simple as that. In fact, control over resources must be carefully unpacked. Doing so shows that states do not require full control over all resources found in their territory in order to be sovereign. Moreover, sovereignty and self-determination come with a set of responsibilities and duties attached. Based on these observations the paper will sketch the contours of an alternative resource governance scheme built around the idea of an International Court of the Environment.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Sabine Gless

Bird's-eye view and worm's-eye view: towards a defendant-based approach in transnational criminal law

in *Transnational Legal Theory*, vol. 6, issue 1 , 117-140

While the classic approach to transnational law provides a valuable tool for identifying the legal frameworks governing transborder occurrences, it falls short of covering all relevant aspects of transnational criminal law (TCL). This article argues that criminal law – unlike other areas of law – is fundamentally a state-oriented concept, leading to unique problems when implemented across state borders, especially for the individual facing penal power. A theoretical concept of TCL must therefore not only map extensions of state powers from high above, but also look for the individual's position in the possibly overlapping normative orders on the ground. The current predominant bird's-eye view must be modified according to the worm's-eye view. In doing so, the specific features and resulting problems of TCL will emerge. From this modified point of view, a main challenge is the establishment of a globally recognised coordination scheme, which will protect the legal position of individuals – particularly defendants – affected by states exercising their *ius puniendi* across borders.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Hughes Hannah

Bourdieu and the IPCC's Symbolic Power

in *Global Environmental Politics*, Volume 15, Issue 4, November , 85-104

This article introduces Pierre Bourdieu's notions of field, interest, and symbolic power into the study of global environmental politics, for the purpose of positioning the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) within the international field of climate politics. Revisiting historical accounts of the IPCC's establishment, the article explores the IPCC's role in generating international interest in climate change and the field of forces and struggles that has emerged around the organization and its assessment activities as a result. The IPCC continues to hold a central position within the climate field because of its symbolic power to construct the meaning of climate change. This makes the organization, its assessment activities, and the knowledge it produces central objects of struggle within the climate field, and the forces that this contestation produces structure all aspects of the IPCC and its work. The article identifies how developing-country attitudes, climate skepticism, and bandwagoning impact the IPCC's place in climate politics and its



assessments of the climate problem.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Kenkel Kai Michael, Stefan Cristina G.

Brazil and the Responsibility While Protecting Initiative: Norms and the Timing of Diplomatic Support

in Global Governance, vol. 22, n. 1, january-march , 41-58

ABSTRACT: This article examines Brazil's responsibility while protecting (RwP) initiative as an example of norm sponsorship available to nonpermanent members of the Security Council. After setting the stage with Brazil's historical engagement with intervention issues, it discusses the reasons behind the Brazilian initiative. It examines RwP's key proposals and the reactions they generated. RwP's normative implications are discussed, together with an examination of the main reasons why Brazil's sponsorship of the initiative waned following its exit from the Council. Brazil's withdrawal from sponsoring RwP highlights the need for ongoing support for initiatives that seek to revive the international community's intervention practices by tackling the basic tenets of discord over R2P's implementation.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Hucker Daniel

British Peace Activism and 'New' Diplomacy: Revisiting the 1899 Hague Peace Conference

in Diplomacy & Statecraft, vol. 26, n. 3 , 405-423

ABSTRACT: This analysis provides a re-appraisal of the 1899 Hague Conference by looking more closely at how citizen activists—notably in Britain but also transnationally—used it as a forum through which to press their agenda onto politicians and diplomatists. In so doing, this assembly existed as a stepping-stone between the 'old' diplomacy of the nineteenth century and the 'new' diplomacy of the twentieth. Peace activists identified and harnessed a growing body of progressive public opinion—on both a domestic and international scale—in the hope of compelling governments to take the necessary steps towards realising their ambitions of peace, disarmament, and international arbitration. Although the tangible outcomes of the 1899 Conference were limited, the precedents it established not only paved the way for further advances in international law, but also facilitated ever closer public and press scrutiny of international affairs into the twentieth century.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Karin Buhmann

Business and human rights: Understanding the UN Guiding Principles from the perspective of transnational business governance interactions

in Transnational Legal Theory, vol. 6, issue 2 , 399-434

This article analyses the United Nations (UN) Guidelines on Business and Human Rights adopted in 2011 by the UN Human Rights Council from the perspective of transnational business governance interactions (TBGI) analytical framework.¹



The article identifies and discusses dimensions of interaction and components of regulatory governance which characterize the Guiding Principles, focusing in particular on rule formation and implementation. The article notes that the Guiding Principles actively enrolled other actors for the rule-making process, ensuring support in a politically and legally volatile field. It identifies mutual 'piggy-backing' by the Guiding Principles and other TBGI schemes, complementing the Principles' very limited limitation and enforcement modalities and lending support to rule-making and implementation of other schemes. The article concludes that the UN Guiding Principles are unique in several areas of relevance to transnational business governance interaction and indicates the relevance of the TBGI approach to public regulatory transnational business governance initiatives. The analysis of the Guiding Principles as interactional transnational business governance suggests that this form of governance offers prospects for public institutions as a means towards regulating global sustainability concerns.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Yee-Kuang Heng, Ad'ha Aljunied Syed Mohammed

Can Small States Be More than Price Takers in Global Governance?

in Global Governance, vol. 21, n. 3, july-september , 435-454

ABSTRACT: Existing debates suggest that small states can exert more influence than their size alone implies. This article contributes to such extant literature by addressing more specific questions about the conditions under which such ostensible price takers can play outsized roles. Generic claims of tiny Singapore punching above its weight have not yet been examined in light of its leaders' proactive initiatives in global governance to advance its national interests. Drawing on two strategies identified within theoretical debates on how small states project influence, this article analyzes Singaporean initiatives in coalition building and use of its comparative advantages in specific issue domains and how these strategies have evolved historically. Driven by an innate sense of vulnerability, Singapore's flexibility to embrace emerging modes of governance beyond its traditional UN-centric focus is a relatively overlooked feature in the literature deserving further attention.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Hourcade Jean-Charles, Shukla P.-R.

Cancun's paradigm shift and COP 21: to go beyond rhetoric

in International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics, Volume 15, Issue 4, November , 343-351

This foreword explains why the success of COP21 is dependent upon its capacity to operate the paradigm shift announced in Cancun. It comes back to the recent history of the Conference of the Parties and shows the reasons for the emergence of the notion of 'equitable rights to sustainable development (EASD)' which enlarged the concept of equity beyond 'burden sharing'. It shows why this paradigm shift is a categorical imperative to break the self-defeating process of negotiations since the first COP of Berlin in 1995. It then demonstrate how the contributions to this special issue a) help understanding the deadlocks of a 'sharing the pie' logic in the climate affair and why it is inappropriate and diversionary to assess climate justice through 'fairness' of emissions allocations as the sole criteria b) show how to enforce the EADS principle in the current adverse context of a world economy weakened in the aftermath of the 2008 financial crisis.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Hamilton Thomas

Case Admissibility at the International Criminal Court

in Law and Practice of International Courts and Tribunals (The), vol. 14, n. 2 , 305-317

ABSTRACT: The existing jurisprudence of the icc establishes a two-step test for determining challenges to the admissibility of a case under Article 17 of the Rome Statute, now further solidified by an Appeals Chamber judgment in Simone Gbagbo. Notably, this is an area of the jurisprudence that does not suffer from excessive fragmentation. The Court has consistently required “substantially the same conduct” for a finding of parity between its own case and the case under investigation or prosecution by domestic authorities. Different outcomes in Al-Senussi and Gaddafi are attributable to factual differences, leaving intact the fundamental approach of the Court to the “inability” and “unwillingness” aspects of complementarity. Although novel fact patterns may pose future challenges to the coherence of this approach, the core principles of case admissibility are now well established, increasing legal certainty for States and individuals who seek to challenge the admissibility of cases before the Court.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Weiss Thomas G., Wilkinson Rorden

Change and Continuity in Global Governance

in Ethics and International Affairs, vol. 29, n. 4, winter , 397-406

ABSTRACT: Why, despite well-established and well-publicized intergovernmental processes that date back to the early 1970s, have we been unable to put in place effective mechanisms to combat climate change? Why, despite the existence of extensive global human rights machinery, do we live in a world where mass kidnapping, rape, torture, and murder continue to blight the lives of so many? Why, despite a great deal of effort on the part of intergovernmental organizations (IGOs) and nonstate actors, have we been unable to make much of a difference to the lives of the ultra-poor and attenuate the very worst aspects of growing global inequalities? Most fundamentally, why have the current international system and the outcomes that it has produced remained so inadequate in the postwar period?

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Kim Moonhawk, Wolford Scott

Choosing anarchy: institutional alternatives and the global order

in International Theory, vol. 6, issue 1 , 28-67

ABSTRACT: The international system may be anarchic, but anarchy is neither fixed nor inevitable. We analyze collective choices between anarchy, a system of inefficient self-enforcement, and external enforcement, where punishment is delegated to a third party at some upfront cost. In equilibrium, external enforcement (establishing governments) prevails when interaction density is high, the costs of integration are low, and violations are difficult to predict, but anarchy (drawing borders) prevails when at least one of these conditions fail. We explore the implications of



this theory for the causal role of anarchy in international relations theory, the integration and disintegration of political units, and the limits and possibilities of cooperation through international institutions.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Hourcade Jean-Charles, Shukla P.-R., Cassen Christophe

Climate policy architecture for the Cancun paradigm shift: building on the lessons from history

in International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics, Volume 15, Issue 4, November , 353-367

The economics of climate policy after Rio led to a climate centric paradigm which departs from the original UNFCCC's cooperative framework for designing climate policies from the perspective of sustainable development. This resulted in a cap-and-trade approach which aims to mitigate the adverse effects on development through appropriate transfers to achieve fair burden sharing. However, the continuation of this paradigm cannot untie the development-climate Gordian knot. (The Gordian Knot refers to a seemingly intractable problem. According to a Greek legend, Gordios arrived in Phrygia in an ox cart, was made King and dedicated his cart to Zeus, tying it up with an intricate knot. The person who would untie the knot would rule Asia. Alexander the Great found a solution by cutting it with his sword. Hourcade et al. (The design of climate policy. MIT Press, Cambridge, p 408, 2008) explain that, after Rio Earth Summit (1992), the climate negotiations remained disengaged from the debates on development pathways, thus tying up a new Gordian knot of misunderstandings.) Instead one loses sight of the benefits of cooperation in a global agreement to abate GHGs emissions. The challenge is now to align the development and climate objectives taking into consideration the changing context since the 1990s which includes a re-equilibrium of the world economic balance and the adverse context created by the 2008 financial crisis. This paper proposes that carbon finance should be considered as part of a general reform of the financial system. The adoption of a carbon value as a notional price could trigger a wave of low-carbon investments in the world thereby redirecting some global savings towards low-carbon investments, thus providing a lever for equitable access to development.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Vermeylen Saskia

Comparative Environmental Law and Orientalism: Reading beyond the 'Text' of Traditional Knowledge Protection

in Review of European Community & International Environmental Law, Volume 24, Issue 3, Special Issue: Comparative Environmental Law, November , 304-317

This article uses traditional knowledge as a case study to address multiple discussions in the field of comparative law. First, it addresses the theoretical challenge of the role of comparative law as a critical research tool in the development of environmental law. Second, within the context of transnational legal processes, it questions the extent to which comparative law as a method can further the relationship between different levels of law making by distinct legal actors. It is timely to bring mainstream comparative law into conversation with critical perspectives from other disciplines such as postcolonial theory and poststructuralism when studying non-Western law. These issues have been firmly placed on the research agenda of comparative law scholars for quite a few years but studying these questions from the perspective of traditional knowledge brings a new outlook to these debates.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Linderfalk Ulf

Cross-fertilisation in International Law

in Nordic Journal of International Law, vol. 84, issue 3 , 428-455

ABSTRACT: This article picks up on a term ('cross-fertilisation') often exploited in debates on the interaction of international laws and legal practices, especially in the context of international criminal law. Two questions are addressed: (1) What is the meaning of 'cross-fertilisation'? (2) What are its conditions? As the article argues, 'cross-fertilisation' pertains to the understanding of legal utterances relative to other such utterances. The concept assumes that if an agent wishes to understand the meaning or significance of a legal utterance, his understanding may profit by bringing the analysis of this utterance to bear on its assumed relationship with other legal utterances. Any assumption of a relationship between two legal utterances requires justification, however, or else it will not meet acceptance in international legal discourse. Consequently, when an agent brings the analysis of a legal utterance to bear on its relationship with some other legal utterance, as this article argues, cross-fertilisation will occur on two conditions. First, there has to be recognition of the relationship between the two utterances by a rule, principle, or informal convention pertinent to international legal discourse. Second, the agent must have grasped the precise nature of this same relationship. Based on this proposition, the article ends with six examples illustrating the kind of problems that might obstruct cross-fertilisation proper.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Di Gregorio Monica, Brockhaus Maria, Cronin Tim, Muharrom Efrian, Mardiah Sofi, Santoso Levania

Deadlock or Transformational Change? Exploring Public Discourse on REDD+ Across Seven Countries

in Global Environmental Politics, Volume 15, Issue 4, November , 63-84

This article investigates the public discourses on reducing emissions from deforestation and forest degradation (REDD+) across seven countries, to assess whether they support policy reforms. We argue that transformational discourses have at least one of these characteristics: they advocate specific policy reforms that address the drivers of deforestation and forest degradation; take into account the potential risks of a REDD+ mechanism; go beyond technocratic solutions to reduce emissions; and explicitly challenge existing power relations that support drivers of deforestation. The evidence indicates the predominance of win-win storylines, a lack of engagement by state actors with debates on the potential negative socioeconomic outcomes of REDD+, and little attention to the drivers of deforestation. The article concludes that to achieve a shift toward transformational public discourse, reformist policy actors and the media need to engage dominant policy actors in debates about how to reduce pressure on the forest.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Laura Carsten Mehrenbach

Deconstructing 'Emerging Powers' and 'Emerging Markets': India and the United States in Global Governance

in India Quarterly, vol. 71, no. 4 , 348-364



Academic literature and the media offer a variety of monikers for emerging states like Brazil, India and China, most prominently, 'emerging powers' and 'emerging markets'. This article argues the terms used to describe these states create assumptions about their behaviour in global governance (GG). In order to accurately assess the impact of emerging states on international institutions, it is necessary to more systematically examine their current participation in GG. Does the use of power and economic interests in GG negotiations distinguish emerging states from traditional powers, as the 'emerging' part of these terms suggests? And can the content of GG negotiations predict the dominance of each factor, as implied by the 'power/market' part? This article tackles these questions by comparing the behaviour of one emerging state (India) and one traditional power (the United States) in negotiations at the World Trade Organisation and the United Nations Security Council. The results demonstrate that, while there is clearly something distinctive about at least India's participation in GG, focussing on power or economic interests alone is insufficient to explain that distinctiveness or its implications for relations between rising and traditional powers in GG.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Tallberg Jonas, Sommerer Thomas, Squatrito Teresa

**Democratic memberships in international organizations: Sources of institutional design
in Review of International Organizations (The)** , vol. 11, n. 1, march , 59-87

ABSTRACT: Domestic regime type has emerged a powerful explanation of multiple phenomena in world politics. This article extends this argument to the design of international organizations (IOs), where a profound development in recent decades is growing access for transnational actors (TNAs). While earlier research has shown that democracy in IO memberships helps to explain IO openness, we know little about the mechanisms that drive this effect. This article unpacks the relationship between democratic memberships and IO design by theorizing and assessing the impact of three different constellations of democracies on the openness of IOs. Empirically, we conduct a multivariate analysis of TNA access to 50 IOs from 1950 to 2010, combined with a case study of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe. Our main findings are three-fold. First, democracy's effect on openness is primarily a product of the combined weight of democracies within IOs and their resulting capacity to secure support for their polity preferences. Second, in contrast, we only find limited support for a specific influence of new democracies and democratic major powers on IO openness. Third, decision rules that allow for openness reforms to be adopted by a majority of member states facilitate and strengthen the influence of democracies, by reducing the ability of autocracies to block change. The findings have implications for our understanding of institutional design in global governance and democracy's effects in world politics.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Death Carl

**Disrupting Global Governance: Protest at Environmental Conferences from 1972 to 2012
in Global Governance**, vol. 21, n. 4, october-december , 579-598

ABSTRACT: Disruptive protest by nonstate actors often accompanies global governance conferences, but little analysis has been devoted to disaggregating its diverse forms. This article identifies four types of disruptive protest— symbolic, procedural, coercive, and evasive—and illustrates them with examples from UN environmental conferences in Stockholm (1972), Rio de Janeiro (1992), Johannesburg (2002), and Rio de Janeiro (2012). Symbolic disruption in Stockholm contributed to the production of new discourses; procedural disruption in Rio in 1992 introduced new actors



and texts; some protestors sought to directly and coercively disrupt the summit in Johannesburg; and protests in Rio in 2012 illustrate disruption through evasion and exit. Understanding the form and power of such disruptive protests is crucial for studies of global governance.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Agné Hans, Delmuth Lisa Maria, Talberg Jonas

Does stakeholder involvement foster democratic legitimacy in international organizations? An empirical assessment of a normative theory

in *Review of International Organizations (The)*, vol. 10, n. 4, december, 465-488

ABSTRACT: The involvement of non-state organizations in global governance is widely seen as an important step toward global democracy. Proponents of "stakeholder democracy" argue that stakeholder organizations, such as civil society groups and other non-state actors, may represent people significantly affected by global decisions better than elected governments. In this article we identify a particularly promising sociological variant of this argument, test it against new evidence from a large-scale survey among stakeholder organizations with varying levels of involvement in international organizations (IOs), and find that the suggested stakeholder mechanism for producing democratic legitimacy in global governance does not work. Stakeholder involvement is unproductive for democratic legitimacy in IOs as perceived by stakeholders themselves. We suggest alternative explanations of this finding and argue that empirical analysis is useful for adjudicating normative arguments on the viability of stakeholder democracy in global governance.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Bonhomme Noël

Du Groupe des Sept au Groupe des Vingt : nouveau concert des puissances ou dilution du pouvoir ? (1975-2015)

in *Bulletin de l'Institut Pierre Renouvin*, n. 41, Printemps, pp. 129-142

Plan de l'article

Un nouveau Concert des « démocraties industrialisées »

La problématique de l'institutionnalisation : entre légitimisme et adaptation

Du G7 au G20 : un concert renouvelé dans son équilibre mais non dans sa nature ?

<http://www.cairn.info/revue-bulletin-de-l-institut-pierre-renouvin-2015-2-page-129.htm>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Joachim Jutta, Ranke Romina

Effektiv und Demokratiefördernd? Nicht-Regierungsorganisationen und Internationale Organisationen, eine Bestandsaufnahme



in *Zeitschrift für Außen- und Sicherheitspolitik* , vol. 8, n. 2 - supplement , 549-566

ABSTRACT: Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have moved from being peripheral to IR research to a widely accepted field of study. The burgeoning literature with respect to NGOs and ongoing debates regarding their influence in as well as their ability to contribute to more democracy in international organizations informs this article. In addition to taking stock, we draw attention to different strands of research and point to still existing gaps in the literature.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Jessica Almqvist

Enforcing the responsibility to protect through solidarity measures

in *International Journal of Human Rights (The)*, vol. 19, issue 8 , 1002-1016

Responsibility to Protect (R2P) provides a moral basis for collective action through the UN Security Council in reaction to mass atrocity situations. However, this avenue is not always available. The question then arises whether other actors can and should assume responsibility in such circumstances and, if so, which kinds of measures they may pursue. The present article examines this question with a specific interest in the international reactions to the Syrian crisis since 2011. The analysis proceeds on the assumption that the growing usage of solidarity measures outside the UN framework is a sign of the relative success of R2P in terms of gaining ground among international policy-makers. However, according to the article, if solidarity measures as a way of enforcing R2P are to achieve widespread legitimacy, consideration must be paid to the legal concerns generated by this development. In particular, regard must be had to the compatibility of the measures pursued, including asset freeze, arms embargoes and the arming of rebel forces with the law in force.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Méjean Aurélie, Lecocq Franck, Mulugetta Yacob

Equity, burden sharing and development pathways: reframing international climate negotiations

in *International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics*, Volume 15, Issue 4, November , 387-402

Distribution issues have been critical in international negotiations on climate change. These have been framed as a 'burden sharing' problem since the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change. Three key difficulties are associated with this approach under a cap-and-trade system, namely the lack of consensus over what is equitable, uncertainty over estimates of policy costs, and lack of political realism and economic effectiveness of large-scale international transfers. These difficulties point to the risk of failure of post-2020 negotiations if these are based on the same premises of 'sharing the emission reduction pie' within a cap-and-trade regime. History has shown that different development paths can lead to similar economic performances with contrasted emission intensities. This paper proposes some insights into what could constitute a way forward, by recasting the discussion about emission reductions from a development perspective. It concludes that climate negotiations should depart from the current framework and shift to a debate focused on choosing a development path that would address domestic issues, while aligning pure climate policies with development policies.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Cotula Lorenzo

Expropriation Clauses and Environmental Regulation: Diffusion of Law in the Era of Investment Treaties

in Review of European Community & International Environmental Law, Volume 24, Issue 3, Special Issue: Comparative Environmental Law, November , 278-288

This article discusses diffusion of law in relation to investment treaty annexes on indirect expropriation. These annexes clarify the circumstances under which environmental regulation may constitute an expropriation requiring States to compensate investors. The article briefly reviews theoretical perspectives in diffusion of law debates and links them to investment treaty making. It then explores three diffusion moments in the development and spread of expropriation annexes: the transition of indirect expropriation concepts and rules from the jurisprudence of the United States (US) Supreme Court to the indirect expropriation annex included in the US model investment treaties of 2004 and 2012; the inclusion of a comparable annex in the 2009 Comprehensive Investment Agreement of the Association of South-East Asian Nations; and the inclusion of an indirect expropriation annex in the Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement between Canada and the European Union. The findings interrogate traditional concepts of diffusion of law and highlight the complexities of law formation in a globalized world. They also compound the case for comparative environmental lawyers to study the interface between national and international law and between environmental law and other branches of law that can affect options for environmental regulation.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Hourcade Jean-Charles, Aglietta Michel, Jaeger Carlo, Perrissin Fabert Baptiste

Financing transition in an adverse context: climate finance beyond carbon finance

in International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics, Volume 15, Issue 4, November , 403-420

The Cancun conference decided to establish a Climate Green Fund (CGF) to help developing countries align their development policies with the long-term UNFCCC objectives. This paper clarifies the links between the two underlying motives: the first, technical in nature, is the necessity to redirect the infrastructure instruments in these countries (energy, transportation, building, material transformation industry) to avoid lock-in in carbon-intensive pathways in the likely absence of a significant world carbon price in the coming decade; the second, political in nature, is the interpretation of the CGF as a practical translation of the notion of the common but differentiated responsibility principle, since the funds are expected to come from Annex 1 countries. This paper shows why this latter perspective might generate some distrust given the orders of magnitude of funds to be levied in Annex 1 countries especially in the context of the financial crisis and major constraints on public budgets. It then explores the basic principles around which it is possible to minimize these risks by upgrading climate finance in the broader context of the evolution of the financial and monetary systems. After exploring how such links could help make climate policies that contribute to reducing some of the imbalances caused by economic globalization by reorienting world savings and reducing investment uncertainty, it sketches how this perspective might be palatable for the OECD, the major emerging economies and fossil fuel exporters.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy



Annamaria La Chimia

Food Security and the Right to Food: Finding Balance in the 2012 Food Assistance Convention
in *International and Comparative Law Quarterly*, vol. 65, issue 1 , 99-137

On 25 April 2012, after years of negotiations delayed by halts and setbacks, the Food Assistance Convention was adopted—the latest in a series of agreements that since 1967 have regulated the international provision of food aid. Great expectations have been placed on the adoption of the Convention. In particular it was hoped that the Convention would answer the call for a new system of food aid governance, introduce more effective mechanisms to address world's food insecurity and, ultimately, improve and modernize the rules applicable to food aid. This article provides the first critical commentary of the Convention's text, assesses the strengths and weaknesses of its provisions and considers whether and how the Convention has modified the architecture of international food aid regulation. The article also indicates where amendments to the rules might be needed to make the international regulation of food aid more effective. The article concludes that the Convention is, on balance, a positive instrument that could improve governance and adequacy of food assistance. The Convention is also important for the international human rights discourse on how States can fulfil their obligation to assist countries in need in that it offers guidance on how to meet such obligation in the specific context of the right to food. States should therefore be urged to sign and ratify it.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Orlando Emanuela

From Domestic to Global? Recent Trends in Environmental Liability from a Multi-level and Comparative Law Perspective

in *Review of European Community & International Environmental Law*, Volume 24, Issue 3, Special Issue: Comparative Environmental Law, November , 289-303

The law of environmental liability has already been the object of several comparative endeavours. This article seeks to bring a different perspective to the debate, by examining selected developments in the field through the lens of the emerging global environmental law scholarship. It brings the comparative method of analysis into a multi-level context with a view to identifying the emergence of common legal responses to the problem of liability and reparation for environmental harm across different jurisdictions and regulatory levels. The analysis will focus on a 'novel' set of environmental liability regimes, which specifically address damage to the environment and to natural resources, as distinct from more traditional categories of damage to property and other individual rights arising as a consequence of environmental pollution. These include: the United States Comprehensive Environmental Response, Compensation, and Liability Act, and the Oil Pollution Act, which constitute a pioneering attempt to envisage a public-law-oriented system of liability and restoration for damage to natural resources; the European Union Environmental Liability Directive; and selected, recent international treaty developments. The article argues that, while adopted within different legal orders and regulatory contexts, these environmental liability regimes share common features, which correspond to the ontological aspects of environmental damage and ultimately reflect a common understanding of the environment as a global public good.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Neil Boister



Further reflections on the concept of transnational criminal law

in *Transnational Legal Theory*, vol. 6, issue 1 , 9-30

In an attempt to clarify the concept of transnational criminal law, this piece examines its basic elements, analysing questions about what its essential components are and whether purely national crimes and laws for criminal cooperation are part of transnational criminal law. It then turns to the difficult question of whether transnational criminal law can accurately be termed a legal system, examining whether – and if so, how – apparently unrelated national criminal laws dealing with transnational crime are in a systemic relation. The piece then shifts its attention to whether it is possible to expand the transnational legal space to include rules that are made autonomously from state or international authority. After discussing whether transnational criminal law is a pluralist legal order, it concludes by examining who benefits from transnational criminal law, focusing on whether – and if so, how – transnational criminal law can escape the taint of Western hegemony.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Liste Philip

Geographical knowledge at work: Human rights litigation and transnational territoriality

in *European Journal of International Relations* , vol. 22, n. 1, march , 217-239

ABSTRACT: In April 2013, the US Supreme Court left a mark on the spatiality of law. In a decision on human rights violations in Nigeria, state territoriality served as a technique to rule out the application of transnational law against private corporations. Paradoxically, the private actor turned out to be the primary beneficiary of this jurisdictional territorialism. Drawing on work in critical geography, the article argues that this was only possible against the background of a certain geographical knowledge as reproduced in the course of legal practice. The corporate production of space consisted of a 'private use of territoriality' to resist the extraterritorial application of law and thus transnational state regulation. During a spatial analysis of a number of the 82 amicus curiae briefs to *Kiobel v. Royal Dutch Petroleum*, the article reveals how the geographical configurations of our contemporary order not only withstand transnational challenges, but are even reproduced transnationally by a multiplicity of state and non-state actors. While international law builds upon and reproduces territoriality as a foundational principle of global normativity, it also provides the means for the doing away with territoriality. In order to demonstrate how legal practice contributes to a critical reproduction of normativity on different scales (national and international, local and global), the article establishes a spatial gaze on transnational relations at work.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Jacobi Anja P., Haunschild Jasmin

Global Crime Governance: Perspektiven und Grenzen transnationaler Kooperation

in *Zeitschrift für Außen- und Sicherheitspolitik* , vol. 9, n. 1 , 1-11

ABSTRACT: Global crime governance is an important part of international politics, yet its success remains questionable. This article analyses the possibilities and limits of transnational cooperation in this field. Extended mandates of state and non-state actors co-exist with divergent interests and aims, a lack of knowledge regarding successful strategies, or lacking possibilities to counter many root causes of transnational crime. We use the examples of human



smuggling/trafficking and cybercrime to illustrate specific difficulties of finding common ground and effective counter measures for fighting these crimes.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Downie Christian

Global Energy Governance in the G-20: States, Coalitions, and Crises

in Global Governance, vol. 21, n. 3, july-september , 475-492

ABSTRACT: There is an emerging consensus among global governance scholars that there is a global energy governance gap. The rapid transformation of global energy markets with a new cast of producers and consumers, which now accounts for two-thirds of global greenhouse gas emissions, has left the existing institutional architecture behind. While there has been some discussion in the emerging literature on the potential role of the Group of 20, there is almost no analysis of what conditions need to be met for the G-20 to act in a significant fashion. This article takes up this task. Drawing on recent scholarship in global governance, environmental politics, and international negotiations, as well as the observations of the author who is a past delegate to G-20 negotiations, it considers the role of the G-20 in global energy governance and identifies the principal conditions that will need to be met if the G-20 is to drive more than piecemeal change.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Morgera Elisa

Global Environmental Law and Comparative Legal Methods

in Review of European Community & International Environmental Law, Volume 24, Issue 3, Special Issue: Comparative Environmental Law, November , 254-263

This article identifies significant points of contact between the scholarship on comparative law and on global law, and discusses how they can provide the building blocks for embedding more explicitly comparative legal methods into the growing scholarly debate on global environmental law. To set the terms for a more systematic debate, the article focuses, in turn, on the evolving understanding of the nature and scope of comparative law as a discipline, its different functions in the context of current global environmental law practice, and the variety of comparative legal methodologies, including interdisciplinary ones, that appear of relevance for global environmental lawyers. On these bases, the article concludes by reflecting on the nature of global environmental law and the role of global environmental lawyers.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Chiara Armeni

Global Experimentalist Governance, International Law and Climate Change Technologies

in International and Comparative Law Quarterly, vol. 64, issue 4 , 875-904

Global experimentalist governance has emerged within and across a number of international regulatory regimes, but its potential contribution to the global governance of climate change remains largely unexplored. This article investigates



the opportunities and barriers to developing global experimentalist governance approaches in the international regulation of climate change technologies, focusing on the recent framework for marine geoengineering under the London Dumping Protocol. It argues that, in the face of the limits of international law in dealing with uncertainty, multilevel distribution of power and regulatory disconnection, global experimentalist governance is attractive to catalyse adaptability, iterative learning, participation and cooperation. Such approach can help rethink the way international law deals with technological development, by emphasizing its problem-solving function.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

de Sá Ribeiro Marilda Rosaldo, Guterres Costa Orlando José

Global Governance and Investment Treaty Arbitration: The Importance of the Argentine Crisis for Future Disputes

in Law and Practice of International Courts and Tribunals (The), vol. 14, n. 3 , 417-437

ABSTRACT: Foreign direct investments are important catalysts for national development and states have sought to attract investment by ratifying investment treaties that offer guarantees to foreign investors and that allow foreign investors to file an arbitration against a host state directly before an international tribunal. However, investment treaty arbitrations do not act only as a mechanism of dispute settlement; they also have a global governance role. They review the legality of state conduct through their adjudicative powers, in reference to those obligations that are narrowly stipulated in investment treaties. On the other hand, states must protect the most basic interests of those under their jurisdiction, even if to do so contradicts the interests of investors, and, in turn, investors have submitted claims against states through international arbitration whenever their interests have been contradicted. In the following article it will be discussed how the regulatory capacity of states has been considered in investment treaty arbitrations, with particular regard to the arbitrations filed against Argentina in the 2000s.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Paris Roland

Global Governance and Power Politics: Back to Basics

in Ethics and International Affairs, vol. 29, n. 4, winter , 407-418

ABSTRACT: For many students of global governance who explore the myriad institutions, rules, norms, and coordinating arrangements that transcend individual states and societies, what really marks the contemporary era is not the absence of such governance but its “astonishing diversity.” In addition to “long-standing universal-membership bodies,” such as the United Nations, writes Stewart Patrick, “there are various regional institutions, multilateral alliances and security groups, standing consultative mechanisms, self-selecting clubs, ad hoc coalitions, issue-specific arrangements, transnational professional networks, technical standard-setting bodies, global action networks, and more.” The proliferation and diversification of governance mechanisms—yielding a jumble of formal and informal arrangements—has supplanted the simpler image of state representatives gathering at official assemblies. Many scholars believe this pluralism opens important new avenues for tackling a growing array of complex transnational problems, particularly at a time when the responsiveness of traditional multilateral institutions is being called into question.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Stephan Gunter, Müller-Fürstenberger Georg

Global Warming, Technological Change and Trade in Carbon Energy: Challenge or Threat?

in Environmental & Resource Economics, Volume 62, Issue 4, December , 791-809

Is it possible to combat global climate change through North-to-South technology transfer even without a global climate treaty? Or do carbon leakage and the rebound effect imply that it is possible to take advantage of technological improvements under the umbrella of a global arrangement only? For answering these questions two possible states of the world are discussed: one, where more energy efficient technologies are transferred unconditionally from the North to the South, and where regions do not cooperate in the solution of the global climate problem but unilaterally decide on climate policies and technology transfers; one, where the North-to-South technology transfer is tied to the requirement that the South in some way contributes to the solution of the global climate problem. Rebound and leakage effects hinder a sustainable and welfare improving solution of the climate problem.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Walton Andrew

Global democracy in a society of peoples

in Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy, Volume 18, Issue 6, 2015 , 577-598

Abstract

This paper explores the political structures suitable for the realization of John Rawls' The Law of Peoples (1999). In particular, it explores whether Rawls' principles and fundamental foundations recommend establishing global institutions and, if so, whether, and in what sense, these institutions should be democratic. It is often suggested, either implicitly or explicitly, that The Law of Peoples would operate through the bilateral and multilateral interactions of, ideally conceived, nation-states. This paper argues, on the contrary, that it would advise a series of democratic global institutions. The case is developed with respect to the idea of a global institution with the remit of regulating international trade and applied, in the contemporary context, to the World Trade Organization (WTO).

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Downie Christian

Global energy governance: do the BRICs have the energy to drive reform?

in International Affairs , vol. 91, issue 4, july , 799-812

ABSTRACT: It is widely accepted that the rising power of the BRIC countries—Brazil, Russia, India and China—has the potential to re-shape the international system. However, little attention has been given to the BRICs' role in a growing area of strategic importance: global energy governance. While global governance scholars now argue that the international energy architecture requires substantive reform to keep pace with the rapid transformations in global energy markets, largely driven by the BRICs, it is not clear what role these countries will play in future governance



arrangements. Drawing on recent scholarship in global governance and international negotiations, interviews with G20 energy officials, and the observations of the author, a past delegate to G20 negotiations, this article examines whether the BRICs as a coalition have the capacity and willingness to drive substantive global energy governance reform. In doing so, it highlights the problems with the BRICs as a coalition on energy and considers the prospects for energy reform in light of China's increasing engagement with energy governance ahead of it hosting the G20 Summit in 2016.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Pegram Tom

Global human rights governance and orchestration: National human rights institutions as intermediaries
in *European Journal of International Relations* , vol. 21, n. 3, september , 595-620

ABSTRACT: The United Nations remains the principal international governmental organisation for promoting human rights. However, serious concerns focus on persistent compliance gaps between human rights standards and domestic practice. In response and against a backdrop of growing regime complexity, United Nations human rights agencies have increasingly sought to bypass states by coordinating new forms of non-state and private authority. International Relations scholarship has captured this governance arrangement using the concept of orchestration, defined as when an international organisation enlists and supports intermediary actors to address target actors in pursuit of international governmental organisation governance goals. This article explores the implications of an orchestration topology for human rights governance by analysing national human rights institutions in the context of an established global human rights regime and its dedicated orchestrator: the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights. I use the experience of national human rights institutions to further refine the concepts of managing versus bypassing states to capture how networked intermediaries are affected by, and respond to, new opportunities within international governmental organisation structures. The article identifies the conditions under which orchestration may be particularly well-suited to a human rights governance function. It further examines the analytical limitations of this mode of influence for addressing a multi-level compliance gap, as well as what the analysis means for international organisations and understanding orchestration more generally.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Ben Bowling and James Sheptycki

Global policing and transnational rule with law
in *Transnational Legal Theory*, vol. 6, issue 1 , 141-173

This paper advances the 'rule with law' concept. After a brief overview of the global policing field and its relationship with law, we use socio-legal theories of policing to examine four examples of law in action: (i) the global money system, (ii) transnational mobility, (iii) intellectual property, and (iv) high policing. These examples illustrate how legal instruments become tools in the hands of public and private social actors operating in the transnational sphere. The paper advances three arguments. First, we argue that global policing practices exemplify rule with law not rule of law. Second, we argue that attempts to codify transnational (criminal) law and procedure must recognise the distinction between 'law in the books' and the 'living law' as revealed in the practice of transnational policing. Third, we argue that the study of transnational policing should not be restricted to the response to transnational organised crime or defined as coterminous with transnational criminal law. Global policing practices deploy many kinds of public and private law as



power tools in the governance of the global system.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Erman Eva

Global political legitimacy beyond justice and democracy?

in International Theory, vol. 8, issue 1 , 29-62

ABSTRACT: Despite the broad consensus on the value of political legitimacy in global politics, there is still little agreement on what the specific regulative content of the principles of legitimacy ought to be. Two main paths have thus far been taken in the theoretical literature to respond to the legitimacy deficit in the global domain: one via the ideal of democracy, another via the ideal of justice. However, both have run into problems. The overall purpose of this paper is to examine these two paths in the endeavour to explore the possibilities of a third path, which investigates global political legitimacy (GPL) as a value that is at a basic level distinct from democracy and justice. The paper aims to fulfil two tasks. The conceptual task consists in identifying some characteristics of the concept of GPL that makes it distinct from political legitimacy generally, as well as showing its usefulness for normative theorizing. The normative task is twofold: first, to demonstrate that the value of GPL is reducible neither to democracy nor to justice; and second, to develop the contours of a dual account of GPL, in which both justice and democracy play essential roles.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Dedeurwaerdere Tom, Melindi-Ghidi Paolo, Broggiato Arianna

Global scientific research commons under the Nagoya Protocol: Towards a collaborative economy model for the sharing of basic research assets

in Environmental Science & Policy , Volume 55, Part 1, January , 1-10

This paper aims to get a better understanding of the motivational and transaction cost features of building global scientific research commons, with a view to contributing to the debate on the design of appropriate policy measures under the recently adopted Nagoya Protocol. For this purpose, the paper analyses the results of a world-wide survey of managers and users of microbial culture collections, which focused on the role of social and internalized motivations, organizational networks and external incentives in promoting the public availability of upstream research assets. Overall, the study confirms the hypotheses of the social production model of information and shareable goods, but it also shows the need to complete this model. For the sharing of materials, the underlying collaborative economy in excess capacity plays a key role in addition to the social production, while for data, competitive pressures amongst scientists tend to play a bigger role.

Full text available online at <http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S1462901115300605>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Radelet Steven

Governance and the Great Development Transformation

in Governance, Volume 29, Issue 1 , 9–11



With all the bad news in the daily press, it is easy to be pessimistic about the state of the world. Developing countries, in particular, seem to lurch from crisis to disaster, with little apparent progress outside of China and India. But this pessimism belies a larger but usually unrecognized truth: From El Salvador to Ghana to Indonesia and beyond, developing countries are in the midst of an unprecedented transformation that has brought more progress to more people than ever before in human history. With strong leadership and improved governance in the world's advanced countries, in international organizations, and in developing countries themselves, this transformation can continue well into the future, bringing big benefits to rich and poor countries alike.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Beevers Michael D.

Governing Natural Resources for Peace: Lessons from Liberia and Sierra Leone

in Global Governance, vol. 21, n. 2, april-june , 227-246

ABSTRACT: Natural resources are central to peacebuilding. International actors authorize United Nations' sanctions to disrupt the trade in resources that fuel conflict. In the aftermath of conflict, international actors intervene to influence how natural resources are governed to ensure that resources contribute to postconflict recovery. This article examines international efforts to govern forests in Liberia and diamonds and minerals in Sierra Leone to better understand the extent to which natural resources have helped establish the underlying conditions for peace. It suggests that, despite reducing the likelihood that resource revenues will fuel conflict, a decade of natural-resource governance has made peacebuilding more challenging. Rather than foster cooperation and trust, governance interventions leave unaddressed historical sources of tension and create new sources of instability.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Park Susan

Governing the Environment: Three Motivating Factors

in Ethics and International Affairs, vol. 29, n. 4, winter , 433-442

ABSTRACT: Governance arrangements have become increasingly complex over time, such that today everything from the Internet to medicine and warfare is subject to some form of governance at the global level. Notably, these changes in global governance can come slowly or quickly, depending on circumstances. For example, evolutionary change is evident in the establishment of new treaties and protocols on regulating the various aspects of war and its aftermath—an area where the list of agreements is long and growing. But change can also happen very quickly as new mechanisms—for example, for coordinating states' responses during pandemics—are established during crises.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Nicola Dalla Guarda

Governing the ungovernable: international relations, transnational cybercrime law, and the post-Westphalian regulatory state

in Transnational Legal Theory, vol. 6, issue 1 , 211-249



In order to better understand the challenges facing transnational criminal law, the paper considers six regional anti-cybercrime regimes and traces their development and content. Insights from international relations theory and practical issues inherent in their implementation are then expounded and broader trends are discerned. These observations are linked to illustrate the ways in which modern nation states have shifted their traditional functions of 'security provider' or 'sovereignty generator' onto the transnational realm. Thereafter, the paper makes some tentative predictions regarding future attempts at transnational regulation. A number of conclusions are drawn. While a global tapestry of 'transnational cybercrime law' has been created, the differences and similarities between regimes can be attributed to the various legal and political arrangements amongst their signatories. Moreover, the regulatory challenges faced by these regimes demonstrate how Westphalian-based sovereign states are redeploying traditional legal and political paradigms to address novel transnational threats to a global man-made ecosystem. Finally, these trends suggest a continuation of current patterns of transnational regulation, despite the author's call for a change in approach to transnational cybercrime law.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Von Bernstorff Jochen

Hans Kelsen on Judicial Law-Making by International Courts and Tribunals: A Theory of Global Judicial Imperialism?

in Law and Practice of International Courts and Tribunals (The), vol. 14, n. 1 , 35-50

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Infantino Marta

Human Rights Indicators across Institutional Regimes

in International Organizations Law Review, vol. 12, n. 1 , 146-167

ABSTRACT: This paper aims to investigate what human rights indicators are, and what role they play within international organizations. In particular, this paper argues that human rights indicators, far from having similar structures and posing similar problems, are created and live within frameworks, through processes, and for purposes that might significantly diverge from indicator to indicator. The central claim is that the pluralism underlying the world of human rights indicators reflects, among other things, the variable structures, objectives and modes of operation of the international organizations inhabiting that world. This paper thus explores how the massive production and extensive use of human rights indicators in recent years has not only been influenced by, but has also shaped, the missions, internal structures and operational practices of the international organizations that produce and use them.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Kernaghan Webb

ISO 26000 social responsibility standard as 'proto law' and a new form of global custom: Positioning ISO 26000 in the emerging transnational regulatory governance rule instrument architecture



in *Transnational Legal Theory*, vol. 6, issue 2 , 466-500

The key proposition explored here is that the ISO 26000 standard represents an innovative form of transnational social responsibility (SR) rule instrument in the emerging global SR rule architecture—described here as ‘proto-law’ and a new form of global custom—that (1) transposes key concepts from inter-governmental instruments directed at first instance at states into a private global SR rule instrument applying directly to transnational corporations and other organisations; (2) transposes key concepts from private SR instruments of narrow focus to apply more broadly to all SR activities; (3) brought together public, private and civil society actors in an innovative global standards development process; (4) developed a framework normative rule instrument intended for use by public, private and civil society organisations; and (5) can be considered an epistemic subject of its own, a private regulatory ordering mechanism which creates a novel construction of societal expectations that can be used in transnational private litigation.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Fulton Deirdre

Il capitalismo è il cancro della Madre Terra

in *CNS Ecologia politica*, XXV, n. 11, 28 ottobre

Italian translation of 'Capitalism is Mother Earth's Cancer': World People's Summit Issues 12 Demands

<http://www.commondreams.org/news/2015/10/12/capitalism-mother-earths-cancer-world-peoples-summit-issues-12-demands> Full text available online

<http://www.ecologiapolitica.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/capitalismo-e-madre-terra.pdf>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Grasso Marco, Sacchi Simona

Impure Procedural Justice in Climate Governance Systems

in *Environmental Values*, Volume 24, Number 6, December , 777-798

Climate change governance is extremely challenging because of both the intrinsic difficulty of the issues at stake and the plurality of values and worldviews. For these reasons, the ethical concerns that characterise climate change should also be meaningfully addressed through a specific version of procedural justice. Accordingly, in this article we adopt an impure notion of procedural justice. On this theoretical basis, we define relevant fairness criteria and contextualise them for climate governance systems. Then, we empirically justify fairness criteria against a critical and divisive element for the future governance of the Green Climate Fund, i.e., the no-objection procedure. The article concludes with some considerations prompted by the analysis.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Cabrera Luis

Individual rights and the democratic boundary problem

in *International Theory*, vol. 6, issue 2 , 224-254



ABSTRACT: How should the geographic boundaries of democratic participation be set? This has been a notoriously difficult theoretical question, beset by paradoxes around determining democratic participants democratically. It also is seen as increasingly important in practical terms, amid deepening interdependence between states, immigration tensions, and suprastate regional integration. Numerous recent accounts have called for extending participation beyond the state. The case is generally made on intrinsic grounds: democracy demands it. Respect for individual autonomy is said to be violated when outsiders are deeply affected by decision processes, or subject to coercion from them, without being able to participate in them. Yet, familiar problems around restrictions on the autonomy of persistent democratic minorities remain in such accounts, and they could be magnified with expanded boundaries. An alternative approach is offered here, grounded in a rights-based instrumental justification for democracy. It sees participation as foundationally – though not solely – valuable as a means of promoting and protecting fundamental rights. It recommends extending participation boundaries to reinforce protections within regional and ultimately global institutions. Democratic participation would remain crucial at all levels, not principally as an expression of autonomy but to provide checks on power and promote accountability to individuals in multilevel polities.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Hanegraaff Marcel

Interest Groups at Transnational Negotiation Conferences: Goals, Strategies, Interactions, and Influence in Global Governance, vol. 21, n. 4, october-december , 599-620

ABSTRACT: Interest groups partake in transnational negotiation conferences en masse. This is surprising given that the chances for influencing policymaking at these venues appear to be slim while the costs of participation are high. This amounts to an interesting question: why do so many interest groups attend transnational conferences? This article aims to answer this question by offering the first systematic study of the activities of interest groups at transnational conferences. It analyzes the goals, strategies, interactions, and influence of various types of interest groups at two transnational conferences; namely, the World Trade Organization Ministerial Conference (2011) and the Conference of the Parties of the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (2012). The data was collected through 349 interviews with interest group representatives and 129 interviews with government delegates who participated in these conferences.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Flowers Patrice R.

International Human Rights Norms in Japan

in Human Rights Quarterly, vol. 38, n. 1, february , 85-107

ABSTRACT: Studies of state compliance with international human rights norms and law often focus on explaining variation in compliance across two or more states. This article addresses variation in compliance within one state—Japan. Studying two different issues in one country means that instead of asking “why do states comply with international norms,” this study asks “when do states comply with international norms.” The article examines two cases—the International Convention on the Status of Refugees and the Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women—and argues that strength of domestic advocates, the degree of conflict between international and domestic norms, and state desire for legitimacy accounts for Japan’s adoption of and compliance with



human rights agreements.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Goldstone Richard J.

International Judges: Is There a Global Ethic?

in Ethics and International Affairs, vol. 29, n. 3, fall , 249-258

ABSTRACT: Since the last decade of the twentieth century the number of international and transnational judges has burgeoned. There are now in excess of 100 international courts and tribunals, with thousands of international judges who sit on them. They come from all corners of the globe and bring with them the experience of many systems of justice.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Wilhelm Lola

International Organisations and the Evolution of Humanitarianism: Cross-perspectives on the Commonwealth and the European Union

in Round Table (The): the Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs, Volume 104, Issue 4 , pp. 441-446

As international relations actors in the post-Second World War world, international organisations have played a significant role in the standardisation of global policy concepts during the 20th century, and humanitarian assistance has been no exception. While the study of the role of international organisations in shaping a dominant model of humanitarian aid has recently gathered pace, few historians have focused on different, less successful models and interpretations developed by other international organisations. Recently declassified Commonwealth Secretariat records show that discussions within the Secretariat and among member states regarding the potential objectives and scope of Commonwealth humanitarian assistance programmes took place as early as the 1960s, and continued throughout the following decades. This article provides an overview of the origin and evolution of the Commonwealth's approach to humanitarian assistance since the 1960s. Its objective is to document this hitherto little known aspect of Commonwealth assistance policies, and, based on an initial literature and archival survey, to contribute to the identification of further research questions and gaps in this aspect of Commonwealth history. Although they are very different in nature and scope, the Commonwealth and the European Union share at least one common feature in so far as humanitarian assistance is concerned, namely their difficulty in reaching a consensual definition of it. By exploring the links and discrepancies between, as well as within, each organisation's approach to humanitarian assistance, and by examining the initiatives of some of their member states, this paper seeks to highlight the plasticity of the definition of humanitarian assistance.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Costantini Valeria, Sforza Giorgia Sforza, Zoli Mariangela

Interpreting bargaining strategies of developing countries in climate negotiations. A quantitative approach

in Ecological Economics, Volume 121, January , 128-139



Despite the efforts made during the last climate conferences (COPs), countries participating in the negotiation process are still far from reaching an agreement on the implementation of a new Post-Kyoto climate regime. The growing role played by developing countries in negotiations is one of the main causes behind the deadlock. Further attention should therefore be paid to the composition of the alliances formed by developing countries in order to better understand the key structural features driving their bargaining positions. By applying a cluster analysis, this paper aims to investigate the role played by heterogeneity in specific characteristics of developing countries in explaining divergent costs and benefits associated with alternative climate negotiation outcomes. By clustering developing countries according to their economic, geographic, environmental, energy, and social characteristics, the paper presents some considerations on climate political economy strategies in these countries with respect to existing bargaining coalitions.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Davidson Kathryn, Gleeson Brendan

Interrogating Urban Climate Leadership: Toward a Political Ecology of the C40 Network

in Global Environmental Politics, Volume 15, Issue 4, November , 21-38

This article considers the rapid evolution and increased prominence of the C40 Cities Climate Change Leadership Group and its commitment to the development of a new style of thinking, and possibly a new urban construct. This new construct is not yet understood, perhaps due to the fact that it is an inchoate ideal being forged through the work of the network for the future of our cities. Such an assessment is well situated within the political economy of urban sustainability, with its ability to set up an interrogative frame to identify the progressive and regressive possibilities that the C40 signals. This article argues that the C40 cities propose nothing new in their ideas, providing a reinforcement of neoliberal urbanism. We need to deviate from technocratic and “econocratic” approaches toward pathways that emphasize the democratic content of socio-environmental development.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Palmer Eric

Introduction: The 2030 Agenda (Forum: The Sustainable Development Goals)

in Journal of Global Ethics, Volume 11, Issue 3, 2015 , 262-269

Abstract

This introduction notes the contributions of authors to the second (final) issue of the Journal of Global Ethics 2015 Sustainable Development Goals Forum. It briefly explains the process through which the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) have developed from their receipt in 2014 to their passage in September 2015 by the UN General Assembly, and it considers their development in prospect. The Millennium Development Goals, which spanned 1990–2015, present a case study that reveals the changeability of such long-term multilateral commitments. They were enmeshed in overlapping and inconsistent national and intergovernmental commitments reaching from 1995 to 2005, and the text of those goals also evolved, stabilizing for the last time in 2007. The SDGs and attendant commitments should be expected to evolve similarly over their 15-year run. This presents a concern, for among the three committees established by the UN to create the goals, the two committees charged with public consultation were retired as planned in 2014. The process evident thereafter has displayed a shift towards a strategy of enrolling broad public endorsement that leaves such consultation and specific responsibility to those consulted in doubt. This bodes ill for public deliberation



on the goals and for public accountability as the agenda proceeds towards 2030.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Arcari Maurizio, Milano Enrico, Tanzi Attila

Introduction: The Contribution of Courts and Tribunals to the Development of International Law in Law and Practice of International Courts and Tribunals (The), vol. 14, n. 1 , 7-15

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Blunt Gwilym David

Justice in assistance: a critique of the 'Singer Solution'

in **Journal of Global Ethics**, Volume 11, Issue 3, 2015 , 321-335

Abstract

This article begins with an examination of Peter Singer's 'solution' to global poverty as a way to develop a theory of 'justice in assistance.' It argues that Singer's work, while compelling, does not seriously engage with the institutions necessary to relieve global poverty. In order to realise our obligations it is necessary to employ secondary agents, such as non-governmental organisations, that produce complex social relationships with the global poor. We should be concerned that the affluent and their secondary agents are complicit with unjust institutions or can be the source of injustice. What is needed is a theory of justice in assistance. This is a distinct area of justice theory because these agents are not primary agents, like states, but they often provide the basic social goods that we associate with primary agents. The article ends by putting forward a provisional conception of justice in assistance based on the republican idea of non-domination.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Villani Ugo

La funzione giudiziaria nell'ordinamento internazionale e la sua incidenza sul diritto sostanziale in Comunità Internazionale (La), vol. LXVIX, n. 1, primo trimestre

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Ferrari Bravo Luigi

La risposta della Comunità internazionale al fenomeno del terrorismo in Comunità Internazionale (La), vol. LXVIX, n. 1, primo trimestre



No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Costa Bona Enrico

Le bureau international de la paix et les congrès universels (1899-1914)

in *Politico (II)*, n. 238, 2015, 93-106

ABSTRACT: Il saggio descrive come i Congressi universali della Pace abbiano cercato di contribuire alla diffusione degli ideali di pace nella vita politica, sociale, giuridica ed economica degli Stati e della comunità internazionale fino alla prima guerra mondiale la quale parve, in effetti, contraddire tutto ciò che il Bureau international de la Paix e i Congressi avevano affermato e tenacemente perseguito. Dopo il 1914 il Bureau international de la Paix dovette astenersi da ogni azione politica e fu praticamente condannato al silenzio.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Ricoveri Giovanna

L'accordo di Parigi: vale la pena distruggere il pianeta in nome del profitto?

in *CNS Ecologia politica*, XXV, n. 14, 29 dicembre

Full text available online at <http://www.ecologiapolitica.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/editoriale-14.pdf>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Tysiachniouk Maria, Henry Laura A.

Managed citizenship: global forest governance and democracy in Russian communities

in *International Journal of Sustainable Development and World Ecology*, Volume 22, Issue 6, 476-489

In this study, we examine the political implications of Forest Stewardship Council (FSC) certification and its requirements for participatory governance by focusing on three case studies in Russia and drawing upon qualitative research data from 2002 to 2014. We argue that one of the unintended by-products of forest certification is the advancement of a specific type of citizenship – what we refer to as ‘managed citizenship.’ In managed citizenship, local communities are empowered by new rights endowed to them by a global governance generating network (GGN), such as the FSC. Through the GGN, local stakeholders may become involved in long-term initiatives that provide new opportunities to participate in democratic governance. However, citizens’ involvement is cultivated, directed, and circumscribed by actors from outside the communities, such as environmental and certification experts who educate local residents about their stakeholder status. We also find that the persistent weakness of social interests, as opposed to environmental, within the FSC and the effects of economic instability and weak democracy domestically contribute to the challenges of engaging local communities.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations



Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Pandey Chandra Lal

Managing Climate Change: Shifting Roles for NGOs in the Climate Negotiations

in Environmental Values, Volume 24, Number 6, December , 799-824

Non-governmental organisations have been playing a significant role in the formation and implementation of global climate change policies. The incremental participation of non-governmental organisations in climate change negotiations is significant for two reasons: 1) they provide governments with expertise and information; and 2) they help to bridge the lack of democracy and legitimacy in global environmental governance. The fulfilment of these two functions, however, is surrounded by doubts, as very little progress has been made so far in combating climate change. Many non-governmental organisations themselves lack democratic legitimacy in their formation and structures, and international climate change agreements are often fragile, not because the negotiators lack information but because they lack political will. This paper examines and outlines the areas for identifying how non-governmental organisations could contribute more to produce effective climate policies, in order to mitigate and manage climate change in the absence of more democratic international climate-change policy-making processes.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Tams Christian J.

Meta-Custom and the Court: A Study in Judicial Law-Making

in Law and Practice of International Courts and Tribunals (The), vol. 14, n. 1 , 51-79

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Engelbrekt Kjell

Mission Creep? The Nontraditional Security Agenda of the G7/8 and the Nascent Role of the G-20

in Global Governance, vol. 21, n. 4, october-december , 537-556

ABSTRACT: In 2008–2011, the Group of 20 swiftly eclipsed the Group of 7, created in the mid-1970s as an informal mechanism for stabilizing markets and facilitating transnational currency exchange and investment. Several observers have expressed the view that the former, broader group is also destined to appropriate the role of the Group of 8, the G7's pioneering successor in the realm of nontraditional security. This article examines the G7/8 legacy of forging quasi-permanent institutional arrangements and frameworks in this policy area and goes on to gauge nontraditional security initiatives subsequently launched by the G-20. Having juxtaposed the past record of these bodies and analyzed the interests and power dynamics that influence member state action in the short and long term, the article outlines three basic options for how the relationship between the G-20 and the G7/8 may evolve.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Graham Erin R.



Money and multilateralism: how funding rules constitute IO governance

in *International Theory*, vol. 7, issue 1, 162-194

ABSTRACT: International relations scholarship largely accepts that multilateralism lies at the heart of the liberal international order and is instantiated in formal, intergovernmental organizations. This paper revisits the conventional wisdom regarding the multilateral character of international organization (IO) governance by drawing attention to the funding methods used to finance contemporary IOs. I argue that different funding rules constitute different modes of governance. While mandatory funding rules are easily reconciled with traditional conceptions of multilateralism, voluntary rules are not. In particular, restricted voluntary funding rules devolve authority over funding decisions to individual actors, undercutting the collective decision making that is central to multilateral governance. I demonstrate the relevance of the argument in the case of the United Nations, which has transformed from an institution reliant primarily on mandatory contributions, to one disproportionately reliant on restricted, voluntary funds. The counterintuitive result is an increasingly bilateral United Nations. The paper contributes to our understanding of the relationship between multilateralism and IO governance, and has implications for literature related to institutional design, delegation, and development aid. In addition, it raises empirical and normative questions regarding reliance on voluntary funding.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Raymond Mark, DeNardis Laura

Multistakeholderism: anatomy of an inchoate global institution

in *International Theory*, vol. 7, issue 3, 572-616

ABSTRACT: Building on John Ruggie's pioneering study of multilateralism, this paper presents an analogous study of multistakeholder governance, or multistakeholderism. Its central argument is that multistakeholderism is, as yet, a much less well-defined institutional form. Cases exhibit significant variation both in the combinations of actor classes entitled to participate and the nature of authority relations among those actors. The first section discusses multistakeholderism as an institutional form, and proposes a taxonomy of its types. This section also briefly addresses the implications of the analysis for International Relations theory. The paper then conducts a comparative analysis of multistakeholderism, applying the taxonomy to five illustrative cases. It demonstrates the degree of inter-case variation, and the range of issue-areas across which the institutional form is employed and invoked by actors. Three cases are drawn from the increasingly contentious area of Internet governance; the paper thus makes a secondary contribution to this growing literature. The paper's most striking finding in this regard is that Internet governance often fails to live up to its multistakeholder rhetoric. Other cases include governance of securities regulation and the governance of corporate social responsibility. The paper concludes by examining the implications of our argument, and identifying areas for further research.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Sithole Kundai

NGO-IGO Relations: Amnesty International, Council of Europe, and Abolition of the Death Penalty

in *Global Governance*, vol. 22, n. 1, january-march, 79-97

ABSTRACT: This article draws on the previously unseen archival record to examine Amnesty International's contribution



to the abolition of the death penalty in the Council of Europe legal space. The Parliamentary Assembly and the European Court of Human Rights' contributions are widely discussed in scholarly and policy circles alike, but Amnesty International's substantive contribution in the 1970s and in 1989 is less well documented. Political and legal actors in Strasbourg have significant control over the content and timing of international agreements, but in this case Amnesty International was decisive in shifting substantive considerations as to need for regional intervention to prohibit European states from exposing individuals to the death penalty. Of interest to policy students and international relations scholars alike, documenting Amnesty International activity also provides an illustration of nongovernmental actors' contribution to Strasbourg human rights policymaking over time and across a range of political and judicial actors.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Breitmeier Helmut, Hansel Mischa

Nicht-staatliche Akteure und die Effektivität und Legitimität des globalen Regierens
in *Zeitschrift für Außen- und Sicherheitspolitik* , vol. 8, n. 2 - supplement , 507-529

ABSTRACT: How can non-state actors contribute to the effectiveness and democratic legitimacy of global governance? The article focuses on different approaches of democratic theory and explores which possibilities they ascribe to non-state actors for improving democratic legitimacy of global governance. In addition, the article explores whether and how non-state actors can improve different dimensions of the effectiveness of global governance, e.g., problem-solving, goal-attainment or compliance. The empirical findings demonstrate that non-state actors can partially improve the effectiveness and democratic legitimacy of global governance. But inclusion of these actors also creates new legitimacy problems.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Bower Adam

Norms Without the Great Powers: International Law, Nested Social Structures, and the Ban on Antipersonnel Mines
in *International Studies Review* , vol. 17, issue 3, september , 347-373

ABSTRACT: In the past two decades, a series of major multilateral treaties were created in the absence of support—and often in the face of sustained opposition—from the United States and other emerging global leaders like China, India, and Russia. These institutions present a puzzle to prominent theories of IR because they fail to encompass predominantly powerful actors regarded as most consequential to the development and enforcement of international rules, raising questions as to their potential efficacy. This paper addresses the prospects for non-great power law in theoretical and empirical terms. I first draw on constructivist conceptions of international law as a social practice to demonstrate how multilateral treaties may generate powerful new social expectations and alter behavior even when they do not correspond to the prevailing distribution of material power in the international system. Treaties are embedded within an international social system composed of legal and non-legal elements, and these structural features generate social pressures that bear on formal members and non-parties alike. I then apply this account to an archetypal—and hard—case, the ban on antipersonnel mines. Contrary to skeptical assumptions, I demonstrate that the Mine Ban Treaty has instantiated a powerful new international social standard which has generated widespread behavioral change among treaty members—challenging accounts that emphasize enforcement by leading states—and non-parties



including major military powers like the United States—challenging the view that great powers avoid new institutional developments not to their liking.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Miller Jennifer L., Cramer Jacob, Volgy Thomas J., Bezerra Paul, Hauser Megan, Sciabarra Christina

Norms, Behavioral Compliance, and Status Attribution in International Politics

in International Interactions, vol. 41, issue 5, 779-804

ABSTRACT: Extant work on status attribution has largely focused on major powers or state capabilities as key explanatory factors driving these social processes and suggests that status considerations increase conflicts between states. We argue for a more comprehensive approach to status attribution that considers international norms as another major factor that is weighed in the attribution process. We contend that states (policymakers) evaluate one another not only on the basis of economic and military capabilities but also on the extent to which there is behavioral conformance with normative expectations and reward one another dependent upon whether these expectations are met. However, this attribution of status is dependent upon the level of contestation pertaining to that norm. Using a data set that assesses consistency with six different norms (resource transference, multilateralism, economic liberalism, democratic governance, respect for human rights, and peaceful dispute resolution), we find that status attribution is associated with norm-consistent behavior but only when these norms are uncontested at the global level.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Wisor Scott

On the structure of global development goals

in Journal of Global Ethics, Volume 11, Issue 3, 2015, 280-287

Abstract

The design of global development goals has been beset by deep flaws, inconsistencies, and manifest unfairness to some developing countries. Momentum has now peaked for the creation of Sustainable Development Goals to replace the Millennium Development Goals. This comment addresses three challenges that arise in setting development goals, and recommends feasible development goals that can meaningfully guide development cooperation, and focus the attention of policy makers on the worst-off.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Alcañiz Isabella

Partner selection in international environmental networks: The effect of skills and money on cooperation in the Global South

in Environmental Science & Policy, Volume 55, Part 1, January, 107-115

What explains cooperation in international environmental networks? What are the effects of skills and money on the



decision by state agencies to collaborate across borders on environmental problems? This article answers these questions, showing that international cooperation provides environmental bureaucrats and their agencies with the opportunity to pool scarce resources, update critical skills, and attract funds from international donors. Theory and results offer novel findings on network homophily (the tendency of similar actors to work together), as international cooperation increases between environmental state agencies at similar levels of program development. Hypotheses are tested using social network analysis to measure cooperation on a dataset that includes all regional and global grants awarded over the past two decades by the Global Environment Facility (GEF).

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Barnett Michael

Paternalism and Global Governance

in Social Philosophy and Policy , Volume 32, Issue 01, Fall 2015 , 216-243

Abstract:

Contemporary global governance is organized around an odd pairing: care and control. On the one hand, much of global governance is designed to reduce human suffering and improve human flourishing, with the important caveat that individuals should be allowed to decide for themselves how they want to live their lives. On the other hand, these global practices of care are also entangled with acts of control. Peacebuilding, public health, emergency aid, human rights, and development are expressions of this tension between care and control. There is a concept that captures this tension: paternalism. Drawing on our moral intuitions, I argue that paternalism is the attempt by one actor to substitute his judgment for another actor's on the grounds that such an imposition will improve the welfare of the target actor. After discussing and defending this definition, I note how our unease with paternalism seems to grow as we scale up from the interpersonal to the international, which I argue owes to the evaporation of community and equality. After exploring the implications of this definition and distinguishing it from other forms of intervention, I consider how different elements of paternalism combine to generate different configurations. Specifically, I point to five dimensions that are most relevant for examining the paternalism found in contemporary global and humanitarian governance: the tools used to restrict another actor's liberty (force versus information); the scope of the interference (wide versus narrow); the purpose of the intervention (prevention of harm versus emancipation); the source of the paternalizer's confidence (faith versus evidence); and the mechanisms of accountability (internal versus external). These different elements often correlate historically, suggestive of two ideal types of global paternalism: strong and weak. Contemporary global and humanitarian governance is largely the weak variety: force is severely proscribed, interference is relatively restricted, the paternalizer's confidence has epistemic roots, and accountability to local populations remains a noble but rarely practiced goal. I further speculate that a major reason for this difference is the effects of liberalism and rationalization. I use this taxonomy to suggest how two different global efforts to improve the lives of those peoples living in what were perceived to be unstable and illiberal territories — the civilizing missions of the nineteenth century and the peacebuilding operations of the post-Cold War period — exhibited different kinds of paternalism. I conclude by reflecting on the ethics of international paternalism.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations



Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Little Adrian

Performing the demos: towards a processive theory of global democracy

in *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, Volume 18, Issue 6, 2015 , 620-641

Abstract

Debates on global democracy have tended to focus on the possibility of a global democratic entity based on the feasibility of institutional structures that, however inadvertently, take state-based conceptualizations of democracy as their reference point. More recently, however, some theorists have argued for a more 'performative' approach that focuses on the demos rather than the kratos and the capacity of political actors to 'perform' a role as members of a global demos (List and Koenig-Archibugi 2010). While advancing global democracy debates, this 'performative' approach leans towards an overly mechanical, static account of performativity that defines democratic behaviour in terms of the functional requirements of political systems. Based on the 'realist turn' in contemporary political theory, this article argues for an alternative account of performativity. When coupled with a theory of political complexity, this implies a more processive theory of global democracy that is focused more on what it means for a demos to 'perform' democratically than the development of specific institutional configurations. A processive theory of global democracy concentrates more on the emergence of multilevel democratic practices that supplement existing state-based democratic procedures rather than conceiving global democracy as a new, fixed institutional configuration to replace existing democratic structures. Understood in these terms, the debate on the possibility or impossibility of global democracy, which takes as its reference point existing state-based institutional structures, deflects attention from the more pertinent and substantive matter of whether particular initiatives and processes in specific contexts are more or less democratic in global terms.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Zarka Yves Charles

Pour une « Déclaration universelle des droits de l'humanité »

in *Cité, philosophie, politique, histoire*, n° 63 , pp. 3-10

<http://www.cairn.info/revue-cites-2015-3-page-3.htm>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Pendenza Massimo

Radicare il cosmopolitismo. La nozione di «cosmopolitismo sociale»

in *Rassegna italiana di sociologia*, numero 2, aprile-giugno , pp. 265-288

The aim of the paper is to validate the argument asserting that cosmopolitanism has to be rooted in the «local». In this context, the paper affirms both the conceptual and empirical autonomy of the «local», understood as belonging to a particular social milieu and «cosmopolitanism», generally interpreted - on the contrary - as voluntary adhesion to mankind. The paper rejects the "dichotomy" between the two and asserts, vice versa, the combined and intrinsic relationship between the «local» and «cosmopolitanism». Sociologically, the two forms merge shaping reality. In short, in line with Durkheim and Simmel, it is maintained that cosmopolitanism is more the consequence of transcendence -



without destruction - of the concrete social space rather than the manifestation of a cognitive universalism, based on the abstract nature both of the individual and mankind.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Creamer Cosette D., Simmons Beth A.

Ratification, Reporting, and Rights: Quality of Participation in the Convention against Torture in Human Rights Quarterly, vol. 37, n. 3, august , 579-608

ABSTRACT: The core international human rights treaty bodies play an important role in monitoring implementation of human rights standards through consideration of states parties' reports. Yet very little research explores how seriously governments take their reporting obligations. This article examines the reporting record of parties to the Convention against Torture, finding that report submission is heavily conditioned by the practices of neighboring countries and by a government's human rights commitment and institutional capacity. This article also introduces original data on the quality and responsiveness of reports, finding that more democratic—and particularly newly democratic—governments tend to render higher quality reports.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Schiesaro Giampaolo

Reato transnazionale organizzato e crimine contro l'umanità': nuove prospettive per una tutela integrata dell'ambiente

in Politico (II), n. 238, 2015 , 68-92

ABSTRACT: Environmental criminality has become multinational and increasingly proves to be able to operate as a truly "integrated criminal system". In order to adequately counter this form of criminality it is necessary to be able to rely, in defence of the people and the environmental goods, not only on state rules (which are also essential to an integrated protection of public goods and collective interests), but also on international criminal rules, using the few repressive tools that an evolutive interpretation of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court would make immediately available. Taking, therefore, the moves by certain national rules applicable to most serious cases of transnational trafficking of hazardous waste, in the most recent interpretation given by the Supreme Court of Cassation, and having in mind the deadly effects on the health of the population living in places contaminated by illegal trafficking, the Author illustrates the reasons why such criminal acts are punishable today, also at international level, as "crime against humanity", according to art. 7, paragraph 1, lett. k) of the said Rome Statute. Finally, he deals with the need to explicitly introduce, even in the Italian judicial system, a specific type of environmental crime against humanity shaped on the basis of that inferable from the aforementioned International Convention, in order to easily allow to the national judge to apply it directly without being compelled to invoke reasons of universal jurisdiction.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Auriane Botte

Redefining the responsibility to protect concept as a response to international crimes



in *International Journal of Human Rights (The)*, vol. 19, issue 8 , 1029-1043

This article assesses whether shifting the focus of responsibility to protect (R2P) as a response to crimes as such would potentially result in a greater support to implement the concept by the Security Council. Ten years ago, the international community endorsed the R2P concept as a response to genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity. However, the inaction of the Security Council in the situation in Syria sadly illustrates the current lack of consensus among the permanent Member States on the implementation of R2P. This article suggests redefining R2P as a response to core international crimes building upon their unifying effect.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Charalampos Efstathopoulos

Reformist Multipolarity and Global Trade Governance in an Era of Systemic Power Redistribution
in *Global Journal of Emerging Market Economies*, 8 (1) , 3-21

This article assesses the role of emerging powers in the liberal order by examining the diplomacy of these states in the Doha Round of the World Trade Organization (WTO). The article discusses the changing shape of global trade governance through the insights provided by multipolarity, unipolarity as well as critical perspectives on emerging states. Based on the insights provided by these approaches, the article provides an analytical account of WTO negotiations to argue that the changing position of emerging powers in global trade governance is indicative of a system of reformist multipolarity. This system entails three major characteristics. First, it is based on a multipolar decision-making process where established and emerging powers hold veto power over the negotiating process, but commit to the stable management of the global economy. Second, it comprises a nascent great power concert where established and emerging powers share a common worldview on the centrality of the WTO to operate as the overarching authority for regulating and managing global trade. Third, emerging states maintain a reformist approach in this multipolar system seeking to renegotiate the rights and responsibilities to be undertaken by each major stakeholder.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Gibney Matthew J.

Refugees and justice between states

in *European Journal of Political Theory*, Vol. 14, No. 4, October 2015 , 448-463

Abstract

In this article, I consider the neglected question of justice between states in the distribution of responsibility for refugees. I argue that a just distribution of refugees across states is an important normative goal and, accordingly, I attempt to rethink the normative foundations of the global refugee regime. I show that because dismantling the restrictive measures currently used by states in the global South to prevent the arrival of refugees will not suffice to ensure a just distribution of refugees between states, a more detailed account of how responsibilities should be shared between states is required. To this end, I make three claims. First, I argue that the definition of 'refugee' must be broadened beyond those subjected to persecution to include harms of action or omission by states that seriously jeopardise personal security or subsistence needs. Second, I argue that allocating a fair share of refugees to states should be based on state's



integrative capacities. Finally, I argue that distributive justice between states must be balanced against the legitimate interests of refugees in their destination country and the duty of states to ensure they are settled in places where they are likely to flourish.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Afshari Reza

Relativity in Universality: Jack Donnelly's Grand Theory in Need of Specific Illustrations
in *Human Rights Quarterly*, vol. 37, n. 4, november , 854-912

ABSTRACT: Assuming that human rights advocacy still largely hales from the West, Jack Donnelly asserts that it would gain additional legitimacy by recognizing the differences between Western cultures and others. Advocating "special caution and sensitivity," he calls for "relative universality." Other scholars advocate similar views. At the same time Donnelly agrees with the new anthropological insight about the "deeply contested" nature of cultures in the global South, as elsewhere, that in my view makes the recognition of the cultural differences across North-South axis almost impossible. How could Western advocates decide which of the fractions in a given contested culture should be nominated for culturally-sensitive considerations to arrive at "relative universality?" A significant section of his theory explains how universalism can be relativized in "interpretation" and "implementation." I contend that scholars, exploring the notion of "tempered" universality, should focus on the violating nation-states and posit their theories on the corpus of the available documentations and analyses. Hypothetical examples without references to specific human rights reports cannot be practically useful for monitoring and advocacy.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Afshari Reza

Relativity in Universality: Jack Donnelly's Grand Theory in Need of Specific Illustrations
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Section B) Global governance and international organizations



Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Engler Steven, Bönisch Anna, Trost Esther

Relevanz einer 'neuen Nachhaltigkeit' im Kontext globaler Ernährungskrisen
in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 49, 2015

The full text is free:

<http://www.bpb.de/apuz/216227/relevanz-einer-neuen-nachhaltigkeit-im-kontext-globaler-ernaehrungskrisen>

Hunger in der Welt ist ein Dauerthema öffentlicher und medialer Diskurse. Hunger beziehungsweise Unterernährung, von der wir im Folgenden sprechen werden, ist dabei lediglich ein Phänomen der globalen Ernährungskrisen. Diese sind viel komplexer, facettenreicher und schwerer zu bekämpfen, als es bereits die Unterernährung alleine wäre. Kurz gesagt, die globalen Ernährungskrisen, die sich – entgegen der Trends im Bereich der Unterernährung – weiter verschärfen, sind mehrdimensional. Insbesondere vier Dimensionen sind von Relevanz, um sich einem komplexen Verständnis der Ernährungskrisen zu nähern...

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Hochstetler Kathryn, Milkoreit Manjana

Responsibilities in Transition: Emerging Powers in the Climate Change Negotiations
in *Global Governance*, vol. 21, n. 2, april-june , 205-226

ABSTRACT: The BASIC countries (Brazil, South Africa, India, and China) play an increasingly prominent role in global climate negotiations. Climate governance spotlights burden-sharing arrangements, asking countries to take on potentially costly actions to resolve a global problem, even as the benefits are generally indivisible public goods. This article examines the BASIC countries' own Joint Statements and their individual and collective submissions to multilateral climate negotiations to identify the rationalist and principled arguments they have made about the climate burden-sharing requirements that developed countries, developing countries, and they themselves should face in global climate governance. It argues that their expectations for their own role are particularly unclear, with greater national action than international commitments to do so.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Maggie Powers

Responsibility to protect: dead, dying, or thriving?
in *International Journal of Human Rights (The)*, vol. 19, issue 8 , 1257-1278

An intense backlash against the norm of responsibility to protect (R2P) emerged following the 2011 United Nations (UN)-authorised intervention in Libya. This research assesses empirically how significantly the post-Libya backlash affected the normative acceptance of R2P and offers insight into where in the lifecycle of acceptance or rejection R2P currently falls. Through the collection and analysis of UN Security Council and Human Rights Council documents, this research creates an empirical picture of how often, when, and by whom R2P terminology has been referenced over time at the UN. The analysis reveals that post-Libya debate on R2P has not resulted in a decrease in rhetorical acceptance



of the norm or a decrease in authorization of R2P framed policies. Instead, R2P has become further internalised and is increasingly utilised in the Security Council and Human Rights Council.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Ciplet David

Rethinking Cooperation: Inequality and Consent in International Climate Change Politics

in **Global Governance**, vol. 21, n. 2, april-june , 247-274

ABSTRACT: This article analyzes how low-income state agreement has been produced for contemporary international climate change treaties. These treaties have dramatically weakened the legal framework for action on climate change, with likely unequal impacts in the poorest countries. The case demonstrates that theories of international cooperation are not fully equipped to explain the processes through which low-income states offer their consent to multilateral agreements. This article develops and applies to this case a neo-Gramscian framework of negotiated consent, which reveals three mechanisms in the production of low-income state consent: material concessions, norm alignment, and structural conditioning. This approach views international cooperation as a process of strategic power relations co-constituted by strong and weak states, in coordination with nonstate actors. As such, it is useful for bridging the agent-structure divide prevalent in cooperation theory and sheds light on the durable nature of inequality in international governance.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Prabha Kotiswaran and Nicola Palmer

Rethinking the 'international law of crime': provocations from transnational legal studies

in **Transnational Legal Theory**, vol. 6, issue 1 , 55-88

Neil Boister's distinction between international and transnational criminal law offers a valuable first step in delineating two fields of enquiry. Drawing on transnational legal studies, however, we show in section I how Boister engages with international criminal law in an idealised form, yet in practice this area of law faces many of the same challenges that plague transnational criminal law. In section II we challenge the stability of the category of 'transnational crime' and pluralise the international regulatory matrix beyond the use of criminal law to address the fall-outs of globalisation, expanding, in the process, the horizontal, vertical and temporal dimensions of transnational criminal law. We argue against reifying international and transnational criminal law and draw on the critical orientation of transnational legal studies manifest in its invocations of legal realism, legal pluralism and socio-legal scholarship to articulate a wide-ranging agenda for rethinking the theoretical and empirical dimensions of the 'international law of crime'.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Mancilla Alejandra

Review Article: The environmental turn in territorial rights

in **Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy**, Volume 19, Issue 2, 2016 , 221-241



Abstract

Recent theories of territorial rights could be characterized by their growing attention to environmental concerns and resource rights (understood as the rights of jurisdiction and/or ownership over natural resources). Here I examine two: Avery Kolers's theory of ethnogeographical plenitude, and Cara Nine's theory of legitimate political authority over people and resources. While Kolers is a pioneer in demanding ecological sustainability as a minimum requirement for any viable theory of territorial rights – building a bridge between environmental and political philosophy – Nine highlights a crucial distinction when looking at territorial rights from a global justice perspective, namely that between jurisdictional powers and ownership rights over resources. Daring and innovative at first glance, I claim that both theories present, however, deep ambiguities and retreat from their radical implications which, if taken seriously, would lead to a massive redrawing of current territorial borders.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Pickering Jonathan, Jotzo Frank, Wood Peter J.

Sharing the Global Climate Finance Effort Fairly with Limited Coordination

in Global Environmental Politics, Volume 15, Issue 4, November , 39-62

Mobilizing climate finance for developing countries is crucial for achieving a fair and effective global climate regime. To date, developed countries retain wide discretion over their national contributions. We explore how different degrees of international coordination may influence the fairness of the global financing effort, and we present quantitative scenarios, for both the metrics used to distribute the collective effort among countries contributing funding, and the number of contributing countries. We find that an intermediate degree of coordination—combining nationally determined financing pledges with a robust international review mechanism—may reduce distortions in relative efforts as well as shortfalls in overall funding, while reflecting reasonable differences over what constitutes a fair share. A broader group of contributors may do little to improve adequacy or equity unless it can converge on credible measures of responsibility and capacity. Our analysis highlights the importance of building common understandings about effort sharing.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Kuchler Magdalena, Lövbrand Eva

Simulative governance: on the collaborative narrative of civil society participation in the CDM stakeholder framework

in Environmental Politics, Volume 25, Issue 3 , 434-453

The Kyoto Protocol's Clean Development Mechanism (CDM) is often cited as an exemplar of new, hybrid forms of global environmental governance operating at the public–private interface. Practically, enacting this arrangement involves a wide range of non-state actors. This broad involvement is here assumed to mark a shift towards more polycentric and networked modes of governance in which agents collaborate as 'stakeholders' in the process of consensual rule-setting and implementation. Using post-political critique, the depoliticising effects of the stakeholder framework on civil society actors are interrogated, using formal and informal participation opportunities to raise concerns regarding specific CDM projects. The analysis suggests that the CDM's collaborative narrative of stakeholding structurally fails to stimulate public (re)engagement and is, instead, a prime example of simulative governance that struggles to achieve the simultaneity of two incompatibilities: the participatory revolution and the post-political turn.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Coe Brooke

Sovereignty Regimes and the Norm of Noninterference in the Global South: Regional and Temporal Variation in Global Governance, vol. 21, n. 2, april-june , 275-298

ABSTRACT: State sovereignty is a fundamental organizing principle of international relations. Although always imperfectly respected, the sovereignty norm-set—territorial integrity, sovereign equality, and noninterference—carries enormous weight. It is not, however, static or monolithic, and this article seeks to historicize and contextualize sovereignty in the Global South by examining one of its essential components, the norm of noninterference. Making use of qualitative and quantitative evidence, it argues that the norm of noninterference, held sacrosanct in developing regions during the postdecolonization era, has eroded in important ways in Latin America and Africa as regional interference practices in response to domestic crises have gained legitimacy in the post–Cold War era. Noninterference has meanwhile been upheld and protected to a much greater degree in Southeast Asia.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Papa Mihaela

Sustainable Global Governance? Reduce, Reuse, and Recycle Institutions in Global Environmental Politics, Volume 15, Issue 4, November , 1-20

The growth of global governance—in terms of the proliferation of rules, laws, and institutional forms as well as their interactions—is an increasingly debated issue. Scholars are raising concerns about some of its negative impacts, but they are divided on the extent of these impacts and on the needed solutions. While some question the viability of international institutions and argue for embracing complexity, others see current growth concerns as a call for more order and a turn to constitutionalism. This article argues for a turn to sustainable development instead. This approach addresses the system's underlying problem: its unsustainable development, which threatens to produce more rather than better governance arrangements and to enhance existing participation inequalities. The article uses the sustainable development paradigm to envision how to prevent rather than respond to growth concerns, and to integrate equity considerations into institutional strategies. A discussion of reducing, reusing, and recycling international institutions illustrates how to implement this approach and suggests areas for future research.

Full text available online at http://www.mitpressjournals.org/doi/full/10.1162/GLEP_a_00324

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Mehling Michael

The Comparative Law of Climate Change: A Research Agenda

in Review of European Community & International Environmental Law, Volume 24, Issue 3, Special Issue: Comparative Environmental Law, November , 341-352

Climate change defies traditional models of academic enquiry; its scale and complexity strain the explanatory power of



established thought, prompting the espousal of new, fluid concepts and calls for greater interdisciplinarity. Law, with its rigid doctrines and insistence on binary categories, appears particularly unsuited as a framework of analysis. However, as this article submits, the legal method offers a unique vessel to infer collective understandings of the climate challenge, helping bridge the divide between fact and norm that characterizes other intellectual paradigms. A shifting focal point from international to domestic climate action suggests the particular utility of comparative law, which can identify policy barriers and drivers, and add a vital dimension to the study of policy design and transfer. Invoking the epistemic value of legal exegesis, this article proposes a research agenda for comparative analysis in a rapidly evolving issue area, which, although not yet a field of law in its own right, offers ample opportunities for study: the law as it relates to climate change.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Frulli Micaela

The Contribution of International Criminal Tribunals to the Development of International Law: The Prominence of *opinio juris* and the Moralization of Customary Law

in Law and Practice of International Courts and Tribunals (The), vol. 14, n. 1 , 80-93

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Mesquita Ceia Eleonora

The Contributions of the Inter-American Court of Human Rights to the Development of Transitional Justice in Law and Practice of International Courts and Tribunals (The), vol. 14, n. 3 , 457-475

ABSTRACT: Transitional justice refers to the set of judicial and non-judicial measures adopted by different countries in order to confront their dictatorial past. In practice, countries adopt different transitional policies according to their own political, legal, social, historical, and cultural traditions. This applies, for example, to Latin American countries, some of which enacted amnesty laws currently in force, while others tried and convicted those responsible for human rights violations. In this process, the Inter-American Court of Human Rights has contributed significantly to the progress of transitional justice. Through its jurisprudence, the Court has enshrined fundamental principles related to transitional justice. In addition, it has helped Latin American countries overcome jurisprudential positions and revoke national laws that contradict international human rights standards. This article examines the contribution of the Inter-American Court of Human Rights to the development of transitional justice, with an emphasis on the case of Brazil. Ultimately, it assesses the impact of selected court jurisprudence on Brazil in order to identify the quality of the existing dialogue on transitional justice between the Inter-American Court of Human Rights and the Brazilian Supreme Federal Court.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Frisso Giovanna M.

The Genocide Convention as a Human Rights Treaty: The Possible Contribution of the Inter-American Court of Human Rights to the Jurisprudence of the International Court of Justice



in *Law and Practice of International Courts and Tribunals (The)*, vol. 14, n. 3 , 438-456

ABSTRACT: This article reflects upon the potential contribution of the jurisprudence of the Inter-American Court of Human Rights (IACHR) to international law. This is done through an analysis of the debates related to two aspects of the 2007 judgment of the International Court of Justice (ICJ) on the application of the Genocide Convention, judgment which has received a great amount of criticism, in part because the approaches adopted by the ICJ differ from those adopted by human rights courts. The jurisprudence of the IACHR has been used to illustrate these differences and to articulate the challenges that they pose to an understanding of the international legal system as a unified system. This article argues that due consideration of the jurisprudence of the IACHR could have strengthened the persuasive force of the ICJ judgment, because it would have required the ICJ to clearly indicate the arguments relied on for choosing one of the different, and sometimes contradictory, approaches.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Sindico Francesco, Hawkins Stephanie

The Guarani Aquifer Agreement and Transboundary Aquifer Law in the SADC: Comparing Apples and Oranges? in Review of European Community & International Environmental Law, Volume 24, Issue 3, Special Issue: Comparative Environmental Law, November , 318-329

International law governing transboundary aquifers is considerably underdeveloped, with only a handful of bilateral and multilateral agreements governing specific aquifer systems to date. However, the significance of transboundary aquifers in addressing water security concerns is gaining recognition, and dialogue discussing the future of the international legal framework is growing in importance. Contributing to this dialogue, we seek to compare different legal instruments applicable to the management of transboundary aquifers in different regions. We draw from the experience of the processes that led to an established transboundary agreement in one region, and compare it to another region that is yet to establish a formal legal instrument. Specifically, we compare the Guarani Aquifer System in Latin America with international legal instruments applicable to the management of transboundary aquifers in the Southern African Development Community (SADC). We identify several trends arising from the management of the Guarani Aquifer System that could have potentially valuable input for SADC countries currently embarking upon the initial stages of the management of a transboundary aquifer. Central to this article is the underlying question of whether these international legal instruments, which are placed in dramatically different contexts, can be compared in the first place. We conclude that such a comparison is useful only if undertaken as a process of knowledge acquisition, as such a broad comparative exercise is limited in its ability to produce direct policy recommendations. Gaining knowledge of regional governance practices in relation to differing aquifer characteristics is particularly important in this underdeveloped area, especially as discussions regarding the future for transboundary aquifer law are gaining momentum at the international level.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Oanta Gabriela A.

The International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea and the Polar Regions in Law and Practice of International Courts and Tribunals (The), vol. 13, n. 3 , 286-305

ABSTRACT: The International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea (ITLOS) was created by the United Nations Convention on



the Law of the Sea (unclos) as a mechanism for the settlement of disputes that may arise in relation to the interpretation or application of the provisions of the Convention or of an international agreement regarding the purposes of the Convention. So far, no claim regarding the polar regions as a whole has been brought before the itlos. However, in certain aspects these regions have been present in the activity of the itlos. This article is divided into two main parts. The first part presents an analysis of the present and future activities of the itlos regarding the Arctic. In the second part, the issues referring to the Antarctic lato senso brought to the itlos will be examined. So far, the Antarctic has received greater attention from the itlos than the Arctic.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Kolb Robert

The Jurisprudence of the Permanent Court of International Justice Between Utilitas Publica and Utilitas Singulorum

in Law and Practice of International Courts and Tribunals (The), vol. 14, n. 1 , 16-34

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Murphy Craig N.

The Last Two Centuries of Global Governance

in Global Governance, vol. 21, n. 2, april-june , 189-196

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Parks Louisa, Morgera Elisa

The Need for an Interdisciplinary Approach to Norm Diffusion: The Case of Fair and Equitable Benefit-sharing in Review of European Community & International Environmental Law, Volume 24, Issue 3, Special Issue: Comparative

Environmental Law, November , 353-367

No systematic study discusses the evolution of fair and equitable benefit-sharing across various areas of international law (environment, human rights, oceans), as well as at different levels of regulation (regional and national laws and guidelines, private law contracts, transboundary codes of conduct, customary laws of indigenous peoples and local communities). This article explores the usefulness of an interdisciplinary approach to the study of norm diffusion for understanding how and why fair and equitable benefit-sharing is articulated in different sites. The article discusses mechanisms, actors and frames in norm diffusion, drawing on literature from sociology, international relations and law. The article uncovers underlying similarities in scholarship on norm diffusion across the disciplines considered. It also reflects on the value of an interdisciplinary approach that encourages legal scholars to consider the implications of power structures in the diffusion of law, while the nuances of legal knowledge may lead other social scientists to revisit accepted findings on norm diffusion. These findings appear particularly useful for informing an assessment of the



potential of fair and equitable benefit-sharing to promote the conservation and sustainable use of natural resources in a fair and equitable manner in the face of power asymmetries.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Betts Alexander

The Normative Terrain of the Global Refugee Regime

in Ethics and International Affairs, vol. 29, n. 4, winter , 363-375

ABSTRACT: The global refugee regime encompasses the rules, norms, principles, and decision-making procedures that govern states' responses to refugees. It comprises a set of norms, primarily those entrenched in the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees, which defines who is a refugee and the rights to which such people are entitled. It also comprises an international organization, the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), which has supervisory responsibility for ensuring that states meet their obligations toward refugees.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Baccini Leonardo, Dür Andreas, Elsig Manfred

The Politics of Trade Agreement Design: Revisiting the Depth–Flexibility Nexus

in International Studies Quarterly, vol. 59, issue 4, december , 765-775

ABSTRACT: Existing research indicates the interrelated nature of different dimensions of the design of international institutions. In particular, it shows the greater flexibility of deep agreements. We argue—and demonstrate empirically—that the positive relationship between depth and flexibility holds for preferential trade agreements (PTAs). But we add two qualifications to the conventional wisdom that depth and flexibility go hand in hand. First, we argue that the positive relationship between depth and flexibility proves weaker for democracies than for nondemocracies. Second, when making deep agreements more flexible, countries also add strings to the use of the additional flexibility provisions. An original data set on the design of 587 PTAs allows us to test our arguments. Both descriptive evidence and multivariate statistics support the theoretical expectations. The findings contribute to the literatures on the design of international institutions and the causes and consequences of PTAs.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Bufalini Alessandro

The Principle of Legality and the Role of Customary International Law in the Interpretation of the icc Statute

in Law and Practice of International Courts and Tribunals (The), vol. 14, n. 2 , 233-254

ABSTRACT: This article endeavours to determine the role of customary international law in the prosecution of crimes under the jurisdiction of the icc. In its first findings dealing with the meaning of Article 21(b) of the icc Statute, the Court has attributed to customary international law the subsidiary role of filling the lacunae of the Statute. This interpretation seems to admit, although in a limited and imprecise way, an application of customary international law in the proceedings before the Court. However, the principle of legality, as perceived in the icc Statute, appears to limit the



recourse to customary international law to the interpretation of written rules. Moreover, an analysis of relevant Articles of the Rome Statute, in which an application of customary rules could be, or has been, invoked, discloses the different shapes that the potential interpretative resort to customary law in determining the meaning of the statutory provisions might take.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Weaver Catherine

The Rise of China: Continuity or Change in the Global Governance of Development?

in Ethics and International Affairs, vol. 29, n. 4, winter , 419-431

ABSTRACT: The global financial crisis of 2008 was a reflection point for global economic governance. The crisis, which started in the U.S. banking system and had a disproportionate impact on North America and Europe, provoked widespread contemplation of the legitimacy, relevance, and effectiveness of the core ideas, rules, and structures that have governed the world economy over the past century. In turn, the crisis also illuminated the emergence of new players, power dynamics, and paradigms that promise to challenge—if not fundamentally change—the characteristics of the institutional architecture that has governed international finance, trade, and development since the end of World War II.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Stewart Frances

The Sustainable Development Goals: a comment

in Journal of Global Ethics, Volume 11, Issue 3, 2015 , 288-293

Abstract

The agreement on Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) is a tremendous achievement. The goals represent an advance on the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), by aiming to eliminate poverty, by including an equality goal and by bringing sustainability into the agenda. Nonetheless, three outstanding issues remain. First, national ownership is likely to be a problem. The centrally agreed goals need to be interpreted nationally to allow for national priorities and circumstances and to secure national commitment to them. Secondly, the goals are silent on the underlying economic structures needed to realize some of the goals, particularly of reducing inequality. Existing economic structures and policies are likely to result in a move away from achievement of this goal. Thirdly, most important, there is not true integration of the sustainability and economic goals. The goal of promoting economic growth needs to be seriously qualified for middle and high income countries, if the sustainability objectives – particularly on carbon emissions – are to be realized. This requires either that economic growth should only be promoted if sustainability can be assured, or that growth is redefined as ‘green growth’ so that promoting economic growth and achieving sustainability become consistent.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Hidalgo Javier



The case for the international governance of immigration

in *International Theory*, vol. 8, issue 1 , 140-170

ABSTRACT: States have rights to unilaterally determine their own immigration policies under international law and few international institutions regulate states' decision-making about immigration. As a result, states have extensive discretion over immigration policy. In this paper, I argue that states should join international migration institutions that would constrain their discretion over immigration. Immigration restrictions are morally risky. When states restrict immigration, they risk unjustly harming foreigners and restricting their freedom. Furthermore, biases and epistemic defects pervasively influence states' decision-making about immigration policy. States should transfer some of their decision-making authority over immigration to more reliable institutions in order to mitigate the risks that they will unjustly restrict immigration. International institutions that include the interests of potential immigrants would be more reliable with respect to immigration policy than unilateral state decision-making. Thus, states should subject their immigration policies to international control.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Ji Zou, Sha Fu

The challenges of the post-COP21 regime: interpreting CBDR in the INDC context

in *International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics*, Volume 15, Issue 4, November , 421-430

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Karlsson Schaffer Johan

The co-originality of human rights and democracy in an international order

in *International Theory*, vol. 7, issue 1 , 96-124

ABSTRACT: This paper analyses Jürgen Habermas's claim that democracy and human rights are co-original and its implications for his international theory. A central argument in his theory, the co-originality thesis suggests that human rights and democracy are not only both fundamental and mutually supportive, but also 'equi-primordial' and internally related. Reconstructing Habermas's argument as it has developed over two decades, I argue that his account of constitutional democracy has difficulties accounting for the enmeshment of constitutional and international human rights, while his three-tiered model of global governance, in the absence of democratic legitimation, amounts to a downgrade of the currently institutionalized practice of international human rights. Instead, I suggest that shifting the focus from ideal global institutions to actual processes of domestic contestation, through which groups appropriate and apply international legal norms in order to claim their rights, provides a plausible account of the practice of international human rights consistent with the co-originality thesis.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Verdier Daniel



The dilemma of informal governance with outside option as solution

in *International Theory*, vol. 7, issue 1 , 195-229

ABSTRACT: The efficiency-oriented part of the literature on informal governance points to institutional costs as a reason for governments to prefer to cooperate with each other through commitments that are not binding. Left unexplained is what I call the dilemma of informal governance: how informal governance copes with the problem of cheating, to which formal governance has traditionally provided the solution. I show that like-mindedness, the current solution to the dilemma, is convincing but underspecified. Working from a model of governance encompassing the three time-honored dimensions of obligation, precision, and delegation, I analytically explore two other solutions, one that fails, information transmission, another that works, outside option, which I borrow from the power-oriented part of the literature on informal governance. A key finding is that informal governance, despite being neither self-enforceable nor informative, is sustainable for mild Prisoner's Dilemma (PD) types in the presence of outside options. I illustrate the model findings by tracing an historical correlation between power polarization and formalism in the design of security regimes.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Heemskerk Eelke M., Fennema Meindert, Carroll William K.

The global corporate elite after the financial crisis: evidence from the transnational network of interlocking directorates

in *Global Networks*, vol. 16, issue 1, january , 68-88

ABSTRACT: What impact did the recent financial crisis have on the corporate elite's international network? Has corporate governance taken on an essentially national structure or have transnational networks remained robust? We investigate this issue by comparing the networks of interlocking directorates among the 176 largest corporations in the world economy in 1976, 1996, 2006 and 2013. We find that corporate elites have not retrenched into their national business communities: the transnational network increased in relative importance and remained largely intact during the crisis lasting from 2006 to 2013. However, this network does not depend – as it used to do – on a small number of big linkers but on a growing number of single linkers. The network has become less hierarchical. As a group, the corporate elite has become more transnational in character. We see this as indicative of a recomposition of the corporate elite from a national to a transnational orientation.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Stephan Wood, Kenneth W. Abbott, Julia Black, Burkard Eberlein and Errol Meidinger

The interactive dynamics of transnational business governance: A challenge for transnational legal theory
in *Transnational Legal Theory*, vol. 6, issue 2 , 333-369

Conflict, convergence, cooperation and competition among governance actors and institutions have long fascinated scholars of transnational law, yet transnational legal theorists' accounts of such interactions are for the most part tentative, incomplete and unsystematic. Having elsewhere proposed an overarching conceptual framework for the study of transnational business governance interactions (TBGI), in this article we propose criteria for middle-range theory-building. We argue that a portfolio of theoretical perspectives on transnational governance interactions should account for the multiplicity of interacting entities and scales of interaction; the co-evolution of social agency and



structure; the multiple components of regulatory governance; the role of interactions as both influence and outcome; the diverse modes of interaction; the mechanisms and pathways of interaction; and the spatio-temporal dynamics of interaction. To suggest the value of these criteria, we apply them in a preliminary way to selected transnational legal scholarship and to the other articles in this special issue.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Hazenberg Haye

The legitimacy of the global order

in International Theory, vol. 7, issue 2, 294-329

ABSTRACT: This paper presents a framework within which to understand the legitimacy of the global order called 'cosmopolitan sovereign equality'. It is Kant inspired and consists of three formal and three political duties. The formal duties are those of structural coherence, innate right and publicity, and the political duties those of legitimate enforcement within states, non-intervention between states, and free communication between entities within different states. These duties are constructed from a reading of Kant's Doctrine of Right and are defended in current International political theory debates on human rights, the role of the state and international law. The framework enables conceptualization of legitimate international relations between a world state and a system of autarkic states, and places a premium on states as legitimators of force, while working from the premises of moral cosmopolitanism.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Bagozzi Benjamin E.

The multifaceted nature of global climate change negotiations

in Review of International Organizations (The), vol. 10, n. 4, december, 439-464

ABSTRACT: International climate change negotiations primarily occur during annual Conferences of the Parties (COPs) to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change and currently involve virtually every country in the world. What effect does such a large and heterogeneous group of states have on the complexity of climate change negotiations? Would a smaller, more homogenous, assortment of countries produce a more efficient negotiation space? To begin to answer these questions, I apply Latent Dirichlet Allocation to a corpus of High-level climate change conference speeches, covering the formal statements made by country-representatives at the 16th-to-19th COPs. This exercise yields a very large and coherent set of latent topics and many, but not all, of these topics correspond to the negotiating positions presumed by extant research. Analysis of the resultant topics reveals that the dominant dimensions of climate change negotiation favor developing country concerns over cooperation, though reducing negotiations to a smaller core group of countries may lessen this disparity. Together these findings indicate that unsupervised topic models can substantially expand our understandings of climate change negotiations, and international cooperation more generally.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Steffek Jens



The output legitimacy of international organizations and the global public interest

in *International Theory*, vol. 7, issue 2 , 263-293

ABSTRACT: In this article I seek to expand our understanding of the output legitimacy of international organizations (IOs). At the conceptual level, I refute the widespread view that output legitimacy is just a synonym for organizational effectiveness or efficiency. I argue instead that output legitimacy has an important democratic dimension. The touchstone of 'democratic output legitimacy' is the extent to which systems of governance produce results that cater to the public interest. Accordingly, the democratic output legitimacy of IOs can be understood in terms of their ability to safeguard the global public interest. This ability hinges upon their capacity to keep powerful factions in check, protect human rights, and safeguard a high epistemic quality of decisions. Attaining these qualities may require shielding IOs to some extent from the input dimension of the international political process. I do not, however, unconditionally praise de-politicization of IOs. I engage with the problem of technocratic paternalism, which is imminent when decision-making based on assumed citizen interests escapes confrontation with articulated citizen interests. The challenge is to devise global governance arrangements that enable an encompassing debate over the substance of the global public interest when needed, while keeping pressure from powerful factions at bay.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

David William Gethings

The responsibility to engage: cosmopolitan civic engagement and the spread of the Responsibility to Protect Doctrine.

in *International Journal of Human Rights (The)*, vol. 19, issue 8 , 1059-1073

When the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) doctrine was widely adopted by the international community at the 2005 World Summit, it became the first such principle to advocate for the enforcement of international law and provide for both punishment and prevention of international human rights violations. While this created a shift away from the once sacrosanct norm of national sovereignty, another equally important change was occurring. The digital age has redefined the nature and scope of civic engagement. With increased communication and availability of information, citizenship has transcended national borders and expanded to engagement at the local, national, and international level. These new levels of engagement also change the nature of democracy through the inclusion of issues and opinions beyond the domestic constituency. Additionally, the methods of engagement have expanded through the use of social media and other digital platforms. The combination of the R2P doctrine and cosmopolitan civic engagement has created a vital nexus which gives human rights and international law a new form of accountability and enforcement. This article will explore the co-development of these norms and the implications for conflict prevention and resolution as well as democracy.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Hale Thomas

The rule of law in the global economy: Explaining intergovernmental backing for private commercial tribunals

in *European Journal of International Relations* , vol. 21, n. 3, september , 483-512

ABSTRACT: Global trade depends on the ability of firms to make credible commitments across borders. Absent a global



state to enforce contracts, how can credibility be assured? Today, the majority of significant transborder contract disputes are adjudicated in private arbitral tribunals. The decisions of these bodies are enforceable in the public courts of the 146 countries that have ratified the 1958 New York Convention on the Recognition and Enforcement of Foreign Arbitral Awards, making it a central pillar of the global economy. This article evaluates alternative explanations for this widespread delegation to private judicial authority via survival analysis of ratification from 1958 to the present. Unlike the World Trade Organization, preferential trade agreements, or bilateral investment treaties, the transnational commercial arbitration regime has been driven by the diffusion of legal norms through a transnational network of experts.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Conall Mallory and Stuart Wallace

The ‘deterrent argument’ and the responsibility to protect

in International Journal of Human Rights (The), vol. 19, issue 8 , 1213-1226

States have presented a range of arguments against the expansion of human rights law into the extra-territorial military sphere. This article focuses on one argument in particular – the ‘deterrent argument’. This is the idea that if states are expected to uphold human rights obligations during extra-territorial military operations, it will deter them from contributing troops to United Nations (UN) peace support missions, which would naturally include those sanctioned under the responsibility to protect (R2P) doctrine. This article considers how the European Court of Human Rights' jurisprudence could actually apply to such military operations in practice and whether states should logically be deterred from participating in such missions. We argue that the involvement of the UN and the types of missions undertaken under R2P should not deter states from participation, but rather that UN involvement neutralises or mitigates many of the negative issues states fear in this area, reducing the likelihood of human rights liability for states.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Frédéric Mégret

The ‘elephant in the room’ in debates about universal jurisdiction: diasporas, duties of hospitality, and the constitution of the political

in Transnational Legal Theory, vol. 6, issue 1 , 89-116

Universal jurisdiction is typically understood by reference to the interstate world: for example, as a cosmopolitan institution transcending the limitations of sovereignty. This article highlights instead the concrete role of victim diasporas in bringing claims under universal jurisdiction. Transnational criminal law as a paradigm can also help one understand how the transnational movement of persons is shaping the prosecution of those responsible for atrocities. In addition to being a better descriptive theory of universal jurisdiction, transnationalism has the potential to provide a better normative theory. This article focuses on the extent to which the provision of universal jurisdiction can be understood as fulfilling a duty of hospitality towards those who have suffered harm abroad but are now on the territory of a new state. Universal jurisdiction is part of the constitution of political bonds in migrant societies and should be understood as a manifestation of forms of rooted cosmopolitanism.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations



Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Lang Anthony F. Jr.

Thomas Hobbes and a chastened 'global' constitution the contested boundaries of the law

in *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, Volume 19, Issue 1, 2016 , 103-119

Abstract

Hobbes' account of politics, law, and obligation has long been read, especially by realists in international affairs, as leaving no space for international law or institutions. This article argues that a more nuanced reading of Hobbes' ideas about law and politics provides support for not only a defense of international law but a defense of a (chastened) global constitution. Hobbes' constitutionalism does not derive from a separation or balance of powers but on two other elements of constitutionalism: the importance of the individual and the centrality of law. The article proceeds as follows: The first section locates Hobbes theory of law in relation to his theory of authority, drawing on David Dyzenhaus's emphasis on the rule of law in Hobbes. The second section draws on theorists such as Larry May to find a defense of international law and institutions, what I call international constitutionalism. The third section turns to Richard Flathman's interpretation of Hobbes as a theorist of liberal self-making, suggesting how his insights can be applied globally. The conclusion brings these thoughts to bear on the relevance of Hobbes for global law and politics.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Riegner Michael

Towards an International Institutional Law of Information

in *International Organizations Law Review*, vol. 12, n. 1 , 50-80

ABSTRACT: How does international institutional law shape the way in which international institutions govern information and exercise cognitive authority? Drawing from the existing literature on indicators, data collection and transparency in international institutions such as the World Bank and the UN, this paper argues that existing legal norms can be reconstructed as an overarching framework that legally structures global information governance. Indicators thus do not, as is often assumed, "escape" legal regulation; law rather co-constitutes the lens through which information about the world is generated. The paper analyses the institutional architecture and the modalities of informational action as well as the sources and regulatory modus of the existing legal framework. It exemplifies rules on institutional powers, participation, review and transparency and discusses general principles that structure the field. Taken together, these rules and principles circumscribe the emerging contours of an "international institutional law of information" that normatively frames the informational relationships between international institutions, states and individuals.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Kleine Mareike

Trading control: national fiefdoms in international organizations

in *International Theory*, vol. 5, issue 3 , 321-346

ABSTRACT: According to principal-agent theory, states (the principals) delegate the implementation of a legalized agreement to an international organization (the agent). The conventional wisdom about states' capacity to control international organizations is that differences among the member states impede control and consequently enhance the



agent's autonomy, whereas agreement allows for effective control and limited autonomy. Contrary to this conventional wisdom, this article argues that conflicts among states need not always impede effective control. On the contrary: if an international organization comprises a sufficient number of policies, there are gains from the exchange of control over its portfolios that are of special sensitivity to different member states. As a result, international organizations exhibit informal spheres of national control, or national fiefdoms. The article demonstrates the theory's plausibility using the example of the European Union and other international organizations. It has implications for the literature on delegation and informal governance.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Bessa Adriana

Traditional Local Communities: What Lessons Can Be Learnt at the International Level from the Experiences of Brazil and Scotland?

in Review of European Community & International Environmental Law, Volume 24, Issue 3, Special Issue: Comparative Environmental Law, November , 330-340

A new Draft Declaration on the Rights of Peasants and Other People Working in Rural Areas is currently being negotiated at the Human Rights Council. It is hoped that this negotiation will lead to the adoption of a new international human rights instrument that reflects the specific needs of traditional local communities and other rural populations, and allows for the adequate protection of their rights. This article will look into the question of the right to land and natural resources of traditional local communities through a comparative study of the domestic laws in Brazil and Scotland. Assessing whether and how these countries define communities and legally protect their customary forms of land and resource tenure may contribute to a better understanding of the under-theorized notion of traditional local communities, and illuminate legal solutions or challenges that should be taken into account in the negotiations of the new Declaration.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Dzebo Adis, Strippel Johannes

Transnational adaptation governance: An emerging fourth era of adaptation

in Global Environmental Change, Volume 35, Special Section on The Politics of Adaptation; Edited by Siri H. Eriksen, Andrea J. Nightingale and Hallie Eakin, November , 423-435

Climate change adaptation, which has previously been seen as a national and local matter, is today systematically addressed by international institutions such as the UNFCCC, the FAO and the WTO. Research has focused on the overarching institutional architecture of global adaptation, particularly how it relates to development, political economy, efficiency and equity. In contrast to the transnational dimension of climate mitigation, the transnationalization of adaptation governance has received scant attention. By creating a dataset of adaptation projects, we examine transnational adaptation governance in terms of its scope, institutionalization and main functions. We find transnational adaptation governance to be firmly anchored within the UNFCCC, but a recent change towards adaptation governed by a transnational constituency can be identified. When non-state actors become integral to the project of governing adaptation, a 'fourth era' of adaption seems to be emerging. This new era is not replacing other forms of governing, but is emerging alongside and in a complementary fashion. In the 'fourth era', adaptation is increasingly governed globally and transnationally, and the attention is turned toward 'softer' forms of governance such as agenda setting, information



sharing and capacity building.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Cian C. Murphy

Transnational counter-terrorism law: law, power and legitimacy in the 'wars on terror'

in Transnational Legal Theory, vol. 6, issue 1 , 31-54

The transnationalisation of counter-terrorism law is a key feature of law after 11 September 2001. The development of a 'transnational counter-terrorism law' has been led by efforts through the UN Security Council, in particular in its resolution 1373 (2001) and 2178 (2014). This paper uses these examples of transnational law to critique the idea of transnational criminal law and to examine the extent to which the transnationalisation of law poses new questions for the legitimacy of the criminal law. The paper argues that efforts to categorise and contextualise the law need to be undertaken alongside critical projects to understand changes in state power and in the use of that power to regulate politics across the globe.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Davis Jeffrey

Uncloaking Secrecy: International Human Rights Law in Terrorism Cases

in Human Rights Quarterly, vol. 38, n. 1, february , 58-84

ABSTRACT: When those swept up in counterterrorism operations try to hold governments accountable for rights violations, legal secrecy doctrines such as the "state secrets privilege" and "public interest immunity" frequently derail their efforts. This article shows the effects of legal secrecy doctrines on efforts to hold officials accountable for rights violations in counterterrorism cases. It sets out the limits imposed by international human rights law on these secrecy doctrines, and it explores how these limits are handled in US and British courts. Finally, it sets out requirements in order for legal secrecy practices to comply with international human rights law.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Murphy Craig N.

Voluntary Standard Setting: Drivers and Consequences

in Ethics and International Affairs, vol. 29, n. 4, winter , 443-454

ABSTRACT: This essay is about the drivers and consequences of changes in the voluntary consensus standard-setting (VCSS) system, the part of the contemporary global governance system that most of us encounter the most frequently, but that we rarely even notice. The VCSS system is made up of thousands of "technical committees" in which hundreds of thousands of experts (most of them engineers) create standards that constantly affect our lives—from the unique number that identifies this journal, to the electronic codes that translated my keystrokes into the words you are reading at the moment, to the rules governing the supply chain for the "fair trade" coffee you may have in a mug by your side. Historian Mark Mazower calls the International Organization for Standardization (ISO), the organization that stands at



the apex of the largest network of groups that sponsor these technical committees, “perhaps the most influential private organization in the contemporary world, with a vast and largely invisible influence over most aspects of how we live, from the shape of our household appliances to the colors and smells that surround us.”

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

McInnes Colin

WHO's next? Changing authority in global health governance after Ebola

in International Affairs , vol. 91, issue 6, november , 1299-1316

ABSTRACT: The World Health Organization (WHO) occupies a central place in the system of global health governance and plays a key role in the control of epidemics and pandemics. The 2014 Ebola crisis in West Africa, however, saw widespread and sustained criticism of its performance, leading many to call for its reform and even replacement. This article moves on from initial analyses of the WHO's ‘failure’, to argue that the crisis has led to a shift in its authority as a global governor. It argues that the WHO's traditional basis of authority was largely expert and delegated; that it provided technical advice and normative guidance, and that its authority was ‘on loan’ from member states, who exerted considerable influence over the WHO. Its actions during the West African Ebola outbreak remained consistent with this, but it was unable to cope with what the outbreak required. The criticisms both of the WHO and the wider system of global health governance, however, have opened up a space where the balance of authority is shifting to one based more heavily on capacity—the ability to act in a crisis. If such a shift is realized, it will create different expectations of the WHO which, if they are not fulfilled, may lead to trust in the organisation declining and its legitimacy being compromised.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Menzel Ulrich

Welt am Kipppunkt. Die neue Unregierbarkeit und der Vormarsch der Anarchie

in Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik, Januar, 2016 , 35-45

The full text is free:

www.blaetter.de/archiv/jahrgaenge/2016/januar/welt-am-kipppunkt

Die Welt wird unregierbar. Dieser seit etlichen Jahren zu konstatierende Trend ist im Verlauf des Jahres 2015 besonders manifest geworden. Die Stichworte lauten locker geordnet: EU- und Griechenlandkrise, Krieg in der Ukraine als Restauration des sowjetischen Einflussbereichs und die Rückkehr des Rüstungswettlaufs, Scheitern der militärischen Interventionen in Afghanistan, Irak, Libyen, Jemen, Syrien, Staatszerfall im Komplex Irak-Syrien, Vormarsch terroristischer Organisationen wie IS oder Boko Haram – und schließlich massive Armuts- und Kriegsflucht, die erstmals in großem Stil Europa erreicht (inklusive massenhafter Schleusung als neues Geschäftsfeld des organisierten Verbrechens). Kurzum: Ein Problem verdrängt das andere in der öffentlichen Aufmerksamkeit, ohne dass auch nur eines gelöst ist. (Allenfalls der DFB oder VW sind in der Lage, wenigstens tageweise die Schlagzeilen in anderer Form zu dominieren.)...



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Kreuder-Sonnen Christian, Zangl Bernhard

Which post-Westphalia? International organizations between constitutionalism and authoritarianism
in *European Journal of International Relations* , vol. 21, n. 3, september , 568-594

ABSTRACT: The most recent transformation of world order is often depicted as a shift from a Westphalian to a post-Westphalian era in which international organizations are becoming increasingly independent sites of authority. This internationalization of authority is often considered as an indication of the constitutionalization of the global legal order. However, this article highlights that international organizations can also exercise authority in an authoritarian fashion that violates the same constitutionalist principles of human rights, democracy, and the rule of law that international organizations are usually expected to promote. It is thus an open question which post-Westphalia we are in fact heading to: a constitutionalized order, an authoritarian order, or a combination of both? Based on a conceptualization of post-Westphalian orders as a two-dimensional continuum linking the ideal-typical end points of constitutionalism and authoritarianism, we analyze the United Nations security system and the European Union economic system as two post-Westphalian orders. While we find a remarkable level of constitutionalization in the European Union and incipient constitutionalist tendencies in the United Nations, we also find authoritarian sub-orders in both institutions. Most visibly, the latter can be discerned in the United Nations Security Council's counter-terrorism policy after 9/11 and European emergency governance during the sovereign debt crisis. The article thus argues that the emerging post-Westphalian order is characterized by a plurality of fundamentally contradictory (sub-)orders coexisting in parallel.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Urpelainen Johannes, Van de Graaf Thijs

Your Place or Mine? Institutional Capture and the Creation of Overlapping International Institutions
in *British Journal of Political Science*, vol. 45, issue 4, october , 799-827

ABSTRACT: Why do states create overlapping international institutions? This practice presents a puzzle: conventional wisdom suggests that states should use existing institutions to minimize the transaction costs of co-operation. This article proposes a bargaining approach to explain the de novo creation of overlapping international institutions. In this model, a dissatisfied 'challenger' state threatens to create a new institution, and a 'defender' state can propose to reform the currently focal institution. Overlapping institutions are created when the currently focal institution is (1) captured by interests opposed to the challenger and (2) domestic political pressure to abandon the status quo is intense. Similar to models of deterrence, the expectation that the new institution garners support among third parties is irrelevant for the equilibrium likelihood of de novo creation. A comparative analysis of international bargaining over energy, whaling and intellectual property rights provides empirical evidence.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Stephen Matthew D.

'Can you pass the salt?' The legitimacy of international institutions and indirect speech
in *European Journal of International Relations* , vol. 21, n. 4, december , 768-792



ABSTRACT: This article introduces the concept of indirect speech and shows what it can contribute to understanding 'legitimacy talk' regarding international institutions. Indirect speech occurs when one kind of illocutionary act is used to communicate another. Examples include euphemism, some forms of politeness and when a request is expressed as a question ('Can you pass the salt?'). Transporting concepts from pragmatics and sociolinguistics, this article argues that legitimacy talk often serves this function in international politics, operating by expressing specific requests in the form of more generalized legitimacy claims. Understanding this double role of legitimacy talk sheds light on otherwise puzzling empirical phenomena, such as why states frame their demands in terms of legitimacy when they are transparently self-serving, why states with different interests can nonetheless express their demands in the same terms, and why they persist in doing so long after there is any realistic hope of being 'persuasive'. An analysis of the debate on Security Council reform illustrates the benefits of this approach for the study of international relations.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Thomas Christopher Alexander

"Globalising Sovereignty"? Pettit's Neo-Republicanism, International Law, and International Institutions
in *Cambridge Law Journal (The)*, Volume 74 - Issue 03

This article explores Philip Pettit's recent attempts to extend his republican theory of justice and legitimacy to the international sphere in accordance with his ideal of "globalised sovereignty", with a specific focus on his treatment of international law and institutions. It uses the practice of international law and institutions, with examples largely drawn from international economic law, to test the assumptions built into Pettit's theory. It then considers whether and how some of those assumptions might need to be revised in light of the legal, institutional, and practical constraints of the international domain.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Ren Xiao

A reform-minded status quo power? China, the G20, and reform of the international financial system
in *Third World Quarterly*, Volume 36, Issue 11, 2023-2043

This paper analyses the case of China in the G20 process and examines China's position and policies on relevant issues, including international monetary system reform, reform of the international financial institutions (IFIs), international financial regulation, the future of the dollar, and internationalisation of the renminbi. My findings demonstrate that China has actively participated in the G20's deliberations and actions, put forward its suggestions, sought an expanded share and voting power in the IFIs in correspondence with its rising status, and promoted the internationalisation of the renminbi. It does not aspire to overthrow this system within which it has prospered. In this sense China is a status quo power. Meanwhile China argues that the current international order is flawed and that there exist a number of unjust and unreasonable components. They have long needed to be changed. My conclusion is that China is not a complete but rather a reform-minded status quo power.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations



Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Goldbach Roman

Asymmetric influence in global banking regulation. Transnational harmonization, the competition state, and the roots of regulatory failure

in Review of International Political Economy, Volume 22, Issue 6, 2015, pages 1087-1127

Global regulatory standard setting is one of the most lucrative battlefields of the international political economy. Asymmetric influence and regulatory capture in setting such standards can undermine the regulation of economic activity, with negative externalities for the society. Scholars of International Political Economy, and of global finance in particular, are in the process of revealing the mechanisms underlying such regulatory capture and failure. I contribute to this analysis with an empirical evaluation of the mechanisms underlying influence in setting such standards. I assess the influence of nine different national, transnational, and international actors in the case of global banking regulation (the Basel II framework of the Basel Committee on Banking Supervision). On the basis of a quantitative–qualitative assessment, I develop integration and rejection rates to measure influence in global regulation. My findings reveal that the key dynamic in setting global standards is the simultaneous influence of national (competition state) coalitions of politicians and firms as well as transnational harmonization coalitions of transnationally active firms and regulators. The results provide a basis for a new argument to understand regulatory capture and failure.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Kagawa Shigemi, Suh Sangwon, Hubacek Klaus, Wiedmann Thomas, Nansai Keisuke, Minx Jan

CO2 emission clusters within global supply chain networks: Implications for climate change mitigation

in Global Environmental Change, Volume 35, Special Section on The Politics of Adaptation; Edited by Siri H. Eriksen, Andrea J. Nightingale and Hallie Eakin, November, 486-496

Production and consumption of goods and services are interlinked through complex global supply-chain networks; so are the greenhouse gas emissions associated with them. Using a model that represents global supply-chain networks, we identified supply-chain clusters with high CO2 emissions within more than 300 million individual supply chains. We distinguished 4756 significant CO2 clusters and found that in 2008, global supply-chain networks associated with U.S. transport equipment and construction demand included relatively large CO2 clusters in China, accounting for 17% and 10%, respectively, of the U.S. CO2 footprint. Of added importance is the fact that these two clusters in China had annual growth rates of 42% and 58%, respectively, during the period 1995–2008. Our results show the importance for climate policy of monitoring these CO2 clusters that dominate CO2 emissions in global supply chains, and they offer insights on where climate policy can be effectively directed.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Fander Falconí, Julio Oleas-Montalvo

Citizens' Revolution and International Integration Obstacles and Opportunities in World Trade

in Latin American Perspectives: a Journal on Capitalism and Socialism, 43 (1), 124-142

Can a country with an open economy tending toward reprimarization achieve a form of integration into the global economy other than the one determined by Latin America's historical dependency? Dependency has created trade and



technological gaps, among them the one generated by the physical balance (exporting more than is imported). In Ecuador, the Citizens' Revolution government is attempting to overcome these structural problems by rejecting free-trade agreements and foreign investment that could yield negative balances or threaten national sovereignty. Its new productive model is based on the development of basic industry, the selective replacement of imports, and an intelligent diversification of the exportable supply. The idea is to achieve a society based more on producing services, less dependent on the extraction of natural resources, and with greater generation capacity in science, technology, and innovation. Although the plan faces an adverse international order, it could benefit from the new moment of political and financial integration in Latin America.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Parker Charles F., Karlsson Christer, Hjerpe Mattias

Climate change leaders and followers: Leadership recognition and selection in the UNFCCC negotiations in International Relations, vol. 29, n. 4, december , 434-454

ABSTRACT: Past research has posited that effective leadership is an essential ingredient in reaching international agreements and overcoming the collective action problems associated with responding to climate change. Despite its fundamental importance for leadership relationships, the demand side of the leadership equation has been comparatively neglected in the literature. In this study, we answer several related questions that are vital for understanding the leadership dynamics that impact the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) negotiations. Are there any leaders in the field of climate change and, if so, who are they? How do followers select climate leaders? What factors are important to them? Using unique survey data collected at four consecutive United Nations (UN) climate summits, Conference of Parties (COP) 14–17, this article investigates which actors are actually recognized as playing a leadership role in the UNFCCC negotiations and probes how followers select leadership candidates in this issue area. The survey findings reveal a fragmented leadership landscape, with no one clear-cut leader, and spotlight that if an actor seeks to be recognized as a leader, it is crucial to be perceived as being devoted to promoting the common good.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Michael W. Toffel, Jodi L. Short and Melissa Ouellet

Codes in context: How states, markets, and civil society shape adherence to global labor standards in Regulation & Governance, Volume 9, Issue 3 , 205–223

Transnational business regulation is increasingly implemented through private voluntary programs – such as certification regimes and codes of conduct – that diffuse global standards. However, little is known about the conditions under which companies adhere to these standards. We conduct one of the first large-scale comparative studies to determine which international, domestic, civil society, and market institutions promote supply chain factories' adherence to the global labor standards embodied in codes of conduct imposed by multinational buyers. We find that suppliers are more likely to adhere when they are embedded in states that participate actively in the International Labour Organization treaty regime and that have stringent domestic labor law and high levels of press freedom. We further demonstrate that suppliers perform better when they serve buyers located in countries where consumers are wealthy and socially conscious. These findings suggest the importance of overlapping state, civil society, and market governance regimes to meaningful



transnational regulation.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Chang-fa Lo

Coordinative Approach to Resolve Normative and Operational Conflicts between Inner and Outer-FTAs

in *Journal of World Trade*, Vol.50, Issue 1 , 147-165

The existing method for dealing with FTA-FTA conflict is to require consultation by the common parties to find a mutually satisfactory solution, or to require an FTA to prevail, or to require consultation to take into consideration general principles of international law. Such methods do not create much problems when the number of parties to an FTA is small and the common parties in different FTAs are also limited in number. However, with the emergence of mega-FTAs, the issue about FTA-FTA conflicts has different dimension. For instance, within TPP's geographic coverage (the "outer-FTA"), there are some FTAs (the "inner-FTAs"). The existing methods fail to take into account the possible adverse effect to the outer-FTA. The article argues that it is desirable to coordinate the outer-FTA and its inner-FTAs. It suggests a procedural coordination to prioritize the application of the dispute settlement mechanism in the outer-FTA, with some exceptions to allow further trade liberalization and higher quality standards. It also suggests admitting third-party participation by other outer-FTA parties in the dispute settlement proceedings conducted under the inner-FTA. It further suggests outer-FTA serving as a platform to coordinate the substantive standards/rules so as to fundamentally resolve the difference.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Martin Adam

Degenerate Cosmopolitanism

in *Social Philosophy and Policy* , Volume 32, Issue 01, Fall 2015 , 74 - 100

Abstract

Advocates of cosmopolitan ideals, to the extent that they engage with questions of institutional design, typically imagine replicating or refining existing, nation-state models of governance but on an international scale. This essay argues that cosmopolitan ethics need not go hand in hand with international government, and may be better served by a different approach. I explore the concept of degeneracy as a principle of institutional evaluation and design in international politics. Degeneracy is a characteristic of complex systems in which multiple components of the system offer overlapping (but not identical) functions, and is a key component in the robustness of such systems. Non-degenerate systems, by contrast, exhibit fragility in the face of adverse conditions. When applied to systems of governance, degeneracy commends polycentricity and allows for some evaluation of the robustness of different mechanisms and forms of polycentric governance. Cosmopolitan ideals are better served by providing alternatives to existing forms of governance than by building on them. I consider some concrete policy applications of this idea, focusing on immigration and intellectual property.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations



Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Deutschmann Christoph

Die Entgrenzung der Märkte als Problem der Gesellschaftstheorie. Zur Kritik staatszentrierter Gesellschaftstheorien

in *Leviathan. Berliner Zeitschrift für Sozialwissenschaft*, Jahrgang 43 (2015), Heft 4, 2015, 539–566

Abstract

»Globalization« has become a »catch-all« concept; nevertheless a convincing theoretical interpretation of the empirical processes marked by it is still a long way off. Methodological »nationalism«, though often criticized, even seems to be recently on the advance again. As the paper argues, the deadlock associated with methodological nationalism could be overcome by a renewed discussion of the liberal tradition of social theory, aiming to include global markets into the range of morally and normatively relevant social phenomena. In conclusion, the author pleads for a relational understanding of globalization, focusing on the search for viable combinations between global and local social structures.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Owen Erica, Quinn Dennis P.

Does Economic Globalization Influence the US Policy Mood?: A Study of US Public Sentiment, 1956–2011

in *British Journal of Political Science*, vol. 46, issue 1, january, 95-125

ABSTRACT: Does increasing economic globalization influence aggregate policy mood toward the role and size of government in the United States? Drawing on insights from international political economy scholarship, this article suggests that the impact of trade on aggregate preferences will depend on citizens' exposure to trade. It hypothesizes that employees of import-competing, export-oriented and multinational firms will adopt a 'compensatory' model in which higher levels of imports (exports) lead to a liberal (conservative) shift in policy preferences for more (less) government. It distinguishes between intrafirm and non-intrafirm trade flows. It measures policy mood using Stimson's 'Mood', and estimates Error Correction and Instrumental Variable models. Trade flows strongly influence Mood in a manner consistent with hypotheses drawn from international political economy and heterogeneous firms (or 'new new') trade theory.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Jong-Wha Lee, Ju Hyun Pyun

Does Trade Integration Contribute to Peace?

in *Review of Development Economics*, Volume 20, Issue 1, 327-344

We investigate the effect of trade integration on interstate military conflict. Our empirical analysis, based on a large panel data set of 243,225 country-pair observations from 1950 to 2000, confirms that an increase in bilateral trade interdependence significantly promotes peace. It also suggests that the peace-promotion effect of bilateral trade integration is significantly higher for contiguous countries that are likely to experience more conflict. More importantly,



we find that not only bilateral trade but global trade openness also significantly promotes peace. It shows, however, that an increase in global trade openness reduces the probability of interstate conflict more for countries far apart from each other than it does for countries sharing borders. The main finding of the peace-promotion effect of bilateral and global trade integration holds robust when controlling for the simultaneous determination of trade and peace.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Saadaoui Jamel

Does financial openness explain the increase of global imbalances before the crisis of 2008?

in *Economie internationale*, N°143, 2015/2

We investigate whether financial openness has played a major role in the evolution of global imbalances over the period before the crisis of 2008. We estimate, with panel regression techniques, the impact of financial openness on medium run trends in current account imbalances for industrialized and emerging countries by using a de jure measure of financial openness and a de facto measure of financial openness. Nowadays, current account imbalances are larger in reason of higher capital mobility. Nevertheless, a large part of imbalances may be considered as unrelated with the evolution of macroeconomic fundamentals.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Büschel Hubertus, Speich Chassé Daniel

Einführung: Entwicklungsarbeit und globale Modernisierungsexpertise

in *Geschichte und Gesellschaft*, Heft 2015 / 41,4 , 535 - 551

Abstract

The articles in this issue investigate the history of development in so-called “underdeveloped” areas of the world in both the colonial and postcolonial period.

Each essay situates political change in longer historical processes, analyzing global initiatives in the local contexts in which they were played out and probing the *longue durée* of expert cultures, knowledge systems, and their global flows and regional adaptations. Methodological approach, thematic field, and regional focus are by contrast varied: the topics discussed here range from agricultural development and economics to nutrition science, political education, and psychiatry in settings as diverse as India, London, Guatemala, Beirut, and Ghana. The wider aim is to contribute to ongoing debates on the history of development, which we believe should be more directly connected with the history of colonialism.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Aneesh A.

Emerging Scripts of Global Speech

in *Sociological Theory*, Vol. 33, No. 3, September 2015 , 234-255



Abstract

As work regimes become global, social communication increasingly occurs across locations far apart. In the absence of a common national, ethnic, or organizational culture across continents, what makes communication possible among social worlds technologically integrated in real time? Taking India's global call centers as the focus of analysis, this article attempts to solve the riddle of communication by showing how transnational business practices rely on the transmutation of cultural communication into global communication through the processes of neutralization and mimesis. Neutralization refers to attempts at pruning unwanted cultural particulars, whereas mimesis refers to simulating desired cultural elements.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Thomas Gebauer

Esperanza y muerte. Etnicidad y murallas en tiempos de crisis global in Nueva Sociedad, n. 260

En los últimos tiempos, se volvieron habituales las fotos de barcos llenos de refugiados o de crisis fronterizas en su tránsito por tierra rumbo a Europa. Pero detrás de esas imágenes existen complejas realidades locales que no se reducen a las guerras. La pérdida de fuentes de subsistencia, por diversas razones que incluyen las climáticas, provocan masivas aunque menos visibles migraciones internas o a otros países del Sur. Solamente revisando las persistentes políticas neoliberales y renovando el derecho internacional podrá avanzarse hacia el doble derecho: el derecho a irse y el derecho a quedarse, sin que eso signifique poner en juego la propia vida.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Regan Donald H.

Explaining Trade Agreements: The Practitioners' Story and the Standard Model in World Trade Review, Volume 14 - Issue 03 - luglio 2015, 391-417

There are two widely accepted explanations of why politically motivated governments make trade agreements. There is an informal explanation, which I shall call the 'practitioners' story', even though it is most economists' informal view as well. And there is a formal explanation in the economics literature, which I shall call the 'standard model', referring to the basic structure shared by the Bagwell–Staiger and Grossman–Helpman models. Unfortunately, the practitioners' story and the standard model contradict each other at every crucial point. For example, in the practitioners' story, trade agreements are about reducing politically motivated protectionism; and getting an agreement depends on political support from exporters. But in the standard model, trade agreements never reduce such protectionism; and politics plays no role in securing an agreement. This paper expounds the contradictions between the practitioners' story and the standard model, which have gone largely unremarked. It refutes suggestions by defenders of the standard model that the contradictions are illusory. It identifies the different assumptions made by the two explanations that generate the contradictions. It gives reasons for skepticism about the standard model. And it discusses why all of this matters.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Ansgar Belke, Jonas Keil

Financial integration, global liquidity and global macroeconomic linkages

in *Journal of Economic Studies*, Volume 43 Issue 1 , 16-26

The purpose of this paper is to analyse the effect of financial integration on several macroeconomic variables from a global perspective.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Robert Frith, John Glenn

Fragile states and the evolution of risk governance: intervention, prevention and extension

in *Third World Quarterly*, Volume 36, Issue 10 , 1787-1808

Following the plane crashes into the twin towers of the World Trade Centre, Ulrich Beck claimed that the West would need to pursue 'border-transcending new beginnings' towards a more cosmopolitan world. Rather than any radical transformation along cosmopolitan lines, however, this paper maps a process of incremental reform and policy bricolage, where the post-cold war politics of intervention, and the securitisation of development, have been extended to encompass international terrorism in three overlapping phases. Although these overlapping phases – intervention, prevention and extension – are reflexive moments, they constitute a strengthening of the prevailing rationalities and technologies of risk rather than a radical rupture.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Sznaider Natan

Gedächtnis im Zeitalter der Globalisierung. Prinzipien für eine neue Politik im 21. Jahrhundert

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 3-4, 2016

The full text is free:

<http://www.bpb.de/apuz/218718/gedaechtnis-im-zeitalter-der-globalisierung>

Kann Erinnerung überhaupt mit Globalisierung in Zusammenhang gebracht werden? Ist nicht gerade die ‚kollektive Erinnerung‘ bestimmend für das ‚Lokale‘, das sich der Globalisierung Widersetzende? Mit diesen Fragen leitete ich 2001 einen Artikel in dieser Zeitschrift ein. Die Fragen sind noch immer aktuell: Bedeutet eine globalisierte Welt also eine "Menschheit ohne Erinnerung"? Zusammen mit meinem Kollegen Daniel Levy habe ich schon vor einiger Zeit die These entwickelt, dass es eine kennzeichnende Form kollektiver Erinnerung im Zeitalter der Globalisierung gibt. Im Folgenden werde ich der Frage nachgehen, was diese Annahme mit Blick auf Identität im globalen Zeitalter bedeutet und inwiefern sich daraus Prinzipien für eine neue Politik ableiten lassen.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Ahrend Rudiger, Goujard Antoine

Global banking, global crises? The role of the bank balance-sheet channel for the transmission of financial crises

in *European Economic Review*, Volume 80, November 2015 , 253-279

We examine whether shocks to leveraged creditors with cross border holdings have an incidence on debtor countries' risk of suffering financial turmoil. We construct a new proxy of shocks to international banks' balance-sheets using credit ratings and the structure of their international assets. This allows us investigating the effect of (foreign) bank balance-sheet shocks on domestic financial turmoil in a large sample of 146 developed and emerging economies from 1984 to 2011. Our proxies of shocks towards bank balance-sheets are strong predictors of systemic banking crises in their debtor countries. Confirming these results, bilateral bank flows significantly decrease when creditor banks' assets are hit by negative shocks, as measured by credit rating downgrades from third-party countries. Short-term liabilities towards global banks appear to increase roll-over and funding risks, thereby amplifying the impact of shocks to foreign lenders' balance-sheets. Domestic banking sectors vulnerabilities, such as illiquid assets and a low deposit-asset ratio, are found to increase crisis contagion risk. In contrast, a high level of global liquidity attenuates the transmission of shocks to international banks' assets to debtor countries.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Zeuske Michael

Globale Sklavereien: Geschichte und Gegenwart

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 50-51, 2015

The full text is free:

<http://www.bpb.de/apuz/216476/globale-sklavereien-geschichte-und-gegenwart>

Sklaverei – Gewalt von Menschen über den Körper anderer Menschen, Zwang zur Arbeit, Mobilitätseinschränkung und Statusdegradierung – war und ist ein globales Phänomen bis heute, obwohl legal ownership über Menschen weltweit verboten ist. Sklaverei, oder besser: Sklavereien, haben die Weltgeschichte von Anfang an nicht nur begleitet, sondern waren oft – wie Krieg und Streben nach Reichtum – eine Art Motor hinter dynamischen Entwicklungen...

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Phanindra V. Wunnava, Aniruddha Mitra, Robert E. Prasch

Globalization and the Ethnic Divide: Recent Longitudinal Evidence

in *Social Science Quarterly* , Volume 96, Issue 5

Objective



This article investigates the impact of increasing global integration on economic growth, emphasizing its interaction with the level of ethnic heterogeneity in a society.

Methods

We perform a feasible generalized least squares estimation of a random effects model on a longitudinal sample of 103 countries taken over the period 1992–2005.

Results

We find that economic globalization has generally had a beneficial impact on economic growth. We also find that societies marked by greater ethnic heterogeneity have gained more from global integration. Further, while ethnic heterogeneity has been a significant impediment to growth over the sample period, religious and linguistic heterogeneity have not. Finally, we find that democracies have significantly outperformed autocracies over this period.

Conclusion

Our results suggest that globalization may have a role in redressing the detrimental impact of ethnic cleavages in a society.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Lenschow Andrew, Newig Jens, Challies Edward

Globalization's limits to the environmental state? Integrating telecoupling into global environmental governance in Environmental Politics, Volume 25, Issue 1, Special Issue: Greening Leviathan? The Emergence of the Environmental State , 136-159

Globalization entails increased interdependence and interconnectivities among distal regions and social-ecological systems. This global interregional connectedness – telecoupling – gives rise to specific sustainability challenges, which require new governance solutions. Moving beyond ‘scaling-up’ governance to address global environmental problems, and exploring the implications of telecoupling for state-led environmental governance, ways the state can effectively address telecoupled environmental issues both within and beyond national borders are addressed, drawing on the example of soy trade between Brazil and Germany. This builds on recent contributions to the literature on governance of interregional ecological challenges to elaborate potential policy and governance options, ranging from classical bilateral, multilateral, and international agreements, to information-based, economic, and hybrid governance modes. While telecoupled environmental problems create governance challenges related to scale, knowledge gaps, coordination, and state capacity, the state has an important role to play. To explore this further, interdisciplinary inquiry is required that includes but moves beyond the state.

Full text available online at

<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/09644016.2015.1074384#aHR0cDovL3d3dy50YW5kZm9ubGluZS5jb20vZG9pL3BkZi8xMC4xMDgwLzA5NjQ0MDE2LjIwMTUuMTA3NDM4NEBAQDA=>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Zohal Hessami, Thushyanthan Baskaran

Has Globalisation Affected Collective Bargaining? An Empirical Test, 1980–2009



in *World Economy*, Volume 38, Issue 12 , 1880-1911

We investigate whether globalisation has affected the nature of collective bargaining in OECD and emerging countries. The main innovations over the existing empirical literature are (i) the consideration of three distinct aspects of collective bargaining (union density, decentralised bargaining and the extent of government intervention), (ii) the reliance on a sample with a larger cross-sectional and time dimension (44 countries from 1980 to 2009), and (iii) the application of a more appropriate empirical methodology (dynamic panel data models). We find that globalisation, on average, depresses unionisation but neither affects the degree of decentralisation nor government intervention in collective bargaining. We also uncover significant heterogeneity effects, both across countries and over time.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Gerlach Christian

Hunger in der Geschichte des 20. Jahrhunderts

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 49, 2015

The full text is free:

<http://www.bpb.de/apuz/216231/hunger-in-der-geschichte-des-20-jahrhunderts>

In den Augen vieler Zeitgenossen war das 20. Jahrhundert auch ein Jahrhundert des Hungers. Man denkt dabei an die Hungersnöte in und nach den beiden Weltkriegen, an Hungerkrisen in sozialistischen Ländern oder an das sogenannte Welthungerproblem, das seit den 1970er Jahren vor allem mit Afrika verbunden wird. Doch auch in vorangegangenen Jahrhunderten gab es Zeiten des Hungers. Dieser Beitrag beschäftigt sich mit einigen offenen Fragekomplexen im Zusammenhang mit Hunger in der jüngeren Geschichte und hebt auf einige Besonderheiten der Geschichte des Hungers im 20. Jahrhundert ab...

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Borjas, George J.

Immigration and Globalization: A Review Essay

in *Journal of Economic Literature*, Vol. 53, No. 4 , 961-974

This essay revisits the argument that the removal of worldwide immigration restrictions would induce a very large increase in world GDP. The recent books *Exodus: How Migration is Changing Our World* by Paul Collier and *The Price of Rights: Regulating International Labor Migration* by Martin Ruhs raise a number of questions about the underlying economic model. The essay shows how these concerns can greatly attenuate the predicted gains.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Knaack Peter

Innovation and deadlock in global financial governance: transatlantic coordination failure in OTC derivatives regulation



in *Review of International Political Economy*, Volume 22, Issue 6, 2015 , pages 1217-1248

The institutional arrangement chosen by the leading nations in order to address financial regulatory reform in the wake of the 2007–2009 crisis exhibits two key features of global economic governance innovation. First, it employs a minilateral approach, restricting the participants that negotiate new regulatory standards to a few, highly involved stakeholders. Second, it relies heavily on government networks that operate on the basis of soft law. The arrangement circumvents the traditional intergovernmental model that has proven overly rigid and ineffective in addressing the problems that arise from highly interconnected and fast-changing global markets. Current theories of global economic governance predict that this twofold innovation enhances the effectiveness of financial regulatory reform. Yet a study of the evolution in over-the-counter (OTC) derivatives regulation shows that this is not the case. The paper then exposes three obstacles to cross-border regulatory cooperation between the two dominant players, the European Union and the United States. Authorities on both sides of the Atlantic are concerned about the distributive consequences of regulation, legislators and legislation hinder cross-border harmonization, and government networks are weak and incomplete. The paper concludes with suggestions of how to overcome coordination failure and theoretical implications for the political economy of networked governance.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Coniglio Nicola D., Kondoh Kenji

International integration with heterogeneous immigration policies

in *Economie internationale*, N°142, 2015/2

This paper investigates the welfare effects of developed countries with heterogeneous and uncoordinated immigration policies. We build a simple three-country model where two rich countries with different immigration policies receive immigrants from the third developing country. We consider the effects of economic integration in the form of free mobility of native workers and show that under certain conditions, wage gap between two developed countries is crucial whether integration ends in win–win or lose–lose.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Brumlik Micha

Kosmopolitische Moral: Globales Gedächtnis und Menschenrechtsbildung

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 3-4, 2016

The full text is free:

<http://www.bpb.de/apuz/218724/globales-gedaechtnis-und-menschenrechtsbildung>

Die jüdisch-christliche Tradition, zu der im weiteren Sinn auch der Islam, der Gott als den gerechten Erbarmer kennt und bekennt, gehört, hat eine Intuition hervorgebracht, die in der Antike – sogar angesichts ihrer bewegenden Tragödienliteratur – einzigartig war. Diese Intuition hat ihren treffendsten Ausdruck im Evangelium des Matthäus (25,40) gefunden, einer jüdischen Schrift aus dem ersten Jahrhundert christlicher Zeitrechnung, in der sich der messianische



König beim jüngsten Gericht so zu den Angeklagten äußert: "Was ihr getan habt einem unter diesen meinen geringsten Brüdern, das habt ihr mir getan." In der Ökumene der globalisierten Welt des 21. Jahrhunderts wird es auch darum gehen, diesem Gedanken vor dem Panorama der Erfahrungen des mörderischen 20. Jahrhunderts sozial-, geschichts- und erziehungswissenschaftlich gerecht zu werden...

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Jadot Yannick, Jouanno Chantal, Larrère Catherine, Parizeau Marie-Hélène, Pisani-Ferry Jean

L'action collective face au changement climatique (table ronde)

in *Esprit*, Décembre 2015 , 56-76

How can we define environmental challenges? How can we respond to them? According to which agenda? How can we federate local initiatives and reconcile competing interests? Who are the main stakeholders? The round table emphasizes the necessary articulation of science and democracy.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Giuseppe de Vergottini

La persistente soberanía

in *Teoría y realidad constitucional*, no. 36 , 67-91

Se analiza en el trabajo el concepto de la soberanía para valorar si continúa siendo un concepto útil para definir la naturaleza del Estado, en la medida en que resulta evidente su inevitable integración en organizaciones intergubernamentales consideradas necesarias en el panorama internacional.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Gnesotto Nicole, Vaïsse Justin

La prolifération des conflits internationaux. Entretien

in *Esprit*, Novembre 2015 , 78-88

The multiplication of conflicts over the world is the sign of a new balance of power: the United States no longer guarantees world order; China and Russia assert themselves; new private actors appear in regions where States are weakened. In the context of a painful globalization, international institutions are powerless.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Garapon Antoine

La violence mondialisée

in *Esprit*, Janvier 2016 , 45-56



Terrorist violence is both produced by globalization and destructive of the world. With it, borders no longer design territories, but separate persons. Just like global economy, non-territorialized terrorism forces us to rethink the political bond.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

John Gillespie

Localizing Global Competition Law in Vietnam: A Bottom-Up Perspective?

in International and Comparative Law Quarterly, vol. 64, issue 4 , 935-963

Global laws are an important inspiration for commercial law reforms around the world. Much analysis of this phenomenon emphasizes the capacity of regulatory élites, such as lawmakers, courts and lawyers, to adapt global laws to local conditions. What is often absent from this top-down analysis is a wide-ranging consideration of what the regulated think about global laws. This article aims to redress this shortcoming in the comparative literature by drawing fresh perspectives from bottom-up responses to global laws. It takes from socio-legal scholarship a framework for analysing the interface between thought formation and social action and explores the question—how do the regulated conceptualize and localize global laws? If compliance is socially constructed from below, as this literature suggests, then attempts to understand legal globalization by focusing exclusively on regulatory élites misses much of the localization story.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Arespa Marta

Macroeconomic Volatility and International Integration

in Bulletin of Economic Research, Volume 67, Issue 4, October 2015 , 393-410

This paper explores the effects that varying degrees of international openness have on macroeconomic volatility. The analysis is conducted for a two-symmetric-country world under three levels of international integration: that of a closed economy, a financial autarky, and full financial integration. Different degrees of trade openness are considered in the form of home biases, while the economy is left vulnerable to total factor productivity and innovation shocks. Full financial integration is found to reduce firm-size volatility and volatility in the mass of operative firms following a productivity shock and to increase them after an innovation shock. Moreover, the interaction between international sharing of profits and terms of trade transmissions determines the non-linear behaviour of consumption-to-output ratio volatility found in empirical studies.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Figueiredo Erik, Lima Luiz Renato, Orefice Gianluca

Migration and Regional Trade Agreements: A (New) Gravity Estimation

in Review of International Economics, Volume 24, Issue 1, February 2016 , 99–125

This paper investigates the role of regional trade agreements (RTAs) on bilateral international migration. Building on a



gravity model for migration, our econometric strategy controls for the multilateral resistance to migration and solves the zero migration flows problem by using a censored quantile regression approach. Further, the endogeneity problem of RTAs in migration settlement is addressed by using instrumental variable censored quantile regression. Our results suggest that the presence of a RTA stimulates the migration stocks among member countries. The pro-migration effect of RTAs is magnified if the agreement includes also provisions easing bureaucratic procedures for visa and asylum among member countries. Finally, we find an asymmetric effect of RTAs across the quantiles of the distribution of migration settlements.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Marschelke Jan-Christoph

Moderne Sklavereien

in **Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte**, Band 50-51, 2015

The full text is free:

www.bpb.de/apuz/216478/moderne-sklavereien

Laut Global Slavery Index (GSI) 2014 fristen heute 35,8 Millionen Menschen ihr Dasein als Sklavinnen und Sklaven. In absoluten Zahlen sind das mehr als jemals zuvor. Was aber genau ist moderne Sklaverei? Unter welchen Umständen arbeiten moderne Sklaven? Was produzieren sie, und wer profitiert davon? Warum kann es Sklaverei überhaupt noch geben, wo sie rechtlich doch geächtet ist? Diesen und weiteren Fragen werde ich im Folgenden nachgehen...

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Allain Jean

Neubestimmung eines alten Begriffs: Sklaverei und internationales Recht

in **Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte**, Band 50-51, 2015

The full text is free:

www.bpb.de/apuz/216480/sklaverei-und-internationales-recht

Versklavung ist seit jeher eine Facette der *conditio humana*. Der modernen Sklaverei fehlt jedoch etwas, was häufig als fundamentales Element der Sklaverei schlechthin galt: die Eigentümerschaft (ownership). Um zu verstehen, weshalb und wie Sklaverei heute fortbesteht, lohnt es sich, die internationalen Bemühungen zu ihrer Bekämpfung in den Blick zu nehmen und dabei zu beachten, dass der Schwerpunkt sehr lange auf der rechtlichen Abschaffung lag. Heute ist die Herausforderung eine andere, da Sklaverei zwar gesetzlich verboten ist, faktisch aber immer noch existiert. Wie kann das sein? Betrachten wir die Folter: Wenige würden argumentieren, dass sie aufgrund des rechtlichen Verbots tatsächlich nicht mehr existiere. In ähnlicher Weise sollten wir begreifen, dass Sklaverei weiterbesteht, trotz ihrer weltweiten rechtlichen Ächtung...



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Belke Ansgar H., Volz Ulrich

**On the Unilateral Introduction of Gold-backed Currencies   **

in Intereconomics, Volume 50, Issue 5, September 2015 , Pages 294-300

Against the backdrop of an unstable international monetary system centred around the US dollar and very dim prospects of reforming this system, this article analyses the rationale for the unilateral introduction of gold-backed currencies and the challenges and problems associated with such a move. What would be the merits of unilaterally linking a currency to gold? How could this be managed, and what would be the risks? We argue that such a system would not bring price stability, as the country would not be able to control the international gold price, and that it would likely be exposed to volatile exchange rates.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Chiozza Giacomo, Manzetti Luigi

Perceptions of Competence and the European Economic Crisis. A Micro-Level Analysis

in Political Research Quarterly, vol. 68, n. 3, september , 457-473

ABSTRACT: This study provides micro-level evidence for the new theories of accountability under globalization. We analyze the micro-level logic that underpins political accountability in democratic countries with highly globalized economies. We contend that voters discount current economic conditions in evaluating incumbent leaders if they perceive the incumbent leader moving the country in the right direction. We test this argument with survey data from eight European countries in 2012, while controlling for potential alternative explanations associated with pocketbook, sociotropic, and clarity-of-responsibility factors. We find that valence considerations related to future directions in the country sustain positive evaluations of leaders' performance even in the face of negative evaluations of the economy.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Erik van der Marel

Positioning on the Global Value Chain Map: Where Do You Want to Be?

in Journal of World Trade, Vol.49, Issue 6 , 915-949

This article aims to understand which policy disciplines are associated with the positioning of countries in the Global Value Chain (GVC). In today's world production and trade takes place among multiple stages of a supply chain stretching many country participants around the world. This induces countries to specialize in a so-called 'slice' of the GVC which can be at the beginning (upstream), middle or end (downstream) of the chain. Yet, it is unclear how countries and industries specialize along these slices, and what type of policies are determining where countries and industries are placed on the GVC map. Hence, this paper first makes an attempt to examine where countries along the various GVC dimensions are positioned regarding production and trade based on recently developed measures. In a second step, it investigates what type of policies are significantly linked to the GVC position of these countries by including a battery of various policy disciplines in the analysis. This paper finds that depending on where countries specialize, many domestic economic policy barriers are correlated with a country's position on the GVC map. It therefore



states that trade nowadays is interconnected with many other policy fields beyond traditional trade disciplines. Finally, the findings of this paper are applied to specific industries by developing three case studies.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Zakaria Sorgho

RTAs' Proliferation and Trade-diversion Effects: Evidence of the 'Spaghetti Bowl' Phenomenon in World Economy, Volume 39, Issue 2 , 285-300

This paper investigates the trade-diversion effects of regional trade agreements (RTAs), so-called spaghetti bowl phenomenon (SBP), in multilateral trade. The SBP is due to the proliferation of RTAs. Thus, I investigate the relationship between the number of RTAs concluded by a country and the additional trade value attributed to a RTA. Using bilateral trade data in a sample of 119 countries, from 1995 to 2012, my main finding reveals a negative trade effect between them, confirming the existence of SBP in multilateral trade. However, results could not conclude the evidence of a negative effect of overlapping RTAs, involving the existence of SBP, within North–North, North–South or South–South trade. But, the additional trade value attributed to a RTA concluded with EU countries or US seems to confirm significantly a trade-diversion effect because of the number of RTAs signed by these countries.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Flesher Fominaya Cristina

Redefining the Crisis/Redefining Democracy: Mobilising for the Right to Housing in Spain's PAH Movement in South European Society & Politics, Volume 20, Issue 4 , 465-485

European anti-austerity movements are challenging fundamental assumptions about the role of the market and the state. In Spain, the twin claims of the movements are a demand for 'real democracy' and an end to austerity measures resulting from the global financial crisis. I argue that these demands are intertwined. Using critical discourse analysis, I explore the Platform of Those Affected by Mortgages' controversial escrache campaign to show how social movements actively resisting austerity measures transcend the specific issues around which they mobilise to contest hegemonic definitions of crisis and of democracy, laying the groundwork for the reconfiguration of Spain's political landscape.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Stoyanov Andrey

Regional Trade Agreements and Cross-border Lobbying: Empirical Evidence from the Canada–US Free Trade Agreement Negotiations in Review of International Economics, Volume 24, Issue 1, February 2016 , 126-149

This paper documents participation of special interest groups in negotiations of the Canada–US Free Trade Agreement. Using data on the tariff reduction schedules mandated by the agreement, it shows that industries represented by strong lobby groups were faced with more favorable tariff reduction paths in both countries: phase-out periods were longer at home and shorter in the partner country. This result provides evidence on the involvement of industry lobbying in



negotiation of regional trade agreements and suggests that countries negotiating trade agreements are responsive to the interests of lobbying groups from across the border. Both results provide important implications for the political economy theory of trade agreements.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Kuosmanen Jaakko

Repackaging human rights: on the justification and the function of the right to development
in *Journal of Global Ethics*, Volume 11, Issue 3, 2015 , 303-320

Abstract

This paper focuses on examining the right to development. More specifically, the paper examines two questions relating to the right to development. The first focuses on the issue of justification: can the right to development that appears in the UN Declaration on the Right to Development be provided an adequate philosophical justification? The second question focuses on the function of the right to development: If the right to development simply 'repackages' duties correlative to other existing human rights – as it may be argued to be the case with the right enshrined in the Declaration on the Right to Development – does it serve any meaningful function? In answering the first question, the paper argues that the right to development enshrined in the Declaration on the Right to Development is essentially a derivative right, and ultimately its philosophical justification is dependent on whether or not the legal human rights the realisation of which it seeks to enable can be provided an adequate philosophical justification. In answering the second question, the paper suggests that a (moral or legal) right to development that repackages other human rights into a new form can potentially serve at least four practical functions: specifying function, advocacy function, empowerment function, and deliberative function.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Caney Simon

Responding to Global Injustice: on the Right of Resistance
in *Social Philosophy and Policy* , Volume 32, Issue 01, Fall 2015 , 51-73

Abstract

In the debates surrounding global justice, the overwhelming focus has been on the duties that fall to the affluent and powerful, and the emphasis has been on their duties to comply with various principles of justice. In this essay, I examine what those who bear the brunt of global injustice are entitled to do to secure their own entitlements and those of others. In particular, I defend an account of what I term the "right of resistance against global injustice." To do so I advance several methodological and substantive claims. On the methodological level: I argue that in deriving and defining this right of resistance we can (a) learn from the normative accounts developed to analyze war, humanitarian intervention, civil disobedience, revolution and anti colonialism. However, (b) the right to resist global injustice raises some distinct problems; and, thus, the normative principles that should inform any right of resistance against global injustice are not reducible to those that govern the appropriate kinds of response to other kinds of injustice. Turning now to the substantive component, I propose an account of resisting global injustice that specifies (i) who may engage in



resistance, (ii) what would constitute a just cause for engaging in resistance, (iii) against whom those engaging in resistance may impose burdens, (iv) what methods resistors can employ, and (v) in what circumstances resistance is permissible.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Lars Vellechner

Responsive legal pluralism: The emergence of transnational conflicts law
in *Transnational Legal Theory*, vol. 6, issue 2 , 312-332

The overlapping and intertwinement of both territorially confined and functionally oriented legal orders in world society is often referred to as “new legal pluralism”. Under these conditions, the coherence and legitimacy of the law may only be guaranteed through a horizontal coordination among the different legal orders, opening themselves for each other by internally reflecting their mutual impact. Indeed, a new kind of conflicts law required to this end is gradually evolving. In accordance with the spirit of some express provisions in treaties and constitutions, courts and tribunals dialectically develop rules of complementarity and subsidiarity without relinquishing their own identity. A “responsive legal pluralism” of this kind offers a promising fourth way to overcome both the outdated dualist doctrine of sovereigntism and the unattainable monist vision of universalism while at the same time avoiding radical legal pluralism. It may even amount to an adequate reconfiguration of constitutionalism in the current context.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Pelkmans Jacques, Lee Thea M., Mustilli Federica, Cernat Lucian

TTIP: Political and Economic Rationale and Implications
in *Intereconomics*, Volume 50, Issue 6, November 2015 , Pages 312-343

The Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership will reduce tariffs and lower regulatory hurdles that currently impair trade between the EU and the US. However, TTIP has been controversial from the outset. Non-governmental organisations are concerned about lowered health and environmental standards, unions fear a further weakening of labour conditions, and economists debate whether or not there will actually be any noticeable impact on employment and GDP growth. This Forum, featuring contributions by the speakers at the 2015 Intereconomics conference, presents a balanced overview of both the prospective benefits as well as the possible drawbacks to the potentially monumental trade agreement.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Disdier Anne-Célia, Fontagné Lionel, Mimouni Mondher

Tariff Liberalization and Trade Integration of Emerging Countries
in *Review of International Economics*, Volume 23, Issue 5, November 2015 , 946–971

This paper investigates how tariff liberalization has affected exporting at the product-destination level in emerging countries. We use a highly disaggregated (six-digit level of the harmonized system—HS—classification) bilateral



measure of market access to compare tariffs applied in 1996 and 2006, which includes the timing of the Uruguay Round and episodes of bilateral liberalization. Our econometric estimations consider impacts of tariff cuts on three components of the trade margins: extensive margin of entry (new trade relationships at the product-destination level), extensive margin of exit (disappearance of existing relationships) and intensive margin of trade (deepening existing relationships). Our main estimates indicate that a reduction of bilateral applied tariffs of 1 percentage point increases the extensive margin of entry by 0.1% and the intensive one by 2.09%, while it reduces the extensive margin of exit by 0.25%.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Besson Samantha

The Bearers of Human Rights' Duties and Responsibilities for Human Rights: a Quiet (R)evolution?
in *Social Philosophy and Policy*, Volume 32, Issue 01, Fall 2015, 244-268

Abstract

Recent years have seen an increase of interest on the part of human rights theorists in the “supply-side” of human rights, i.e., in the duties or obligations correlative to human rights. Nevertheless, faced with the practically urgent and seemingly simple question of who owes the duties related to international human rights, few human rights theorists provide an elaborate answer. While some make a point of fitting the human rights practice and hence regard states as the sole human rights duty-bearers merely by referring to that practice, others criticize the “state-centric” approach to human rights duty-bearers and expand the scope of the latter to include any international institution beyond the state and even private actors. Curiously, however, even those more expansive accounts of human rights duty-bearers are usually very evasive about why it should be so and especially how it should work. The time has come to broach anew the issue of the bearers of human rights duties, and responsibilities of international institutions in human rights theory, addressing two challenges: focusing on relational and directed human rights duties specifically and not on duties of global justice in general, thereby distinguishing between human rights duty-bearers and other bearers of responsibilities for human rights, on the one hand, and accounting for and justifying the point of international human rights law and practice in this respect, thereby also securing internal arguments for reform, on the other. The essay’s argument is four-pronged. It starts with a few reminders about the relational nature of human rights and the relationship between human rights and duties and what this means for the specification of human rights duties. It then focuses more specifically on the identification of human rights duty-bearers, i.e., states and international institutions of jurisdiction like the European Union (EU), and the allocation of human rights duties to them. The third section of the article is devoted to the concurrent moral responsibilities for human rights that are incurred by other various responsibility-bearers outside institutions of jurisdiction. In the final section, the essay considers the (quiet) revolution potential of the EU’s fast-developing human rights’ duties, and discusses the normative implications of the development of universal international institutions’ human rights duties *stricto sensu* for international law and politics more generally.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Caroline Knowles

The Flip-Flop Trail and Fragile Globalization
in *Theory, Culture & Society*, 32 (7-8)



The flip-flop trail is an object biography. It follows the translocal journeys of a pair of plastic sandals, unpacking the lives and landscapes hidden in the plastic. An important shoe-infrastructure enabling human mobility, flip-flops work as an offbeat proxy for globalization too. They proffer empirical footings in translocally-connected worlds in which people and the social textures and terrains of their everyday lives come to the fore, in place of economic processes and commodity chains favoured in hegemonic versions of globalization. These reduce globalization's complex social forms to the grand narratives of the logics of capital accumulation, implicitly naturalizing it, if critically, as inevitable, entrenched and robust. From the vantage point of the flip-flop trail, globalization looks rather different. It is more fragile and shifting, generating multiple forms of uncertainty in the lives and landscapes it simultaneously sustains and undermines

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Gamba Arianna

The Role of International Law in Facing Antimicrobial Resistance: A Global Health Concern
in **Cuadernos Manuel Giménez Abad**, n. 10, diciembre , 213-222

Antimicrobial resistance (AMR) is a global threat comparable to global warming and it should not be underestimated: diminishing antimicrobial drugs' efficacy would increase the risk of death and prolong the duration of diseases with the risk to infect more people. Global trade and the movement of citizens and products can contribute to AMR phenomenon. Hence, international regulations have to play a bigger role and foster the fight against AMR.

Full text available online at

http://www.fundacionmgimenezabad.es/images/Documentos/Cuadernos/cuadernos10_diciembre_2015.pdf

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Gandolfo Giancarlo

The Tobin tax in a continuous-time non-linear dynamic model of the exchange rate
in **Cambridge Journal of Economics**, Volume 39 Issue 6 November 2015 , 1629-1643

Starting from a new continuous-time non-linear dynamic model of the exchange rate, we formally show that the introduction of a Tobin tax reduces speculators' profit and influences the dynamics of the system, making it more stable and less prone to chaotic motion.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Aastveit, Knut Are, Bjørnland, Hilde C., Thorsrud, Leif Anders

The World Is Not Enough! Small Open Economies and Regional Dependence
in **Scandinavian Journal of Economics**, Volume 118, Number 1 , 168-195

In this paper, we explicitly introduce regional factors into a global dynamic factor model. We combine new open economy factor models (emphasizing global shocks) with the recent findings of regional importance in the business cycle synchronization literature. The analysis is applied to a large panel of domestic data for four small open economies. We find that global and regional shocks explain roughly 30 and 20 percent, respectively, of the business cycle variation



in all countries. While global shocks have most impact on trade variables, regional shocks explain a relatively large share of the variation in cost variables.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Mol Arthur P.J.

The environmental nation state in decline

in Environmental Politics, Volume 25, Issue 1, Special Issue: Greening Leviathan? The Emergence of the Environmental State , 48-68

The environmental nation state is not a formal category but a substantive one. The current set of national environmental state institutions originated in the late 1960s/1970s but has since changed in character. Many scholars note that since the new millennium, the environmental nation state in OECD countries is losing power and authority and is thus in decline, in line with wider concerns about the positions of states versus markets under conditions of (neo-liberal) globalisation. Assessing the decline of environmental nation state authority, three conclusions are drawn. States do not lose power in all sectors vis-à-vis markets. Hence, environmental nation state decline does not follow a general tendency. Second, the decline of environmental nation state powers cannot be equated with less effective or lower levels of environmental protection, as other environmental authorities have stepped in, and the jury is still out on their environmental effectiveness. Third, declining powers of environmental nation state institutions increasingly become a self-fulfilling prophecy of environmental policymakers, but non-state environmental authorities cannot take over all environmental state functions.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Nally David, Taylor Stephen

The politics of self-help: The Rockefeller Foundation, philanthropy and the 'long' Green Revolution

in Political Geography, Volume 49, Special Issue: Historical Geographies of Internationalism, November , 51-63

While scholars of contemporary philanthropy have observed a concerted interest in the promotion of 'self-help,' little has been said about the political history of this investment and its significance in determining both domestic and international development priorities. We locate this modern conceptualisation of self-help in early twentieth-century philanthropic practice that sought to 'gift' to individuals and communities the precious habit of self-reliance and social autonomy. The Rockefeller Foundation promoted rural development projects that deliberately sought to 'emancipate' the tradition-bound peasant, transforming him or her into a productive, enterprising subject. We begin by documenting their early agricultural extension work, which attempted to spark agrarian change in the US South through the inculcation of modern habits and aspirations among farmers and their families. These agrarian schemes illustrate the newfound faith that 'rural up-lift' could only be sustained if farming communities were trained to 'help themselves' by investing physically and psychologically in the process of modernisation. We then locate subsequent attempts to incentivise and accelerate international agricultural development within the broader geopolitical imperatives of the Green Revolution and the Cold War. While US technical assistance undoubtedly sought to prevent political upheaval in the Third World, we argue that Rockefeller-led modernisation projects, based on insights gleaned from behavioural economics, championed a model of human capital – and the idea of 'revolution within' – in order to contain the threat of 'revolution without'. Approaching agricultural development through this problematisation of the farmer reveals the 'long history' of the Green Revolution –



unfolding from the domestic to the international and from the late nineteenth century to the present – as well as the continuing role of philanthropy in forging a new global order.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Chien YiLi, Naknoi Kanda

The risk premium and long-run global imbalances

in **Journal of Monetary Economics**, Volume 76, November 2015 , Pages 299-315

This study proposes that heterogeneous household portfolio choices within a country and across countries offer an explanation for global imbalances. We construct a stochastic growth multi-country model in which heterogeneous agents face the following restrictions on asset trade. First, the degree of US equity market participation is higher than that of the rest of the world. Second, a fraction of households in each country maintains a fixed share of equity in its portfolios. In our calibrated model, which matches the US net foreign asset position and the equity premium, the average US household loads up more aggregate risk than the average foreign household by investing in risky assets abroad and issuing risk-free assets. As a result, the US is compensated by a high risk premium and runs trade deficits even as a debtor country. The long-run average trade deficit in our model accounts for 50% of the observed US trade deficit.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Brüntrup Michael

Welthunger und Welternährung

in **Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte**, Band 49, 2015

In der internationalen Debatte hat sich folgende Definition von Ernährungssicherheit durchgesetzt: "Food security exists when all people, at all times, have physical, social and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food which meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life." Die Europäische Union hat dafür folgende Übersetzung, die der Tatsache Rechnung trägt, dass Unterernährung nicht nur ein Zustand ist, sondern es ein fundamentales Recht auf Nahrung gibt: "Die Ernährungssicherheit ist ein Menschenrecht. Sie ist gegeben, wenn alle Menschen jederzeit in physischer, sozialer und wirtschaftlicher Hinsicht Zugang zu ausreichenden, unbedenklichen und nahrhaften Nahrungsmitteln haben, die ihrem Ernährungsbedarf und ihren Ernährungsgewohnheiten im Hinblick auf ein aktives und gesundes Leben entsprechen." ...

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Fransen Luc, Schalk Jelmer, Auld Graeme

Work ties beget community? Assessing interactions among transnational private governance organizations in sustainable agriculture

in **Global Networks**, vol. 16, issue 1, january , 45-67

ABSTRACT: Transnational private governance organizations (TPGOs) set standards for various sustainability issues and industries. TPGOs individually address only facets of larger problems such as land conversion, and competition



among TPGOs also affects TPGO governance, meaning coordination across their activities can be required. Studies have shown that ties between TPGOs and other organizations facilitate information sharing, coordination and socialization. A systematic analysis of the structure of such ties, however, is lacking. Using the employment ties of staff and governors, we analyse the inter-organizational communities of TPGOs that focus on agriculture. Our findings cast doubt on the existence of a coherent community of sustainable agricultural TPGOs: very few communities involve multiple TPGOs. While TPGOs with a similar product focus may form links with similar organizations, there are few direct and indirect ties among TPGOs. Researchers should therefore be cautious about assuming that a TPGO policy community crossing organizational and policy divides currently exists.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes

Smith Adrian

Economic (in)security and global value chains: the dynamics of industrial and trade integration in the Euro-Mediterranean macro-region

in *Cambridge Journal of Regions, Economy and Society*, Volume 8 Issue 3 November 2015 , 439-458

The European Union (EU) has been engaged in a project of macro-regional integration with selected North African countries, increasing inter-dependent economic relations. Trade has been liberalised, global value chains extended and EU firms have established industrial production activity. This paper examines the consequences for economic insecurity in the region, in the context of trade integration, the Tunisian 'Arab Spring' and the enduring economic crisis in the EU. It questions whether economic integration is leading to industrial upgrading and improvement in working conditions and argues that, while economic growth was fostered on the basis of this model, it has also created conditions for economic insecurity and uneven development.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes

Siphamandla Zondi

IBSA's Global Role: An African Perspective

in *Journal of Developing Societies*, 31 (4) , 488-512

Established in 2003 with a promise to impact global governance for the benefit of developing countries, the India–Brazil–South Africa (IBSA trilateral forum) celebrated its 10-year anniversary in 2013 under the shadow of a global financial crisis and overshadowed by the rise of the BRICS platform in which IBSA countries were prominent. That it failed to hold its anniversary summit in 2013 for reasons that are not yet clear signified the challenge that IBSA faced in asserting its role as a mechanism for Global South agency in a changing world.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes

Frederick Stacey, Bair Jennifer, Gereffi Gary

Regional trade agreements and export competitiveness: the uncertain path of Nicaragua's apparel exports under CAFTA

in *Cambridge Journal of Regions, Economy and Society*, Volume 8 Issue 3 November 2015 , 403-420



The Central American Free Trade Agreement (CAFTA) has been a mixed blessing for economic development. While exports to the US economy have increased, dependency may hinder economic growth if countries do not diversify or upgrade before temporary provisions expire. This article evaluates the impact of the temporary Tariff Preference Levels (TPLs) granted to Nicaragua under CAFTA and the consequences of TPL expiration. Using trade statistics, country- and firm-level data from Nicaragua's National Free Zones Commission (CNZF) and data from field research, we estimate Nicaragua's apparel sector will contract as much as 30–40% after TPLs expire. Our analysis underscores how rules of origin and firm nationality affect where and how companies do business, and in so doing, often constrain sustainable export growth.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes

Jeffrey S. Vogt

The Evolution of Labor Rights and Trade—A Transatlantic Comparison and Lessons for the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership

in *Journal of International Economic Law*, Volume 18 Issue 4 , 827-860

This article surveys the differing approaches of the US and the EU on trade and labor linkage and evaluates the extent to which either model has had a meaningful impact on the protection of workers' rights in the territory of their trade partners. It finds that pre-ratification leverage has resulted in legislative reforms, particularly as demanded by the US, though post-ratification efforts have been much less successful. The article identifies the possible reasons therefore and concludes with recommendations to overcome these weaknesses in the context of the US-EU bilateral trade agreement negotiations for the proposed Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes

Fernández-i-Marín Xavier, Jordana Jacint

The emergence of regulatory regionalism: transnational networks and the diffusion of regulatory agencies within regions

in *Contemporary Politics*, Volume 21, Issue 4, 2015 , 417-434

The regulatory regionalism approach has increasingly claimed that a new mode of regional governance is emerging globally. Regional policy regimes, developed in broad social and economic territorial areas, affect the internal transformation of the state. The authors plan to provide comprehensive empirical evidence about the emergence of worldwide regulatory regionalism by identifying how regulatory agencies have diffused very successfully within the regional level in recent decades. The paper aims to identify, using an original methodological design, the ways in which such diffusion of agencies occurred, as this may have theoretical relevance for the study of regulatory regionalism. The authors' hypothesis suggests that transnational political interactions in each regional cluster triggered agency diffusion, contributing to the development of the regulatory state within the countries of each region. To test this hypothesis, the authors employed a data set of regulatory agencies including the OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development), and most Asian and Latin American countries (+59) from 1950 to 2007, for 15 sectors related to finance, risks, utility and competition. Bayesian data analysis was used to estimate the parameters of interest.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes

Kazunobu Hayakawa, Tadashi Ito, Fukunari Kimura

**Trade Creation Effects of Regional Trade Agreements: Tariff Reduction versus Non-tariff Barrier Removal
in Review of Development Economics**, Volume 20, Issue 1 , 317-326

This study uses the most disaggregated tariff line-level trade data in a large number of countries in the world to empirically decompose the trade creation effects of regional trade agreements (RTAs) into those owing to tariff reduction and those owing to non-tariff barrier (NTB) removal. Specifically, utilizing our detailed dataset, we employ the standard gravity equation and identify those effects by estimating the trade creation effects of RTAs for ineligible and eligible products for RTA preferential schemes separately. Our major findings are as follows. First, for the whole sample, there are significantly positive trade creation effects owing to tariff reduction while the effects for NTB removal are weak. Second, the trade creation effects of tariff reduction and NTB removal are substantially large in the case of trade among low-income countries but weak among high-income countries.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes

Pickles John, Plank Leonhard, Staritz Cornelia, Glasmeier Amy

Trade policy and regionalisms in global clothing production networks

in Cambridge Journal of Regions, Economy and Society, Volume 8 Issue 3 November 2015 , 381-402

Throughout the 20th century, the global clothing industry experienced major geographical shifts, new forms of governance, changing producer and buyer relations and unevenly distributed outcomes for countries, firms and workers. This paper contextualises these global dynamics in regard to the ways in which trade policy and rules create strong regional patterns in global clothing production networks. The focus is on trade policy as both context for, and driver of, the spatial divisions of manufacture and work. It further provides an empirical overview of the ways in which trade regimes, preferential market access, regional trade agreements and rules of origin structure the division of labour and developmental opportunities and constraints in various clothing producing regions.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes

Hamanaka Shintaro

What is Subregionalism? Analytical Framework and Two Case Studies from Asia

in Pacific Focus, Volume 30, Issue 3 , 389-414

When scholars and policy-makers use the term subregionalism or subregional cooperation rather than regionalism or regional cooperation, they seem to emphasize certain elements of cooperation that tend to be overlooked or neglected by regional cooperation. What are they? This study first discusses the elements that make cooperation or a project subregional rather than regional. Then the article conducts a comparative case study analysis of subregionalism using the proposed framework to assess how much an actual project is "subregional." This article covers two case studies: the South Asia Subregional Economic Cooperation program and the Greater Tumen Initiative.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes

Krickovic Andrej

“All Politics Is Regional”: Emerging Powers and the Regionalization of Global Governance

in *Global Governance*, vol. 21, n. 4, october-december , 557-577

ABSTRACT: Tip O'Neill famously claimed, “All politics is local.” As global governance falters and US leadership wanes, will “all politics” become regional with emerging powers (China, Russia, Brazil) taking responsibility for leadership at the regional level? While regional powers are providing effective leadership on free trade and financial stability, they have made much less progress on security issues where their approaches to certain problems, such as human security, diverge from those adopted by the West. Their ability to provide regional leadership is hampered by the increasing complexities of the modern world, including the conflicting dynamics of regionalism itself. The emergence of a centralized system of regional governance based on the hegemony of regional leaders is therefore unlikely. Instead, we are seeing the emergence of a complex and dynamic system of governance that includes a broad range of actors operating on multiple and overlapping levels.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Abbay Futsum

An Evaluation of Disability Human Rights under the African Regional Human Rights System

in *African Journal of International and Comparative Law*, 23.3 , 476-502,

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Balistreri Edward J., Tarr David G., Yonezawa Hidemichi

Deep Integration in Eastern and Southern Africa: What are the Stakes?

in *Journal of African Economies*, Volume 24 Issue 5 November 2015 , 677-706

Evidence indicates that trade costs are a much more substantial barrier to trade than tariffs, especially in sub-Saharan Africa. We decompose trade costs into (a) trade facilitation; (b) non-tariff barriers and (c) the costs of business services. We develop a conceptually innovative model and new dataset to assess deep integration to reduce these three types of trade costs in the East African Community, the Common Market of East and Southern Africa and South African Development Community (EAC-COMESA-SADC) 'Tripartite' Free Trade Area (FTA), within the EAC alone and unilaterally by the EAC. We find that there are substantial gains for all six of our African regions from deep integration in the Tripartite FTA or comparable unilateral reforms by the EAC; but the estimated gains vary considerably across countries and depend on the reform. Thus, countries would have an interest in negotiating for different reforms in different agreements. Tariff removal in the Tripartite FTA would produce only small losses or gains, depending on the country. Interestingly, we estimate that Kenya gains less from comparable unilateral liberalisation by the EAC than from the Tripartite FTA, due in part to an umbrella of protection in services markets in the Tripartite region.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Corrales Juan-Sebastian, Imam Patrick A., Weber Sebastian, Yehoue Etienne

Dollarisation in Sub-Saharan Africa

in *Journal of African Economies*, Volume 25 Issue 1 January 2016 , 28-54

This article introduces an extended database on dollarisation in sub-Saharan Africa (SSA). We document the pattern of dollarisation in SSA economies over the last decade and assess the determinants of dollarisation in SSA compared with the rest of the world. In contrast to other regions, SSA has experienced an increase in dollarisation over the last 10 years, despite examples of successful de-dollarisation, such as Angola, Mozambique and Zambia. Traditional factors such as the optimal portfolio choice arguments contribute only little, while market development contributes most to explaining the variation of dollarisation in SSA. While these factors can account for a significant fraction of the dollarisation in SSA, there is still a non-negligible portion of dollarisation in SSA that is yet to be explained, suggesting that there is some unique feature, specific to SSA, which is not fully captured by traditional explanatory variables. Despite an improved macroeconomic environment, dollarisation remains elevated, likely due to the region's volatile history. This indicates that dollarisation should decline going forward provided that the recently gained stability is preserved.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Lohi Julie

Exchange rate regimes and inflation in Sub-Saharan Africa

in *Journal of Economics and International Finance*, August 2014; 6(8) , 173-189

The main argument in favor of a fixed exchange rate regime (ERR) is its ability to maintain lower inflation in the long run compared to a flexible ERR (Mundell, 1963; Fleming, 1962). This paper empirically tests whether the fixed ERR of the CFA franc currency union provides lower inflation to its members relative to inflation in the non-CFA Sub-Saharan African (SSA) countries. SSA countries are grouped by their exchange rate regimes using the International Monetary Fund (IMFs) de facto classification to analyze the dynamics of inflation within the groups of fixed ERR in comparison to the non-fixed ERR groups. The empirical results support the inflation-growth trade-off in the CFA zones. While the CFA countries experience a relatively lower inflation in the short and long run, they suffer from a pronounced output loss relative to all other non-CFA countries in general and relative to the non-CFA countries with pegged ERR in particular. As individuals' welfare depends on the change in their consumption of goods and services rather than the growth level of inflation (Aiyagari, 1990), the finding of this paper suggests that the CFA countries' fixed ERR compounded with an alignment to a common currency undermines their economic performances.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Senai W. Andemariam

In, Out or at the Gate? The Predicament on Eritrea's Membership and Participation Status in IGAD

in *Journal of African Law*, vol. 59, issue 2 , 355-379

On 27 April 2007 Eritrea notified the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) of its decision to "temporarily



suspend its membership” and “freeze its activities” in IGAD followed on 25 July 2011 by its decision to “reactivate its membership.” On 24 August 2011 Eritrea's representative to the IGAD Council of Ministers meeting in Addis Ababa was informed that he could not sit in the meeting and was escorted out. Eritrea's representatives have not attended IGAD meetings since. The incident raises the important question of what should be done in the absence of an IGAD rule regulating unilateral temporary suspension and reactivation of membership. The answer should be based on a clear understanding of the laws and practices of withdrawal, suspension, expulsion, membership reactivation and rejoining international / regional organizations. This article discusses how the stalemate regarding Eritrea's status in IGAD should be handled by reference to such laws and practices, and the rules in the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties governing the interpretation of treaties.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Amvane Gabriel

Intervention pursuant to article 4(h) of the Constitutive Act of the African Union without United Nations Security Council authorisation

in African Human Rights Law Journal, vol. 15, n. 2 , 282-298

ABSTRACT: Article 4(h) of the Constitutive Act of the African Union (AU) establishes the right of the Union to intervene in a member state to prevent grave violations of human rights. It does not state whether the AU should request prior authorisation from the United Nations (UN) Security Council, leading to many interpretations. Many articles were written on this issue at a time when the AU and the Security Council were not in confrontation. However, the situation has changed since the controversy over the arrest of President Al Bashir of Sudan, and the intervention by NATO in Libya in 2011. The AU's right of intervention may be the next controversy. This article examines the question whether the AU could implement military intervention in a member state without authorisation by the Security Council. The article initially states that, in principle, the AU needs authorisation in accordance with article 53 of the Charter of the UN. After further analysis, the article recognises that, under certain circumstances, the AU could implement such intervention without prior authorisation by the Council. The article analyses the legality and legitimacy of such action.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Angey-Sentuc Gabrielle

Le mouvement musulman turc de Fethullah Gülen en Afrique subsaharienne : faire l'école au transnational in Politique africaine, n. 139 , pp. 23-42

Cet article porte sur l'insertion d'un acteur religieux transnational originaire de Turquie dans les champs éducatifs d'Afrique subsaharienne. Le mouvement musulman de Fethullah Gülen est composé d'hommes d'affaires, d'intellectuels et d'enseignants turcs qui centrent leur action sur l'ouverture d'écoles dans le monde. L'insertion de ces écoles en Afrique subsaharienne, à partir de la deuxième moitié des années 1990, s'intègre dans le cadre d'une libéralisation des secteurs éducatifs du sous-continent. Nous examinerons comment le caractère transnational du mouvement conditionne la manière de « faire l'école » en Afrique subsaharienne, entre ouverture internationale, circulation des ressources (humaines et financières) et adaptation aux différentes offres et demandes éducatives africaines.



The Turkish Muslim Movement Fethullah Gülen in Subsaharan Africa: Education, Schooling and Schools at Transnational Level

This article focuses on the role of the Fethullah Gülen movement in the education sector in Sub-Saharan Africa. Fethullah Gülen is a transnational Muslim organisation, originating in Turkey, which focuses on the creation of schools worldwide. The insertion of these schools in Africa dates back to the second half of the 1990s, in the context of the liberalization of education. We examine how the transnational dimension of this movement impacts on the way it manufactures education, schooling and schools in Sub-Saharan Africa, through international alignment, (human and financial) resource flows and adaptation to the education market of specific African countries.

Plan de l'article

L'implantation des écoles du mouvement Gülen en Afrique subsaharienne : une circulation de ressources financières et humaines

Des flux venant de Turquie pour l'établissement des écoles en Afrique subsaharienne

Une « armée de réserve » d'enseignants-missionnaires

Personnel expatrié, personnel local : un investissement différencié

Une formation d'excellence répondant à la demande d'ouverture internationale d'une élite africaine

Des écoles préparant aux concours d'accès universitaires

Une ouverture internationale

Une adaptation au pluralisme religieux : la variable d'ajustement islamique

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Iheduru Okechukwu C.

Organized business and regional integration in Africa

in Review of International Political Economy, Volume 22, Issue 5, 2015 , pages 910-940

Although the role of organized business in regional economic integration is well documented, extant scholarship portrays them as mere legitimizers and partners of regional policy. This neat categorization fails to capture the complicated, 'multiscalar' of business and overall civil society's role in regional governance. Drawing insights from social constructivism and empirical evidence from fieldwork conducted in 2012 and 2013 on the interactions between the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and region-wide business associations and advocacy networks since the early 1990s, this article shows that although African business groups are relatively new actors at the regional stage, their impact on regional governance is substantial. This is not only in terms of getting governments to adopt particular policies or the ability to hold the state accountable, as functional institutionalists might argue, but also in terms of the regional socialization effects, namely the willingness and ability to frame issues that influence the choices of political decision-makers. Business regional governance roles also straddle competing conventional roles, and sometimes counter the neoliberal vision of regional integration, even among those that owe their emergence to regional organizations. The study also challenges the pervasive view of business actors (especially in Africa) as simply profit-seekers by highlighting the ways business actors have deployed and acted on principled beliefs about regional identity collectively or individually to forge denser and relatively effective policy coalitions that signal unfolding changes



in the direction of regional policy in Africa.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Schattschneider Dirk

Regionale afrikanische Sicherheitsstrukturen

in *Zeitschrift für Außen- und Sicherheitspolitik*, vol. 7, n. 3, 281-287

ABSTRACT: Founded in 1963, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) was shut down after almost four decades. The successor, the African Union (AU) became operational in 2002. The Security Council of the AU can take decisions by qualified majority, even humanitarian interventions become possible. Already existing regional structures and organisations will be used for the formation of an African Peace and Security Architecture. This includes standby forces and civilian components for conflict resolution. The African Union receives significant international support for that approach.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Possi Ally

Striking a balance between community norms and human rights: The continuing struggle of the East African Court of Justice

in *African Human Rights Law Journal*, vol. 15, n. 1, 192-213

ABSTRACT: The article exposes the difficult position in which the East African Court of Justice (EACJ) finds itself when faced with matters containing human rights allegations, which the Court is barred from deciding as such. The EACJ is often called upon to draw a line between what might constitute a human rights case and a claim relating to an East African Community (EAC) norm which is not barred under article 27(2) of the East African Community Treaty. As the main judicial mechanism of the EAC, the EACJ is primarily mandated to interpret and apply EAC law, of which human rights form part. Despite the existing limitations, the EACJ has clearly laid down its position that it cannot 'abdicate' exercising its interpretive mandate, even if a matter before it contains allegations of human rights violations. In doing so, the EACJ has indirectly protected human rights in the EAC through other forms of cause of actions, such as the rule of law and good governance. This contribution advances two key arguments: First, the EAC Treaty contains human rights norms that the EACJ cannot escape from interpreting. Second, due to the continuing restrictions in adjudicating human rights, as well as the existing human rights norms in the EAC Treaty, the EACJ is trapped in precarious attempts to balance the advancing of EAC norms, on the one hand, and adhering to the Treaty restrictions in adjudicating human rights, on the other.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Rudman Annika

The protection against discrimination based on sexual orientation under the African human rights system

in *African Human Rights Law Journal*, vol. 15, n. 1, 1-27



ABSTRACT: Recent legislation proposed or passed in Nigeria, Uganda and The Gambia has put the spotlight on the plights of homosexual persons living in sub-Saharan Africa. In Nigeria, discriminatory laws prohibit same-sex marriages and ban gay clubs and organisations. In Uganda, the Prohibition of the Promotion of Unnatural Sexual Practices Bill of 2014, with contents similar to the notorious Anti-Homosexuality Act, is being considered after a ruling by the Ugandan Constitutional Court rendering the Anti-Homosexuality Act unconstitutional. In The Gambia, the Penal Code has been amended recently to add the crime of 'aggravated homosexuality' with a lifetime prison sentence for any person found guilty. The rights to dignity and equality are protected under the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights; however, competing local and global values are arguably growing in Africa, challenging this right. This article explores two main problems: first, how the rights to dignity, equality and non-discrimination should generally be interpreted and applied under the regional African human rights system when related to sexual orientation. In this regard I draw on the interpretation of these rights under international human rights law as well as the jurisprudence of the European Court of Human Rights and its Inter-American counterpart. Second, it analyses the procedural or other hurdles that may stand in the way of bringing a claim of discrimination based on sexual orientation to the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights or the African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights. In this regard, I specifically consider the general restrictions placed on individuals and NGOs in bringing complaints to the Court and the real potential of the Commission to act as a conduit to the Court in cases involving rights related to sexual orientation, bearing in mind its inconsistent approach to same-sex sexuality. The article addresses these questions by analysing some key developments by the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights and the Inter-American Court of Human Rights. The main objective is to utilise the approach of these institutions to explore both the legal avenues under the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Establishment of an African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights and the rights and obligations under the African Charter available to anyone who would want to challenge any domestic law criminalising same-sex consensual sexual acts and/or any of the other related prohibitions.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Olivier Michèle E.

The role of African Union law in integrating Africa

in *South African Journal of International Affairs* , vol. 22, issue 4 , 513-533

ABSTRACT: This article traces how the development of regional law is linked to the state of regional integration in Africa. Given the prominent role European Union law plays in the functioning of the European Union, the question is posed whether there is similar scope for the development of 'African Union law', a term not established hitherto. Initially devoid from the necessary supranational elements required to adopt law that would automatically bind member states, the African Union is leaning towards a functionalist approach paving the way for transfer of sovereign powers to African Union institutions. It is argued that law-making capacity, be it through the activities of the Pan-African Parliament, the Peace and Security Council or the African court system, is a necessary requirement to accelerate the process of regional integration. African Union law will hold member states accountable to comply with international and continentally agreed standards on, inter alia, democracy, good governance and human rights.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Spencer Zifcak

What Happened to the International Community - R2P and the Conflicts in South Sudan and the Central African



Republic

in *Melbourne Journal of International Law*, vol. 16, issue 1, 52-85

Since the beginning of ethnic and religious conflicts in South Sudan and the Central African Republic in early 2014, it has been clear that crimes against humanity have been committed in both nations by all parties. This intra-state violence has resulted in the loss of thousands of lives, many thousands of injuries, grave human rights abuses and humanitarian crises of dramatic proportions. Pursuant to the new political doctrine of 'the responsibility to protect', the two states' failure to assume responsibility for the protection of the human rights of their peoples might have been expected to trigger the international community's broader responsibility to intervene to prevent the further commission of mass atrocities. While the United Nations Security Council expressed its grave concern, however, such preventive actions as it took were too little and too late to stem the human catastrophes that unfolded. This article describes and analyses both conflicts, examines the international community's responses through the UN and associated regional organisations and seeks to explain why, at least in the first year of the conflict, the implementation of the responsibility to protect was again, after Libya and Syria, found wanting.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Téléphone Ondo

d0c101cc34f3b6430134f7ba63ce2ae9 anthemis Les opinions séparées des juges à la Cour africaine des droits de l'homme et des peuples

in *Revue trimestrielle des droits de l'homme*, no. 104, 941-963

Les opinions séparées des juges à la Cour africaine des droits de l'homme et des peuples constituent une technique juridique encadrée indispensable à la crédibilité et à la légitimité de la Cour. En pratique, elles apparaissent comme un outil essentiel non seulement du mode de formation de la décision juridictionnelle, mais également de la transparence et de la modernisation du système juridictionnel africain de protection des droits de l'homme.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 3. Cooperations and integration in Central and North America

Pentecôte Jean-Sébastien, Rondeau Fabien

Trade spillovers on output growth during the 2008 financial crisis

in *Economie internationale*, N°143, 2015/2

This paper gives an empirical assessment of the extent to which a financial crash in a country can slowdown the domestic economic growth and how these effects can spread through trade relationships. First, we modify the Cerra and Saxena's (2008) methodology in order to understand the interplay between economic activity and foreign trade during the 2008 financial crisis. Our sample is made of monthly data for 26 countries over 1993–2013. We then simulate the dynamic responses of domestic activity to a demand shock and to a financial crisis. Trade contributes to growth in the context of a demand shock (from 63% for developing countries to 433% for NAFTA) whereas it dampens output loss in the context of the 2008 financial crisis (from 38% for developing countries to 127% for NAFTA).



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Ledo Gretel

Bolivia in the Mercosur: What Are the Real Benefits?

in Federalist Debate (The), Year XXVIII, Number 3, November 2015

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Ylarri Juan Santiago

La libertad de expresión en la jurisprudencia de la Corte Interamericana de Derechos Humanos

in Cuadernos Manuel Giménez Abad, n. 10, diciembre , 172-184

The right to freedom of speech has a wide scope in the case law of the Inter-American Court of Human Rights. This paper examines the various areas of this right in the inter-American system and its relationship with other rights also protected in the American Convention, such as the right to privacy and the right to honour. We will conclude that case law in this area should be known and applied by the courts of the countries in the region.

Full text available online at

http://www.fundacionmgimenezabad.es/images/Documentos/Cuadernos/cuadernos10_diciembre_2015.pdf

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Carranza Gonzalo Gabriel

Los desafíos del Parlamento del Mercosur

in Cuadernos Manuel Giménez Abad, n. 10, diciembre , 207-211

Full text available online at

http://www.fundacionmgimenezabad.es/images/Documentos/Cuadernos/cuadernos10_diciembre_2015.pdf

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Humberto Nogueira Alcalá

Los desafíos del control de convencionalidad del corpus iuris interamericano para los tribunales nacionales, y su diferenciación con el control de constitucionalidad

in Revista de derecho politico, n. 93 , 321-381

En este artículo se analiza el control de convencionalidad en el sistema interamericano de protección de derechos humanos, el cual tiene una versión concentrada que realiza la CIDH y una versión descentralizada que deben realizar las jurisdicciones nacionales de los Estados Partes, analizando asimismo las diferencias entre el control de



constitucionalidad y el control de convencionalidad que deben efectuar los tribunales nacionales.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Riggirozzi Pia, Grugel Jean

Regional governance and legitimacy in South America: the meaning of UNASUR

in *International Affairs* , vol. 91, issue 4, july , 781-797

ABSTRACT: Over the last decade, rapid changes to development models and market rules have led—yet again—to a revision of the meaning of regionalism, bringing to the fore the role of regional organizations in anchoring democracy and supporting progressive social policies. This is particularly the case in South America, where the presence of regional organizations in public policy-making is a subject of increasing scrutiny. This article examines new forms of politically sensitive regional governance in South America, focusing in particular on the case of the Union of South American Nations (UNASUR). It shows how contemporary South American regionalism bypasses the questions of trade and investment that dominated earlier schemes of regionalism in order to focus on shoring up democracy and managing the regional social deficit. The article explores UNASUR's actions in two policy areas: supporting the regional democratic norm and health policy. UNASUR, this article argues, is developing a hybrid form of output-focused legitimacy that rests on a combination of credible commitments to welfare promotion, especially for the poor, and the pursuit of collective public goods, alongside a robust defence of quite minimal but uncontroversial standards of procedural democracy across the region. The analysis challenges the view that regionalism has failed in South America and identifies instead the emergence of a new sort of highly political regionalism. We call for UNASUR to be taken more seriously in the literature on comparative regionalism and, indeed, for a revision of how regionalism more widely is understood in Latin America.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

TAIANE LAS CASAS

Regional integration as mechanism for provision of public goods: a comparative analysis of public safety in Mercosur and Andean Community

in *Revista Brasileira de Política internacional* , vol.58, n.1 , 23-41

In order to understand if the regional integration process can be a mechanism for the provision of regional public goods, we started with the model by Olson (1965), who identifies the relevant variables for understanding how group members overcome their collective action dilemmas. Mercosur's and Andean Community's comparison regarding drug trafficking allows for the conclusion that in both agreements there is a suboptimal provision of public security, even though Mercosur presents a slight greater progress than the Andean Community.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Pedro Moncarz, Marcelo Olarreaga, Marcel Vaillant

Regionalism as Industrial Policy: Evidence from MERCOSUR

in *Review of Development Economics*, Volume 20, Issue 1 , 359-373



This paper empirically explores whether trade preferences can be used as a substitute for industrial policy and help countries achieve their industrialization objectives at the expense of other regional members. Results show that Mercado Común del Sur (MERCOSUR) preferences obtained by Brazilian exporters have led to an increase in exports of relatively sophisticated products in which Brazil does not enjoy a global comparative advantage. On the contrary, smaller members of MERCOSUR export to the region products in which they have strong comparative advantages and with relatively low levels of sophistication. This suggests that MERCOSUR has helped Brazil achieve its industrialization objectives, but has not contributed to the industrialization of its smaller members.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Rodrigues de Almeida Bruno, Carvalho de Vasconcelos Raphael

Socio-environmental Disputes within MERCOSUR: Lack of a More Meaningful Cooperation in Law and Practice of International Courts and Tribunals (The), vol. 14, n. 3 , 476-497

ABSTRACT: Global environmental degradation is but one aspect of a crisis in human rationality, resulting from anthropocentric and unsustainable paradigms. Increasing awareness towards the need for sustainability promotes rationality standards founded in holistic and interdisciplinary approaches that encourage participatory governance at various levels. Within this context, the peaceful settlement of cross-border, socio-environmental conflicts represents a challenge to the unilateral exercise of jurisdiction, owing to issues such as enforceability, effectiveness and the granting of provisional measures. Hence, international, regional and/or sub-regional entities must become meaningful vehicles for institutional environmental cooperation, in order to establish higher levels of participatory governance among relevant local, regional and global players. MERCOSUR's Environmental Framework Agreement (Decision CMC n° 2 of June 22, 2001), its Additional Protocol on Cooperation on Environmental Emergencies (Decision CMC n° 4 of July 8, 2004) and the Summit of Environmental Ministers of MERCOSUR (Decision CMC n° 19 of December 15, 2003) represent important steps towards the promotion of socio-environmental, cultural, political, economic, ecological and geographical sustainability. However, its dispute settlement system is still lacking in additional institutional cooperation principles and rules to achieve these goals. It can be argued that Member States should engender the additional regulatory framework to reduce asymmetries between local socio-environmental public policies and, thus, inspire stronger confidence in the effectiveness of its dispute settlement system.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Mougnok Cyprien Bassamagne

Structures intersubjectives et design des engagements internationaux Le cas de l'adhésion du Chili au Mercosur

in **Etudes Internationales**, Vol. 46, No. 1 - 2015 , 49-71

La plupart des travaux traitant du design des engagements internationaux insistent sur la rationalité des acteurs, laquelle leur permet, face à plusieurs options, de choisir celle qui répond de façon optimale à leurs intérêts. Si ces travaux représentent une contribution remarquable à l'analyse des variations du comportement des États au sein des institutions internationales, ils négligent cependant le rôle des structures intersubjectives dans la construction des intérêts des États. À l'exception de quelques travaux théoriques qui soulignent cette limite d'ordre épistémologique, rares sont les études de cas qui s'y consacrent. Le propos central de cette étude qui s'inspire de la décision du Chili



d'être membre associé au Mercosur est de démontrer que le design des engagements internationaux constitue certes un choix rationnel de la part des États, mais que ce choix est avant tout conditionné par les identités des États.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Wojcikiewicz Almeida Paula

The Challenges of the Judicial Dialogue in Mercosur

in Law and Practice of International Courts and Tribunals (The), vol. 14, n. 3 , 392-406

ABSTRACT: Since its inception, Mercosur has opted for a non-coercive and diplomatic dispute settlement system. State Parties still oscillate between institutionalization based on the European model and the maintenance of an arbitral system for the settlement of disputes. This choice is linked to the possibility and limits of judicial dialogue in Mercosur. In this context, this article aims to analyse the existing horizontal 'dialogue' between Mercosur judges and international judges, on the one hand, and the vertical dialogue between Mercosur judges and national judges, on the other hand. In terms of the horizontal 'dialogue', the objective is to evaluate the use of precedents and references to other international, regional, and sub-regional Tribunals. As for the supposed vertical 'dialogue' between Mercosur judges and national judges, this article analyses the interaction with national courts through the cooperation mechanism established by advisory opinions (which is similar to preliminary rulings under the auspices of the EU), as well as via judicial 'dialogue' with representatives of national supreme courts of Mercosur State Parties. The importance of the advisory opinion mechanism is well known, as is the preliminary ruling mechanism in the European Union. Similar to the EU, several important principles of Mercosur law have been laid down by advisory opinions.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Valerio de Oliveira Mazzuoli, Gustavo de Faria Moreira Teixeira

Tutela jurídica do meio ambiente na jurisprudência da Corte Interamericana de Direitos Humanos

in Persona y derecho, no. 71 , 203-227

Este ensayo tiene por finalidad el estudio de las relaciones entre los sistemas internacionales de protección del medio ambiente y de los derechos humanos, así como las contribuciones de la jurisprudencia de la Corte Interamericana de Derechos Humanos para el fortalecimiento de la protección de los derechos civiles y políticos en los casos relativos a la tutela ambiental.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Alegría Antonio Magdaleno

¿Vulnera la Ley orgánica de comunicación de Ecuador los estándares de la Corte Interamericana de Derechos Humanos en materia de libertad de expresión?

in Cuadernos Manuel Giménez Abad, n. 10, diciembre , 185-198

The 2008 Montecristi Constitution included several precepts to the so called communication rights aiming, among other aspects, to correct the high concentration of the Ecuadorian media while encouraging the civic participation. Some years



later, in a climate of important debates and tensions, the National Assembly of Ecuador approved the Organic Law of Communication of the 14th of June 2013 with the final goal of developing the named communication rights. The controversy continues two years after its date of entry into force, mainly due to the important number of penalties imposed to the private media. This study aims to analyze the compatibility of the most controversial aspects of the Organic Law of Communication with the freedom of expression standards of the Inter-American Court of Human Rights. Full text available online at

http://www.fundacionmgimenezabad.es/images/Documentos/Cuadernos/cuadernos10_diciembre_2015.pdf

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Duarte Paulo

Regionalismo en Asia Central: un balance.

in **Foro Internacional**, VOLUMEN LV - NÚMERO 4

This article seeks to illustrate the main characteristics of regionalism in Central Asia. This regionalism, as conceived by the Central Asian republics, has been rather timid, has had little effect, and contributed little to regional integration. For this integration to take place, it is necessary for the Central Asian republics to adopt an attitude of greater cooperation, which means increasing the importance of the existing multilateral organizations in the region. This paper defines "Central Asia" as the five states in the Community of Independent States: Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Hsueh Chienwu

ASEAN and Southeast Asian peace: nation building, economic performance, and ASEAN's security management

in **International Relations of the Asia-Pacific**, Volume 16 Issue 1 January 2016 , 27-66

The Southeast Asian peace literature points out at least three points of view regarding regional peace: some emphasize ASEAN's successful security management, others doubt its effectiveness, and a third body of research argues that it is achieved by a 'capitalist peace' trajectory. In this article, I refute the capitalist peace argument and construct a theory to bridge the two contradictory perspectives on ASEAN, arguing that the pacifying effect of ASEAN should be understood as a conditional one, which hinges on Southeast Asian countries' economic performance. For decades, nation building and economic growth have been the main goals of Southeast Asian countries as well as the foundation to their leaders' rule given the countries' distinct historical backgrounds. When the leaders are not able to maintain good economic performance, they tend to emphasize the nation building issues, such as provoking territorial disputes, to keep their ruling legitimacy, thus compromising ASEAN's security management. Empirical analysis of the onset of militarized interstate disputes from 1950 to 2001 confirms my argument.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Heilmann Daniel



After Indonesia's Ratification: The ASEAN Agreement on Transboundary Haze Pollution and Its Effectiveness As a Regional Environmental Governance Tool

in *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs*, Vol 34, No 3 (2015)

On 20 January 2015 Indonesia deposited its instrument of ratification for the ASEAN Agreement on Transboundary Haze Pollution with the ASEAN Secretariat, becoming the last ASEAN member state to join the treaty. Haze pollution poses a serious health threat to the people of Indonesia, Singapore and Malaysia, and for decades haze pollution has been a highly contentious issue among ASEAN member states. This article argues that Indonesia's ratification will not be an immediate game changer. The mechanisms of the agreement are too weak to contribute much to a reduction of haze pollution in the region. The agreement is designed according to the ASEAN way: a non-binding approach that is based on the principles of state sovereignty and non-intervention. This makes it unlikely that the agreement itself will bring about change, even now that all ASEAN member states have ratified it.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Victor Pontinesa, Kefei You

Asian Currency Unit (ACU), deviation indicators and exchange rate coordination in East Asia: A panel-based convergence approach

in *Japan and the World Economy*, Volume 36 , 42-55

Employing the panel convergence method of Phillips and Sul (2007) to the nominal deviation indicators of two recent unofficial constructions of an Asian Currency Unit (ACU) index, this paper examines the existence and extent of convergence in the movements of East Asian currencies against the ACU. Empirical results reveal that intra-East Asian exchange rate movements have not converged to form one, cohesive and unified bloc where currencies share homogenous movements, regardless of whether one examines the data on intra-East Asian exchange rate movements before or after the collapse of Lehman Brothers in September 2008. Instead, a separate number of convergent clubs or blocs in the region have formed in recent years. Finally, and most importantly, we observe at the end of the period of our examination that economies in the region are, generally, converging at different speeds to two opposing poles of convergence, that is, groups of relatively depreciating currencies and, on the other, groups of relatively appreciating currencies.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Chanda Rupa

Challenges to Regional Services Integration in South Asia

in *South Asia Economic Journal*, September 2015; 16 (2 suppl) , 19S-38S

Regional integration in services in South Asia holds considerable potential across many services. This article highlights the scope for and potential benefits from regional integration of services in this region and the many sectoral as well as cross-cutting challenges to this process. The article argues that there are regulatory, infrastructural, institutional and business environment related constraints in the SAARC member countries, which impede regional services integration. There are also political economy challenges which prevent progress on critical cross-cutting issues such as intraregional mobility of service providers and investment. The article argues for a broad-based, flexible regional services agreement,



which takes a progressive approach to services integration alongside regional efforts to address issues of investment, regulatory harmonization, labour mobility and connectivity, national efforts to address issues of regulatory, institutional, infrastructural and human resource

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Paul Joshy M.

Co-operative Balancing. Emerging Security Order in Asia

in International Studies, vol. 49, n. 1/2, january-april , 113-131

ABSTRACT: The Asia-Pacific region is facing the threat of a number of potential military conflicts. Unresolved security challenges include the Sino-Japanese and Sino-Indian territorial disputes. The current peace and stability in the region has been achieved through various multilateral mechanisms and constant US involvement in the regional affairs. However, the declining US presence in Asia, the ineffectiveness of different multilateral institutions to establish a security order in the region and China's possible emergence as a great power in Asia may lead to the end of the status quo. In this context, it is pertinent that Asia should be free from both hegemony and power rivalry, and for that, 'co-operative balancing' is the best possible mechanism to achieve a long-term peace and stability. Co-operative balancing is a combination of power balancing and a co-operative security framework. It promotes the independent position of individual countries and strengthens the multilateral mechanisms. This essay concludes that India and Japan can balance against China while bilateral engagement among the three countries tends to reduce their distrust vis-à-vis China.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Pacheco Pardo Ramon, Rana Pradumna B.

Complementarity Between Regional and Global Financial Governance Institutions: The Case of ASEAN+3 and the Global Financial Safety Net

in Global Governance, vol. 21, n. 3, july-september , 413-433

ABSTRACT: Three decades of financial crises culminating in the global financial crisis have prompted the development of multilayered global financial governance. This article examines the relationship between the global and regional layers by analyzing the case of the global and ASEAN+3 financial safety nets. Making use of regime theory, we examine the evolution of the characteristics, main institutions, goals, and behavioral expectations of these two nets. The article argues that the ASEAN+3 regional financial safety net, which was mostly developed following the East Asian financial crisis of 1997, complements rather than undermines the global financial safety net. Similar characteristics, goals, and behavioral expectations underpin this complementarity.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Armstrong Shiro Patrick

East and South Asia: Managing Difficult Bilateral Relations and Regional Integration Globally

in Asian Economic Journal, Volume 29, Issue 4, December 2015 , 303-324



This paper analyzes the economic integration of the East and South Asian economies in the global economy. East Asian economies are shown to be achieving much more of their potential trade than South Asian economies, both in terms of intra-regional trade and in trade with the rest of the world. Examination of the China–Japan, India–Pakistan and Taiwan–mainland China bilateral relationships shows that integration of these economies into the global economy has allowed economic relations to dominate and constrain difficult bilateral political relations in East Asia while in South Asia adverse political relations have hampered development of bilateral economic relationships.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Najla Shafighi , Abu Hassan Shaari , Behrooz Gharleghi , Tamat Sarmidi , Khairuddin Omar

Financial integration via panel cointegration approaches in ASEAN+5

in *Journal of Economic Studies*, Volume 43 Issue 1 , 2-15

The purpose of this paper is to identify whether any financial integration exists among ASEAN+5 members and some East Asian countries, including China, Japan, Korea, Hong Kong, and Taiwan, through interest rate, exchange rate, level of prices, and real output.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Eric Gonsalves

India in a Future World: Reflections of an Indian Diplomat

in *India Quarterly*, vol. 71, no. 4 , 287-299

A forecast of the global scenario a decade hence is attempted, and the policies India should follow to gain the most advantage are suggested. The nation state system will continue, but there will be major and continuing change in the capacity and power projection of more important states and hence in their relationship. Power in all aspects will shift from the Atlantic powers to Asia and the Indian Pacific Ocean Region resulting in a multipolar system. To manage this better Asia needs to establish a regional cooperation structure. China has emerged as the single most powerful country in Asia, and the current leadership is seeking to put its own model in place. India can and should ensure a leading role for itself by becoming the most effective power in the South Asian and Indian Ocean region. For this it will have to forge a working partnership with China which will not exclude an element of competition. The boundary problem needs to be resolved. The relations with Pakistan must be managed. Relations with all other neighbours must be improved as speedily as possible. The USA will still remain the single most powerful country and close bilateral relations are crucial even while independence is not surrendered. The growing conflicts in the Middle East and the flux in supply and prices of energy need to be addressed. Enhancing domestic capacity will power India's external projections. The demographic dividend can only be harvested by a determined pursuit of skills innovation and technology to attain excellence in economic production and social goals. This is only possible in a democracy if it moves towards greater inclusion and provides opportunity to all. Success will ensure India becomes a major global power by 2025.

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Theva Yoganathan S/O, Mukherji Rahul

India-Singapore Bilateral Relations (1965–2012): The Role of Geo-Politics, Ideas, Interests, and Political Will in India Review, Volume 14, Issue 4 , 419-439

This paper is a critical historical analysis of the trajectory of geo-political and economic relations between India and Singapore. This paper argues that India's perception of its interests and its geopolitical orientation towards the Cold War prevented India's security and economic integration with Southeast Asia. Apart from geopolitics, the economic orientation of India was also a critical factor that influenced the trajectory of India – Singapore economic engagement. However, there was a dramatic change after the Cold War ended. The structural change from bi-polarity towards a unipolar moment transformed both geopolitics and economic engagement. Moreover, India's own economic orientation had also changed by the end of the Cold War. In sum, this paper attempts to elucidate upon how ideas construct economic and political interests and how geopolitical interests, once constructed, drive economic relations.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Ropers Norbert

Insider Mediation as a Tool of Collaborative Security Trends. Discourses and Insights from Asia in International Studies, vol. 49, n. 3/4, july-october , 189-205

ABSTRACT: The international community has played an increasingly important role in the settlement and prevention of violent political conflicts in the last two decades. One of the key tools in this effort has been the provision of third party support mainly in the form of mediation by outside parties with some kind of impartiality or 'multi-partiality' for resolution of international as well as sub-national conflicts. In Asia, a continent with a high level of unresolved, frozen and latent conflicts, and where there is lack of effective regional infrastructures for conflict management and resolution, outside efforts been rather limited. Instead, the discourses on improving security have emphasized especially the contribution of actors inside the respective countries and also the importance of a culturally and politically sensitive 'Asian approach' to mediation. This observation is discussed with respect to three examples: (a) ASEAN's diplomatic and security culture; (b) the role of the 'national facilitators' in Nepal; and (c) a group of peace activists who have formed an 'Insider Peace builders Platform' to resolve the conflict in the deep south of Thailand. The examples demonstrate that there is a promising development of political and social activists who can play critical roles in the transformation of violent conflicts, but these efforts need to be more systematically broadened and deepened to create an effective infrastructure for peace support in the region.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Park Jinsoo

Korea's linkage strategy between FTA hub policy and middle power leadership in regional economic integration in Asia Europe Journal, vol. 13, n. 4, December , 379-394

This article focuses on Korea's free trade agreement (FTA) hub policy and its implication for Korea's role in the regional integration process of the Asia-Pacific. It particularly bridges a gap in the existing literature, addressing why Korea, pursuing an FTA hub nation, simultaneously takes a proactive approach toward a range of regional projects. It argues



that Korea's FTA hub policy has not been solely driven by economic consideration, and the Korean government's intent to use an FTA hub status to gain political objectives is equally, or even more, important. In particular, Korea has linked its FTA hub policy and the exercise of middle power leadership in the shaping of the regional trade architecture. The Korean government has perceived Korea's FTA hub status as a useful instrument for Korea's leading roles such as facilitating regional trade liberalization, managing its manners and sequence, and mediating between the USA-led and the China-led regional initiatives.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Iannini Giuseppe, Galbani Alessandro

La Russia e lo spazio eurasiatico. Un'integrazione compiuta?

in Politico (II), n. 237, 2014, 124-147

ABSTRACT: The initiative of establishing a Custom Union extended to the ex-Soviet countries of Central Asia is a core step of the Russian strategy aimed at regaining influence in those lost territories. It may be considered a functional extension of Eurasec (Economic Community comprising Russia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan), founded in 2000 as successor of previous ineffective organizations (CSI, 1996). The Eurasec Custom Union, formed in 2008, was implemented in 2010 among the Russia, Belarus and Kazakhstan "troika" and has marked an important goal in the Organization's path. The article runs upon the difficulties that such supranational association meets both in fostering trade relations and in facilitating economic and industrial development of the member countries. The disproportion of the Russian economy compared to that of the Central Asian States and the uneven economic weight of these countries within the Central Asian region (oil and non-oil countries) originates the unbalanced trade relations between them. Therefore, virtuous effects of trade creation and trade diversion are hardly statistically evident as well positive spill over of industrial innovation and diversification do not seem to appear up to the present. Moreover, the actual serious stalemate of Russian economy, due both to the economic sanctions and to the plummeted rouble, are alarming Kazakhstan (a formal member country), Armenia and Kyrgyzstan (the other two countries eventually interested to enter the Custom Union). This grey landscape bolsters the Chinese activism in the region, as Central Asian states find much easier to get on with Beijing than with Moscow. In so far as Moscow hesitates in speeding up the economic reforms and deeply modernizing its productive system, hardly will be able to be attractive for the Near Abroad.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Bae Ki-Hyun

Neither left-out nor pushed-over: anxious ASEAN and its 4C practices

in Pacific Review (The), Volume 28, Issue 5, 2015, 703-729

Building Community, Charter, Connectivity and Centrality – the 4Cs – is one of the most prominent goals for which ASEAN elites have continuously pledged for years. This article claims that the 4Cs are a reflection of structural concerns shared by individual ASEAN members. Specifically, the main source of the ASEAN's current practices is its members' similar internal conditions that exposed elites to a substantial level of concerns over dual marginalization in relation to the leading countries of global governance. ASEAN elites have agreed to pursue the 4Cs, despite the 4Cs' incompatibility with ASEAN members' domestic practices as well as some conventional ASEAN ways of doing business,



because they are expected to reduce elites' dual concerns over becoming left-out or pushed-over within the current global governance. This explains selectivity and word–action gaps frequently observed in the ASEAN process. As elites' concerns over being left-out and pushed-over have remained quite substantial, it is unlikely that any practices would take place if they are expected to raise either side of the concerns. Actual practices would follow elites' words only when they are expected to mitigate fear of dual marginalization in a balanced way. To support this argument, this paper maps out the distribution of dual concerns that elites in each member state have faced and links the 4Cs' utility to address the concerns.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Goyal Ashima

**Payment Systems to Facilitate South Asian Integration  **

in South Asia Economic Journal, September 2015; 16 (2 suppl) , 102S-118S

Considerable technology-based evolution in payment systems offers opportunities for convergence to a regional payment system. Though South Asian wholesale payment systems are more developed, compared to retail, and smaller countries still lag behind, the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation Payment Council offers a forum to facilitate convergence. The existing Asian Clearing Union can also be revitalized using developments in payment systems. Changes include faster settlement using real-time flow through the system backed by local liquidity encouraging local currency use, reduction in transaction costs and delays, expansion of facilities offered, types of flows allowed and number of participants. Invoicing in local currencies reduces pass through of changes in exchange rates, and hence lowers their inflationary impact. Electronic systems can discriminate between types of flows and provide detailed information without procedural delays, reducing security concerns.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Kumar Nagesh

Potential and Prospects of Strengthening Transport Connectivity for Regional Economic Integration in Southern Asia

in South Asia Economic Journal, September 2015; 16 (2 suppl) , 39S-54S

Despite geographical contiguity, Southern Asia remains among the least integrated sub-regions in the world. In the context of changed global context in the aftermath of the global financial crisis requiring the engines of growth to be rebalanced in favour of regional sources, inability to exploit the potential of regional economic integration and regional value chains can seriously limit the growth prospects of the sub-region. ESCAP analysis shows that while potential of intra-regional trade remains substantial, its exploitation is prevented by costs of trading within the sub-region which are often higher than trading with distant regions like the EU and North America, effectively denying the benefits of geographical proximity and contiguity to intra-regional trade. This situation is because of poorly developed surface transport networks and facilitation at the borders for mutual trade in the sub-region. This article reviews the key constraints on surface transport in the sub-region and makes a case for extended transport corridors that can maximize the network externalities while using the existing infrastructure optimally and benefiting the landlocked countries of the sub-region. It then highlights the relevance of two extended transport corridors—one a container train corridor and another a highway corridor proposed by UNESCAP—that can not only facilitate but have the potential to make the



sub-region a hub of Asia–Europe trade. It is concluded with a few remarks on the way forward for a vision of transport connectivity in South Asia.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Bhattacharya Debapriya

Regional Integration and the Post-2015 Framework: A South Asian Perspective

in South Asia Economic Journal, September 2015; 16 (2 suppl) , 119S-141S

Being universal and at the same time necessitating country-level plans and policies, the post-2015 framework is expected to create opportunities and face challenges related to implementation. This article explores the potential for regional integration in South Asia to implement the post-2015 framework. The article presents an overview of progress on the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), which highlight areas of weaknesses for South Asian countries and a comparison of the proposed Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) Development Goals to identify the gaps that South Asia may experience. This is followed up with a discussion on regional means of implementation that may improve prospects of successful implementation of the post-2015 framework. The article finds that incentivizing regional integration could help generate sustainable development outcomes if contextual factors and evidence-based policies that address political, economic and historical barriers are meaningfully considered.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Rahman Mustafizur, Jahan Hosna

Second-generation Cooperation Agenda: Opportunities and Challenges of Enhanced Integration among the Asian Subregions

in South Asia Economic Journal, March 2015; 16 (1) , 1-26

South Asia remains one of the least integrated regions in the world, which is manifested in its lack of connectivity, low levels of intra-regional trade and weak investment flows. On the other hand, there is an apprehension that Southeast and East Asia could fall into a 'middle income trap', if they are not able to raise competitive strength and productivity further. In view of this, it is argued that there is a need for a framework of second-generation cooperation and integration embracing these three subregions in Southern Asia. This calls for concerted efforts to leverage existing institutional arrangements and put in place new avenues of subregional and inter-regional cooperation. Expansion of production networks, developments of value chains and greater integration of markets will allow these subregions to translate their respective comparative advantages into competitive advantages. Through harnessing opportunities of technology transfer, connectivity and greater factor mobility, and by taking advantage of cross-regional division of labour, these subregions could promote new patterns of inter-regional trade structure and specialization, which could benefit all the countries of Southern Asia.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Rahman Mustafizur, Jahan Hosna



Second-generation Cooperation Agenda: Opportunities and Challenges of Enhanced Integration among the Asian Subregions

in *South Asia Economic Journal*, March 2015; 16 (1) , 1-26

South Asia remains one of the least integrated regions in the world, which is manifested in its lack of connectivity, low levels of intra-regional trade and weak investment flows. On the other hand, there is an apprehension that Southeast and East Asia could fall into a 'middle income trap', if they are not able to raise competitive strength and productivity further. In view of this, it is argued that there is a need for a framework of second-generation cooperation and integration embracing these three subregions in Southern Asia. This calls for concerted efforts to leverage existing institutional arrangements and put in place new avenues of subregional and inter-regional cooperation. Expansion of production networks, developments of value chains and greater integration of markets will allow these subregions to translate their respective comparative advantages into competitive advantages. Through harnessing opportunities of technology transfer, connectivity and greater factor mobility, and by taking advantage of cross-regional division of labour, these subregions could promote new patterns of inter-regional trade structure and specialization, which could benefit all the countries of Southern Asia.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Raihan Selim

South Asian Economic Union: Challenges and Tasks Ahead

in *South Asia Economic Journal*, September 2015; 16 (2 suppl) , 3S-18S

The path to the South Asian Economic Union (SAEU) will have its own route, based on the contexts prevail in South Asia. The major challenges to move towards SAEU include a reduction in the sensitive list, removal of Non-Tariff Barriers (NTBs), effective and faster implementation of the South Asian Agreement on Trade in Services (SATIS), effective regional investment cooperation, promotion of trade facilitation measures, promotion of regional value chains, cross-border energy cooperation, dealing with informal trade and strengthening institutions. South Asia is at the verge of a new regime of regional integration which has to involve integration in trade in goods and services, integration in economic growth processes, promotion of regional investment and trade nexus, and harmonization of economic and trade policies.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Ekanayake Raveen, Perera Nipuni

Stimulating Intra-regional Investment in SAARC: Is a Regional Investment Agreement the Way Forward?

in *South Asia Economic Journal*, September 2015; 16 (2 suppl) , 75S-101S

Whilst unilateral liberalization of FDI policy regimes in South Asia have made significant headway and contributed to increased FDI inflows, as a region South Asia's success in attracting FDI, compared to other more successful trading blocs remains limited. Notably, intra-regional investment volumes remain minuscule in comparison to the already dismal level of intra-regional trade. Despite a lapse of over a decade after the implementation of SAFTA, the recent past has witnessed renewed interest in a regional investment agreement in SAARC. This article evaluates how useful a regional investment framework would be for the SAARC. The article argues that whilst a regional investment framework is critical



in spurring both intra- and extra-regional FDI, it is by no means the only determinant in attracting FDI. As the experience in ASEAN suggests, in addition to a regional framework, at the country level, each SAARC member state must strive to undertake broad-based reforms to improve their individual country investment climate if they aspire to attract greater volumes of both intra- and extra-regional FDI to support its trade expansion. The article also goes on to draw lessons and best practice from the ASEAN Investment Agreement in going about designing and implementing a Regional Investment Agreement in SAARC.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Ahmed Vaqar, Suleri Abid Q., Javed Asif

Strengthening South Asia Value Chain: Prospects and Challenges

in *South Asia Economic Journal*, September 2015; 16 (2 suppl) , 55S-74S

This article discusses some key constraints in the way of developing South Asian value chains. Using a qualitative approach we have surveyed private sector representatives from Bangladesh, India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka. The article, among other challenges, particularly notes, (a) lack of functional economic corridors in the region; (b) conflict zones brewing mistrust between neighbours; (c) slow progress on trade facilitation and free trade agreements in the region; (d) and non-tariff barriers that prevent skills and technology transfer in the region, as some of the most important issues requiring policy response.

In order to strengthen the region-wide value chains, the article recommends priority implementation of pending agreements related to transport, energy, connectivity and dispute resolution. Second, in order to bring down the cost of doing business, trade facilitation measures across the region may be expedited. Third, government-to-government contact needs to be enhanced and institution-specific connectivity is important to resolve issues such as compliance with product standards, visas for business community and technical staff, harmonization of licenses and permits (for example, at the state level in India), and opening up of bank branches.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Hooijmaaijers Bas

The Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank: another wakeup call for the EU?

in *Global Affairs*, Volume 1, Issue 3 , 325-334

This article explores and explains the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) that China launched in 2014, which together with other initiatives including the New Development Bank, the BRICS Contingent Reserve Arrangement and the SCO Development Bank, can be seen as another attempt to counterbalance what it perceives as the “unjust” western-dominated world order. China's actions mirror to a substantial degree its own preferences for world order, its views on multilateralism and development as well as its ambitions of larger international institutional influence in multilateral organizations. It is another indication for the West that it has to accept the new reality of the twenty-first century that it not longer solely owns the future and it can be seen as yet another wakeup call for the European Union. Despite several indications the EU still does not seem to get how irrelevant it is becoming to the rest of the world and how relevant the rest of the world is becoming to the EU's future, making this article relevant for both academics and practitioners.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Nusrate Aziz M., Devi D. Sundarassen Sheela

The Impact of Political Regime and Governance on ASEAN Economic Growth

in ASEAN Economic Bulletin, Volume 32, Number 3, December 2015 , 375-389

Traditionally, researchers have investigated the effect of intrinsic variables such as labour, capital and human capital on economic growth. However, the positive effect of intrinsic variables is reversed by countervailing extrinsic variables such as corruption, armed conflict and political regime, which have not been examined much by existing literature. This study empirically examines the impact of intrinsic and extrinsic variables on economic growth. We apply several estimation techniques using a 2000–09 balanced panel data for ASEAN countries. The study finds that both intrinsic and extrinsic determinants of economic growth are significant. However, countervailing effects of extrinsic variables are documented for growth in ASEAN countries. Corruption and armed conflict have a statistically significant and negative relationship with economic growth in ASEAN countries, whilst political regime is found to be statistically insignificant.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Reiterer Michael

The NAPCI in the Volatile Security Environment of North-East Asia: Which Role for the European Union?

in European Foreign Affairs Review, vol. 20, issue 4 , 573-589

ABSTRACT: President Park's efforts to promote unification of the Korean Peninsula centres around 'Trustpolitik' with the North East Asian Peace and Cooperation Initiative (NAPCI) at its focal point. NAPCI is built on three pillars: First, trust-building with the DPRK concentrates on the divided peninsula with unification as the ultimate goal; secondly, NAPCI addresses the entire sub-region (comparable to the European Neighbourhood Policy) while, thirdly, the Eurasia Initiative docks onto the various connectivity or 'One Belt, One Road' initiatives by ASEAN and China respectively. In overcoming the legacies of its own past European states opted for deep integration in founding the European Union (EU). Therefore the article discusses the concept of 'Trustpolitik' and its implementation, deals with the challenges posed for NAPCI in the regional context, analyses the EU's potential to contribute to the Initiative in highlighting positive examples of regional cooperation and trust-building in the European context and indicates how the EU could play a positive role in developing the Initiative.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Caballero-Anthony Mely, Trajano Julius Cesar

The State of Nuclear Energy in ASEAN: Regional Norms and Challenges

in Asian Perspective, Volume 39, Issue 4 , 695-724

The Fukushima nuclear disaster in 2011 did not dampen plans by Southeast Asian countries to develop nuclear power plants, despite safety concerns. The strong interest in nuclear power development is being driven by strategic considerations as states view nuclear power as an alternative energy source that can help address the dual objectives



of energy security and mitigation of climate change effects. Our article examines the prospects for the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) to build a stronger regional normative framework to promote nuclear safety and security and prevent proliferation of nuclear weapons. In light of ASEAN's vision to establish a political and security community in 2015, we argue that member states that plan to use nuclear energy need to address critical issues such as legislative and regulatory frameworks, human resource development, radioactive waste management, nuclear safety, emergency planning, and security and physical protection.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Ravinthirakumaran Navaratnam, Selvanathan Saroja, Selvanathan Eliyathamby A.

The twin deficits hypothesis in the SAARC countries: an empirical investigation
in *Journal of the Asia Pacific Economy (The)*, Volume 21, Issue 1, 2016 , 77-90

Twin deficits hypothesis postulates that there is a strong positive linear relationship between a country's budget deficit and its current account deficit. This paper empirically investigates the existence of this relationship in five South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) countries using time-series data for the period 1980–2012. The paper uses cointegration analysis, error correction modeling and Granger causality test under a vector autoregression framework. The results show that the direction of causality for the SAARC countries is mixed. The findings confirm that budget deficit causes current account deficit for Pakistan and Sri Lanka, whereas the reverse is true for India and Nepal. The direction of causality is found to be unidirectional from current account deficit to budget deficit in the short run for Bangladesh.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

BOLLAERT Baudouin

LES RISQUES DU « BREXIT »

in *Politique internationale*, n. 148 - Ete, 2015

Entretien avec Denis MacSHANE

conduit par

Baudouin BOLLAERT

Ancien rédacteur en chef du Figaro

In an exclusive interview for *Politique Internationale*, Denis MacShane dissects the results of the May 7th UK general election that produced a surprise win for David Cameron's Conservative Party. MacShane, a perceptive observer of British and European political life, who was Minister of State for Europe under Tony Blair for four years, weighs up the chances - and the risks - of a possible "Brexite" from Europe. Cameron has promised that a referendum will be held before the end of 2017 on whether or not the United Kingdom should remain in the European Union. Between now and then, he will have a hard time persuading the UK electorate to vote "No" to a divorce that all serious analysts agree could be catastrophic. To do so, he will have to extract a raft of concessions from his European counterparts, particularly on immigration and financial regulation. With the vote potentially only months away, the odds are still wide open. Denis MacShane hopes his warnings will be heeded.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Staiano Sandro

Diritti e confini nell'Europa della crisi

in **Federalismi**, Anno XIII - Nr 22

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Calandri Elena, Paoli Simone

Europe and the Mediterranean in the long 1980s

in **Journal of European Integration History**, vol. 21, n. 1 , 5-12

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Haeussler Mathias

Helmut Schmidt and European integration, c.1945–1982. European Summer School 2013 Best Paper Prize Winner A ‘Cold War European’?

in **Cold War History**, Volume 15, Issue 4 , pp. 427-447

While Helmut Schmidt has often been depicted as a ‘reluctant European’ who only came to embrace European integration because of US policy under Carter, this article shows that Schmidt's conceptions of Europe have remained largely consistent since the late 1940s. Using rare materials from his private archive, it analyses how Schmidt utilised the EC in dealing with the multiple crises of the 1970s, regarding European and transatlantic cooperation not as antagonistic but as complementary processes. With the reheating of the Cold War from the late 1970s onwards, however, the international and domestic preconditions of Schmidt's two-pillar foreign policy gradually began to erode.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Editorial

In search of the Union Method

in **European Constitutional Law Review**, Volume 11 - Issue 03



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Roggero Caterina

L'Unione europea tra scelte e non scelte

in *Il Ponte*, Numero 11-12, 2015

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Nathaniel Copsey, Tim Haughton

'As ye sow, so shall ye reap': the European Union in 2014

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 53, Issue Supplement S1

Since we came into post as co-editors of the JCMS Annual Review in 2008, the European Union has been hit by what most observers, including the editors, described as a series of interlocking and seemingly intractable crises at home and abroad. Indeed, it has scarcely been possible to read an article or attend a seminar about the European Union over the past few years without the word 'crisis' appearing prominently. Dictionary definitions of crisis vary widely, but generally refer to 'a time of intense difficulty' or perhaps 'a turning point'. We can therefore conclude that crises are supposed to be time-limited and should, at some point, draw to a conclusion, be it good or bad. For that reason, in taking stock of 2014, perhaps it may no longer be appropriate to talk about the European Union as being beset by crisis from within or crisis from without, but better rather to assess how the events of the past few years have changed the Union and shifted the boundaries of what we regard as 'normal'.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Giscard d'Estaing Valéry, Giesbert Franz-Olivier, Toranian Valérie

"L'Europe es un projet qui arrête la décadence"

in *Revue des deux mondes*, Octobre

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Chaouad Robert

1989-1992, ou la redéfinition des conditions d'existence de la construction européenne

in *Revue internationale et stratégique*, 2015/3 (N° 99), 103-116

S'il est courant de faire varier autour du jour et de la date de la chute du mur de Berlin, le 9 novembre 1989, l'axe de rupture entre une expérience historique, la « guerre froide », et son après, il faut garder à l'esprit ce que ce système de datation figée en elle-même, doit au fétichisme du point de rupture, à la symbolique politique du nouveau départ ou à celle, plus problématique, de l'origine,...



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Vines Emma

A Common Appeal: Anglo-British Nationalism and Opposition to Europe, 1970–1975

in Australian Journal of Politics & History , Volume 61, Issue 4, December , 530-545

Debates over European integration allow the articulation of an English nationalism based upon an Anglo-British identity committed to Parliamentary sovereignty and British exceptionalism. This was seen during debates over entry to the European Economic Community between 1970 and 1975, which ended with a referendum. Tony Benn and Enoch Powell emerged as leaders of the campaign. With Benn a leading figure of the Labour Left and Powell a prominent yet contradictory figure on the right, they presented unlikely allies. However, since European integration conflicted with their Anglo-British identity, partisan politics were secondary to nationalist sentiments. By examining Benn and Powell's anti-Market rhetoric, this article considers 1970–1975 as the period in which the paradox of Anglo-British nationalism was affirmed: that its populist expression can be used to reinforce parliamentary sovereignty.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Marhold Hartmut

A European Common Good?

in Europe en formation (L'), n° 376, 2015/2 , 9-24

This article goes back to the causes and origins of the revival of the debate around the idea of a European 'Common Good'—the current financial, economic and societal crisis. It examines the difficult relationship between neo-liberalism and the concept of 'Common Good', in particular by analysing Milton Friedman's thought. The principal finding will be, that a 'Common Good' is incompatible with his extreme individualism and orientation towards material goods. Second, the article tries to pave the way for a common terminological ground, by means of an analytical (in the philosophical sense) reflection of what 'Common Good' might mean, in relation to competing or opposite terms, like 'public goods', 'individual interest', or 'individual values'.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Ciancio Adriana

A New Uniform Electoral Procedure to Re-Legitimate the Process of Political Integration in Europe

in Federalismi, Anno XIII - Nr 23

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Haeussler Mathias



A Pyrrhic Victory: Harold Wilson, Helmut Schmidt, and the British Renegotiation of EC Membership, 1974–5
in *International History Review (The)*, volume 37, Issue 4 , pp. 798-779

Britain's renegotiation of EC membership in 1974–5 has commonly been praised by historians as a tactical masterpiece by Prime Minister Harold Wilson in holding a divided country and party together while also keeping Britain inside the European Community (EC). By contrast, this article focuses on the detrimental effect the episode had on Britain's standing inside the EC. Using the prism of high-level diplomacy between Wilson and the German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, it reconstructs precisely the changes in German perceptions of British positions, showing how initial goodwill towards Britain's demands soon gave way to widespread scepticism over British motives and ultimate intentions. While highlighting the strong domestic pressures driving Britain and Germany apart, the article ultimately argues that these differences were unnecessarily exacerbated by Wilson's failure at personal diplomacy on the highest level. A different handling of Schmidt may not have resulted in a radically different outcome of the renegotiations, but it may well have avoided the profound sense of distrust and suspicion over Britain's future role in Europe that the episode stimulated among the Germans. The article is based on recently declassified sources from three countries, as well as on rare materials from Schmidt's private archive in Hamburg.

<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/07075332.2014.985332>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Dorsey Jessica, Paulussen Christophe

A common European position on armed drones? Charting EU member states' views on questions of counterterrorism uses of force

in *Global Affairs*, Volume 1, Issue 3 , 277-283

This article gauges the extent to which European Union (EU) governments share the United States' position on armed drones and targeted killing. In doing so, it aims to assist in distilling a common EU position on the use of armed drones and a legal framework for counterterrorism-related uses of force. The article includes a summary of the results of a questionnaire sent to the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Defence, Justice and intelligence services of all 28 EU member states. The authors also parsed other relevant sources that could evince governments' official positions (such as public statements, policy documents, etc.). Notwithstanding that an EU Common Position may be difficult and politically sensitive to achieve, the authors are convinced it is worthwhile to strive towards as much of a consensus within the EU as possible. A solid EU position based on the rule of law is necessary as a counterweight against the current US position, which still raises serious questions under international law. The EU will be stronger in its criticism of the USA if it speaks with a unified voice.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Leupold Anna

A structural approach to politicisation in the Euro crisis

in *West European Politics*, vol. 39, n. 1 , 84-103

ABSTRACT: Domestic opportunity structures and political actors' positions are widely regarded as the most important



explanatory factors for EU politicisation. The euro crisis, however, has revealed cleavages across rather than within countries, suggesting structural factors as a potential explanation for politicisation. Based on the political economy literature on Europe's Economic and Monetary Union, this contribution develops a structural approach to politicisation with respect to countries' power and variety of capitalism. Using a content and claims analysis of business papers in Germany, France, Austria and Ireland before and during the crisis, the findings reveal a differentiated pattern of politicisation. While an expansion of actors indicates that EMU became more politicised during the crisis, polarisation remained low within countries. Countries' variety of capitalism and their perceived power in the EU largely explain the substance and objects of politicisation. The findings encourage further research considering structural explanations for differentiated politicisation in less elite-centred settings of politicisation.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Cenci Alessandra

A "capability view" on migration: some theoretical issues raised by the Southern Euro Zone highly skilled mobility

in Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science Research, Volume 28, Issue 4, 2015 , 443-463

The Southern Euro Zone countries show significant delays to adapt their social and productive systems to the EU goal of creating knowledge-based societies. A signal can be the increasingly higher level of skilled labor migration from these countries, especially during the actual crisis. Recent literature on skilled migrations often rejects the concept of "brain drain" (BD) arguing that circulation and exchange of people and knowledge is expected in the era of globalization. Using both conceptual analysis and secondary data, the paper attempts to highlight proportions of the intra-EU BD phenomenon and show how they may challenge the assumptions of circular migration models. It discusses that a BD problem likely exists in the Southern Euro Zone and proposes an alternative framework for its analysis. The main hypothesis behind this review is that the phenomenon relies on substantial lack of social opportunities for high-skilled people in the countries of origin as provoked by multiple factors. In this account, the several drivers of migrants' choice will be conceptualized by adopting a "Capability Approach," and they will be further analyzed according to its foremost hypotheses regarding rational behavior, human welfare, and development. The resulting theoretical view has to be considered as an expansion of the neoclassical economics "standard view" on high-skilled migrations.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

QUATREPOINT Jean-Michel

AUX RACINES DE L'EUROSCEPTICISME

in Politique internationale, n. 148 - Ete, 2015

For several years now, the European dream has begun to look more like a nightmare to many of its citizens. A seven-year diet of austerity, coupled with stubbornly high unemployment in southern Europe, a rising tide of illegal immigration, acts of terror and war on Europe's doorstep, wholesale disenchantment with Brussels-based bureaucracy, and a feeling among large swaths of the population of having been robbed of their identity and sovereignty... Euroscepticism is blossoming left, right and center. If the Europeans truly want to avert the threat of break-up and shake off the dual guardianships of Germany (economic) and the United States (diplomatic), it is time they firmly set a course towards confederacy. A nucleus of a few countries wedded to a joint project and shared values that benefit their people



instead of their ruling elites and multinationals - only at this price will Europe's citizens embrace their destiny.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Siklodi N.

Active citizenship through mobility? Students' perceptions of identity, rights and participation in the EU
in Citizenship Studies, vol. 19, issue 6-7 , 820-835

ABSTRACT: Globalisation has begun to transform the processes through which citizens are differentiated and non-citizens are excluded. This article provides an in-depth qualitative interrogation of these processes of differentiation and exclusion, and argues that the transformation in these processes compels us to reconsider the conceptual dichotomy of passive/active citizens along the stayers/mobiles distinction. This transformation is most apparent in Europe, with the introduction of European Union (EU) citizenship. The article builds on Bourdieu's cultural capital in the cosmopolitan context, existing qualitative studies on citizens' sense of EU identity and citizenship, and illustrative focus group evidence of visiting EU and home students' perceptions of EU citizenship across three dimensions – identity, rights and participation. The evidence indicates that we can distinguish between four categories of citizens in the EU: passive EU citizens, including two groups of stayers; the potential EU (i) and member state-oriented (ii) citizens, and active EU citizens, including EU-15 (iii) and Central and Eastern European (iv) mobile citizens. These categories reveal that important distinctions are emerging between the perceptions and behaviour of stayers and mobiles as passive/active citizens.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Pier Carlo Padoan

After the crisis, a new European governance
in Economia Politica, Volume 32, Issue 3 , 271-276

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Cordero Guillermo, Montero José Ramón

Against Bipartyism, Towards Dealignment? The 2014 European Election in Spain
in South European Society & Politics, Volume 20, Issue 3, Special Issue: The 2014 European Parliament Elections in Southern Europe , 357-379

The 2014 European Parliament (EP) election in Spain took place in a context of deep economic recession and distrust of political institutions. These conditions triggered an unprecedented electoral response through which Podemos, a radical leftist party created shortly before the election, obtained eight per cent of votes and gained electoral momentum thereafter, seriously threatening the two-party-plus system. Using data from a panel survey, our analyses reveal some unexpected findings. The intensity of protest voting and the timing of the contest within the national electoral cycle have had a major impact on national politics – with the possibility of eventually producing a party-system change.



Full text available online at <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/13608746.2015.1053679>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Habran Maxime

Agriculture et environnement : genèse des relations

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 593, décembre , 604-617

Abstract available online at http://www.dalloz-revues.fr/Revue_de_l_Union_europeenne-cover-49200.htm

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Gambino Silvio

Ambiti e limiti della tutela multilivello dei diritti fondamentali in alcuni recenti indirizzi della Corte di giustizia europea

in *Cittadinanza europea (La)*, Fascicolo 1/2015

of fundamental rights in some recent addresses of the

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Reslow Natasja

An Incompetent Actor? Assessing EU External Migration Policy

in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 20, issue 4 , 471-493

ABSTRACT: 2015 has seen thousands of migrants undertake desperate and risky journeys across the Mediterranean in order to try to reach Europe. Cooperation with non-EU countries has been emphasized in policy documents as an essential tool in managing these migration flows. However, this presupposes that the EU is able to act deliberately and purposively in international migration governance. Building on the literature on EU external relations, this article assesses the actorness of the EU in international migration governance in terms of authority, existence of policy instruments, policy determinacy, coordination mechanisms, rules of participation in international institutions, recognition by third countries, autonomy of the EU institutions, and cohesion. It concludes that legal competence is central to the ability of the EU to play a role in international migration governance.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

LeMay-Boucher Philippe, Rommerskirchen Charlotte

An empirical investigation into the Europeanization of fiscal policy

in *Comparative European Politics*, vol. 13, n. 4, july , 450-470

ABSTRACT: We investigate the Europeanization of fiscal policy in the eurozone. So doing, we empirically test the



impact of a series of pertinent variables on eurozone member states' fiscal policies during the 1984–2006 period. In addition to a host of usual suspects, we introduce two new measurements to capture a country's Stability Culture – the effect of which has been not been addressed by previous empirical work. We find evidence that government debt is primarily driven by the state of the domestic economy. Virtually, no empirical support for the claim that institutional, political or ideational factors influence the variations in gross debt can be provided. Specifically, our results show that neither a population's inflation aversion nor policymakers' pledge to 'sound' public finances translate into lower deficits.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Werner Miguel Kühn Baca

Aspectos jurídicos y perspectivas políticas de una posible retirada de la Unión Europea por parte del Reino Unido

in *Revista Electrónica de Estudios Internacionales*, Número 30, diciembre

The article offers an assessment of the current relations between the United Kingdom and the European Union. The focus lies on the legal aspects and the political perspectives of a possible withdrawal by this Member State from the European integration process. It contains an appraisal of possible scenarios and consequences, taking into account both the legal framework as well as the current political environment. On the basis of such an assessment, a number of solutions are submitted which might meet the interests of the United Kingdom and the European Union.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

De Wielde Pieter, Lord Christopher

Assessing actually-existing trajectories of EU politicisation

in *West European Politics*, vol. 39, n. 1, 145-163

ABSTRACT: Theoretical debate about the effects of politicisation on the democratic legitimacy of the European Union has tended to focus on the potential of conflict between European political parties or member state governments. At the same time, empirical sociological studies demonstrate that controversy about Europe continues to unfold primarily within national public spheres. There is as yet no genuine Europe-wide party system or public debate. This reveals a gap between the normative theoretical assessment of EU politicisation and empirical sociological analysis of this phenomenon. To reconcile this discrepancy, this paper develops three actually-existing trajectories of politicisation: the remote conflict, the international conflict and the domestic conflict. Each trajectory carries unique challenges and opportunities to the democratic legitimacy of the Union. It is argued that the domestic conflict trajectory is most promising from a normative democratic perspective. Paradoxically, this does not necessarily imply a renationalisation of the EU.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Rodríguez-Entrena Macario, Salazar-Ordóñez Melania

Assessing the Potential Effects of the European Union Multilevel Approach to the Coexistence Policy

in *European Review*, Volume 23 - Issue 04



European Union (EU) coexistence policy is based on the principle of subsidiarity, which implies a multilevel governance framework. Different legislative approaches have been developed in EU Member States. These legal rules are oriented to both preventing on-farm adventitious admixture (ex-ante regulations) and reducing potential economic consequences (ex-post liability). So coexistence deals with a subject of negative externalities involving an issue of property-right allocation between farmers. Considering the impacts that coexistence policy has on GM (genetically modified) crop adoption rates and the generation of trade distortions, potential effects of the EU coexistence framework are reviewed from a theoretical property-right allocation view. Derived from the analysis, property-right allocation is focused on non-GM farmers according to EU regulation enforcement, which tends to rigid coexistence measures. Nonetheless, the multilevel EU framework has led Member States to pursue their aims: trade interests and social legitimation.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Barta Zsofia, Schelkle Waltraud

At Cross-purposes: Commercial versus Technocratic Governance of Sovereign Debt in the EU

in Journal of European Integration, vol. 37, n. 7, Special Issue: The Governance of EMU: Recasting Political, Fiscal and Financial Integration , 833-846

The governance of EMU was premised on the idea that market discipline, informed by fiscal surveillance, supports the building of a hard currency union. Theory would lead us to expect that the international-commercial and the supranational-technocratic assessments of sovereign debt are fairly aligned. But they were not. We show that credit rating agencies and Eurostat have rather different assessments of what certain policies mean for sovereign debt. These assessments reveal divergent institutional logics of market actors and regulators. Private agencies are prone to conformism and herding behavior, allowing for little consistent discipline, while the public agency follows a bureaucratic imperative of accountability and transparency, which gets in the way of evolving policy priorities. Our findings thus shed light on the difficulties of fiscal governance by regulation only but they also suggest that reforms at the EMU level do not provide quick fixes.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Fabbrini Federico

Austerity, the European Council, and the Institutional Future of the European Union: A Proposal to Strengthen the Presidency of the European Council

in Indiana Journal for Global Legal Studies, vol. 22, issue 2 , 269-334

ABSTRACT: This article contextualizes the resilience of austerity in Europe, explaining it in light of the transformations in the EU system of governance. As the article maintains, since the eruption of the Euro-crisis, the European Council—the body congressing the heads of state and government of the EU member states together with its President and the President of the European Commission—has risen to the center of EU governance. In an intergovernmental institution such as the European Council, however, larger and wealthier states have been able to impose their preferences on other states—a development that is at odds with the anti-hegemonic nature of the EU integration project. To address this problematic state of affairs, this article proposes a targeted institutional reform: strengthening the President of the European Council. As this article claims, a President of the European Council endowed with its own executive powers and legitimated by a popular election could restore a balance between the member states and, at the same time, create



a forum for democratic contestation of the policies of the European Union. The proposal to strengthen the presidency of the European Council builds on recent calls to redefine this institution as the presidency of the European Union as a whole. However, it faces several challenges. This article considers the following questions: 1) What are the advantages associated with the proposal to strengthen the European Council presidency and what powers should be attributed to the office?; 2) What electoral mechanism could be conceived to select the President in an asymmetrical Union of states and citizens?; and 3) What are the incentives—and is there a window of opportunity—to implement this reform? This article proposes ways to address these issues, opening a debate on a potentially fruitful constitutional reform of the EU system of governance.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Sturm Roland

**Austeritätspolitik als gesellschaftliches Projekt
in Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte, Band 1-2, 2016**

The full text is free:

<https://www.bpb.de/apuz/217993/austeritaetspolitik-als-gesellschaftliches-projekt>

Austeritätspolitik ist nicht neu. In Großbritannien verstand man darunter beispielsweise den Konsumverzicht und die Rationierungen während des Zweiten Weltkrieges. Über deren Notwendigkeit herrschte Einigkeit in der britischen Gesellschaft und Politik. Strittig wurde die Austeritätspolitik, als ausgerechnet eine dem Ausbau des Wohlfahrtsstaates verpflichtete Regierung unter der Führung der sozialdemokratischen Labour Party diese Politik nach dem Krieg fortführte. Wie wir es auch heute beobachten können, hatte diese wirtschaftspolitische Strategie soziale und parteipolitische Folgen. Während die Konservative Partei im Vereinigten Königreich die staatliche Kontrolle des gesellschaftlichen Konsums kritisierte, sahen die führenden Köpfe der Labour Party im zeitweiligen Konsumverzicht den Weg zum Sozialismus. Dabei argumentierten sie mit dem Vorbild der Sowjetunion, die durch erzwungenen Konsumverzicht das Land industrialisiert habe. Investitionen sollten Vorrang haben vor Konsum, um damit langfristig den wirtschaftlichen Erfolg Großbritanniens zu sichern, was wiederum auch heißt, Konsum auf höherem Niveau zu ermöglichen. Der britische Labour Schatzkanzler Stafford Cripps scheute sich 1949 nicht, vor einem Arbeiterpublikum Forderungen nach höheren Löhnen als kurzfristig, unfair, ignorant und möglicherweise absichtlich böse zu bezeichnen. Die ökonomischen Prioritäten müssten lauten: zuerst Exporte, dann Investitionen und ganz zum Schluss persönlicher Konsum...

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Sturm Roland

**Austeritätspolitik als gesellschaftliches Projekt
in Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte, Band 1-2, 2016**

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Rationierungen während des Zweiten Weltkrieges. Über deren Notwendigkeit herrschte Einigkeit in der britischen Gesellschaft und Politik. Strittig wurde die Austeritätspolitik, als ausgerechnet eine dem Ausbau des Wohlfahrtsstaates verpflichtete Regierung unter der Führung der sozialdemokratischen Labour Party diese Politik nach dem Krieg fortführte. Wie wir es auch heute beobachten können, hatte diese wirtschaftspolitische Strategie soziale und parteipolitische Folgen. Während die Konservative Partei im Vereinigten Königreich die staatliche Kontrolle des gesellschaftlichen Konsums kritisierte, sahen die führenden Köpfe der Labour Party im zeitweiligen Konsumverzicht den Weg zum Sozialismus. Dabei argumentierten sie mit dem Vorbild der Sowjetunion, die durch erzwungenen Konsumverzicht das Land industrialisiert habe. Investitionen sollten Vorrang haben vor Konsum, um damit langfristig den wirtschaftlichen Erfolg Großbritanniens zu sichern, was wiederum auch heißt, Konsum auf höherem Niveau zu ermöglichen. Der britische Labour Schatzkanzler Stafford Cripps scheute sich 1949 nicht, vor einem Arbeiterpublikum Forderungen nach höheren Löhnen als kurzfristig, unfair, ignorant und möglicherweise absichtlich bösartig zu bezeichnen. Die ökonomischen Prioritäten müssten lauten: zuerst Exporte, dann Investitionen und ganz zum Schluss persönlicher Konsum...

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Hoeffler Catherine, Mérand Frédéric

Avions de combat Pourquoi n'y a-t-il pas d'eupéanisation ?

in *Politique européenne* , n. 48, 2015/2 , 52-80

This article questions Bastien Irondelle's "Europeanization without the EU" thesis (2003) and shows its limits in the case of fighter jets. Starting from the observation that, when it comes to choosing their fighter jets, European governments remain divided between four different aircraft (the Eurofighter Typhoon, the Gripen, the Rafale and the JSF F-35), we develop a comparative analysis of national decision-making processes. Specifically, we argue that two variables explain weapon procurement?: the industrial structure, i.e., the relative autonomy of the military aerospace sector, and the political preferences of national strategic elites. These two variables derived from political economy and international relations theory allow us to understand the limits of Europeanization in this sector.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Kincaid Russell, Watson Max

Avoiding Another Crisis in the Euro Area: Public and Private Imbalances and National Policy Responses

in *Journal of European Integration*, vol. 37, n. 7, Special Issue: The Governance of EMU: Recasting Political, Fiscal and Financial Integration , 787-801

Early critics of the euro's design pointed to the disruptive potential — both political and economic — of country-specific shocks in a monetary union that is a far cry from an optimal currency area. The euro crisis has confirmed the risks associated with a 'one-size-fits-all' monetary policy, decentralized financial supervision, and inadequate fiscal backstops. This article examines how the active use of national fiscal policies and macroprudential policies can mitigate these risks. Cross-border coordination of macroprudential policies is essential to ensure their effectiveness. In addition, area-wide reforms are necessary including a more complete banking union with a well-funded common backstop.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Drea Eoin, Angelou Angelos, Freudenstein Roland

BREXIT In Focus: six ways it will fundamentally change the EU

in *European View* , vol. 14, n. 2, December , 317

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Stefaan De Rynck

Banking on a union: the politics of changing eurozone banking supervision

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 23, Issue 1

In 2012, the European Union (EU) adopted a transformational change to its banking policy for the eurozone. It replaced the policy model of decentralized supervision and regulatory competition between countries with a single supervisor and a more harmonized approach. Transferring banking supervision to the European level also alters the constitutional order. The process of this transformational change was rapid and highly political, which was different compared to earlier incremental changes. Kingdon's model whereby policy entrepreneurs seize opportunities when the independent streams of solutions, problems and politics converge partly explains the process and timing of this transformation. The study of EU banking policy suggests, however, that the multiple streams framework should pay more attention to the way in which entrepreneurs engineer fluctuations within the streams and thereby contribute to creating opportunities for change. This article identifies the supranational European Central Bank as an effective entrepreneur which also played an active role in political bargaining.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Béranger Adrien, Scialom Laurence

Banking union: Mind the gaps

in *Economie internationale*, N°144, 2015/4

This paper reviews the various mechanisms and rules that have been proposed to create a banking union in Europe. We argue that the banking union is a promising solution to the Eurozone crisis because it completes the unification of the Euro currency, forms a solution to both the financial and monetary fragmentation of the Euro zone financial markets and helps break the vicious cycle created by domestic banking system impairments and the sovereign debt crisis. We underline the shortcomings and hurdles to attaining a fully-fledged banking union, and the hazards created by the inconsistencies between the phasing-in of the sequential programme decided by European member states. Various suggestions are made to fill the gaps created by the current architecture: establishing a shared-bailout rule to absorb the remaining losses, simplifying the organisation of banking groups and creating a truly federal deposit insurance scheme. Abstract



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Christopher Pollitt

Be prepared? An outside-in perspective on the future public sector in Europe

in Public Policy and Administration, 31 (1) , 3-28

This paper takes an outside-in perspective on recent public sector reforms in Europe. It selects three of the most consequential and probable external trends, and then looks at how far management reforms are anticipating them. The conclusion is that European Union government responses to predictable external trends have been limited and unstrategic. Many official studies of climate change and demographic change have been written, but concrete responses such as resource prioritization and relevant public management reforms do not seem to have been substantial. There is a disconnect between mainstream public management reforms and the biggest external pressures public sectors are now beginning to face. Academic public administration has also been slow to respond to these “megatrends,” but has considerable potential for contributing to their amelioration.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Miklòs Haraszti

Behind Viktor Orbán's War on Refugees in Hungary

in New Perspectives Quarterly, Volume 32, Issue 4

The refugee crisis so visible on the shores of the Mediterranean has now dramatically materialized in the heart of Europe: 71 men, women and children were found dead in a abandoned truck in Austria, followed by the spectacle of thousands of desperate migrants locked down in a Budapest train station. The drama and chaos in Hungary today induce a powerful sense of déjà-vu. In 1989, thousands of East Germans gathered in Budapest because Hungary had given up the mines and barbed wire sealing the border with Austria.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Riddervold Marianne, Rosén Guri

Beyond Intergovernmental Cooperation: The Influence of the European Parliament and the Commission on EU Foreign and Security Policies

in European Foreign Affairs Review, vol. 20, issue 3 , 399-417

ABSTRACT: Although the Lisbon Treaty removed the pillar structure, the Member States have kept the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) as an intergovernmental instrument, run by special procedures. At the same time, the reality of this description is increasingly questioned in the European Union's (EU) foreign policy literature. However, the role of supranational institutions in the CFSP remains to be studied systematically. There are no empirical studies that try to capture the de facto involvement and influence of both the Commission and the European Parliament (EP) in the CFSP. Aiming to contribute to fill this gap in the literature, this article explores if and in what way the involvement and influence of the Commission and EP testify to the claim that the CFSP has moved beyond intergovernmental cooperation. Our findings challenge the way we conventionally perceive of EU foreign policy cooperation as a policy-area firmly placed in the hands of Member States' executives. Although the Member States formally remain in



position to veto all final decisions, the EP and Commission's involvement and influence on CFSP decision-making questions the reality of this right. Our analysis thus questions whether decision-making within the CFSP is as special as a reading of the treaties might suggest.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Kröger Sandra, Bellamy Richard

Beyond a constraining dissensus: The role of national parliaments in domesticating and normalising the politicization of European integration

in Comparative European Politics, vol. 14, n. 2, march , 131-153

ABSTRACT: At the heart of the growing politicization of the EU lies a concern with how European integration potentially undermines forms of communal self-government linked to established political identities. This concern originates not from the much discussed democratic deficit of EU institutions but from a 'democratic disconnect' between domestic democratic institutions and processes and the decisions made at the EU level by national executives and EU officials. Our contention is that enhancing the role of national parliaments in EU decision making offers a way to reconnect the integration process with the communal self-rule of the member states. We ground this argument in an account of the normative basis of the EU that we dub 'republican intergovernmentalism'. We argue that national parliaments offer a means for what we term the domestication and normalization of EU policymaking within the democratic processes of the member states. However, these effects will only occur if mainstream domestic parties employ these new parliamentary powers to develop competing EU policies that reflect their core ideological positions and those of their voters. We propose the introduction of a Parliamentary Legislative Initiative as a mechanism to provide an incentive for them to do so.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Grande Edgar, Hutter Swen

Beyond authority transfer: explaining the politicisation of Europe

in West European Politics, vol. 39, n. 1 , 23-43

ABSTRACT: While there is increasing evidence that European integration has been politicised, knowledge of the driving forces of this process is still limited. This article contributes to the research by examining the importance of authority transfers to the EU as drivers of politicisation. It innovates in two ways. First, it extends the authority transfer argument by highlighting the mobilising power of membership conflicts; second, it analyses the relevance of national opportunity structures, referenda in particular, and mobilising strategies for politicisation. Empirically, it traces politicisation in public debates on every integration step (treaty reforms and enlargement) from the 1970s to the late 2000s in six West European countries (Austria, Britain, France, Germany, Sweden, and Switzerland), based on a quantitative content analysis of newspaper coverage.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Finke Daniel, Herbel Annika



Beyond rules and resources: Parliamentary scrutiny of EU policy proposals

in European Union Politics , vol. 16, n. 4, December , 490-513

This article examines the factors that shape parties' motivation to invest time and other resources in scrutinizing European Union policy proposals. We distinguish between two different motivations to engage in scrutiny activities. First, parties use such mechanisms to influence the national position directly. Second, parties play a two-level game and use scrutiny to manipulate their negotiator's domestic constraints. Both arguments depend on a set of conditions, namely the government's relative strength in Brussels, the transparency of the European Union decision-making process as well as the government's relative strength and cohesion in the domestic arena. On the empirical side, we study scrutiny at the level of committees in the national parliaments of Finland, France, Germany, Ireland, Italy, Poland, Slovakia, and the United Kingdom over a 13-year period, during which 32 governments are covered. Our findings suggest that parties deploy scrutiny to shift the domestic constraint strategically, but only if such a shift can be communicated convincingly to the international bargaining partners. Moreover, our findings suggest that opposition parties employ such measures to influence the position of a weak government.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Devesa Domènec Ruiz

Beyond the Juncker Plan: a Federal Budget for the Eurozone

in Federalist Debate (The), Year XXVIII, Number 3, November 2015

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Maurizio Carbone

Beyond the Telemachus complex: courses, discourses and the 2014 Italian Presidency of the Council of the European Union

in Journal of Common Market Studies, Volume 53, Issue Supplement S1

When Matteo Renzi appeared for the first time in the European Parliament in July 2014, he did not sound like Italy's Prime Minister presenting the priorities of the rotating presidency of the Council of the European Union (1 July–31 December 2014), but like someone who was proposing a new vision for a different Europe. In a speech loaded with passion and literary allusions, before an attentive audience, he urged Europe to 'find its soul again' and invited 'the current generation to rediscover itself as Telemachus', taking into account the lessons of the founding fathers while attempting to navigate autonomously. This contribution demonstrates that the rather high expectations were largely unmet: the 2014 Italian presidency may have at best contributed to partially changing the discourse, but it failed to alter the course of the European Union.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Kelbel Camille

Bien choisir pour mieux élire ? Une analyse des processus de sélection des candidats aux élections européennes

in *Politique européenne* , n. 48, 2015/2 , 202-214

Ce projet de recherche s'intéresse à la façon dont les partis politiques recrutent leurs candidats et construisent leurs listes en vue des élections européennes. La sélection des candidats est un moment décisif pour tout système politique, tant et si bien que l'ouverture des processus de nomination (et de manière emblématique, l'instauration de primaires) est souvent perçue comme un remède possible...

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Dimitry Kochenov

Biting Intergovernmentalism: The Case for the Reinvention of Article 259 TFEU to Make It a Viable Rule of Law Enforcement Tool

in *Hague Journal on the Rule of Law*, vol. 7, issue 2 , 153-174

In this largely instrumental thought experiment I make the case for exploring the potential of Article 259 TFEU, allowing for direct actions brought by the member states of the European Union against other member states in the context of the enforcement of the rule of law in the member states deviating from the principles of Article 2 TEU. Deploying this proposal will imply changing the established practice of (non-)application of Article 259 TFEU. Such a change, while not departing from the letter or the spirit of the law, has several advantages, from not getting the Commission directly involved in the action about the values of Article 2 TEU (should it wish to keep on staying away), to avoiding the unhelpful construction of Article 258 TFEU, which has been interpreted too cautiously and emerged as unhelpful in the context of rule of law enforcement and entirely unused in the context of the Charter of Fundamental Rights violations. Change should start somewhere and the member states, using Article 259 TFEU potentially could take the lead. In making the plea for paying more attention to horizontal enforcement of values among the member states (albeit via the Court of Justice) this contribution draws on the helpful analysis of the possibility of bundling evidence of member state disregard of the rule of law to start 'systemic infringement actions' before the Court of Justice. This technique, proposed by Kim Lane Scheppele, could make a difference in the world of enforcement of the promise of compliance with the very basics contained in Article 2 TEU.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Telleria Roberto, Ludena Carlos

Bolivia–European Union Trade Agreement: Is It an Option for the Morales Administration?

in *Latin American Research Review*, Volume 50, Number 3, 2015 , 24-45

In 2008 Bolivia ceased to benefit from US trade preferences, which resulted in thousands of jobs lost throughout the country. Without the political will to initiate a trade agreement with the United States, the Morales administration has the opportunity to initiate a trade agreement with the European Union. This study evaluates macro-and microeconomic



impacts emerging from a hypothetical trade agreement between Bolivia and the European Union. Our methodology consisted of using a computable general equilibrium model as price generator, and a micro-simulation approach as a bridge to transmit those price changes to the household level under two liberalization scenarios. We conclude that Bolivia could benefit if a trade agreement with the European Union (the second largest importer of goods in the world) is accomplished.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Kinnvall Catarina

Borders and Fear: Insecurity, Gender and the Far Right in Europe

in Journal of Contemporary European Studies , vol. 23, issue 4 , 514-529

ABSTRACT: In this article I analyze how far right movements and parties in Europe are challenging European notions of open borders and the freedom of movement through active involvement in national and European politics. This involves a discussion around the de/rebordering of European space and the relationship between bordering processes and a politics of belonging in which the drawing of boundaries becomes a way of establishing inclusion/exclusion in response to a politics of fear, insecurity, and threat. Thereafter I address what distinguishes such a politics and how various far right movements and parties have emerged as structural and social-psychological responses to it as well as the reasons behind their affective (and electoral) success in Europe. In examining this, I stress the idea of 'subjective deprivation' in relation to the bordering of essentialist identities, highlighting the role of 'emotional governance' and 'nativism' as crucial for understanding the appeal of these movements. Finally I discuss how these bordering processes have come to rely on gendered notions of masculinity and on the occurrence of control and surveillance as members of the far right redefine national and European borders.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Nitoiu Cristian

British press attitudes towards the EU's global presence: From the Russian-Georgian War to the 2009 Copenhagen Summit

in Comparative European Politics, vol. 13, n. 6, november , 615-635

ABSTRACT: This article surveys the way in which British print media have presented the European Union (EU)'s global presence in the international arena by analysing two case studies which reflect two very distinctive areas of EU foreign policy: global climate change policy and the policy towards Russia. It employs frame analysis, allowing for the identification of the way in which the discourse of the press was categorized around a series of central opinions and ideas. Frames underscore the connections made by journalists between different events, policies or phenomena and their possible interpretations. The analysis highlights that acting through the common framework of the EU rather than unilaterally was a strategy preferred by the British press. These findings are in stark contrast with the deep Euroscepticism which characterizes press attitudes towards most policy areas, and is often considered to be rooted in the British political culture, media system, public opinion or the longstanding tradition of viewing the European continent as the other.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Ziebarth Astrid

Broken systems: the 2014 humanitarian crisis in the US and policy insights for Europe

in *European View*, vol. 14, n. 2, December, 191-200

Both the US and Europe are grappling with migration systems in need of reform and repair. The US has made several attempts towards a comprehensive reform of its immigration system, but partisan divides stand in the way. With large numbers of migrants and asylum seekers coming to Europe, EU leaders have been forced to address the broken Dublin system. It has become clear that the current refugee crisis is not just a European crisis. The US has also been facing a humanitarian crisis, one less noticed by Europeans. With an unprecedented number of unaccompanied minors trying to make their way to the US from Central American countries, the US—like Europe—is tasked with balancing humanitarian protection and border control requirements. In response, the US has employed policy responses to bring down the number of unaccompanied minors.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Buzogány Aron

Building governance on fragile grounds: lessons from Romania

in *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, Volume 33, Issue 5, Special issue on: Environmental Governance in South East Europe/Western Balkans, October, 901-918

Establishing structures of environmental governance is an important goal of external policy actors but a notoriously difficult one to achieve in states with weak regulatory capacities. Building on newer developments in governance research, this contribution offers contextual specifications for factors mediating external regulatory influence. The paper analyses the emergence and the effectiveness of environmental governance in two explorative case studies dealing with the provision of drinking water and, respectively, nature protection from Romania. The main finding is that external influence can lead to the emergence of new modes of environmental governance if supported by capable sectoral administration and pro-change stakeholders.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Dardot Pierre, Laval Christian

Cambiare Europa o cambiare l'Europa?

in *Lettera Internazionale*, n. 120, 2014

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Katja Sarmiento-Mirwaldt

Can multiple streams predict the territorial cohesion debate in the EU?



in *European Urban and Regional Studies*, vol. 22, no. 4 , 431-445

This article contributes to the debate over the fashionable but contested concept of ‘territorial cohesion’ in the European Union. Scholars have long recognised and traced discursive shifts in EU territorial development policies, but theoretical accounts of the drivers and parameters of such shifts are rare. This article applies the multiple streams model of agenda-setting to the territorial cohesion debate in order to explore how useful this model is in analysing and predicting the outcome of a debate. The article is structured according to the three ‘streams’ that are relevant to agenda-setting: problems, policies and politics. The analysis relies on the responses to the 2008 Green Paper on Territorial Cohesion in order to determine how politically feasible different policy solutions are. More recent developments such as the Territorial Agenda 2020 and the European Commission’s proposals for Cohesion Policy for 2014–2020 are then used to assess the predictive power of multiple streams. It is shown that the model successfully predicts the endurance of solidarity-based cohesion goals, the emergence of territorial capital as a key policy solution, and the rejection of geographical criteria for the allocation of EU Structural Funds. At the same time, the multiple streams model fails to predict the introduction of spatial planning tools into EU cohesion policy. This shows that explaining a substantial redefinition of existing policy terms requires some reference to key actors’ broader discursive strategies. The article concludes that the multiple streams model has some predictive and explanatory power; criticisms of the model as overly descriptive are exaggerated.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Allegret Jean-Pierre, Sallenave Audrey

Capital flow bonanzas and monetary policy in emerging Europe: responses to the global financial crisis in Post communist economies, Volume 27, Issue 4, 2015 , pages 429-447

We analyse the conduct of monetary policy in some new member states of the EU and some EU candidates over the period 2000–13. We investigate why monetary policy has been ineffective in insulating domestic liquidity from capital inflows and why some countries from emerging Europe have been especially constrained in responding to the crisis. Our contribution is threefold. First, we show that countries with fixed exchange rate regimes have encountered significant obstacles to conducting monetary policy to cope with large capital inflows and credit booms during the period preceding the financial crisis. Second, we illuminate how pegged countries have been more constrained in responding to the global financial crisis than non-pegged economies. Third, countries with high currency mismatch and financial vulnerabilities seem unable to adopt monetary policy dedicated only to macroeconomic stabilisation.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Russeil Sarah, Healy Aisling

Choosing Urban Expertise for a Europe of Cities: The Eurocities Network and its Experts in Politique européenne , n. 49, 2015/3 , 54-83

Since the end of the 1980’s, the European network of cities called Eurocities draws on a range of expertise in order to establish itself as a network, to stand out as an interlocutor on urban issues in the eyes of European institutions and to take part in defining and implementing European public policies dedicated to cities. The initial construction of the network’s expertise is mainly done by academic experts. But once the network has established regular relations with the



European institutions (the European Commission and then the Parliament), these academic experts make way for experts coming from the cities' staff and personnel.

Analysing how urban expertise used and produced by this network evolves, enables us to demonstrate how it progressively meets European institutions' expectations. It also underlines some of the ways local actors (elected or appointed by cities and their local authorities) may make use of European institutions. Thanks to the expertise it produces and/or uses, this network is therefore revealed as a tool of empowerment, though undoubtedly tricky to control, for those cities who wish to avoid the state-level of decision making by directly addressing the European level.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Charlotte Galpin

Chronology: The European Union in 2014

in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 53, Issue Supplement S1

It is a chronology, step by step.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Kaiser Wolfram

Clash of Cultures: Two Milieus in the European Union's 'A New Narrative for Europe' Project

in **Journal of Contemporary European Studies**, vol. 23, issue 3, 364-377

ABSTRACT: Framing narratives about shared history, norms and the future can be an important practice of creating transnational memory in Europe. This was the task of the European Union's 'A New Narrative for Europe' project initiated by the European Parliament and implemented by the European Commission during 2013–2014. Some 20 people from the cultural sphere formed a so-called Cultural Committee that eventually submitted the declaration 'New Narrative for Europe: The Mind and Body of Europe' to the Commission President and the German Chancellor in Berlin on 1 March 2014. Analysing the process of narrative production illustrates the strict limits of such top-down cultural engineering in a transnational polity like the EU, however. It highlights in particular, the deep schism between the two milieus of politicians and officials in Brussels and people from culture, their lack of narrative consistency and their inability to disseminate their 'new narrative' more widely under conditions of ad hoc transnational public spheres constituted by major crises, not declarations.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Nicola Maaser, Alexander Mayer

Codecision in context: implications for the balance of power in the EU

in **Social Choice and Welfare**, Volume 46, Issue 1, 213-217

The paper analyzes the European Union's codecision procedure as a bargaining game between the Council of the European Union and the European Parliament. The relative influence of these institutions on legislative decision-making in the EU is assessed under a priori preference assumptions. In contrast to previous studies, we do not consider the



codecision procedure in isolation but include several aspects of the EU's wider institutional framework. The finding that the Council is more influential than the Parliament due to its more conservative internal decision rule is robust to adding 'context' to the basic model, but the imbalance is considerably attenuated.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Verdonck Lieselot

Coherence in the EU's External Human Rights Policy: The Case of the Democratic Republic of the Congo
in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 20, issue 3 , 379-397

ABSTRACT: Human rights are at the forefront of the European Union's (EU) foreign policy. Although the former pillar structure was abolished by the Treaty of Lisbon, the external action is still characterized by a multiplicity of institutional actors, policy instruments and decision-making procedures. Nevertheless, the EU is legally obliged to conduct a coherent policy. The pressing question is thus whether there is truly 'a' external human rights policy. In order to answer this question, this article examines the bilateral relationships between the EU and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (the DRC). The analysis is structured according to three mechanisms that can serve to protect and promote human rights in third countries, notably conditionality, positive measures and defence actions.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Tosun Jale, Kai Schulze

Compliance with EU biofuel targets in South-Eastern and Eastern Europe: Do interest groups matter?
in *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, Volume 33, Issue 5, Special issue on: Environmental Governance in South East Europe/Western Balkans, October , 950-968

The European Union requires its member states to establish national targets for the biofuel content of all diesel and petrol supplies for transport placed on the market. This study explores the adoption of this European Union policy across South-Eastern and Eastern Europe between 2003 and 2012. In theoretical terms, we are specifically interested in examining the role of interest groups for policy adoption. We argue that the oil industry in general and the producers of biofuels in particular will support the establishment of national biofuel targets because they expect economic gains. By contrast, we expect environmental groups with international and regional ties to oppose such targets because biofuels have come under attack for their potential environmental impact including deforestation, a loss in biodiversity, and food insecurity. Empirically, we concentrate on policy adoptions in 21 South-Eastern and Eastern European states with varied relations to the European Union and the Energy Community. Our analysis supports our main arguments in suggesting that a stronger presence of environmental groups decreases the chances of adopting national biofuel targets across our country sample while producer interests tend to increase adoptions. This finding holds true also when controlling for a country's European Union membership and accession perspective, membership in the Energy Community, and additional domestic-level factors. These results add more generally to our understanding about compliance with European Union policies and environmental governance.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process



Michael Blauberger, and Berthold Rittberger

Conceptualizing and theorizing EU regulatory networks

in *Regulation & Governance*, Volume 9, Issue 4 , 367–376

European regulatory networks (ERNs) play a central role in the formulation, deliberation, and implementation of EU policies and have, thus, become objects of investigation in a fast-growing scholarly literature. We identify two shortcomings – one conceptual, one theoretical – in the literature on ERNs: First, we argue that the principal–agent approach, which is conventionally used to conceptualize ERNs, overlooks and even misrepresents central features of ERNs. By introducing and applying the “orchestration” framework to ERNs we demonstrate that it better captures the specific characteristics of ERNs. Secondly, explanations for the choice and design of ERNs have treated functional and power-based accounts as mutually exclusive. We argue instead that explanatory leverage can be gained by combining these two accounts by specifying their respective domains of application. While functional accounts enable us to illuminate why and under what circumstances ERNs are created in the first place (rather than EU agencies or delegation to the Commission), political accounts help us to shed light on variation in the design of ERNs (i.e. why actors opt for rather close or loose network structures). We illustrate the explanatory value-added of such an approach through two brief case studies on EU telecommunications and competition policies.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Chadi Adrian

Concerns about the Euro and happiness in Germany during times of crisis

in *European Journal of Political Economy*, Volume 40, Part A, December 2015 , Pages 126-146

This empirical study investigates whether people's concerns about the Euro currency affect their life satisfaction. A minority of very concerned individuals appear to be unhappy, which cannot be explained by personality or other observable factors typically affecting well-being. As a novelty, this investigation exploits exogenous variation in reported concerns by using the intensity of media coverage on the euro crisis with its extraordinary events throughout the year 2011 as an instrument. Results from the application of several empirical approaches confirm that there is an effect from being concerned about the euro on people's satisfaction with life. A potential explanation is that political beliefs and euro-skeptic attitudes are at play and may trigger unhappiness as a consequence of a perceived lack of representation in German politics. In line with this argument, a regional analysis links the variation in unhappiness among concerned citizens to the actual votes for Germany's first major anti-euro party in the subsequent federal elections

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Huigens Judith C.

Conditions for changing inter-organisational relations: The G8 summit and the European Union

in *International Relations*, vol. 29, n. 4, december , 455-476

ABSTRACT: This article provides a case study in the new and developing field of inter-organisational relations by looking at the position of the European Union (EU) within the Group of Eight (G8). It analyses the questions of why inter-organisational relations start, and how they develop over time. I argue that inter-organisational relations are determined by the dynamics within the international organisations that are involved: both the characteristics that define



these organisations, as well as the preferences of their constituent parts. The G8-EU relation was a by-product of European integration resulting from the transfer of competences, but was initially thwarted by the strong and divided preferences within the EU. While the G8's informality at first facilitated this internal division, it also enabled this relation to change over the following decades. This change cannot only be ascribed to rationalist and social-institutionalist factors but also testifies to a logic of path dependence.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Coskun Alexis

Confirmation de l'approche économique en droit de la concurrence : la poursuite de la "modernisation" - Rapport sur la concurrence de 2013

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 593, décembre , 618-629

Abstract available online at http://www.dalloz-revues.fr/Revue_de_l_Union_europeenne-cover-49200.htm

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Kulukundis Elias

Conflict in the Eurozone: A View from Athens

in *Mediterranean Quarterly*, Volume 26, Number 3, September , pp. 5-17

The crisis of the eurozone has narrowed to a conflict between Greece and Germany. At times it has appeared to be a family quarrel with all the animosity that a family can generate. The two are like an elderly father and an adolescent son unable to talk to each other. The son questions everything and wants to engage in dialogue, but his provocative watiy of framing questions drives the father to exasperation. The father answers questions with maxims and mantras, and his refusal to engage in dialogue impels the son to further provocation.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Caravita Beniamino

Constitutional revision in federal, hybrid and regional models: A comparison with the European Union

in *Federalismi*, Anno XIII - Nr 9

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bunea Adriana, Thomson Robert

Consultations with Interest Groups and the Empowerment of Executives: Evidence from the European Union

in *Governance*, Volume 28, Issue 4 , 517–531



We examine how an executive's consultations with interest groups during the formative stage of the policy process affect its bargaining success during the decision-making stage after it has proposed new policies to legislative actors. Our theory sets out how consultations with interest groups strengthen the executive by bolstering its formal and informal agenda-setting power. The empirical testing ground for our theory is the European Union (EU), and in particular the consultations held by the European Commission. The analysis assesses the effects of these consultations on the congruence between the Commission's legislative proposals on controversial issues and EU laws. Our analysis incorporates detailed information on the type and scope of each consultation. In line with our theory, we find that the Commission had more success during the decision-making stage after conducting open consultations with large numbers of interest groups during the policy formation stage.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Michael Zantovsky

Continental Drift: Europe at a Crossroads

in **World Affairs**, Summer 2015

A specter is haunting Europe. It has many names, and none of them fits. It is neither left nor right, and neither revolutionary nor reactionary, although it is a bit of all these things. It has many diverse and sometimes incongruous manifestations; it seems to spring from a single fountain of malaise and discontent. It should be given a name, but labeling it "populist," "extreme," or "anti-European" is much too facile and imprecise, for by doing so one discounts it a priori as something unworthy, subversive, and pathological. Yet it is quickly becoming the norm, and in its turn it rejoices in labeling traditional politics as obsolete, irrelevant, and counterproductive. As the Bulgarian political scientist Ivan Krastev wrote recently, "It's hard to judge if the majority of the Europeans are moving to the left or to the right, but what is obvious is that almost nobody is left in the center."

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Martino Roberto

Convergence and growth. Labour productivity dynamics in the European Union

in **Journal of Macroeconomics**, Volume 46, December 2015 , Pages 186-200

This paper investigates labour productivity dynamics for 1263 regional economies of the European Union during 1991–2007. Despite convergence is usually found to occur conditionally to economy-wide factors, results reveal a clear process of unconditional convergence for financial and business-related market services. Such an evidence is not found for manufacturing and aggregate productivity, for which long run distribution dynamics are characterized by bimodality. The decomposition of the growth rate of aggregate labour productivity reveals that pure productivity gains drive growth. Structural change plays a minor role in the process, however it halves the contribution of the manufacturing sector for the richest regions, while it enhances the weight of financial market services.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Duff Andrew



Coping with the British: Here's How

in **Federalist Debate (The)**, Year XXVIII, Number 3, November 2015

Is David Cameron really serious about renegotiating the terms of the British membership? One has to begin to ask the question. For much has been boasted but little done. British officials are still trotting around foreign ministries of EU capitals, but it is reported that their inquiries about what might be acceptable to Britain's partners are increasingly lame, narrow and few.

There are reasons for this lack of vigour. For one thing, the famous, long-winded and costly 'balance of competences' review undertaken by the coalition government threw up no concrete examples of powers conferred upon the EU that could sensibly be repatriated. For another, once through the bluster of this year's election campaign, the new Conservative government came into office without its promised blueprint for a reformed UK relationship with the EU.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Krätke Michael R.

Corbyns Sieg: Hoffnung für Europas Linke?

in **Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik**, Oktober, 2015 , 17-20

The full text is free:

<https://www.blaetter.de/archiv/jahrgaenge/2015/oktober/corbyns-sieg-hoffnung-fuer-europas-linke>

Was für eine Koinzidenz: Kaum schien der Glanz von Alexis Tsipras, wenn nicht erloschen, so doch gedämpft worden zu sein, ist der Linken ein neuer Hoffnungsträger erwachsen. Mit Jeremy Corbyn hat ein absoluter Außenseiter das Rennen um den Vorsitz der britischen Labour Party gewonnen. Ein Hinterbänkler ohne Hausmacht, ohne Regierungs- oder Parteiamt, ein ewiger Rebell, der seit 1983 seinen Wahlkreis im Norden Londons acht Mal in Folge gewann, aber mit seiner Partei ewig über Kreuz lag. Mehr als 500 Mal hat er im Unterhaus gegen die Parteilinie gestimmt. Umso mehr musste der Paukenschlag dieses Wahlsiegs seinen Widersachern in den Ohren hallen. Ausgerechnet ein „Altlinker“ mit unverrückbaren Überzeugungen, ein Prinzipienreiter und Populist, ein klassischer Sozialdemokrat, Nicht-Akademiker, Gewerkschaftsfunktionär, Anwalt der kleinen Leute, hat gewonnen – und zwar mit 59,5 Prozent der Stimmen im ersten Wahlgang. Damit übertraf er sogar den Messias von New Labour, Tony Blair, der 1994 auf 57 Prozent gekommen war. Die anderen drei Kandidaten, ausgewiesene Blair-Anhänger, verwies Corbyn weit abgeschlagen auf die Plätze...

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

De Grauwe Paul, Ji Yuemei

Correcting for the Eurozone Design Failures: The Role of the ECB

in **Journal of European Integration**, vol. 37, n. 7, Special Issue: The Governance of EMU: Recasting Political, Fiscal and Financial Integration , 739-754

Macroeconomic policies in the Eurozone have been dysfunctional since the eruption of the financial crisis. The failure of these policies to guide the Eurozone out of the crisis has everything to do with the design failures in the Eurozone. In this article, we first remind the reader of the nature of these design failures. We then analyze how these have led to



ill-designed macroeconomic policies. We then focus on the role of the ECB on correcting for these design failures. We conclude with some thoughts about monetary and political unification.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Papageorgiou Ioannis

Crisi greca, crisi europea e crisi di legittimità in Europa
in *Paradoxa*, ANNO IX - Numero 3 - Luglio/Settembre 2015

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

David Phinnemore

Crisis-ridden, battered and bruised: time to give up on the EU?
in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 53, Issue Supplement S1

European integration, as George Ross noted in his study of the European Union (EU) and its crises, 'has never been an easy process', and the EU in particular has been especially 'crisis-prone'. With the financial crisis of 2008, and then recession and the near fracturing of the eurozone, much of the past decade has seen the EU faced with its most sustained and testing period of crisis. Not only has the future of monetary union and the euro been put in serious doubt, but commentators and politicians have seriously questioned whether the EU would actually survive this latest set of crises. For many, the past few years have seen the EU, or at least the eurozone, fighting for its survival. Not since the eurosclerosis and euro pessimism of the 1970s has there been such a sustained mood of undoubted and, for some, existential crisis.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Moccia Luigi

Dalla comparazione alla integrazione giuridica: la via della cittadinanza europea
in *Cittadinanza europea (La)*, Fascicolo 2/2015

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Holzner Thomas

Das Europäische Parlament im Institutionengefüge der EU – Verschiebung der Kräfteverhältnisse infolge der Durchsetzung eines „Spitzenkandidaten“ als Kommissionspräsident?
in *Europarecht*, Heft 5, 2015



No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Paolo Caraffini

De Gaulle, the “Empty Chair Crisis” and the European Movement

in Perspectives on federalism, vol. 7, issue 2 , 163-189

European Movement International (EM) was founded in October 1948 after the Hague Congress held in May to coordinate the initiatives of the major European movements and political forces in favour of the unification of the Old Continent.

The aim of this essay is to analyse EM's stance in defence of the Community institutions established under the Treaties of Paris (1951) and Rome (1957), in the face of the so-called “empty chair crisis”. This crisis between the French government and the other Community partners was triggered by proposals made in March 1965 by the Commission of the European Economic Community, chaired by Walter Hallstein, which established a direct relationship between the renewal of the financial regulation of the Common Agricultural Policy, the shift towards a system of “own resources” (from agricultural levies and customs duties) and the strengthening of the European Parliament's powers.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Puetter Uwe

Deliberativer Intergouvernementalismus und institutioneller Wandel: die Europäische Union nach der Eurokrise

in Politische Vierteljahresschrift, Heft 3, 2015 , 406-429

ABSTRACT: The euro crisis triggered substantial institutional change within the Economic and Monetary Union. Yet, the autonomous decision-making powers of the Commission remain limited. The community budget plays no role in the financing of the main stability instruments. This coexistence of change and continuity challenges existing integration theories. Deliberative intergovernmentalism offers an alternative explanation of institutional change. This perspective does not interpret the abandoning of the model of classical community method integration as an abandoning of the integration process. Member states are reacting to growing policy interdependencies through an intensification of intergovernmental policy coordination. The European Council and the Eurogroup become the key actors within the Union.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Ohr Renate, Horn Gustav A.

Der Euro und die Schuldenkrise kontrovers

in Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte, Band 52, 2015

The full text is free:

<http://www.bpb.de/apuz/217312/der-euro-und-die-schuldenkrise-kontrovers>



In der Debatte um die Finanz- und Schuldenkrisen im Euroraum, insbesondere in Griechenland, und deren Bewältigung gibt es eine Reihe wiederkehrender, teils höchst umstrittener Fragen. Die APuZ-Redaktion hat sieben von ihnen formuliert und Renate Ohr und Gustav A. Horn unabhängig voneinander vorgelegt. Sie antworten in abwechselnder Reihenfolge.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Tobler Christa

Der Euro – Verwirklichung oder Verhängnis der europäischen -Wirtschaftsintegration?

in *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Internationales und Europäisches Recht*, Heft 3, 2015

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Voss Axel

Der steinige Weg eines Newcomers in einem etablierten Politikfeld: Datenschutzpolitik im Europäischen Parlament in der siebten Legislaturperiode (2009–2014)

in *Zeitschrift für Außen- und Sicherheitspolitik*, vol. 7, n. 4, 451-463

ABSTRACT: Only since 2009 does the European Parliament act as an equal legislative institution next to the Council with regard to data protection. Since then a number of bills have been introduced and passed. This study aims to examine the agreements on the exchange of bank and flight passenger data with other states, the reform of data protection policies as well as the activities of the investigatory committee into the National Security Agency.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Vérez Jean-Claude

Des biens collectifs aux biens communs en Europe Quelles réglementations?

in *Europe en formation (L')*, n° 376, 2015/2, 61-74

If the shortcomings of the market clearly exist, the designation of goods as collective public goods, public goods or common goods is not easy. It raises many questions including their regulation, their funding, their control effectiveness. The EU of 28 faces major challenges in this area in an unstable global context.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Schulz Martin

Die Arbeit des Europäischen Parlaments von 2009 bis 2014

in *Zeitschrift für Außen- und Sicherheitspolitik*, vol. 7, n. 2, 123-132



ABSTRACT: This article looks back on the parliamentary work of the European Parliament in the legislative period that ends in 2014. Building on exemplary cases of different policy areas, the author depicts his understanding of this work, which deals with the Euro crisis and the EU's budget, social questions, and European foreign policy. The author calls for a more prominent role of the European Parliament in the new legislative period and considers the parties' introduction of European leading candidates as a new chance.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Dörr Julian

Die Bedeutung der Kohäsionspolitik für die europäische Integration: Aktuelle Bestandsaufnahme eines unbekannten Politikfeldes

in *Zeitschrift für Außen- und Sicherheitspolitik* , vol. 9, n. 1 , 27-37

ABSTRACT: The regional policy of the European Union is in many respects a worthwhile subject to deal with. So one cannot only observe the paradox that despite of the high significance of the cohesion policy in the EU's budget, this field of politics is scarcely salient to the public, but it can also be noted that cohesion policy shows a problematic trend, which is particularly noticeable in the steady expansion of its scope of intervention. This paradigm shift in the subsidies policy as well as the marginal salience of cohesion policy ultimately affects the European integration as a whole, since the trust of the EU citizens and its problem solving skills diminishes because of the inefficient and hardly transparent use of funds.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Grande Edgar, Kriese Hanspeter

Die Eurokrise: Ein Quantensprung in der Politisierung des europäischen Integrationsprozesses?

in *Politische Vierteljahresschrift*, Heft 3, 2015 , 479-505

ABSTRACT: This article examines whether the crisis caused a quantum leap in the scope and intensity of politicization compared with previous integration debates. We compare the public debate on the Eurozone crisis with previous debates on European integration in six West European countries (Austria, Britain, France, Germany, Sweden, and Switzerland) spanning the past forty years. The article concludes that the Eurozone crisis was politicized in the countries under scrutiny, but that it did not cause a quantum leap in the level and scope of political conflict. Rather, it reinforced the dominance of executive elites in public debate.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Von Ondarza Nicolai

Die Gemeinsame Sicherheits- und Verteidigungspolitik der Europäischen Union nach dem Verteidigungsgipfel von Dezember 2013. Von der Stagnation zum (ambitionslosen) Pragmatismus

in *Zeitschrift für Außen- und Sicherheitspolitik* , vol. 7, n. 3 , 311-321

ABSTRACT: In December 2013, in their first meeting dedicated to security and defence in five years, the Heads of State



and Government of the EU aimed to breathe new life into the stagnating Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP). In terms of process, the Defence Summit did indeed function as a focus point which put CSDP high up on the agenda of the EU. An analysis of the results shows, however, that the European Council could only agree on small technical and institutional changes in CSDP, while the crucial questions facing the EU as security actor were postponed into the future.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Schmidt Hans-Jörg, Inotai Edit, Segeš Frelak Justyna

**Die Visegrád-Staaten und die europäische Flüchtlingspolitik
in Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte, Band 47-48, 2015**

The full text is free:

www.bpb.de/apuz/215402/die-visegrad-staaten-und-die-europaeische-fluechtlingspolitik

Das aktuelle Flüchtlingsproblem in Europa und die Lösungsvorschläge der EU-Kommission: Wie positionieren sich die Regierungen der Visegrád-Staaten, welche Kontroversen werden ausgetragen und wie verhalten sich die Zivilgesellschaften? ...

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Vogel Steffen

**Die autoritäre Versuchung. Europas neue Linke zwischen Aufbruch und Populismus
in Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik, November, 2015 , 71-79**

The full text is free:

<https://www.blaetter.de/archiv/jahrgaenge/2015/november/die-autoritaere-versuchung>

Historische Veränderungen der politischen Landschaft bahnen sich in zahlreichen europäischen Ländern an. Die griechische Syriza um Premierminister Alexis Tsipras hat sich binnen drei Jahren von einer randständigen Partei zur dominanten Kraft des linken Spektrums gewandelt; nach dem jüngsten Wahlsieg im September wird ihr dieser Status absehbar nicht zu nehmen sein. In Spanien bricht Podemos, trotz zuletzt schwächerer Umfragewerte, unwiderruflich das etablierte Zweiparteiensystem auf. Schon jetzt regieren alternative Listen rund um die junge Linkspartei mehrere Großstädte, darunter Madrid, Barcelona und Saragossa. Trotz aller Rückschläge reüssiert insbesondere in Südeuropa eine neue oder neu erstarkte Linke, wie zuletzt im Oktober auch die Wahlen in Portugal zeigten, bei denen der Bloco de Esquerda überraschend zur drittstärksten Kraft aufstieg...

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Gambino Silvio

Diritti e Stato sociale. Quale futuro europeo?



in **Cittadinanza europea (La)**, Fascicolo 2/2015

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Carletti Cristiana

Diritti umani e democrazia: il nuovo Piano d'Azione dell'Unione europea per il 2015-2019

in **Cittadinanza europea (La)**, Fascicolo 2/2015

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bennani Hamza

Dissecting the brains of central bankers: The case of the ECB's Governing Council members on reforms

in **Economie internationale**, N°141, 2015/1

Since 2009, European central bankers have supported some reforms, in order to draw roadmaps to get out of the euro debt crisis. This paper tests whether the educational and professional background of European central bankers matter for the type of reforms each of them advocated. Through a textual analysis of public speeches delivered by the European central bankers, we draw a cognitive map for each of them and, thus, of the reforms they propose as ways out of the euro debt crisis. Our results show that their occupational background is an important determinant of their respective economic reform proposals

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Trentin Massimiliano

Divergence in the Mediterranean. The Economic Relations Between the EC and the Arab Countries in the Long 1980s

in **Journal of European Integration History**, vol. 21, n. 1 , 89-108

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Saurugger Sabine, Terpan Fabien

Do crises lead to policy change? The multiple streams framework and the European Union's economic governance instruments

in **Policy Sciences**, vol. 49, issue 1, march , 35-53



ABSTRACT: The aim of this paper was to understand in which direction policies change in periods of crisis. Do they lead to the hardening of norms or the introduction of softer rules governing public policies? Based on the study of policy change in two periods of economic governance—the 2003–2005 Stability and Growth Pact crisis, and the 2009–2013 economic governance crisis, this article explains why the policy change in the first case led to softer governance mechanisms, while during the second crisis, soft governance mechanisms were transformed into hard law. In applying the multiple streams framework to study these policy changes, we argue that the wider the window of opportunity and the more coherent the coalition of policy entrepreneurs, the higher the possibility for these actors to push in favour of legally constraining norms. Hence, it is not solely the power or capacity of one policy entrepreneur, in this case—the German government—that leads to hardening of soft law, but the coherence of the coalition the policy entrepreneur is able to build.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Ritleng Dominique

Does the European Court of Justice take democracy seriously? Some thoughts about the Macro-Financial Assistance case

in **Common Market Law Review**, vol. 53, issue 1 , 11-33

ABSTRACT: Starting from an analysis of the ECJ's ruling in the MFA case, the paper explores whether the EU judiciary pays sufficient attention to the principle of democracy and, if so, which understanding of democracy it seeks to promote. It comes to the conclusion that the case law reveals a tendency to favour the powers of non-majoritarian bodies. Insofar, it is not so much representative democracy that the Court of Justice strives to protect but rather a kind of democracy which tends to give precedence to the government for the people over the government by the people.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Begg Iain, Bongardt Annette, Nicolaïdis Kalypso, Torres Francisco

EMU and Sustainable Integration

in **Journal of European Integration**, vol. 37, n. 7, Special Issue: The Governance of EMU: Recasting Political, Fiscal and Financial Integration , 803-816

This paper considers what will be required to make Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) sustainable following the successive crises of recent years. It starts by laying out the policy benchmark, namely the successive 'President Reports' produced by EU institutions. It then suggests three dimensions of sustainable integration relevant to EMU, namely the pursuit of sustainable growth, the need to take into account what we call 'varieties of modernisation' and the 'ownership' of democratically sustainable reforms. It then evaluates the recasting of EMU governance against the benchmark of sustainable integration.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Giavazzi Francesco, Wyplosz Charle

EMU: Old Flaws Revisited



in *Journal of European Integration*, vol. 37, n. 7, Special Issue: The Governance of EMU: Recasting Political, Fiscal and Financial Integration , 723-737

Economic and monetary union (EMU) started with serious flaws. Those flaws had been carefully diagnosed and yet no attempts were made to deal with them. As an original experiment, it would have been extraordinary that its design be perfect from the start. The fact that these flaws came together to generate the euro-area crisis is an indictment of the denial that has characterized the first decade of the monetary union. The costs of this denial have been enormous, including lost incomes, unemployment, bankruptcies, and dangerous political under-currents. We revisit three main flaws: the lack of planning to deal with financial instability, the lack of transparency of the ECB, and the poor articulation between monetary policy and national fiscal policies.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

BOLLAERT Baudouin

ET SI L'EUROPE REPRENAIT CONFIANCE EN ELLE?

in *Politique internationale*, n. 148 - Ete, 2015

Entretien avec Didier REYNDERS

Ministre des Affaires étrangères

conduit par

Baudouin BOLLAERT

Ancien rédacteur en chef du Figaro

Didier Reynders served as Belgium's Finance Minister for twelve years and through six different administrations without a break before becoming Foreign Minister in 2011. Interviewed here by Baudouin Bollaert, he unapologetically states his neo-liberal beliefs and presses for a more politically integrated Europe. To him, federalism is not the problem, but the solution that will empower Europe to resolve its internal issues and pull its weight on the global stage. Nonetheless, he deems a strong Franco-German partnership to be essential - provided it does not turn into a "directoire". He argues that Greece should remain in the Eurozone and the UK in the EU, he believes in the benefits of a multi-speed Europe, he thinks the EU sanctions against Russia are effective, he wants self-determination for Crimea, and is worried by the rise of radical Islam in Europe and elsewhere. Who says you can't be a European of the heart and mind?

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Antonio Goucha SOARES

EU Commission participation in the Troika mission: is there a European Union price to pay?

in *Revista Brasileira de Política internacional* , vol.58, n.1 , 108-126

The article is intended to debate two questions regarding the involvement of the Commission in the Troika's action: firstly, considering the nature of financial assistance programs, it aims to discuss the effect of the Commission's participation in Troika negotiations on the balance of power of the EU institutions; and secondly, the article raises the issue of the Commission's liability for the results achieved by the financial assistance program, taking into account the extent of the conditions imposed, as well as the intensity of scrutiny by the Troika.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Geert De Baere and Timothy Roes

EU Loyalty as Good Faith

in *International and Comparative Law Quarterly*, vol. 64, issue 4 , 829-874

Comparing the EU law principle of loyalty with international law good faith and the duty of federal good faith in German constitutional law (Bundestreue), this article contributes to the discussion on the nature of the EU legal order and its relationship to international law more generally by finding that EU loyalty is in essence a specific incarnation of the international law principle that treaties are to be interpreted in good faith. At the same time, it challenges the assumption that international law good faith differs fundamentally from federal good faith. To this end, the article points at historical links between both, and posits that good faith is in essence a principle of constructive interpretation, the strictures of which increase with the level of integration of the legal order in which it is applied.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Koprileva Iva, Vink Maarten P.

EU Sanctions in Response to Intra-state Conflicts: A Comparative Approach

in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 20, issue 3 , 315-336

ABSTRACT: Restrictive measures (or sanctions) form an important part of the European Union's (EU's) foreign policy toolbox. Studying the conditions under which the EU imposes sanctions is therefore imperative for understanding EU's role in the global arena. This article aims at modelling the use of EU sanctions particularly in response to intra-state conflicts in its neighbourhood. Four variables (trade linkage with the EU as whole; trade linkage with individual Member States; democracy level of the potential target state; and violence level of the intra-state conflict) are tested against data from ten intra-state conflicts from EU's neighbourhood using a comparative mixed-method methodology of fuzzy-set analysis and process-tracing. We identify the lack of strong trade linkage between individual Member States and the potential target state as a sufficient condition for the imposition of sanctions. In addition, the presence of bilateral trade links is a necessary, and if the potential target state is a democracy, sufficient condition for the non-imposition of sanctions.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Heinrich Mathis

EU governance in crisis: A cultural political economy perspective on European crisis management 2007–2014

in *Comparative European Politics*, vol. 13, n. 6, november , 682-706

ABSTRACT: The article investigates the character of economic and financial crisis management dynamics in the European Union (EU) between 2007 and 2014. In particular, it explores the main actors and imaginaries structuring European governance processes in reaction to the North Atlantic financial crisis. First, a Cultural Political Economy perspective on power and discourse is developed by drawing on concepts from Neo-Gramscian International Political



Economy and Critical Discourse Analysis. Second, concrete EU policy reactions to the crisis are distinguished into three main policy fields of crisis management, with each being examined in terms of the dominant economic forces, policy discourses and political actors that shape them. The article shows that pre-crisis modes of accumulation and regulation of the European economy have been broadly maintained and even sharpened by the crises in Europe. This consolidated reproduction is especially fostered by the evolutionary interplay of dominant transnational social forces from European export- and finance-oriented industries as well as of the established economic imaginary of competitiveness on the EU level. As such, the article argues for a rediscovery of transnational dynamics in European studies of the crisis as these dynamics play a crucial role in coordinating spatial, temporal and institutional varieties in European reactions to the crisis.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Graziano Paolo R., Halpern Charlotte

EU governance in times of crisis: Inclusiveness and effectiveness beyond the 'hard' and 'soft' law divide
in *Comparative European Politics*, vol. 14, n. 1, January, 1-19

ABSTRACT: Far from reopening classic debates on EU modes of governance, this special issue uses the governance notion as an organizing concept in order to examine the governing of the EU in times of crisis. More specifically, we argue that focusing on modes of governance contributes to the understanding of 'where the power lies in the EU system' especially when an external shock – such as the crisis – hits the EU governance system. A systematic investigation is not possible given the limitation on space, but this introductory article highlights some of the aspects that we consider have been at the heart of the new political challenges to the EU. Our main hypothesis is that the 2008 crisis has offered a new opportunity for the intergovernmental mode of decision-making to prevail, left marginal space for further including citizens in decision-making processes and has provided a very narrow definition of effectiveness. This change of context calls for a re-examination of forms of governing in the EU, and more specifically the so-called 'softening narrative', in order to go beyond a mere distinction between 'hard' and 'soft' law and focus more on the governing processes that are in place in various institutional and policy areas.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Lucke Albrecht von

EU in Auflösung? Die Rückkehr der Grenzen und die populistische Gefahr
in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, Oktober, 2015, 45-54

The full text is free:

<https://www.blaetter.de/archiv/jahrgaenge/2015/oktober/eu-in-aufloesung>

Der Kontrast könnte größer nicht sein: Während vor einem Vierteljahrhundert mit dem Abbau der Grenzzäune zwischen Ungarn und Österreich der Weg zur deutschen Vereinigung und zu einem neuen, freien Europa in West und Ost geebnet wurde, erleben wir dieser Tage das glatte Gegenteil. An den ungarischen Grenzen werden wieder Stacheldrahtzäune hochgezogen. Auch die 1989/90 eingestellten Kontrollen sind zurück – und zwar nicht nur an den Außengrenzen, sondern auch zwischen den einzelnen Ländern der Europäischen Union. Damit sind zwei tragende Säulen der EU krachend zusammengebrochen: die Abkommen von Schengen und Dublin. Wir erleben die Erosion der



europäischen Einheit und eine Machtdemonstration der Nationalstaaten...

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Mantel Renata

EU-Central Asia Relations in the Energy Sector with a Special Focus on Kazakhstan

in Europe en formation (L'), n° 375, 2015/1 , 55-71

This contribution examines the energy cooperation between the European Union and Central Asia with a special focus on Kazakhstan, and argues that the EU and Kazakhstan have complementary interests for a mutually beneficial cooperation in the energy sector. Kazakhstan is eager to involve international partners in the development of its energy sector and is concerned about the diversification of its pipeline routes with regard to access to the European markets. In the context of its strategy of energy supply diversification, Kazakhstan is a welcome supplier for the EU independent from Russia and the Middle East. At the same time, the EU-Kazakh cooperation is viewed in the light of a "New Great Game" about the rich energy resources and their pipeline networks in the region, in which several global and regional actors compete for influence.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Du Plessix Caroline

EU3 Resistance to Norms in External Action: The Case of the (Future) Borders of Israel and Palestine

in European Foreign Affairs Review, vol. 20, issue 2/1 , 103-121

ABSTRACT: This article deals with the resistance of France, Germany and the United Kingdom (EU3) to comply with the EU norms regarding the (future) borders of Israel and Palestine. To do so, it focuses on two cases studies: the issue of Israel's exports to the EU originating from the settlements, and EU companies operating in settlements in East Jerusalem. The EU3's reactions differ when it comes to ensure the implementation of the EU soft law regarding the two state solution, and more particularly the issue of future borders. Yet, they all reflect the Member States' resistance to directly enforce CFSP norms on this matter. In the case of a territorial dispute, the EU's soft and hard laws are de facto intertwined through EU external action. As matter of fact, the rule of origin defined in EU free trade agreements with both Israel and the Palestinian Authority strongly relies on CFSP positions regarding their future borders. This article argues that conflicting objectives related to this issue between Member States and the EU and among national actors account for the EU3's resistance attitudes. In other words, a certain form of cognitive distance – the fourth hypothesis of the introduction – between the content of EU norms and Member States' objectives affects the implementation of CFSP norms. In this case, Germany's reaction to the Brita case demonstrates its unwillingness to take direct responsibility for setting a precedent regarding the sensitive case of Israeli exports from the settlements, due to its special relationship with Israel. France's cautious reaction is more particularly related to the latent conflict within its population about this issue. The United Kingdom's preference for the labelling solution illustrates its liberal nature and its willingness to let British consumers assume the responsibility to decide, though this solution proves difficult to implement in fact. Yet, this article also shows that these resistance attitudes can also lead to the renegotiation of the means of implementation of CFSP norms on this matter, and potentially to their strengthening.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Staehr Karsten

Economic Growth and Convergence in the Baltic States: Caught in a Middle-Income Trap?

in *Intereconomics*, Volume 50, Issue 5, September 2015 , Pages 274-280 

The Baltic states experienced strong economic growth and a rapid closing of the income gap with developed economies until the onset of the global financial crisis. Since then they have seen a marked slowdown of economic growth. This raises the issue of whether the Baltic states might become caught in a middle-income trap with modest growth and slow convergence. Such a trap may stem from a lack of coordination among different actors in the economy, holding back the growth of productive capacity. Based on the results of empirical studies, it is argued that a middle-income trap cannot be ruled out for the Baltic states given their deep crises, weaknesses in education, simple production and export contents, institutional constraints, and rapidly ageing populations. Policymakers may seek to facilitate faster and more stable growth by taking measures that address a number of structural coordination problems in the Baltic states.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Adamski Dariusz

Economic constitution of the euro area after the Gauweiler preliminary ruling

in *Common Market Law Review*, vol. 52, issue 6 , 1451-1490

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Kundnani Hans

Ein deutsches Europa – oder ein chaotisches?

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 52, 2015

The full text is free:

<http://www.bpb.de/apuz/217304/ein-deutsches-europa-oder-ein-chaotisches>

In den vergangenen fünf Jahren, seit Beginn der Eurokrise, wurde viel über die angebliche Entstehung eines "deutschen Europas" geschrieben. In einem Sinne trifft der Begriff zu: Deutschlands gesteigerte Macht und Frankreichs relative Schwäche haben es Deutschland ermöglicht, anderen Staaten in der Eurozone die eigenen Präferenzen weitgehend aufzuzwingen. Vielleicht das beste Beispiel dafür ist der Fiskalpakt, auf den sich der Europäische Rat im Dezember 2011 einigte und der vorsieht, dass alle Länder der Eurozone eine ähnliche Regelung in ihre Verfassungen aufnehmen sollten wie die "Schuldenbremse", die 2009 in Deutschland verabschiedet worden war. Doch obwohl seit Ausbruch der Krise viele Deutschland deswegen gerne als "Europas Hegemon" bezeichnen, haben die Ereignisse der vergangenen fünf Jahre auch immer wieder deutlich gemacht, dass Deutschland sich nicht zum Hegemon eignet. Deswegen ist das Europa, das aus der Krise erwächst, nicht so sehr ein deutsches als vielmehr ein chaotisches...



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Guillermo López García, José Vicente Gámir Ríos, Francisco José García Llul, Germán Llorca Abad, Lorena Cano Orón, José Luis González Esteban

El debate sobre Europa en Twitter. Discursos y estrategias de los candidatos de las elecciones al Parlamento Europeo de 2014 en España

in *Revista de Estudios Políticos* , Número 170 , 213-246

This article describes the electoral campaign developed in social networks (specifically Twitter) by candidates of eight Spanish political parties in European Parliament elections of May 2014. The main objective of the analysis is see to what extent the discourse of candidates is framed to European or national scope issues. The analysis suggests three complementary methodological approaches: a quantitative analysis of the activity of the candidates on Twitter; a content analysis of messages posted by candidates throughout the election campaign; and finally, an discourse analysis derived from the daily monitoring of the campaign.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Crespo Alcázar Alfredo

El referendo in vs out propuesto por David Cameron: una estrategia compleja y divisiva

in *Cuadernos Manuel Giménez Abad*, n. 10, diciembre , 223-229

Full text available online at

http://www.fundacionmgimenezabad.es/images/Documentos/Cuadernos/cuadernos10_diciembre_2015.pdf

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Taylor Andrew

Environmental governance in Croatia and Macedonia: institutional creation and evolution

in *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, Volume 33, Issue 5, Special issue on: Environmental Governance in South East Europe/Western Balkans, October , 969-985

The environment acquis are, by common consent, amongst the most technically and politically demanding that a state aspiring to EU membership must transpose. SEE states confront a major 'gap' between the policies and institutions they have and what they must achieve. Transposition requires the creation of policy networks involving a broad range of state and non-state actors. This paper examines the efforts of Croatia and Macedonia to adapt to EU environmental policy. Using social network analysis the paper focuses on institutional creation and evolution and argues that effective governance depends on the prior creation of effective hierarchies. Networks exist but capacities and capabilities are in short supply and this reinforces the centre and government over civil society.

Full text available online at <http://epc.sagepub.com/content/33/5/969.full.pdf+html>



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Börzel Tanja, Fagan Adam

Environmental governance in South East Europe/Western Balkans: reassessing the transformative power of Europe

in Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy, Volume 33, Issue 5, Special issue on: Environmental Governance in South East Europe/Western Balkans, October , 885-900

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Obradovic-Wochnik Jelena, Dodds Anneliese

Environmental governance in a contested state: the influence of European Union and other external actors on energy sector regulation in Kosovo

in Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy, Volume 33, Issue 5, Special issue on: Environmental Governance in South East Europe/Western Balkans, October , 935-949

This article examines environmental governance in Kosovo, with a particular focus on the energy sector. The article considers the degree to which the emerging model of environmental governance is characterised by hierarchical and non-hierarchical modes of coordination. We examine the roles of a number of domestic institutions and actors – ministries, agencies, and regulatory bodies – and the influence of external actors, including the European Union, the United States, and Serbia. The European Union is building Kosovo's own hierarchical governance capacity by strengthening domestic institutions, whilst the United States focuses primarily on market liberalisation, whilst simultaneously supporting European Union efforts. Moreover, environmental policy change is not wholly or predominantly driven by domestic actors, which can partly be attributed to Kosovo's limited domestic sovereignty. We conclude that the emerging model of environmental governance in Kosovo is characterised by a weak hierarchy, partly as a result of external actor involvement, which disincentivises the government from responding to domestic non-state actor pressure.

Full text available online at <http://epc.sagepub.com/content/33/5/935.full.pdf+html>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Jean-François Boudet

Essai sur le défaut souverain

in Revue internationale de droit économique , t. XXIX, 2015/3

Abus de crédit public. Faillite des États. Banqueroute des États. Les États occidentaux en général, et plus particulièrement les États européens, renouent avec un vocabulaire relevant d'autres temps et d'autres continents. En effet, s'il est vrai que la question des déficits publics a toujours été le casse-tête des gouvernements, celle de la dette publique reste un sujet tabou. Ce positionnement s'explique par le caractère volontairement technique du mécanisme de l'emprunt d'où résulte cet ensemble d'obligations juridiques de l'État à un moment donné, que l'on appelle habituellement « dette publique » : il s'agit seulement de répartir dans le temps une charge publique. Il n'en reste pas



moins que les gouvernants résolvent politiquement cette matière et adoptent des solutions dont les contribuables ou les prêteurs font les frais, alors même que les techniciens gestionnaires devraient y avoir un rôle prépondérant. Ces quelques idées capitales mettent en lumière les conditions économiques, politiques et financières du crédit public pour que chaque État puisse répondre à la situation juridique dans laquelle se trouve son patrimoine administratif. La notion de défaut souverain est alors la négation de la souveraineté des États puisque les gouvernants du pays considéré se retrouvent dans l'impossibilité de payer entièrement sa dette. Ils perdent alors leur « crédit » public et la confiance des prêteurs potentiels et des souscripteurs d'obligations d'État. Sous forme de pressions politiques et économiques, d'occupations physiques – voire militaire – ou plus généralement ce qu'on nomme la « diplomatie de la canonnière », l'État faisant défaut perd de facto sa souveraineté alors même qu'il a, par définition, le contrôle de sa situation et ne peut être de jure contraint à rembourser ses dettes. Dans ce prolongement, la notion de défaut souverain affirme de manière spécifique l'individualité des États à l'instar des emprunts des particuliers : bien qu'ayant le devoir juridique – voire moral – de payer, les gouvernants n'ont plus la volonté ou la capacité de payer leurs « dettes souveraines ». L'histoire montre que cette volonté ou cette capacité peut ne pas exister : c'est la faillite ou la banqueroute d'État. La période contemporaine entend davantage promouvoir la « maîtrise » des dettes publiques par des procédés ou par des mécanismes de certification des comptes publics, de notations, de primes de risque ou de gestion active de la dette publique sans pour autant que ces techniques puissent exclure dans le temps les précédentes expériences.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Van Gennip Jos J. A. M.

Ethics and religion: What's the EU got to do with it?

in European View , vol. 14, n. 2, December , 319

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

De Witte Bruno

Euro Crisis Responses and the EU Legal Order: Increased Institutional Variation or Constitutional Mutation?

in European Constitutional Law Review, Volume 11 - Issue 03

Euro crisis reforms as major example of interstitial institutional change in the EU - Forms of institutional change : unusual sources of law, new tasks for the EU institutions, new organs, competence creep, institutional hybrids, and more differentiated integration - Question whether some or all of this amounts to a 'constitutional mutation' of the EU legal order - Reasons to doubt whether the constitutional fundamentals have changed - Alternative thesis: increased institutional variation, deepening the differences between EMU law and the rest of EU law.

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 6. The European unification process

Irac Delphine, Lopez Jimmy

Euro area structural convergence? A multi-criterion cluster analysis

in *Economie internationale*, N°143, 2015/2

This paper proposes a classification of the old member countries of the euro area in a structural data rich environment and run a convergence analysis using the same framework. First, we use a clustering approach and identify two structurally distinct clusters of countries that are not modified between 1999 and 2012: the South Countries Group (SCG) – composed of Greece, Italy, Portugal and Spain – and the Other Countries Group (OCG). Second, we propose a convergence metrics and reach three key findings: (i) increase over time of the between-clusters? dispersion; (ii) diverging demographics and innovation performance into the OCG, and (iii) an unfortunate convergence towards high labour market duality in the SCG.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Holzinger Katharina, Schimmelfennig Frank

Eurokrise und differenzierte Integration

in *Politische Vierteljahresschrift*, Heft 3, 2015 , 457-478

ABSTRACT: Which consequences did the Euro crisis have on differentiated integration in the European Union (EU)? We distinguish centripetal and centrifugal effects at three levels: membership in the Eurozone, the integration gap between members and non-members, and external effects on other policy fields. The neo-functionalist path dependency hypothesis and the post-functionalist politicization hypothesis predict different effects. Our analysis of data on differentiated integration in EU primary and secondary law and recent legal developments in response to the crisis confirm path dependency: membership in the Eurozone has remained stable, whereas the integration gap between the euro area countries and the rest of the EU has increased considerably.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Meurs Wim van

Europa und die Eule der Minerva. Retrospektive und Krisennarrative der europäischen Integration

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 52, 2015

The full text is free:

<http://www.bpb.de/apuz/217315/retrospektive-und-krisennarrative-der-europaeischen-integration>

Die 2000er Jahre waren für Historiker eine Zeit der Ungeduld. Erstmals standen die Akten zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Europäischen Gemeinschaften (EGs) nahezu vollständig zur Verfügung. Gleichzeitig wuchs angesichts neuester Entwicklungen wie dem Maastrichter Vertrag, der Einführung des Euro und der Erprobung einer gemeinsamen Außen- und Verteidigungspolitik der Bedarf an historischer Orientierung. Von einer Konsolidierung des Integrationsprozesses konnte jedoch angesichts der unvollendeten Nachbesserungsverträge von Amsterdam und Nizza sowie der Gefahr einer wachsenden Euroskepsis und des demokratischen Defizits keine Rede sein. Mit dem Europäischen Konvent und



dem Verfassungsvertrag wurde ein qualitativer Sprung im Integrationsprozess anvisiert. Das Scheitern dieser couragierten Initiative führte jedoch genauso plötzlich zu Endzeitstimmung und Überlegungen zu Integrationsrückschritten oder Austritten aus der Europäischen Union. Eine überzeugende und richtungweisende Deutung des state of the Union fiel dementsprechend in jenen Jahren sowohl Politikwissenschaftlern als auch Historikern schwer, trotz reger Nachfrage. Besonders gefordert sind diesbezüglich nicht Wissenschaftler, die Ausschnitte und Einzelfragen dieser komplexen Geschichte und institutionellen Architektur für und mit Fachkollegen erforschen, sondern die Autoren von Studienhandbüchern und Übersichtswerken. Sie müssen die Gratwanderung zwischen kritischer Distanz und gesellschaftlicher Nachfrage meistern...

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Michalopoulou Amanda

Europa: Eine Liebesgeschichte - Essay

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 52, 2015

The full text is free:

<http://www.bpb.de/apuz/217300/europa-eine-liebesgeschichte>

In den 1990er Jahren fuhr ich als junge Journalistin nach Amsterdam zur Präsentation des Essaybands "Europe, Experience and Expectation", für den ich einen Beitrag verfasst hatte. An der Rezeption des Hotels wurde ich um meine Kreditkarte gebeten. Es war mir peinlich einzugestehen, dass dieses Plastikgeld bei uns in Griechenland noch nicht das Licht der Welt erblickt hatte. Ich war beherrscht von einem Gefühl der Rückständigkeit, das in den europäischen Ländern der Peripherie von jeher dann spürbar wird, wenn sie aufgerufen sind, ihr Europäertum zu beweisen. Zum Glück wehte mir dann der eiskalte Wind um die Nase, ich traf meine Kollegen (unter ihnen der damals noch junge irische Schriftsteller Colm Tóibín), die niederländische Königin gab uns einen Empfang, und so war ich, als ich in Sälen, die an Versailles erinnerten, unter Kristallleuchtern an Käsestangen knabberte, von Europa geblendet. Heute denke ich, dass dieser Wechsel von Beklommenheit und Begeisterung ein prophetischer Augenblick war – eine symbolische Zusammenfassung für den Übergang Griechenlands vom großen Fest zur Kapitalkontrolle...

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Henceval Mathieu

Europa: un salto a lo desconocido. A propósito del libro del mismo título de Victoria Martín de la Torre, ediciones Encuentro, 2015

in *Cuadernos Manuel Giménez Abad*, n. 10, diciembre, 44-48

Full text available online at

http://www.fundacionmgimenezabad.es/images/Documentos/Cuadernos/cuadernos10_diciembre_2015.pdf

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process



Matthijs Matthias, Kelemen R. Daniel

Europe Reborn. How to Save the European Union From Irrelevance
in *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 94, n. 1

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Karolina Pomorska, Sophie Vanhoonacker

Europe as a Global Actor: the (Un)Holy Trinity of Economy, Diplomacy and Security
in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 53, Issue Supplement S1

Both the international as well as the European con-text have indeed proven to be challenging in various respects. In Europe, the annexation of the Crimean peninsula and the war in Ukraine triggered the most serious security crisis since the end of the Cold War, exposing deep dividing lines between the Member States. Domestically, economic recovery has been slow and the 2014 elections for the European Parliament showed an increasingly disenchanted European public giving a considerable number of votes to eurosceptic parties. In the world of EU external relations we observed a 'change of guard', with newcomers in the positions of Presidents of the European Council and the European Commission and High Representative from autumn 2014. For this reason, we start our contribution with a short evaluation of Ashton's term of office, followed by an initial discussion on the significance of the changes in leadership for the Union's policy in the world. As a second step, we examine three major areas in which the EU traditionally has pledged to make an 'international difference': playing the role of market actor, security actor, and diplomatic actor.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Ana E. Juncos, Richard G. Whitman

Europe as a Regional Actor: Neighbourhood Lost?

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 53, Issue Supplement S1

The irrelevance of the EU to shape or influence its European neighbourhood was fully apparent throughout 2014, marking a continuation of the downward trajectory of the EU's influence which has become the characteristic of the past half decade in the region. The EU now confronts an arc of crisis running from its neighbourhood to the east through and across its southern borders in which it is being confronted by multiple security challenges. To its east it faces a direct challenge from Russia, which is willing to use state power to alter borders and impose its will on its neighbours. In the Mashreq, the emergence of the self-declared Islamic State has changed the dynamics of Syria's civil war and impacted on the wider Middle East. An Israel–Palestinian peace process remains absent and Libya descended into civil war and state collapse, while in neighbouring Egypt military rule, established in July 2013, was consolidated amid rising political violence. The EU appears hapless and ill equipped to confront these challenges. Enlargement is said to have extended peace and security to other areas of the continent through the democratization processes fostered by the adoption of the *acquis communautaire*. In this way, the EU has been able to shape the perceptions and expectations, but also the behaviour, of candidate and potential candidate countries. However, over the past few years, EU policy in the Western Balkans and Turkey has remained atrophied and in a state of



economic and political malaise holds back the enlargement of the EU, with the exception of Croatia, which was already quite well advanced on the path to membership.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Marta Cartabia

Europe as a Space of Constitutional Interdependence: New Questions about the Preliminary Ruling
in **German Law Journal**, vol. 16, no. 6 , 1791-1796

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

O'Connell Arturo

European Crisis: A New Tale of Center–Periphery Relations in the World of Financial Liberalization/Globalization?
in **International Journal of Political Economy**, Volume 44, Issue 3, 2015 , pages 174-195

There are many dimensions to the so-called European Crisis can be understood as one more case of the crisis of financial liberalization/globalization that the developing countries—and their counterparts in the advanced ones—started experiencing more than a quarter of a century ago. This perspective leads to a focus on the consequences of cross-border financial movements in both their upside and downside phases, consequences that have a serious impact not only on the habitually so- called “debtor” countries but also on those of residence of the major creditor institutions. Therefore, a solution to the “crisis” must involve both sides of the center–periphery relationship if a breakup of the system is to be avoided.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bonefeld Werner

European economic constitution and the transformation of democracy: On class and the state of law
in **European Journal of International Relations** , vol. 21, n. 4, december , 867-886

ABSTRACT: In the context of contemporary analyses of the Europe Union as a post-democratic form of economic governance, this article explores the (ordo)liberal character of monetary union as a regime of imposed liberty. The argument holds that rather than forcing the member states into retreat, the economic constitution of Europe strengthens their liberal foundation, securing their utility as the organised force of a mode of social reproduction founded on free labour. It develops the character of the liberal state as the political form of a free market economy with reference to Adam Smith's classical political economy and the German ordoliberal tradition, which calls for a rule-based system of federated forms of economic governance to secure a free labour economy in conditions of mass democratic aspirations for a freedom from want. It explores the rationale of the ordoliberal distinction between the liberal character and the democratic character of the state and, in this context, assesses the meaning of liberal democracy in a post-democratic Eurozone.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bussemeyer Marius R., Tober Tobias

European integration and the political economy of inequality

in European Union Politics , vol. 16, n. 4, December , 536-557

This study examines the role of European integration as a potential source of income inequality in countries of the European Union. We distinguish between both economic and political integration and identify theoretical mechanisms that link the two to rising levels of inequality. The empirical analysis draws on time-series-cross-section data covering 14 European Union member states for the time period 1999–2010. In particular, we make use of a newly available dataset that measures individual degrees of integration across different dimensions. Our main finding is a positive association between political integration and inequality on the one hand as well as a nonassociation between economic integration and inequality on the other hand. This suggests that the recent trend toward inequality at the European Union national level is at least partly related to deepening political integration at the supranational level.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Moisio Sami, Luukkonen Juho

European spatial planning as governmentality: an inquiry into rationalities, techniques, and manifestations

in Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy, Volume 33, Issue 4, August , 828-845

As a governing process in which 'European political space' is dissected and regulated, the EU's nascent spatial planning opens up a number of empirical and conceptual challenges for research. Even if the 'governmentalization of Europe' and the associated mechanisms, tactics, instruments, vocabularies, and technologies through which the power and rule of the EU are effected have been examined, the concept of governmentality offers a useful perspective to explicate European spatial planning. We analyze European spatial planning through the lens of governmentality and offer an ethnographic take on the issue of European spatial planning by problematizing the manifestations of the EU in spatial planning practices in northern Finland.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Fagan Adam, Sircar Indraneel

Europeanisation and multi-level environmental governance in a post-conflict context: the gradual development of environmental impact assessment processes in Bosnia-Herzegovina

in Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy, Volume 33, Issue 5, Special issue on: Environmental Governance in South East Europe/Western Balkans, October , 919-934

The post-conflict case of Bosnia-Herzegovina provides a challenging case for the approaches employed by the European Union to bolster state and non-state actor capacities related to environmental governance in post-socialist states. This article examines four major consultative environmental impact assessment processes in Bosnia-Herzegovina in order to identify factors that either enable or impede the development of multi-level



environmental governance at the state and sub-state entity levels. Larger environmental non-governmental organisations provide scientific opinions and smaller organisations lack capacity to participate at all. The complex configuration of state institutions, compounded by inadequate staffing and funding, creates impediments for effective governmental hierarchy during environmental impact assessments. However, international financial institutions and technical consultants involved in environmental impact assessments have taken a pivotal tutelage role to familiarise local stakeholders with best practice, which has led to some improvements in multi-level environmental governance during environmental impact assessments in Bosnia-Herzegovina, though the impact is dependent on staff retention in Bosnian public bodies.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Niilo Jääskinen

Europeanisation of National Law: A Legal-theoretical Analysis

in *European Law Review*, Vol. 36, issue 5 , 667-682

The Europeanisation of law, by reference to the national law of the Member States of the EU, has many different meanings, and has been used in many different contexts. This article argues that Europeanisation of national law can be fruitfully analysed from a legal-theoretical point of view where the concept of "law" is understood as denoting different phenomena. Law can be conceived as a momentary system of legal norms; as a historic legal tradition encompassing legal principles, concepts and values; as a system of societal action where "valid law" acts as a point of reference; and as a hermeneutically conditioned system of communication. The Europeanisation of law takes different forms if we apply the conceptual division between these notions.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Schmitt Olivier

Europeanisation or "NATO-isation"? The United Kingdom, France and Germany in Afghanistan

in *Politique européenne* , n. 48, 2015/2 , 150-177

The decade-long military intervention in Afghanistan had a significant effect on the transformation of Western armed forces. This article examines one of the pathways of military change, namely selective emulation. Taken aback by the evolution of fighting in Afghanistan, France, Germany and the UK looked for doctrinal or technical answers to the challenges they were facing on the ground within NATO (the structure and/or the member states). However, the importation of such solutions depends on each national political-military context, in particular proximity with the United States, the existence of a strong local defense industry or a specific strategic culture. After the "Europeanisation without the EU" of the French defence policy in the 1990's identified by Bastien Irondelle, we now observe a "NATO-isation with NATO" of the three major European military powers' defence policies, because of the Afghan campaign.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Caune Hélène

Europeanization as political resource : labour code reforms in Portugal



in *Politique européenne* , n. 49, 2015/3 , 116-149

The analysis of the three Portuguese labour code reforms implemented during the last decade (in 2003, 2009 and 2012) calls for an evaluation of the European pressures exerted by the European Commission to increase labour market and work organization flexibility. Comparing the decision-making processes and political debates which arose for each of the three reforms shall shed light on the multifaceted influence of the European Commission, i.e. , on the institutional context in which policies are adopted (polity), on the configuration of political actors (politics) and on the contents of policy measures (policies). This article will then analyse the two-level games of those political actors and the role of European integration in the politicization processes of employment policies.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Aguilera-Barchet Bruno

Europeans: don't be afraid of your culture!

in *European View* , vol. 14, n. 2, December , 181-189

The West has exercised international hegemony since the Middle Ages. The European states, until 1918, and the US, up to the end of the Cold War, proved capable of imposing their leadership through their military and economic dominance. Today, however, the Western nations are not the only world powers. China, India, Russia and some Islamic countries share global leadership with the US, while Europe is struggling to find a way to be relevant in the twenty-first century. Merely constituting a massive common market is insufficient. In this endeavour Europe is not taking advantage of its most valuable asset: its rich cultural legacy, rooted in thousands of years of history. Ironically, the young US has thus far done a better job of projecting power globally by exploiting its soft power. Placing the humanities back at the centre of education would be the best way for Europeans to recover both their identity and an important role on the world stage.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Turk Žiga

Europe's high-tech malaise: We're inventors but not innovators

in *Europe's World*, n. 31, Autumn

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Goodliffe Gabriel

Europe's salience and 'owning' Euroscepticism: Explaining the Front National's victory in the 2014 European elections in France

in *French Politics*, Volume 13, Issue 4 (December 2015) , 324-345

This article explains the victory of the Front National (FN) in the May 2014 European elections in France. Taking issue



with standard academic accounts that conceive of the latter as 'second-order' elections, it argues that the FN won by harnessing voters' growing anxiety about European integration as an electoral issue. First, the article contends that, on the backdrop of worsening unemployment and social crisis, Europe assumed unprecedented salience in both national and European elections. In turn, it argues that by staking out a Europhobe position in contrast to the mainstream parties and the radical left, the FN claimed effective 'ownership' over the European issue, winning the bulk of the Eurosceptic vote to top the electoral field.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Arendes Cord, Duyster Borredà Joana

Europäische 'Geschichtsbewusstseine'. Wandelt sich unter den Bedingungen neuer Antagonismen in Europa auch das Geschichtsbewusstsein?

in *Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft* , Heft 4, 2015 , 581-592

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Dermot Hodson

Eurozone Governance: Deflation, Grexit 2.0 and the Second Coming of Jean-Claude Juncker

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 53, Issue Supplement S1

The eurozone economy continued to recover in 2014 but its recovery was beset by economic and political problems. The principal economic problem was a sharp deceleration in the rate of inflation, driven mainly by falling oil prices, which left the eurozone on the cusp of deflation. The ECB stopped short of fully edged quantitative easing in its response to falling prices but it stepped up its purchases of assetbacked securities and experimented with negative interest rates. If this deflationary scare served as a quiet reminder that the euro crisis was not over, the fall of the Greek government in December 2014 shouted this message from the rooftops. By the year's end, Greece's Coalition of the Radical Left, Syriza, were on the verge of winning power on an anti-austerity platform. Syriza won plaudits at home for promising to put an end to the painful reforms undertaken by Greece in exchange for financial support from the EU and IMF, but its policies cast doubt on Greece's commitment to its international creditors and its fate in the eurozone. This was a dramatic turn of events for Greece, which saw long-term interest rates fall in the first half of 2015 to their lowest levels since 2009, only to see them spike in the second half of the year as the risk of Grexit returned. It was against the backdrop of these turbulent events that Jean-Claude Juncker succeeded José Manuel Barroso as president of the European Commission and he introduced radical reform to the internal governance of the European Commission, which raised questions over its ongoing role in managing the euro crisis.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Herweg Nicole

Explaining European agenda-setting using the multiple streams framework: the case of European natural gas



regulation

in Policy Sciences, vol. 49, issue 1, march , 13-33

ABSTRACT: This article adapts the Multiple Streams Framework (MSF) to the European Union (EU) agenda-setting process. Therefore, it defines functional equivalents of the framework's elements in the EU and clarifies which changes in the problem stream and political stream open policy windows. The article probes the usefulness of proposed adaptations by examining the rise of issues contained in the three natural gas directives passed in 1998, 2003, and 2009 on the EU's decision agenda. The findings support the MSF explanation of the first and third gas directives, but not all necessary conditions were met regarding the second gas directive process. Building on these insights, the article enriches MSF scholarship and charts a course for future research that overcomes limitations with adapting the framework to the EU policy process.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Hong Geeyoung

Explaining vote switching to niche parties in the 2009 European Parliament elections

in European Union Politics , vol. 16, n. 4, December , 514-535

Assuming that the electoral success of niche parties in EP elections is largely due to the vote switching in EP elections, this study seeks to explore the motivations leading mainstream party supporters to switch to niche parties in EP elections (niche switching voters). From the results of analyses, some important findings could be drawn. First, for niche switching voters, the 'protest voting' motivation is very important motive. In particular, they are strongly driven by their profound distrust in mainstream politics in switching to niche parties. Second, unlike the existing literature, European considerations matter in their voting behavior. Third, vote choice based on the niche issues also has important effect on their voting behavior. This demonstrates clearly that, niche switching voters are different from other switching voters.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Broschek Jörg

Exploring authority migration in multilevel architectures: A historical-institutionalist framework

in Comparative European Politics, vol. 13, n. 6, november , 656-681

ABSTRACT: This article develops a framework for analyzing the dynamics of multilevel politics inspired by historical institutionalism. It suggests that this approach has much potential to re-focus an increasingly diversified scholarly landscape, comprising fields like European integration, comparative federalism and regionalization, by promoting a more nuanced understanding of the varieties of institutional dynamics in multilevel architectures. The article seeks to make a threefold contribution. First, it conceptualizes multilevel architectures as an institutional outcome of political restructuring which are subject to different patterns of authority migration over time. Second, it proposes typological criteria to systematically compare such patterns of institutional change by distinguishing their direction, pace and depth. Third, it speculates on the mechanisms that can explain divergent patterns of authority migration. Overall, it is argued that the historical ordering of institutional linkages between territorial authorities leads to differently composed multilevel architectures, which in turn shape the patterns and pathways of authority migration at later points in time. Case studies from North America and Europe illustrate the value of this analytical framework for the comparative investigation of



continuity and change in and of multilevel systems.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Kutasi Gábor

External Imbalances in the EU: A REER-based Explanation

in Intereconomics, Volume 50, Issue 5, September 2015 , 301-308

The debt crisis of the eurozone revealed a structural problem of the single market rooted in the external imbalance problem of indebted member states. The assumption of this paper is that the current account imbalances within the eurozone are based on an intra-eurozone competitiveness disparity originated in the single currency and the heterogeneity of member state development. The mix of infinite pegging and heterogeneity creates real effective exchange rate appreciation in the less competitive members, which further ruins their competitiveness in the EU.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Van Mol Christof, AG de Valk Helga, Wissen Leo van

Falling in love with(in) Europe: European bi-national love relationships, European identification and transnational solidarity

in European Union Politics , vol. 16, n. 4, December , 469-489

Love is often a key factor in migration decisions. Partner relationships and union formation have also been identified as forming an intrinsic part of intra-European migration. Nevertheless, empirical research into intra-European love migration remains rather scarce. In this paper, we focus on the often neglected but substantial intra-European moves. We analyse the relationship between bi-national couple formation, identification as a European and European transnational solidarity. The analyses are based on the EUMARR survey, investigating bi-national marriages in a unified Europe, comparing European bi-national and uni-national couples. In this paper, we focus on the Netherlands (n=8201;=8201;898) and compare Dutch–Dutch with Dutch–EU couples. Our findings indicate that bi-national couples are more likely to identify as European compared to uni-national couples, but this is not reflected in more solidarity to European countries in times of crisis. Implications of these findings are discussed in light of the European integration process.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Cullen Pauline

Feminist NGOs and the European Union: Contracting Opportunities and Strategic Response

in Social Movement Studies, Volume 14, Issue 4, 2015 , 410-426

Abstract

European women's organizations were among the first social movements to recognize the European Union (EU) as an important context for claim-making. From the mid-1990s, feminist groups had secured a representation to this



transnational opportunity structure in the form of the European Women's Lobby (EWL), which receives EU funding, has access to policy setting, and is credited with a role in the construction and consolidation of EU gender equality policy. More recently, the EWL has experienced a contraction in the EU political opportunity context, a function of Eurocrisis dynamics that deem gender equality too costly at a time of austerity. EU progress on gender equality has stalled, with most policy advanced through non-binding or soft law mechanisms. This work assesses the implications of these shifts for the strategies and patterns of mobilization employed by the EWL as it works to exploit soft law opportunities and develop collaborative strategies with other EU non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and in other intergovernmental fora to promote a gendered analysis of the economic crises. Though this latter strategy is a relatively late and weak engagement on austerity, it marks a departure in strategic terms. The organization has also adopted strategies aimed at compensating for declining resources including seeking out new resource streams and cohering closely to topics where EU funding opportunities remain. Analysis of the EWL's response to this challenging political opportunity structure allows for an assessment of how feminist NGOs deal with austerity-based reductions in the political space and financial support for feminist mobilization and gender equality measures across Europe.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Andrea Fumagalli, Stefano Lucarelli

**Finance, Austerity and Commonfare
in Theory, Culture & Society**, 32 (7-8)

The links between the crisis of subprime mortgages and the so-called crisis of European sovereign debt are sometimes concealed, so as to create a veritable sense of shared guilt meant to sanction the legitimacy of the austerity policies that have been imposed by virtuous Northern European countries on the undeserving countries of Southern Europe. We will analyse three main aspects of the current crisis: (1) we will interpret the austerity policies that today characterize the eurozone as the result of financialization; (2) we will define the state of permanent crisis as an instrument of governance characterized by specific economic policies; (3) we will show how all this unfolds at a stage of capitalist development wherein a new constituent process begins to take shape in a fragmented but nonetheless significant manner, and how this process is reclaimed by the very subjectivities upon which the accumulation of cognitive and relational skills depends in order to reproduce itself: the Welfare of the Common.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Falkner Gerda

**Fines against member states: An effective new tool in EU infringement proceedings?
in Comparative European Politics**, vol. 14, n. 1, january , 36-52

ABSTRACT: It can be considered a dramatic shift in European Union (EU) governance that the 1992 Maastricht Treaty introduced a provision allowing sanctions against member states that fail to comply with EU law. How effective are the new political opportunities in practice? The article discusses the slow development of the use of these fresh powers by the Commission, the comparatively small number of penalization judgments to date and three specific cases. It seems the new instrument is used in a strategic and variegated manner. Seen in the context of the overall mode of enforcement governance, it therefore appears significantly less 'hard' than expected. Softer instruments, such as co-financing, discursive action and shaming via the media are continuously being applied in parallel because penalties cannot always



tame the member states and overuse of that instrument might hamper the EU's legitimacy. Nonetheless, the new instrument is useful in terms of the Commission's control and enforcement powers over the member states and the effectiveness of EU law in the multi-level regime of governance.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Yuan Chunming, Pongsiri Tanu J.

Fiscal austerity, growth prospects, and sovereign CDS spreads: The Eurozone and beyond
in *Economie internationale*, N°141, 2015/1

This paper applies both conventional panel data models and a dynamic simultaneous equations model to analyze the impact of fiscal austerity and growth prospects along with other macro fundamentals on the pricing of sovereign credit default swaps (CDS) for a panel of 36 countries including the Eurozone. We find that austerity practice generally leads to an expectation of improved fiscal situations, which tends to help the CDS market grow more confidence in indebted sovereigns' ability to service their debt. The public debt to GDP ratio and projected future output growth also play an important role in determining the prices of sovereign debt insurance. Our analyses further show that the behavior of CDS spreads is considerably affected by common time trends over the sample period.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Duina Francesca, Miani Carlo

Fitting in the Baltics: National identity, minorities and compliance with EU accession requirements in Lithuania and Latvia

in *Comparative European Politics*, vol. 13, n. 5, september, 535-552

ABSTRACT: We explore the mechanisms responsible for variation in compliance with European Union (EU) minority-protection requirements in the Baltic region. In particular, we argue that in Lithuania nation-building efforts after the Cold War that sought to include the existing Russian and Polish minorities, as reflected in elite rhetoric and new legislation, have allowed for a rapid and effective transposition of EU-required norms years later. In Latvia, by contrast, nation building took on a more nationalistic character and thus excluded the existing Russian minority from becoming an integral part of society. Without an inclusive rhetorical or legislative basis, Latvia has struggled to meet the EU's minority conditionalities. Drawing from reports by the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance, the EU Commission, and other sources, we leverage the 'goodness of fit' theory to better understand minority protection in former central and eastern European countries and generate insights of possible relevance for future enlargement rounds.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Lehmann Julian

Flucht in die Krise – Ein Rückblick auf die EU-"Flüchtlingskrise" 2015
in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 52, 2015



The full text is free:

<http://www.bpb.de/apuz/217302/ein-rueckblick-auf-die-eu-fluechtlingskrise-2015>

Das Jahr 2015 markiert den vorläufigen Höhepunkt des Trends steigender Asylanträge in der Europäischen Union. Nach Angaben des europäischen Statistikamts ersuchten allein in der ersten Jahreshälfte rund 400000 Menschen internationalen Schutz in der EU; eine Steigerung von etwa 85 Prozent gegenüber dem Vorjahr. Aktuelle Zahlen aus Deutschland weisen Anfang November 813480 Asylanträge seit Januar aus. Doch aus Zahlen allein lässt sich der Ende 2015 weit verbreitete "Krisendiskurs" nicht erklären. Vielmehr treffen hohe Zugangszahlen von Schutzsuchenden auf eine im Flüchtlingsschutz politisch zerstrittene sowie von den rechtlichen und administrativen Kapazitäten her unterentwickelte EU. Dies führt zu katastrophalen Szenen an den Außen- und Binnengrenzen der Schengen-Zone und auch in den Nicht-Schengen-Transitländern auf der Balkan-Route. Die Anerkennung eines Schutzstatus ist dabei auch in der EU längst keine Garantie mehr für adäquate Versorgung; freiwillige Helfer können staatliche Defizite nur notdürftig kompensieren. Politisch und rechtlich sind bestehende Instrumente (insbesondere die Zuständigkeitsregelung der Dublin-Verordnung) an der Realität gescheitert. Doch bislang bringen die Mitgliedstaaten nicht den politischen Willen für eine tragfähige Neuregelung auf...

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Pelzer Marei

Flüchtlinge: Der inszenierte Notstand

in **Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik**, September, 2015 , 5-8

The full text is free:

<https://www.blaetter.de/archiv/jahrgaenge/2015/september/fluechtlinge-der-inszenierte-notstand>

Es sind erschreckende Bilder: Unter stechender Sonne hausen in Dresden und Berlin zahlreiche Flüchtlinge in Zeltstädten oder unter offenem Himmel. Die Bundeshauptstadt sorgt mit meist nicht einlösbaren Hostelgutscheinen gar für Obdachlosigkeit unter den Schutzsuchenden. Ein ähnliches Schicksal ist in Bayern im vergangenen Herbst sogar Kindern widerfahren, die ohne Decken im Freien übernachten mussten.[1] In der öffentlichen Wahrnehmung erscheinen die Flüchtlinge dadurch als Problem: Die Neuankömmlinge, so wirkt es, überfordern ob ihrer Menge die Zuständigen von der Kommune bis zum Bund. Und tatsächlich erleben wir derzeit die weltweit größte Fluchtbewegung seit Ende des Zweiten Weltkriegs. Allein für Deutschland rechnet die Bundesregierung in diesem Jahr inzwischen mit 750 000 neu einreisenden Asylsuchenden, nachdem sie lange von viel weniger ausging. Doch die Bilder zeigen eine Krise, die es nicht geben müsste. Der aktuelle Notstand hätte durch vorausschauendes Handeln vermieden werden können. Nicht die schiere Zahl geflüchteter Menschen stellt die örtlichen Verwaltungen vor Herausforderungen – sondern jahrelange Fehlplanungen der Bundespolitik. Obwohl der Anstieg der Flüchtlingszahlen lange absehbar war, hat die Große Koalition viel zu spät reagiert. Daher entstehen jetzt ad hoc vielerorts Notunterkünfte, Zeltstädte und andere Provisorien für Asylsuchende.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process



Gross Jan T.

Flüchtlingsabwehr: Die osteuropäische Schande

in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, Oktober, 2015 , 41-42

The full text is free:

<https://www.blaetter.de/archiv/jahrgaenge/2015/oktober/fluechtlingsabwehr-die-osteuropaeische-schande>

Während Tausende von Menschen nach Europa fliehen, um den Schrecken des Krieges zu entkommen, und viele von ihnen bei dem Versuch sterben, spielt sich in vielen der neuesten Mitgliedstaaten der Europäischen Union eine andere Art von Tragödie ab. Diese Staaten, die gemeinsam als „Osteuropa“ bekannt sind und zu denen auch mein Geburtsland Polen gehört, haben sich als intolerant, engherzig und fremdenfeindlich erwiesen. Sie sind nicht in der Lage, sich an den Geist der Solidarität zu erinnern, der sie vor einem Vierteljahrhundert in die Freiheit geführt hat...

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Stratmann-Mertens Eckhard

Flüchtlingsdebatte: Das Unbehagen wächst

in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, November, 2015 , 25-31

In der Oktober-Ausgabe der »Blätter« plädierten Daniel Cohn-Bendit und Claus Leggewie sowie Albrecht von Lucke für einen offenen und offensiven Umgang mit der historischen Herausforderung der Flucht. Unkritisch erscheint dies dem Gründungsmitglied der Grünen Eckhard Stratmann-Mertens.

In der aktuellen Flüchtlingsdebatte dominiert auf der Linken der gutmeinende Common Sense, Deutschland sowie die EU seien nun einmal bereits Einwanderungsregionen und sollten es auch in Zukunft umso mehr sein. Unter diesem Vorzeichen erörterten auch die bisherigen Beiträge in den „Blättern“ die Herausforderung Deutschlands bzw. der EU durch die aktuelle Flüchtlingskrise.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Tyler Johnson, David Roszbach

Foreign Affairs, Domestic Attention: Explaining American Media Coverage of the European Financial Crisis

in *Social Science Quarterly* , Volume 96, Issue 5

Objective

We explain how economic and political predictors shaped levels of American media coverage of the European financial crisis between 2008 and 2012.

Methods

We link exchange rates, unemployment rates, inflation, trade, protests, votes of no confidence, elections, and U.S. presidential remarks with financial crisis stories produced by The New York Times, the Associated Press, and television newscasts. Error-correction modeling is utilized to determine whether relationships exist contemporaneously and across



future months.

Results

We find evidence across multiple models that changes in the exchange rate and elections shaped levels of media coverage. We find some evidence that votes of no confidence, protests, change in unemployment, and presidential remarks matter as well.

Conclusion

A combination of economic change, specific political events, and broader newsworthiness norms journalists utilize in determining which stories are worthy of attention drove American coverage of the European financial crisis.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Azihari Ferghane

France. The European Charter of Regional languages Unleashes Chauvinism in Federalist Debate (The), Year XXVIII, Number 3, November 2015

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Fescharek Nicolas

From Aspirations to Aspirin? The Afghan Campaign and Europe's Quasi-strategic Inertia in Politique européenne, n. 48, 2015/2, 122-149

The recent literature dealing with the European security and defense policy tends to paint a bleak picture, basically telling a story of decline or complacency; it describes an ESDP/CSDP that started with high aspirations, and now “fades out” with a “headache” after it “died over Libya”. This paper acknowledges the seriousness of the situation. Challenging these “declinist” approaches, however, it considers the case of Afghanistan and proposes to think about a European “role by default” with quasi-strategic effects. Thus, the paper accepts the lack of convergence between Europe’s national strategic cultures as a given. After showing substantial and enduring differences among the EU’s national strategic cultures, it explains the paradox of a convergence that takes place around a « role by default ». This results from a desire for US leadership (or a complacency towards it) as well as a kind of inertia that is shared globally and aims at preserving a modicum of strategic autonomy from the US. This notion of a role by default is a more adequate description of Europe’s security role than attempts to think up a “European strategic culture”

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Yilmaz Gözde

From Europeanization to De-Europeanization: The Europeanization Process of Turkey in 1999–2014 in Journal of Contemporary European Studies, vol. 24, issue 1, 86-100



ABSTRACT: Turkey has been experiencing a controversial path of Europeanization by the 1999 Helsinki Summit granting EU candidate country status to the country: a changing trend from progressing Europeanization to selective Europeanization and recently de-Europeanization. Such a puzzling process, especially considering the recent de-Europeanization, is explored in this article through critically discussing the role of the EU and domestic factors. The article argues that the process has been influenced by EU conditionality in the early period of Europeanization and by the preferences of the Turkish government at the later stages, which also determine the direction of the reforms (i.e., Europeanization, de-Europeanization).

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Auel Katrin, Eisele Olga, Kinski Lucy

From constraining to catalysing dissensus? The impact of political contestation on parliamentary communication in EU affairs

in Comparative European Politics, vol. 14, n. 2, march , 154-176

ABSTRACT: National parliaments have the potential to serve as transmission belts between the European Union (EU) and their citizens. By publicly communicating EU issues, they can enhance the visibility, public accountability and ultimately the legitimacy of supranational governance. Not least since the Eurozone crisis, this task has become increasingly important in the ever more politicised context of EU integration characterised by public and partisan contestation. Against this background, the aim of the article is to investigate the communication efforts of national parliaments in EU affairs and, in particular, to analyse the impact of the levels of contestation of EU issues both within the public and the parliamentary arena on their communication activities. In a nutshell, in how far has political contestation acted as a catalyst for parliamentary communication of EU affairs? Our data on plenary activities in seven EU parliaments from 2010 to 2013 reveals that political contestation in public opinion has a positive impact, while contestation within parliament may hamper communication of EU affairs.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Carlo Vercellone

From the Crisis to the 'Welfare of the Common' as a New Mode of Production

in Theory, Culture & Society, 32 (7-8)

The aim of this article is to show in what sense the institutions of the welfare state are key to the struggles that are developing around the debt crisis and against the austerity policies carried out in its name. The first part is dedicated to isolating some elements which contribute to explaining the nature of the current crisis of capitalism and the strategic issues at stake in the policies of expropriation of welfare institutions. The second part emphasizes how, around the question of welfare institutions, the crisis articulates two alternative models of society and regulation of a knowledge-based economy. Within this framework, we will put forward a few lines of analysis in order to think of a different model of development, one which is founded on the 'Welfare of the Common' as a new mode of production.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process



Garavoglia Matteo

German Humanitarian Aid: More “Europeanisation” As A Way Forward?

in *Zeitschrift für Politikberatung*, Volume 7, Number 1-2, 2015 , 48-54

Abstract

This paper investigates how to enhance the amount of attention that humanitarian issues receive within German public discourse while at the same time shielding the German humanitarian system from undue political interference. Such a question is tackled through an analysis of both primary and secondary sources as well as through the carrying out of dozens of semi-structured interviews with humanitarian stakeholders both in Germany and abroad. Thanks to this approach, on the one hand the first half of the paper investigates the challenges arising from the twin problems of unwarranted political interference and low political profile of humanitarian issues within German public discourse. On the other hand, the second part of the paper moves on to explore possible avenues through which the German humanitarian aid system could shield itself from unwarranted political interference while at the same time enhancing the profile of humanitarian issues within German public discourse. In light of the evidence collected, this paper argues that a greater degree of Europeanisation of the German humanitarian aid system could be key to achieving these twin objectives.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Jones Erik

Getting the Story Right: How You Should Choose between Different Interpretations of the European Crisis (And Why You Should Care)

in *Journal of European Integration*, vol. 37, n. 7, Special Issue: The Governance of EMU: Recasting Political, Fiscal and Financial Integration , 817-832

The European crisis has many causes. Worse, the different causes are mutually reinforcing. National economies lost competitiveness within the single currency, governments and households lived beyond their means, banks and other financial firms moved capital across borders and then called it back home again in a fit of panic. Europe is suffering as a consequence. European policy-making is suffering as well. With so many ‘causes’, politicians are dividing their attention across different and at times competing remedies. Europe appears to be ‘muddling through’ rather than acting decisively as a result. This paper argues that European policymakers should focus their attention on financial causal mechanisms. Although there is some truth to claims about lost competitiveness and excessive borrowing, a close focus on financial markets promises to offer the greatest leverage over the largest number of national economies. A close focus on finance also offers a clear choice between competing policy agendas: Europe's politicians must choose either to accept a renationalization of finance or they must embrace reforms necessary to stabilize international financial market integration. Only once that choice is made, and the necessary policy agendas are put in place, should politicians again turn their focus to issues of second-order (if still significant) importance related to market structural reform, fiscal consolidation, or asset market regulation.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Glencross Andrew



Going it Alone? The Choice of Political Union in British Politics

in Political Quarterly , Volume 86, Issue 4, October–December 2015 , 555–562

Abstract

This article explores the inter-related debates over Britain's relationship with the EU and that over the future of the UK. It argues that euroscepticism and Scottish independence are based on exceptionalist identities that now revolve around economic policy. Elite euroscepticism cleaves to a neoliberal vision of minimalist regulation, while advocates of Scottish independence claim Westminster's austerity policies make the British Union incompatible with social democracy. However, this presentation of the choice facing British voters ignores the serious contradictions that overhauling the current order entails. Both forms of exceptionalism fail to recognize the significant limitations of self-government outside and within the EU. If Conservatives can contain their neoliberal flirtation with EU withdrawal they are very well placed to prosper electorally. The dilemma of which union(s) to choose might thus constitute the prelude to the entrenchment of the economic and political order that gave rise to such contestation in the first place.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bini Smaghi Lorenzo

Governance and Conditionality: Toward a Sustainable Framework?

in Journal of European Integration, vol. 37, n. 7, Special Issue: The Governance of EMU: Recasting Political, Fiscal and Financial Integration , 755-768

The article examines how conditionality has evolved in the Eurozone during the debt crisis. Four main aspects are examined. The first is the trade-off between adjustment and financing, and in particular the possible resort to debt restructuring in advanced economies. The second is the decision-making process, which is particularly cumbersome in the Eurozone, as it relies largely on intergovernmental agreements and procedures, which proved to be inefficient and slow. The third issue concerns the financing conditions, which have initially been inspired on IMF programs, but proved excessively restrictive for a monetary union where countries cannot devalue in order to regain competitiveness. Finally, the article examines the contents of conditionality, and in particular the recent emphasis on structural reforms as a way to strengthen the supply side. A more sustainable framework requires greater political integration, in particular in the fiscal sphere, which is not easy to achieve in particular in the midst of a crisis.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Desmond Dinan

Governance and Institutions: The Year of the Spitzenkandidaten

in Journal of Common Market Studies, Volume 53, Issue 5

In terms of institutional change, the year 2014 resembled that of 2009. Elections for the European Parliament (EP) took place in May 2014 and June 2009, as they had in each of the previous 42 years since the introduction of direct elections in 1979. The beginning of a new parliamentary term, including a turnover in membership, a reconfiguration of political groups and important leadership changes, is a major event in the EU's institutional existence. So, too, is the appointment of a new Commission, which follows the European Parliament elections. As a



result of economic and political pressures between 2009 and 2014, the EU had assumed a different character. Economic governance was stronger, but political bonds were weaker. The Community method seemed in retreat and intergovernmentalism in the ascendant. Institutionally, the European Council had come to the fore.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Sabine Dörny and Antoine Decoville

Governance and transportation policy networks in the cross-border metropolitan region of Luxembourg: A social network analysis

in European Urban and Regional Studies, vol. 23, no. 1, 69-85

Two major processes have increased the need for cross-border public transportation policies in European metropolitan regions in the recent past: the imperative of a region's accessibility within the inter-urban competition and the aspired EU-wide regional harmonization and de-bordering process. Governing such multifaceted issues in cross-border regions requires the implementation of suitable and efficient organizational solutions. In the example of the cross-border metropolitan region of Luxembourg, we discuss the contradicting 'border effects' of a complex cross-border governance network. Such flexible policy networks are supposed to make the proclaimed economic, socio-cultural, and spatial European integration work on the very local level. We suggest that the governance typology of Liesbet Hooghe and Gary Marks offers a useful guiding heuristics for function-specific governance arrangements in cross-border regional contexts. We utilize a method mix of a quantitative social network analysis and a complementary qualitative survey to illuminate structural notions of the policy network relations to relate our empirical results to the conceptual debate on governance structures in the politically proclaimed de-bordering regions within the EU.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Nocito Walter

Governance europea, diritti e legittimazione costituzionale

in Cittadinanza europea (La), Fascicolo 2/2015

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Kudrna Zdenek

Governing the EU financial markets

in Comparative European Politics, vol. 14, n. 1, January, 71-88

ABSTRACT: The regime of financial market governance in the European Union evolved from generic comitology 15 years ago into one of the most specialized sectoral regimes today. The initial Lamfalussy reform focused on producing better hard law through open and transparent consultations and supporting its consistent implementation by delegating soft law powers to supervisory committees with independent expert capacity. Under the de Larosière reform, committees were transformed into European Supervisory Authorities and their soft law guidelines 'hardened' into binding technical



standards, which later formed the Single Rulebook pillar of the banking union. The successive reforms improved the procedural effectiveness of rule-making, but it is too early to evaluate their effects on implementation because of constant changes. Reforms also made the regime of governance more open and transparent and thus potentially more inclusive. However, the technical nature of financial regulations and the fact that many decisions are made on the global level conspire against improvements in the democratic legitimacy. The reforms thus shifted power toward expert industry insiders.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Beste İşleyen

Governing the Israeli–Palestinian peace process: The European Union Partnership for Peace in Security Dialogue, 46 (3) , 256-271

This study applies a governmentality approach to analyse the European Union's civil society promotion in the context of the Israeli–Palestinian peace process through the EU's Partnership for Peace instrument. Contrary to a widespread conviction in earlier academic research, it argues that the EU engagement with the Israeli–Palestinian conflict has political substance, and the Partnership for Peace provides a good illustration of this. The governmentality perspective highlights the power of the technical in guiding civil society towards particular visions, activities and goals. It brings to light a set of supposedly neutral definitions and technical instruments related to project applications and project selection that sort out, promote and link together civil society action in a way that manages and reinforces the existing dynamics of the peace process. The technical brings with it a particular idea of civil society, which is encouraged to assume functions that focus on the management of the outcomes of the conflict rather than striving for a transformative vision of peace based on political deliberation and fundamental change. The use of the governmentality approach not only aims to provide a better understanding of the nature of the Partnership for Peace programme, but also contributes to debates over the theoretical merits of governmentality by applying the approach to peace and conflict research.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Papastamkou Sofia

Greece between Europe and the Mediterranean, 1981-1986. The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict and the Greek-Libyan Relations as Case Studies

in Journal of European Integration History, vol. 21, n. 1 , 47-68

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Sabri Kiratli Osman

Greece. From Reluctant Isolationist to Willing Integrationist in the European Union

in International Studies, vol. 49, n. 3/4, july-october , 263-284

ABSTRACT: This paper investigates the change in the Greek position from an ardent critic to an enthusiastic supporter



of supranational cooperation in the Common Foreign and Security Policies of the European Union (EU) during the negotiation process (2003–2004) for the Constitutional Treaty. It proposes that the change was largely due to the imminent security threat perceived from its neighbour, Turkey. As unilateralist, confrontational responses, which had been in effect since Turkey's Cyprus intervention in 1974, had largely failed to curb the level of threats perceived from the eastern side of the Aegean, Greek policy-makers started to develop a radically new security strategy based on a cooperative and integrationist partnership with the EU.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Pryce Vicky

Greece: Is there Light at the End of the Tunnel?

in Economic Affairs, Volume 35, Issue 3, October 2015 , 464–470

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Kazarian Paul B., Pelagidis Theodore

Greece's New Agreement with Europe: Is This Time Different?

in Intereconomics, Volume 50, Issue 5, September 2015 , Pages 281-287 

The correct understanding of Greece's debt can only be obtained by using international accrual accounting standards rather than the cash-basis future face value definition. Changing the terms of debt changes the value of the debt in Greek governmental financial statements correctly prepared according to internationally promulgated accounting and statistical rules. This article provides some detailed answers on the rules for measuring debt and debt relief and the application to Greece.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Spinelli Barbara

Grexit Prospect and the European Sleepwalkers

in Federalist Debate (The), Year XXVIII, Number 3, November 2015

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Britz Gabriele

Grundrechtsschutz durch das Bundesverfassungsgericht und den Europäischen Gerichtshof

in Europäische Grundrechte zeitschrift, vol. 42, issue 9-11, Juni



No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Mappa Sophia

Grèce : le choc et l'éveil

in **Debat (Le)**, n° 187 , p p. 114-129

Il y a trois ans, jour pour jour, lors du deuxième mémorandum imposé à la Grèce par la troïka (ce, bce, fmi), nous avons proposé aux lecteurs du Débat un article intitulé « Pourquoi l'Europe ne comprend pas la crise grecque ». (...)

Plan de l'article

Le changement
La décolonisation
Le primat du politique
La démocratie
Changement et mémoire
Les continuités
La riposte européenne
La colonisation
L'économie contre le politique
Un pouvoir arbitraire
La radicalisation de la violence
Le secours de l'histoire
Quel avenir '

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Teperoglou Eftichia, Tsatsanis Emmanouil, Nicolacopoulos Elias

Habituating to the New Normal in a Post-earthquake Party System: The 2014 European Election in Greece

in **South European Society & Politics**, Volume 20, Issue 3, Special Issue: The 2014 European Parliament Elections in Southern Europe , 333-355

The article examines the 2014 European election in Greece. Held two years after the double-earthquake elections of 2012 and with the country still mired in a protracted economic crisis, our findings largely support the conclusion that the post-'earthquake' European election of 2014 can be classified as one of the most classic second-order elections in the history of Greek elections. Both ideology and attribution of blame for the ongoing economic crisis to the PASOK (Panhellenic Socialist Movement) and ND (New Democracy) governments to a large extent explain the victory of SYRIZA (Coalition of the Radical Left). At the same time, however, more fundamental positions towards European unification appear to have become more relevant to party choice for the first time since the early 1980s.

Full text available online at <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/13608746.2015.1068377>



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Dehousse Renaud

Has the European Union moved towards soft governance?

in *Comparative European Politics*, vol. 14, n. 1, january , 20-35

ABSTRACT: At the beginning of this century, the European Union engaged in a discussion on the necessity to shift to softer modes of governance, less detrimental for state sovereignty, which prompted lively academic debates. But how much has actually changed in the day-to-day practice has not been systematically analysed, and the severe economic and financial crisis experienced by European countries has radically changed the conditions in which EU policies are elaborated. Reviewing recent evidence, this article questions the dichotomy between old and new governance and shows that the crisis has led to a 'hardening' of EU regulation in key policy areas, while in others the Commission has proved to be able to use its 'soft powers' in ways that buttressed its influence. As a result, the shift to soft governance has not been as radical as one might have thought.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Chaltiel Florence

Helmut Schmidt, l'Européen (1918-2015)

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 593, décembre , 601-602

Abstract available online at http://www.dalloz-revues.fr/Revue_de_l_Union_europeenne-cover-49200.htm

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Mahbubani Kishore

Here's how the EU should start to think long-term

in *Europe's World*, n. 31, Autumn

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Leroy Aurélien, Lucotte Yannick

Heterogeneous monetary transmission process in the Eurozone: Does banking competition matter?

in *Economie internationale*, N°141, 2015/1

This paper examines the implications of banking competition for the interest rate channel in the Eurozone over the period 2003–2010. We use an Error Correction Model (ECM) approach to measure the long-run and short-run relationships between money market rates, bank interest rates, and our competition proxy, namely, the Lerner index. We find that competition (i) reduces the bank lending interest rates, (ii) increases the long-term interest pass-through and (iii) speeds up the adjustment towards the long-run equilibrium in the short-run. Therefore, increased competition would



improve the effectiveness of monetary policy transmission through the interest rate channel, and from this point of view should be fostered in the Eurozone. Finally even if we observe that other factors related to the recent crisis matter for monetary policy transmission, bank competition remains a key determinant of the pass-through.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Van Esch Femke, Swinkels Marij

How Europe's Political Leaders Made Sense of the Euro Crisis: The Influence of Pressure and Personality in West European Politics, vol. 38, n. 6 , 1203-1225

ABSTRACT: The Greek announcement of its excessive debts led to one of the most severe crises the EU has faced since its inception. The crisis soon evolved into a full leadership crisis as European political leaders struggled to come up with a common solution to the challenges they faced. Theories of leadership and crisis management identify several factors that may contribute to these differences. This article examines to what extent leaders' personal traits and external pressure influenced how six political leaders made sense of the situation. The study finds that a leader's belief that they can control events, their self-confidence, as well as economic pressure provide a partial explanation of how European leaders make sense of the crisis. The traits of cognitive complexity and openness to information do not exert an influence in the cases discussed here. These findings indicate that any comprehensive understanding of how leaders make sense of crises should take note of specific individual as well as contextual factors.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Rimkute Dovile, Haverland Markus

How does the European Commission use scientific expertise? Results from a survey of scientific members of the Commission's expert committees
in Comparative European Politics, vol. 13, n. 4, july , 430-449

ABSTRACT: Given the high levels of uncertainty and complexity of issues considered at the EU level, knowledge from sound and reliable sources of expertise is of a particular importance. To date, literature on the role of scientific knowledge and scientists in EU policy-making is relatively scarce. Furthermore, we know little about the scientists involved in EU policy-making: what attitudes do they hold regarding their contribution to policies shaped and adapted at the EU level? How do scientists perceive their role in EU policy-making? The article relies on new data from a survey of scientific members of the Commission's expert committees to gain insights into the perceptions held by scientists on how their knowledge is used: the literature on knowledge utilisation suggests that an agent can use knowledge as an instrument to increase its problem-solving capacity (instrumental knowledge utilisation), but also for more strategic purposes such as support for predetermined policy preferences (substantiating knowledge utilisation), or as a way of promoting power and influence (legitimising knowledge utilisation). The study finds that strategic uses of knowledge are not highly prominent in the process of proposal drafting. On the contrary, we find that the instrumental mode is perceived as dominant by scientific contributors. Future research need to show whether this mode of scientific knowledge utilisation is also relevant for other stages in the EU policy-making process.

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 6. The European unification process

Gerbasì Giampaolo

I persistenti nodi problematici dell'integrazione europea tra crisi economica e pluralismo delle giurisdizioni
in *Cittadinanza europea (La)*, Fascicolo 2/2015

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Zucca Fabio

Il "metodo" di Messina: sessant'anni di storia d'integrazione europea
in *Cittadinanza europea (La)*, Fascicolo 1/2015

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Castaldo Massimo

Il difficile rapporto tra Regno Unito e Unione Europea
in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, Volume 82, n. 3, luglio-settembre , 359-372

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Liebhart Karin

Images of the Mediterranean in Late 20th Century German Quality Press
in *Journal of European Integration History*, vol. 21, n. 1 , 33-46

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Nancheva Nevena

Imagining Policies: European Integration and the European Minority Rights Regime
in *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* , vol. 24, issue 1 , 132-148

ABSTRACT: Minority regulation in the EU has come under attack as ineffective and problematic. With the rise of nationalism, racism and xenophobia in Europe and the challenged role of Europeanization, minority/majority relations in the EU may become increasingly problematic. This article argues an inherent incompatibility between what is held as a European standard of minority rights and the dynamics of integration. On the basis of a historical and discursive analysis



of the EU minority regime and its normative relationship to integration this article demonstrates how a reifying, state-centric, security-bound conceptualization of national minorities deeply influenced by the theory and practice of nationalism reinforces the logic of nationalism from within the European project. It suggests that a lack of imagination in the study and practice of national minority regulation has prevented the conception of minority policies compatible with the unique normative context of integration as supranational governance and a shared community. Instead of attempting to reproduce the best practices of minority protection invented within the logic of nationalism, Europeanization should categorically move away from them. This would enable it to re-affirm itself as a project of post-national belonging that acknowledges and accommodates the complex dynamics of identity maintenance of post-modernity.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Vines David

Impossible Macroeconomic Trinity: The Challenge to Economic Governance in the Eurozone

in *Journal of European Integration*, vol. 37, n. 7, Special Issue: The Governance of EMU: Recasting Political, Fiscal and Financial Integration , 861-874

Europe now faces a new impossible macroeconomic trinity: it is no longer possible to combine monetary union, German political requirements and coherent economic analysis. Economic analysis shows that there must be more inflation in Germany, a significant fiscal expansion in Germany, a significant easing of austerity in the GIIPS countries and a write-down of much of the debt of southern European sovereigns. These changes will be resisted by Germany. But they are necessary if the monetary union is to survive.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Lenaertz Koen

In Vielfalt geeint / Grundrechte als Basis des europäischen Integrationsprozesses

in *Europäische Grundrechte zeitschrift*, vol. 42, issue 12-14, Juli

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Roger Apolline

In the Public Interest? A Comparative Analysis of Norway and EU GMO Regulations

in *Review of European Community & International Environmental Law*, Volume 24, Issue 3, Special Issue: Comparative Environmental Law, November , 264-277

The European Commission, when deciding whether the cultivation and use of genetically modified organisms (GMOs) should be authorized on European Union (EU) territory, has always limited its decision to safety considerations. Dissatisfied, Member States required the adoption of the 'GMO Package'. Its first application, Directive 2015/412, gives Member States the same opportunity that was already offered to Norway under the European Economic Area Agreement. It allows them to invoke social grounds to opt out of EU authorizations, but maintains the competence of the



EU institutions over safety issues. The interpretation of the Directive promises to be contentious. How and to what extent may the Member States use the new provisions to open a debate on when authorizing a GMO is in the public interest? Learning from the Norwegian authorities that have done so since 1994, this article offers insights both on the Norwegian system and on the potential of the new Directive.

Full text available online at <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/reel.12134/epdf>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Dimier Véronique

In the name of efficiency: the evaluation of European development policy: a ritual of conformity
in *Politique européenne* , n. 49, 2015/3 , 8-29

This article deals with the institutionalisation of a specific service in charge of evaluation within an organisation (DG DEV of the European Commission); which had been for a long time opposed to any idea of efficiency. It analyses the political and organisational stakes behind this service and its practices. Our hypothesis is that, due to a lots of resistance among the officials of DG DEVCO and of the EU delegations, these practices looks rather like a ritual of conformity to the norms of efficiency which had become dominant on the agenda of donors .

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Settele Veronika

Including Exclusion in European Memory? Politics of Remembrance at the House of European History
in *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* , vol. 23, issue 3 , 405-416

ABSTRACT: Politicians and scholars agree that a shared historical consciousness could help foster a common European identity, something which is currently lagging behind economic and political integration in the EU. To this end, a flagship of the European remembrance scene is to be opened to the public in Brussels in 2015: the House of European History (HEH). Here, we see that European institutions can play an important role in developing historical narratives that more accurately reflect European political and social reality today than the national paradigms originated from the 19th century. My article investigates the role of 'marginal voices' in the HEH's depiction of European history, looking at the issues of colonialism and migration and the manner in which they are dealt with. At the same time, I probe whether the HEH offers counter-narratives to the prevailing picture of European integration as a success story. An examination of the various concepts underlying the museum's approach reveals major difficulties to include exclusion in the official memory. Although a primary aim of the curators is to portray diversity and to offer multiple perspectives, the concept of diversity employed is rather limited, rooted in the structure of the project.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Makarovič Matej, Golob Tea

Increasing fluidity of identifications in the context of individualisation: identification with the European Union
in *International Social Science Journal* , Volume 64, Issue 213-214, September–December 2013 , 291–303



No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Merli Tamtik

Institutional Change Through Policy Learning: The Case of the European Commission and Research Policy in Review of Policy Research , Volume 33, Issue 1 , 5-21

Research initiatives to enhance knowledge-based societies demand regionally coordinated policy approaches. By analyzing the case of the European Commission, Directorate-General Research and Innovation, this study focuses on examining the cognitive mechanisms that form the foundation for institutional transformations and result in leadership positions in regional governance. Drawing on policy learning theories, the study emphasizes specific mechanisms of institutional change that are often less noticeable but can gradually lead to mobilizing diverse groups of stakeholders. Through historical and empirical data, this study shows the importance of policy learning through communication processes, Open Method of Coordination initiatives, and issue framing in creating a stronger foundation for policy coordination in European research policy since the 2000s.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Neumayer Laure

Integrating the Central European Past into a Common Narrative: The Mobilizations Around the 'Crimes of Communism' in the European Parliament
in Journal of Contemporary European Studies , vol. 23, issue 3 , 344-363

ABSTRACT: After the Cold War, a new constellation of actors entered transnational European assemblies. Their interpretation of European history, which was based on the equivalence of the two 'totalitarianisms', Stalinism and Nazism, directly challenged the prevailing Western European narrative constructed on the uniqueness of the Holocaust as the epitome of evil. This article focuses on the mobilizations of these memory entrepreneurs in the European Parliament in order to take into account the issue of agency in European memory politics. Drawing on a social and political analysis centered on institutionally embedded actors, a process-tracing analysis investigates the adoption of the furthest-reaching official expression of a 'totalitarian' interpretation of Communism to date: the Resolution on European Conscience and Totalitarianism from April 2009. This case study shows that the issue was put on the parliamentary agenda by a small group of Central and Eastern European politicians who had managed to 'learn the ropes' of effective advocacy in the Assembly. An official vision of Communism then emerged through intense negotiations structured by interwoven ideological and national lines of division. However, this narrative largely remains of regional, rather than pan-European, relevance. In the competition for the definition of 'Europe' and its values, the persistent diversity in the assessment of Communism gives evidence of the local rootedness of remembrance despite the pan-European ambitions of memory entrepreneurs.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Rozbicka Patrycja, Spohr Florian



Interest groups in multiple streams: specifying their involvement in the framework

in Policy Sciences, vol. 49, issue 1, march , 55-69

ABSTRACT: Although interests inhabit a central place in the multiple streams framework (MSF), interest groups have played only a minor role in theoretical and empirical studies until now. In Kingdon's original conception, organized interests are a key variable in the politics stream. Revisiting Kingdon's concept with a particular focus on interest groups and their activities—in different streams and at various levels—in the policy process, we take this argument further. In particular, we argue that specifying groups' roles in other streams adds value to the explanatory power of the framework. To do this, we look at how interest groups affect problems, policies, and politics. The influence of interest groups within the streams is explained by linking the MSF with literature on interest intermediation. We show that depending on the number of conditions and their activity level, interest groups can be involved in all three streams. We illustrate this in case studies reviewing labor market policies in Germany and chemicals regulation at the European level.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Piechowicz Michal

Intergovernmental Cooperation and the Idea of Community in the Institutional and Decision-making Sphere of the EU Common Foreign and Security Policy

in European Review, Volume 23 - Issue 04

The Treaty of Lisbon (TL) altered the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) not only in its institutional structure, but also in its function and decision making processes. These changes affected the competences of member states, other authorities, and their relationships. They also influenced the prospects for intergovernmental cooperation and the evolutionary development of communitisation phenomena within this policy.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Tiziana Terranova

Introduction to Eurocrisis, Neoliberalism and the Common in Theory, Culture & Society, 32 (7-8)

This introduction frames the articles collected in the special section as the outcome of a process of 'self-education' taking place in the Italian free university network UniNomade 2.0 between 2010 and 2013. The open seminars and conferences organized by UniNomade 2.0 took as their object of inquiry the concept of the Common, while the articles selected focus in particular on the sovereign debt crisis of the European Union (Eurocrisis) following the global financial crisis of 2008. The introduction thus summarizes the overall approach of contemporary 'post-operaist' authors such as Toni Negri, Christian Marazzi, Maurizio Lazzarato, Andrea Fumagalli and Stefano Lucarelli, and Carlo Vercellone to the new role of financial capital, the transformation of money, the material constitution of Europe, the role played by the relationship between debtors and creditors, and the possibilities opened by the concept of Commonfare for struggles against austerity.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

De Wiele Pieter, Leupold Anna, Schmidtke Hennig

Introduction: the differentiated politicisation of European governance

in *West European Politics*, vol. 39, n. 1, 3-22

ABSTRACT: The politicisation of European governance has become an important subject in debates about the institutional design, day-to-day decision-making and democratic legitimacy of the European Union. This special issue takes stock of this development of politicisation research, including the theoretical development as well as the rapidly expanding body of empirical evidence. It synergises the various perspectives on politicisation of European governance, building on a common understanding of politicisation as a three-dimensional process involving increasing salience, polarisation of opinion and the expansion of actors and audiences involved in EU issues. The introduction outlines the central theoretical and conceptual questions concerning the politicisation of European governance and provides a guiding framework for the contributions to this special issue. The contributions document that a differentiated Europe leads to differentiated politicisation across times, countries and settings. The differentiated patterns, particularly across countries, present profound challenges to the future trajectory of European integration and its democratic legitimacy.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Andersen Dorte J., Kramsch Olivier Thomas, Sandberg Marie

Inverting the Telescope on Borders that Matter: Conversations in Café Europa

in *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, vol. 23, issue 4, 459-476

ABSTRACT: Proposing an 'inverted telescope' for border studies, we problematized existing calls to 'see like a border', arguing that such moves miss an opportunity to define what is properly political about bordering space. Inverting the telescope on borders that matter reveals an ontologically grounded politics of bordering, one that illuminates an inherent multiplicity to borders that can best be captured in those contact zones that resist our conventional understanding of where European borders lie. Focusing on localized bordering practices that contest demarcation and re-appropriation within the logics of global, European and state-centered geopolitical designs, we canvas the ontological politics emerging from the furnace of three spatio-temporal European horizons: the Istrian peninsula connecting Slovenia and Croatia; the historical, path-dependent trajectory of a seasonal labor force crossing Polish and Danish borders; and a 'European' border located deep in Amazonia. We name the space produced by the tensions in each of these theaters Café Europa, designating both a material location of border praxis as well as a collective intellectual project in which the authors are themselves self-reflexively implicated.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Alina Polyakova, Neil Fligstein

Is European integration causing Europe to become more nationalist? Evidence from the 2007–9 financial crisis

in *Journal of European Public Policy*, Volume 23, Issue 1

The European Union's (EU) political and economic integration project has grown dramatically since its inception in 1952. While the ultimate goal of the EU is unclear, one of its aspirations has been to attempt to create European citizens. The



idea is that over time, citizens would look towards Europe as their main national identity. While the political and economic integration projects are quite far along, the national identity project has lagged far behind. The number of people who have primarily a European identity is quite small and has not increased much in the past 20 years. There is a far larger number of citizens for whom their national identity is paramount, but a European identity also exists. Since 2005, this group has grown smaller and the number of citizens with only a national identity has grown larger. This article argues that the EU integration project has pushed citizens to value their national identities more and to look to their national governments to protect them. We examine the evidence for this in the context of the 2007–9 financial crisis. We show that in countries most seriously hit by the crisis, national identities have increased dramatically and citizens with some European identity have decreased.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Sonia Lucarelli

Italy and the EU: From True Love to Disenchantment?

in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 53, Issue Supplement S1

As a founding member of the European Union, for a long time Italy was one of the fore-most supporters of the integration process. Not only were some of the fundamental figures in the history of European integration (such as Alcide De Gasperi and Altiero Spinelli) Italians, but from the 1970s until the mid-1990s the country's support for the integration process and its participation in it was almost unfaltering. For many years no significant change occurred to this unchallenged europhilia, and a 'pro-integrationist paradigm' (Quaglia, 2007) tended to prevail whenever Italy expressed itself on European governance. Despite there having been no serious breach against a substantial pro-European policy (no empty chair policy or breach of European solidarity), what has changed since the early 1990s is the public discourse on Europe, the attitude of a part of the political elites, and the public's support for the European project. This trend was amplified during the 2000s, leading to the lowest recorded level of support for European integration.

The questions I seek to answer in this contribution are as follows: what are the main characteristics of Italy's relationship with the integration process? How have they remained stable or changed over time? What have been the driving forces of change?

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Giurlando Philip

Italy and the Euro: Expectations versus Results

in **Mediterranean Quarterly**, Volume 26, Number 3, September, pp. 29-48

The adoption of the euro was a significant event for Italy. There were expectations that the currency would transform the country's political economy, but this did not transpire. This, coupled with the belief that the euro "doubled" prices across the country, led to a widespread disappointment toward the new currency. In addition, the eurozone crisis that started in 2010 led to the formation of a technocratic government led by Mario Monti, who was also received with large expectations that were subsequently not met, which further increased disillusionment. Disillusionment is partially the result of the fact that many of the narratives through which the currency was sold to the public did not correspond with its



substantive content. What is more, these narratives were not conducive to some of the reforms that were and are necessary for Italy to become competitive.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Kathleen R. McNamara

JCMS Annual Review Lecture: Imagining Europe: The Cultural Foundations of EU Governance
in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 53, Issue Supplement S1

For those of us who have studied the European Union for decades, the visibility of the protests, the violence, the protester's explicit talk of European solidarity and the intense scrutiny of the actors being pilloried signals a startling change in the politics of the EU.² In the past, EU governance unfolded largely insulated from mass politics, marked by elite discussion rather than popular protests. Today, a profound transformation is at work. The opening of EU politics to public scrutiny and awareness is necessary for the EU to be a mature and legitimate political entity, but the supporting social foundation for EU governance will also need to change for this transformation to hold. Scholars have long probed into how material and functional elements matter for the evolution of the EU, be they formal institutions, national preferences or economic forces. But we have spent much less time examining the cultural underpinnings of the EU's governance. A literature on identity and socialization has moved forward our understanding of individual conceptions of political identity. But we need to look to how broader cultural dynamics have shaped the EU's basic construction as legitimate political authority in order to fully understand the challenges the EU faces today.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Dougan Michael

Judicial review of Member State action under the general principles and the Charter: Defining the "scope of Union law"

in **Common Market Law Review**, vol. 52, issue 5, 1201-1245

ABSTRACT: The article explores the concept of "scope of Union law" for the purposes of judicial review of national measures under the general principles of Union law and the Charter of Fundamental Rights. The Court's classic case law assigned Member State acts to the categories of implementation or derogation, through a case-by-case analysis, though certain rulings never fitted neatly into that framework, prompting scholarly attempts to argue for an expanded definition of the scope of Union law: for example, by reference to a simple overlap in subject matter between Union and national legislation. The article considers recent cases which suggest the Court is willing to experiment with novel approaches to defining the scope of Union law – based on a more systematic and contextual approach to the relationship between disputed domestic acts and the Union legal order. The Court must articulate a convincing constitutional rationale for any new approach to defining the scope of Union law, consonant with the fundamental principle of conferred powers.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

De Visser Maartje



Juggling centralized constitutional review and EU primacy in the domestic enforcement of the Charter: A.v. B.
in Common Market Law Review, vol. 52, issue 5 , 1309-1337

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Auken Ida

Juncker risks killing the EU's green leadership

in Europe's World, n. 31, Autumn

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Schimmelfennig Frank

Juncker's enlargement standstill threatens the EU's credibility

in Europe's World, n. 31, Autumn

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Jörg Monar

Justice and Home Affairs

in Journal of Common Market Studies, Volume 53, Issue Supplement S1

The last year of the 2009–14 Stockholm Programme for the development of the 'Area of Freedom, Security and Justice' (AFSJ) found the EU struggling not very successfully with increasing asylum and refugee flows across the Mediterranean, but making some legislative progress in the difficult field of legal immigration. Judicial co-operation in both civil and criminal matters also saw advances through the adoption of several legal instruments, the latter in particular through the introduction of the highly innovative European Investigation Order. In the internal security domain the terrorist threat posed by returning 'foreign fighters' became a major preoccupation for the Council. Two major joint operations – 'Triton', focused on maritime border management, and 'Archimedes', on the fight against cross-border crime – showed the growing operational dimension and capabilities of the AFSJ. Rather than adopting a successor to the 'Stockholm Programme' the European Council adopted more modest 'Strategic Guidelines' focused on consolidation and better implementation.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Macher Julia



Katalanische Sackgasse

in **Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik**, November, 2015 , 21-25

Bei den zum Plebiszit erklärten katalanischen Regionalwahlen vom 27. September haben die Separatisten gewonnen. Doch wer sich von dem Urnengang Klarheit über die Zukunft Spaniens versprochen hat, sieht sich getäuscht. Zwar haben die beiden Pro-Unabhängigkeitslisten Junts pel Sí und CUP mit 72 Sitzen eine absolute Mehrheit im Parlament errungen; zählt man allerdings – wie bei einem offiziellen Referendum üblich – die abgegebenen Stimmen, haben sich bloß 47,8 Prozent klar für ein „Ja“ ausgesprochen. Das kann man drehen und wenden, wie man will: Eine absolute Mehrheit ist das nicht.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Zappalà Giuseppe

Killing by metadata: Europe and the surveillance–targeted killing nexus

in **Global Affairs**, Volume 1, Issue 3 , 251-258

The attempt to propose a European perspective on targeted killings is problematic to the extent that implies an understanding thereof as an exclusively American practice. By doing so, it risks overlooking the intimate relation of drone warfare with a targeting regime that depends for its functioning upon a surveillant assemblage transcending the American/European distinction. This article understands “Europe” as a fundamental part in the US targeting killing programme. Rather than exceptional and episodic, indeed, the European participation in drone strikes represents a continuation of a practice of intelligence sharing that, originating as a Second World War UK–US agreement, nowadays encompasses an assemblage of countries that collect and share military intelligence with one another. This increasing ability to collect, circulate and analyse a vast amount of data has underwritten the emergence of a distinct “way of war” revolving around the tracking and killing of individuals worldwide. The category of “Europe”, the article concludes, is unable to make sense of these phenomena.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Rittberger Berthold, Schimmelfennig Frank

Kontinuität und Divergenz. Die Eurokrise und die Entwicklung europäischer Integration in der Europaforschung

in **Politische Vierteljahresschrift**, Heft 3, 2015 , 389-405

ABSTRACT: The euro crisis is marked by the intensification of intergovernmental policy coordination, an increasing asymmetry in European parliamentarism, a growing integration and legitimacy gap in the EU, and the politicization of integration. The crisis has confirmed and reinforced existing dynamics, rather than producing structural breaks or new developments. It shows, however, a double divergence: between the Eurozone and the rest of the EU, on the one hand, and between “North” and “South” among the Euro area countries. Finally, the crisis is characterized by a parallelism of neofunctionalist and postfunctionalist integration ” dynamics.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process



Brunkhorst Hauke

Krise und Kritik: Für eine Repolitisierung Europas

in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, Januar, 2016 , 69-76

„Das parlamentarische Regime“, schrieb ein Autor des 19. Jahrhunderts, ist das „Regime der Unruhe“, das die egalisierende, rationale und weltverändernde Kraft der Negation freisetzt. Es „lebt von der Diskussion [...]“. Der Rednerkampf auf der Tribüne ruft den Kampf der Pressbengel hervor, der debattierende Klub im Parlament ergänzt sich notwendig durch debattierende Klubs in den Salons und in den Kneipen, die Repräsentanten, die beständig an die Volksmeinung appellieren, berechtigen die Volksmeinung, in Petitionen ihre wirkliche Meinung zu sagen. Das parlamentarische Regime überlässt alles der Entscheidung der Majoritäten, wie sollen die großen Majoritäten jenseits des Parlaments nicht entscheiden wollen?

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Paoletti Laura

L' Europa del nostro scontento

in *Paradoxa*, ANNO IX - Numero 3 - Luglio/Settembre 2015

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Castaldi Roberto

L' Unione europea tra crisi e rilancio: lo stato dell'Unione incompiuta

in *Paradoxa*, ANNO IX - Numero 3 - Luglio/Settembre 2015

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Savona Paolo

L'Euro come problema di politica estera

in *Aspenia*, n. 71 - dicembre , pp. 223-231

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Cingolani Stefano

L'Europa e la crisi delle identità

in *Aspenia*, n. 71 - dicembre , 30-38



No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Fekl Matthias

L'Europe doit démocratiser et réorienter sa politique commerciale

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 592, octobre-novembre , 532-533

Abstract available online at http://www.dalloz-revues.fr/Revue_de_l_Union_europeenne-cover-49200.htm

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Kovar Robert

L'affaire OMT. L'extension des moyens d'intervention de la Banque centrale européenne

in *Revue Trimestrielle de droit européen*, n. 3

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

M'Saïdié Thomas

L'apport du statut de département dans le processus d'intégration de Mayotte à l'Union européenne

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 594, janvier , 48-55

Abstract available at http://www.dalloz-revues.fr/Revue_de_l_Union_europeenne-cover-49734.htm

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

van Raepenbusch Sean

L'arrêt Costa c/ Enel et ses prolongements jurisprudentiels

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 592, octobre-novembre , 562-569

Abstract available online at http://www.dalloz-revues.fr/Revue_de_l_Union_europeenne-cover-48142.htm

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Petit Yves

L'arrêt Costa c/ Enel, grand arrêt de la Cour de Justice des Communautés européennes



in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 592, octobre-novembre , 554-561

Abstract available on line at http://www.dalloz-revues.fr/Revue_de_l_Union_europeenne-cover-48142.htm

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Raviot Jean-Robert

L'asse Parigi-Berlino-Kiev, vicolo cieco?

in *Diorama*, numero 326, luglio-agosto 2015

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Marti Gaëlle

L'avenir de la primauté : le dialogue des juges?

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 593, décembre , 638-648

Abstract available online at http://www.dalloz-revues.fr/Revue_de_l_Union_europeenne-cover-49200.htm

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Allart Laëtitia

L'interdiction des discriminations fondées sur le sexe, outil de promotion de l'égalité entre les femmes et les hommes dans l'ordre juridique de l'Union européenne

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 592, octobre-novembre , 547-552

Abstract available on line at http://www.dalloz-revues.fr/Revue_de_l_Union_europeenne-cover-48142.htm

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Ponzano Paolo

L'intégration différenciée au sein de l'Union européenne et la "constitutionnalisation" de la zone Euro

in *Revue du droit de l'Union Européenne*, n. 2

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 6. The European unification process

Cafaro Susanna

L'unione monetaria incompiuta: i perché e i limiti di una scelta regolamentare (e come venirne fuori)

in *Paradoxa*, ANNO IX - Numero 3 - Luglio/Settembre 2015

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Ravasi Guido

La Grecia nei confronti dell'Europa. Profilo storico di un'ambivalenza di fondo

in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, Volume 82, n. 3, luglio-settembre, 373-380

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Beatriz Pérez de las Heras

La adaptación al cambio climático en la Unión Europea: Límites y potencialidades de una política multinivel

in *Revista Electrónica de Estudios Internacionales*, Número 29, junio

Adaptation to climate change in the European Union (EU) has been late and scarcely developed. Many Member States are reluctant to adopt national adaptation plans (NAP) and some even oppose to the EU's adopting binding norms. The EU tries to counter these limitations through the integration of adaptation measures in other policies of its competence. The local entities' greater activism of sustainability also permits to compensate the states' inertia. In contrast to its domestic action, the EU has become the main promoter of NAP in third countries through its development aid policy. This international cooperation is a potentially valuable tool to generate multilateral effects that may facilitate the adoption of a new post-2020 global climate order.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

La Malfa Giorgio

La breve stagione dell'euroottimismo

in *Aspenia*, n. 71 - dicembre, pp. 200-209

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Prévelakis Georges

La crise grecque. Un poignard dans le dos de l'Europe ?



in **Confluences Méditerranée**, n. 94 , pp. 155-166

Contrairement à l'Irlande, l'Espagne et le Portugal, la Grèce s'enfonce dans la crise. Cette exception est utilisée comme un argument par les économistes qui s'opposent à la stratégie européenne de sauvetage des pays-membres en crise. Pourtant, l'explication de la spécificité grecque n'est pas à chercher dans les grands débats économiques. La Grèce, contrairement aux autres pays européens frappés par la crise de 2008, ne doit pas être replacée seulement dans le contexte économique européen, mais aussi dans celui de la Méditerranée orientale. Pendant les dernières années, elle s'est ainsi trouvée au croisement de deux familles de crise, une économique et une politique et institutionnelle. La prise de conscience de cette double appartenance crée un nouveau défi pour l'Europe. La crise grecque constitue certes une difficulté, mais aussi une opportunité de renouveau intellectuel pour l'Union européenne et ses institutions.

Plan de l'article

Internationalisation théorique de la crise grecque
La découverte de la Grèce profonde
La logique de la rente
Crise européenne ou méditerranéenne ?
Une crise catalytique pour l'Europe ?

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Sarzo Matteo

La giurisprudenza della Corte europea dei diritti dell'uomo sull'articolo 10, o della difficile relazione fra diritto internazionale e diritto interno

in *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Internationales und Europäisches Recht*, Heft 4, 2013

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Patricia Llopis Nadal

La necesidad procesal de la adhesión de la Unión Europea al CEDH: Un asunto que continúa pendiente tras el dictamen 2/13 del TJUE

in *Revista Electrónica de Estudios Internacionales*, Número 29, junio

By means of the Opinion 2/13, the ECJ has paralysed the EU accession to the European Convention on Human Rights. The reason for this was that the ECJ considered the Draft Agreement to the Accession as incompatible with the provisions of the EU Treaties. While waiting for the reopening of the negotiations in order to adapt the International Agreement to the requests of Luxembourg, this paper examines the necessity of the ratification of the Convention by the EU as a means of being entirely subject to the ECtHR's jurisdiction as well as providing to individuals with a last resort to protect their fundamental rights within the legal framework of the European Union



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bérard Pierre

La polveriera ucraina e lo scenario internazionale: L'Ucraina, la Russia, l'Occidente e il destino dell'Europa
in **Diorama**, numero 326, luglio-agosto 2015

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Luis Jimena Quesada, Javier Tajadura Tejada

La prehistoria y la historia del Dcho. Constitucional europeo (ensayo de paralelismo con el decurso del Dcho. Constitucional nacional)

in **Revista de derecho politico**, no. 94 , 11-52

Los autores mantienen que la historia reciente de la integración europea tras la Segunda Guerra Mundial ha estado marcada, de manera análoga a como ha sucedido durante la “prehistoria” europea, por proyectos de unidad que perseguían un pacto social a nivel continental en donde la estabilidad económica (incluso monetaria) y política debían significar la consecución de la paz. Desde esta perspectiva, aunque los proyectos anteriores al segundo conflicto bélico no estuvieran fundados en intentos pacíficos y vías jurídicas (al contrario que la actual Unión Europea, con origen en la propuesta pacífica de la Declaración Schuman de 1950 y los Tratados Constitutivos de las Comunidades Europeas), las experiencias “preconstitucionales” europeas proporcionan elementos de interés para comprender mejor la debilidad del actual proyecto constitucional europeo. En efecto, el ensayo concluye que las virtudes de la idea de la “Europa a varias velocidades” (para hacer compatible la clásica dinámica de la ampliación y de la profundización) son todavía menos importantes que las grandes dificultades derivadas de las asimetrías de la Constitución económica (gobernanza económica y moneda única) y otros aspectos sustanciales de la “Constitución europea” (tanto en el plano institucional como en el terreno de los derechos fundamentales).

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Münkler Herfried, Robin Noé, Huc Claire

La relation franco-allemande et le futur de l'Europe

in **Debat (Le)**, n° 187 , 65-73

Le processus de la construction européenne est volontiers comparé à la marche d'un train. Mais cette métaphore dissimule un problème. Il doit être clair pour chacun que la situation dans laquelle se trouve l'Europe depuis quelques mois ne peut plus durer. Le projet européen, amorcé dans les années 1950, est arrivé à un stade où soit ce dernier va persister un certain temps encore pour (...)

Plan de l'article

Des forces centrifuges grandissantes



Les nouveaux défis de l'Union européenne
L'évolution du rapport de force entre la France et l'Allemagne
Deux modèles de leadership

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Castaldi Roberto

La scelta per la civiltà europea moderna: unirsi o perire

in *Paradoxa*, ANNO IX - Numero 3 - Luglio/Settembre 2015

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Walter Privitera

La sfera pubblica tedesca nell'Europa della crisi

in *Quaderni di sociologia*, Vol. LIX, 68

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Koenders Bert

La simplification: un impératif national et européen

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 594, janvier , 4-5

Abstract available online at http://www.dalloz-revues.fr/Revue_de_l_Union_europeenne-cover-49734.htm

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Pierron Luc

La sécurité sociale au péril de la gouvernance économique européenne

in *Debat (Le)*, n° 187 , pp. 88-98

La construction européenne vise depuis l'origine la réalisation d'un marché commun. Si la création d'une union douanière nourrissait cette ambition, elle n'était pas suffisante pour parachever l'œuvre inspirée par Robert Schuman et Jean Monnet. L'instauration d'une union monétaire devait pallier ces lacunes. Dans ce cadre, la coordination des politiques économiques nationales (...)

Plan de l'article

Du projet aux effets



L'engrenage de la coordination budgétaire
La pression comptable
La subversion des modèles sociaux
La surveillance des marchés
Décadence de la démocratie

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Sini Carlo

La verità dell'Europa

in *Pensiero (II)*, 1/2013

Abstract

Il tema dell'identità di Europa viene affrontato muovendo dalla distinzione tra mondo pagano e mondo cristiano: soltanto a partire dallo sviluppo di quest'ultimo è appropriato parlare di Europa. Dopo aver preso in esame il rapporto tra cristianità ed Europa, il saggio si sofferma sulla figura in cui si riassume l'idea europea di verità: San Benedetto. La considerazione del monachesimo benedettino conduce l'autore a declinare il senso dell'identità europea nei termini di un rapporto inscindibile tra eternità e storia. Le figure evocate, che interessano l'intreccio tra fare e sapere entro quell'apertura di senso che è il transitare della verità, sono Paolo di Tarso, Agostino d'Ippona, Dante, Pico della Mirandola, Giordano Bruno e Copernico. Il gesto di quest'ultimo indica il tipo di compito che si assegna all'uomo occidentale affinché possa essere, ancora, un buon europeo: ricercare la verità infinita nelle forme in cui sempre trapassa e che egli è chiamato ad incarnare.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Forcellino Ernesto

La verità dell'Europa. Tra filosofia e teologia: quattro tracce

in *Pensiero (II)*, 1/2013

Abstract

Attraverso un percorso articolato in quattro tracce, viene avanzato il tentativo di interrogarsi intorno alla 'verità' dell'Europa. Non s'intende assecondare, al riguardo, alcun proposito identitario, ma perseguire una traiettoria speculativa che ponga in gioco un'esperienza della verità – della verità dell'Europa, appunto – capace di lasciarne trasparire la vocazione alla differenza, alla disseminazione dei significati e che ne colga infine il manifestarsi nel verso dell' 'evento'. In questa luce, i quattro passaggi indagati – e congiunti fra loro anzitutto secondo il tema conduttore del confronto tra filosofia e teologia – mirano ad approssimarsi al nome di Europa in maniera obliqua, provando a coglierne il significato, ad iniziare dalla sua nascita nelle pratiche del monachesimo benedettino altomedioevale, a scorgerne la figura più riposta nelle voci della mistica d'Occidente, a sondarne la complessa eredità cristiana e a decifrarne infine il fondo abissale attraversando le molteplici declinazioni dell'opera d'arte.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Kelemen R. Daniel

Law, Fiscal Federalism, and Austerity

in *Indiana Journal for Global Legal Studies*, vol. 22, issue 2 , 379-400

ABSTRACT: In response to the Eurozone crisis, European Union leaders have undertaken a number of dramatic reforms, including the imposition of a new regime for fiscal governance of Eurozone Member States. The 2012 Fiscal Compact Treaty, one of the lynchpins of this package of reforms, requires states to incorporate judicially enforceable balanced-budget rules into national law. This article explores this effort to judicialize austerity in the European Union, focusing on two interrelated sets of questions. First, why did EU leaders turn to the courts and ask them to become the stewards of fiscal discipline, and second, should we expect the effort to judicialize fiscal discipline through the Fiscal Compact to work? I argue that after the failure of the Maastricht Eurozone governance regime, Member State governments concluded that the enforcement of fiscal rules must be shielded from political interference and entrenched at the national level, where national courts could assure that EU rules were respected by reluctant governments. Nevertheless, I conclude that these efforts will fail because they are based on a misunderstanding of when and how fiscal rules are actually enforced. The vague character of the balanced budget rules adopted in the Fiscal Compact Treaty along with other background conditions in the structure of the Eurozone mean that the rules are unlikely to be enforced.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Blanchard Philippe, Dudouet François-Xavier, Vion Antoine

Le cœur des affaires de la zone euro. Une analyse structurale et séquentielle des élites économiques transnationales

in *Cultures & Conflits*, n. 98, Élités transnationales, été , 71-99

For quite some time, it has been clear that big companies interlocking directorates are the most developed in Europe. But a precise description of this phenomenon was still missing. This is what the present article aims to do, by applying various innovative methods to the small population of executives who form the core business circle of Europe. First we make use of network analysis to identify those who relate companies with each other concretely. Then we review the social properties of this community and its members' professional trajectories. Eventually, sequence analysis enables us to extract the typical sequences of economic sectors these interlockers went through along their careers. The article reveals a clear domination of finance-based profiles among the men and women who lead Eurozone business milieu.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Barbara Kunz

Le débat allemand sur la sécurité : changement du discours, maintien du paradigme

in *Politique Etrangère*, n° 4, hiver 2015



Les récents débats allemands sur l'avenir de la politique étrangère et de sécurité du pays ont suscité l'intérêt de l'étranger, notamment en France. L'évolution du discours allemand sur le rôle de l'Allemagne sur la scène internationale a pu amener certains à espérer une modification de la posture stratégique du pays. On ne relève pourtant outre-Rhin aucun changement de paradigme, et la « nouvelle » politique étrangère et de sécurité s'inscrit dans une grande continuité.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Katsimerou Athanasia, Kelesidis Dionysios

Le principe de non-discrimination en raison de la langue

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 592, octobre-novembre , 534-540

Abstract available on line at http://www.dalloz-revues.fr/Revue_de_l_Union_europeenne-cover-48142.htm

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Ritleng Dominique

Le principe de primauté du droit de l'Union : quelle réalité?

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 593, décembre , 630-637

Abstract available online at http://www.dalloz-revues.fr/Revue_de_l_Union_europeenne-cover-49200.htm

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Balibar Etienne

Le radici culturali della Costituzione europea

in *Lettera Internazionale*, n. 119, 2014

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Chopin Olivier

Le renseignement européen, les coopérations bilatérales au secours d'une intégration introuvable ?

in *Politique européenne* , n. 48, 2015/2 , 28-50

Intelligence may be one of defense and security cooperation's most paradoxical sectors: while they are deeply rooted in the very core of every country's national interest, it is largely acknowledged that intelligence activities widely rely on sharing and collaboration between nations. This paper compares the current state of cooperation between European countries through the EU's integrated organizations (like EUROPOL or INTCEN or the EUMS Intelligence Directorate).



Analyzing the development of European institutionalization on one side in regard of bilateral cooperations on the other side, the paper offers prospective scenarios regarding cooperation programs vis-à-vis the late and fragile development of a proper EU intelligence capability. Intelligence seems to confirm the need for examining the hypothesis of a horizontal convergence mechanism according to Irondelle's 'Europeanization without the EU' thesis.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Baechler Laurent

Le rôle de l'Union européenne dans la gestion des conflits autour du complexe eau-énergie en Asie centrale
in *Europe en formation (L')*, n° 375, 2015/1, 72-82

Central Asia is a fascinating case of conflicting zone around water resources management issues. The water resources sharing scheme between neighbouring countries along the two major rivers of this area, Amu Darya and Syr Darya, relies on the following principles : upstream countries use water resources in a moderate way to produce electricity in winter, so that downstream countries can have enough water to conduct their agricultural activities during the dry season ; in return downstream countries must provide upstream countries with sufficient energy resources to cover their needs in this domain. This sharing scheme used to work smoothly under soviet rule, but proved to be extremely complex to manage between sovereign Nations and governments that don't trust each other. Without the political will to solve these conflicts around the sharing of water resources, external actors intervention to play the role of intermediaries is indispensable. Recently, the EU has taken on this role, as a relatively neutral actor in the area, and having admitted competences in the domain of transboundary water resources management.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Prieto Catherine

Le traitement de la crisi grecque, entre désolation et espoir
in *Revue Trimestrielle de droit européen*, n. 3, 491-496

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Chaltiel Florence

Le valeurs de l'Union
in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 594, janvier, 1-3

Abstract available online at http://www.dalloz-revues.fr/Revue_de_l_Union_europeenne-cover-49734.htm

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Crombez Christophe, Hix Simon



Legislative Activity and Gridlock in the European Union

in *British Journal of Political Science*, vol. 45, issue 3, july , 477-499

ABSTRACT: This article develops a game-theoretical model of European Union (EU) policy making that suggests that the amount of legislative activity depends on the size of the gridlock interval. This is consistent with Krehbiel's study of US politics. This interval depends on two factors: (1) the preference configuration of the political actors and (2) the legislative procedures used in a particular period. Actors' preferences and procedures are not expected to have any effect beyond their impact on the gridlock interval. The study predicts smaller gridlock intervals, and thus more legislative activity, under the co-decision (consultation) procedure when the pivotal member states and the European Parliament (Commission) are closer to each other. More activity is expected under qualified majority voting in the Council than under unanimity. The results find support for these propositions in an empirical analysis of EU legislative activity between 1979 and 2009.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Junge Dirk, König Thomas, Luig Bernd

Legislative Gridlock and Bureaucratic Politics in the European Union

in *British Journal of Political Science*, vol. 45, issue 4, october , 777-797

ABSTRACT: How does the risk of gridlock affect the type of legislative output? Do bureaucratic agents expand their activities when they can expect that the principals are unable to overrule them? This article introduces a novel approach for calculating the risk of gridlock in bicameral legislatures in order to estimate its impact on bureaucratic activities, combining data on all secondary and tertiary acts of the European Union (EU) from 1983 to 2009. The findings reveal that bureaucratic activities expand when the risk of gridlock increases and an overruling of tertiary acts becomes less likely. This may sustain the EU's overall decision-making productivity, but its bureaucratic nature may raise further questions about democratic legitimacy and principal-agent problems in the representation of interests.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Calligaro Oriane

Legitimation Through Remembrance? The Changing Regimes of Historicity of European Integration

in *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* , vol. 23, issue 3 , 330-343

ABSTRACT: This article is a socio-historical analysis of the European institutions' attempts to promote a memory of European integration since the 1950s. It demonstrates how the European institutions and their representatives referred to and symbolized various pasts in order to root the European project historically. EU elites have used the past for their contemporary political strategies resulting in specific 'regimes of historicity', which evolved in correspondence with the context of European integration. For the pioneers of the European Community, the future was the dominant time-category. From the mid-1970s, the increasing weight attributed to memory and heritage is the sign of the emergence of a new regime of historicity: presentism. In this regime, the official discourses and initiatives attempt at (re-)enacting a common European past in the citizens' present. Through the analysis of concrete actions—historiographical projects, official ceremonies, cultural programmes—I show that the promotion of a transnational European memory is a manifestation of this regime of historicity. Memorialization processes, which often



neglect historical accuracy, re-present elements of the past in order to materialize commonalities and to foster collective identification. These uses of the past are addressed to the public and are apart of the legitimization strategies of the EU.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Mouton Jean-Denis

Les 50 ans de l'arrêt Costa : de la primauté absolue au dialogue des juges? - Conclusions

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 593, décembre , 649-652

Abstract available online at http://www.dalloz-revues.fr/Revue_de_l_Union_europeenne-cover-49200.htm

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Baechler Laurent

Les biens collectifs européens : une perspective économique

in *Europe en formation (L')*, n° 376, 2015/2 , 92-107

What are "European collective goods" ? This article proposes an answer in three parts. First European collective goods are created by political decisions. Second the European integration process has created a growing spectrum of collective goods, the biggest part of them belonging to the category of common resources instead of club goods, and are making European collective action problems more and more complex. Finally, the European integration process is in a key situation where these complexities need to be taken into account, and the eurozone crisis is the illustration of the limits of European governance that cannot be overtaken so long as collective goods issues are not properly handled.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Saarilahti Ilkka

Les innovations de procédures budgétaires de l'Union européenne. Douzième partie: le budget de l'Union pour 2015. Une procédure budgétaire particulièrement complexe. I. L'environnement budgétaire en 2014

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 594, janvier , 56

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Morel Benjamin

Les nouveaux enjeux de la socialisation politique au Parlement européen

in *Politique européenne* , n. 48, 2015/2 , 216-221

Comment devient-on député européen ? Non pas comment se fait-on élire à Strasbourg ; ce manuel-là n'a pas encore été publié. Mais comment 751 élus de cultures, de langues et d'opinions politiques si différentes parviennent-ils à faire



institution ? C'est à cette question, à la fois ancienne et toujours en suspens, à laquelle s'attellent, chacune à sa manière, Nathalie Brack et Lucyna Derkacz, au sein...

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Ridard Basile

Les organes nationaux de lutte contre les discriminations: les equality bodies

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 592, octobre-novembre , 541-546

Abstract available on line at http://www.dalloz-revues.fr/Revue_de_l_Union_europeenne-cover-48142.htm

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Chaltiel Florence

Les valeurs européennes

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 592, octobre-novembre , 529-530

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Lamprini Rori

Les élections législatives grecques de 2015 : alterner et punir

in *Pôle Sud*, 2015/2 (n° 43)

Lors des élections législatives du 25 janvier 2015, le Parti de la Gauche Radicale (ΣυνασπισμόςΡιζοσπαστικήςΑριστεράς, Syriza) recueille 36,34% des voix et remporte confortablement la première place avec 8,5 points de différence par rapport à son rival. Dans un pays profondément traumatisé économiquement, socialement et politiquement par une crise financière de près de cinq ans.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

George Tsebelis

Lessons from the Greek crisis

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 23, Issue 1

There are two features of the Greek crisis that need explanation: the lopsided outcome where Greece did not achieve



any of its stated goals; and the protracted negotiations. I explain these two features as results of two factors: Nested Games (the Greek prime minister was also involved in a game inside his own party); and incomplete information (the Greek government did not understand the weight of unanimity to change the status quo in the EU, and did the best it could to create a unanimity, of all the other countries, against it). The lessons from the crisis are two-sided: for the Greek side not to lose any more time in the application of the agreements (say, with elections); for the EU side to consider different ways of forming and aggregating preferences: having elections (with a wide EU constituency as opposed to national ones), and making decisions (eliminating the unanimity requirement).

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Gadient Irma, Milani Pauline

Letter from Switzerland. The aftermath of the referendum of 2014: direct democracy and opting out of EU treaty obligations on free movement

in *Political Quarterly* , Volume 86, Issue 4, October–December 2015 , 468–471

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Habets Ingrid

Liberal democracy: the threat of counter-narratives

in *European View* , vol. 14, n. 2, December , 145-154

The universalism of liberal democracy is under attack. While the number of democracies in the world has increased, the level of freedom in them has declined. Electoral or illiberal democracies only provide the minimum standard of democracy, where individual liberties remain unprotected. Furthermore, these illiberal democracies have developed counter-narratives that attack the liberal international order, and with it, liberal democracy. These counter-narratives, supported by Russia, China and other undemocratic regimes, confront liberal democracy in three ways: first, they trivialise the violation of individual liberties for the sake of increasing state security; second, the claim of civilisational diversity is used to reject democratic values as incompatible with their culture; and third, they accuse the West of the moral decay of 'traditional' values. Moreover, these authoritarian narratives play to the West's weaknesses. The West needs to defend its hard-won liberties, rights and values by confronting these counter-narratives. Furthermore, citizens have a moral duty to participate politically in order to ensure that democracy continues to work. The transatlantic community needs to ensure that liberal democracy remains at the top of its agenda.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bueno Lacy Rodrigo, Van Houtum Henk

Lies, Damned Lies & Maps: The EU's Cartopolitical Invention of Europe

in *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* , vol. 23, issue 4 , 477-499

ABSTRACT: Ever since the 15th century, empires have invented Europe as a meaningful political space to legitimize



territorial ambitions and establish hierarchies between Europeans and professedly lesser geocultural entities. Maps have played a crucial role in naturalizing the geopolitical arbitrariness—what we term cartopolitics—that has underlain such Europeanization. In this article, we draw on historical maps to expose the cartopolitical cleansing done by the EU—today's grand Europeanizing power—and free Europe from its hegemonic cartopolitical inscription. Heavy on symbolism yet light on mathematical accuracy, old maps of Europe readily earn our mistrust. Meanwhile, EU cartography, foreseeing that strident symbolism could antagonize its members' national iconography and hamper enlargement, offers a plain technicality divested of political allegory that demands indifference. However, the seemingly unobjectionable Europe portrayed by EU maps relies on decorative strategies analogous to those of ancient maps and should arouse similar suspicion. Ironically, for all their subtlety to cultivate an affiliation with Brussels, EU maps inadvertently prop up Eurosceptical discourses chewing at the EU's external appeal and internal cohesion. Our conviction is that dislocating Europe's borders to show Europes that were and could be may inspire refreshing imaginations about the meaning and boundaries of Europe and the EU.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Kutay Acar

Limits of Participatory Democracy in European Governance

in *European law journal*, Volume 21, Issue 6

The Lisbon Treaty (Article 11) recognises the provision on participatory democracy as a democratic principle of the European Union (EU), thus constitutionally legitimising the involvement of civil society in European governance. However, at least three issues relating to the democratic dimension of this practice remain unresolved. First, it is not possible to specify precisely how the participation of civil society relates to democracy. Second, having established representative democracy as the founding democratic principle of the EU (Article 10), the Lisbon Treaty does not allow assessing the provision on participatory democracy as an independent source for democracy. Third, the putative democratising potential of participation would not be construed independently, not only because representative democracy is defined as the founding principle of the EU but also because participation cannot be thought of as independent from the form of the consultation regime, the constitutional framework and the managerial and technocratic styles of policy-making.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Shuibhne Niamh Nic

Limits rising, duties ascending: The changing legal shape of Union citizenship

in *Common Market Law Review*, vol. 52, issue 4, 889-937

ABSTRACT: This article demonstrates that there has been a generational shift towards the rising significance of conditions and limits, and a less explicit but discernible ascension of duties, in the application and interpretation of citizenship rights. Articles 20 and 21 TFEU provide for the restriction of rights by both primary and secondary law, but the extent to which this now occurs calls into question the existence, and not just the exercise, of the foundational primary rights. The article argues that there has been a hegemonic attribution of supremacy to secondary law that fails to engage the constitutional protocols epitomizing the Union legal order more generally.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bouza García Luis

Linking Disconnected Spaces or Venue Shopping? Trade-Offs in Participatory Opportunities in the EU in Social Movement Studies, Volume 14, Issue 5, 2015 , 557-575

Abstract

This article discusses why national civil society organisations (CSOs) use or abstain to use the participatory opportunities that the EU has developed in the last years. This is done by analysing the role of French and Spanish civil society groups in the debates on participatory democracy during the drafting and the referendum debates of the European Constitution (2002–2005). The paper departs from existing assessments of the role of national civil society in the Convention and demonstrates that national organisations built on their expertise on certain EU policies, on access to EU-level political actors and on contacts and alliances with other CSOs. It also differs from previous studies in finding that participation does not entail sharing the interpretive frame promoted by the EU. The finding that access opportunities do not fundamentally influence the frames of the organisations is related to their ability to strategically choose to participate in European and national venues. The paper finds that because of their scepticism on the constitution's participatory framing, French organisations preferred a stronger role at the national level, whereas Spanish organisations did not have real incentives to develop a campaign at the national level. While it is expected that dialogue with CSOs can contribute to bridging the gap between the EU and its citizens, this paper finds that the institutional setting provided incentives for national organisations to get involved only in one of the levels rather than to link them.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Sierp Aline, Wüstenberg Jenny

Linking the Local and the Transnational: Rethinking Memory Politics in Europe in Journal of Contemporary European Studies , vol. 23, issue 3 , 321-329

ABSTRACT: In this introductory article to the special issue on 'Transnational Memory Politics in Europe,' we argue for closer scrutiny of the dynamics between the local and the transnational realms of memory. We contend that thus far, scholarship has neglected empirical analysis of transnational mnemonic practices in Europe. We seek to provide a theoretical framework bringing together remembrance with research on globalization, governance, and transnationalism as a way of overcoming the often nation-centric nature of memory studies. The central puzzle for us is how memories are (trans)formed, displayed, shared, and negotiated through transnational channels, while maintaining their local rootedness. In particular, we focus on the construction of narratives that have the power to transcend national boundaries, as well as the role of individual and institutional actors in driving those narratives to (un)successful representation.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Dembinski Paul H.



Litmus Test of Economic Asymmetries : from General Interest to Common Good

in *Europe en formation (L')*, n° 376, 2015/2 , 75-91

The number of asymmetries that have deepened in the world economy during the decades of financial euphoria is long. The list below only summarises the most important ones. Asymmetry between the reach and scope of political regulations and the realm of private economic expansion : the collapse of inter-state agreements in the field of foreign exchange regulation and their absence regarding the flows...

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Scherwitz Eva, Faleg Giovanni

Lost in Transformation: Explaining the EU's Non-adaptive Approach to Regional Conflicts

in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 20, issue 3 , 439-456

ABSTRACT: This article accounts for the EU's failure to implement a strategy of Conflict Transformation (CT) through Regional Integration (RI) in four selected regions: Latin America, Asia, Africa, and the Middle East and North Africa (MENA).

As a normative power, the EU has traditionally acted as a promoter of regional integration, with an underlying view of reducing regional conflicts. The academic literature, however, has failed to assess the exact role of the 'RI-CT nexus'¹ in the EU's foreign policy toolbox, as well as its outcomes. To fill this gap, our study investigates the degree to which the RI-CT strategy is perceived by EU practitioners as a key deliverable and what concrete measures or influence paths have been implemented by the EU. We show that the EU has made use of four main types of influence paths in order to transform regional conflict dynamics. Nevertheless, our findings also demonstrate that RI developments within the different regions and, in particular, negative regional responses, progressively led EU practitioners to adapt and develop a behaviour of self-restraint.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Enzensberger Hans Magnus

L'Europa, giocattolo delle lobbies

in *Lettera Internazionale*, n. 119, 2014

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Grimm Dieter, Joly Frédéric

L'Europe par le droit : jusqu'où ? Les limites de la dépolitisation

in *Debat (Le)*, n° 187 , pp. 99-113

L'intégration européenne est une conséquence de la Seconde Guerre mondiale, mais la Seconde Guerre était une conséquence de la Première Guerre. Elle imposa de redoubler d'efforts afin que d'autres conflits soient évités à l'avenir,



en allant bien plus loin que ce qui avait été osé en la matière après la Première Guerre avec la Société des nations – à l'échelle du monde, (...)

Plan de l'article

Le rôle de la Cour de justice
Une intégration apolitique
À la recherche de l'adhésion des peuples
Les voies de la légitimité

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Nigoul Claude

L'identité européenne de défense: illusions et réalités

in Europe en formation (L'), n° 376, 2015/2 , 117/135

La question de la défense européenne est récurrente depuis 60 ans. Elle a alimenté d'interminables débats, souvent confus, toujours complexes. Débat sur des concepts voisins mais souvent confondus tels que défense et sécurité, et qui prend – aujourd'hui où les frontières entre l'une et l'autre ne cessent de s'estomper – une importance majeure et impose une clarification indispensable. Débat sur le rapport...

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Schimmelfennig Frank

Mehr Europa – oder weniger? Die Eurokrise und die europäische Integration

in Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte, Band 52, 2015

The full text is free:

<http://www.bpb.de/apuz/217310/mehr-europa-oder-weniger-die-eurokrise-und-die-europaeische-integration>

Die Europäische Union steckt in einer tiefen Krise, vermutlich der tiefsten in ihrer Geschichte, das ist weitgehend unumstritten. Die Eurokrise und die Flüchtlingskrise stellen zwei Kernprojekte und Aushängeschilder der europäischen Integration infrage: den Euro und Schengen, also die gemeinsame europäische Währung und die offenen Binnengrenzen. In der Eurokrise drohte der Staatsbankrott mehrerer Euroländer, ihr Ausscheiden aus dem gemeinsamen Währungsraum und vielleicht das Ende des Euro überhaupt. Auch wenn der "Grexit" in dramatischen Verhandlungen im Sommer 2015 verhindert wurde, bleibt die Währungsunion mit großen Unsicherheiten behaftet. Kurz darauf brach das europäische Asylregime unter dem Druck der Fluchtbewegungen aus dem Vorderen Orient zusammen; in nationalen Alleingängen richteten Staaten im Schengen-Raum neue Grenzkontrollen ein und schoben das Flüchtlingsproblem auf ihre Nachbarländer ab. Schließlich steht die Volksabstimmung über den Verbleib Großbritanniens in der EU vor der Tür. Ein "Brexit" würde weitere Integrationsfelder – den Binnenmarkt und die Außen- und Sicherheitspolitik der EU – deutlich schwächen...



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Portela Clara

Member States Resistance to EU Foreign Policy Sanctions

in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 20, issue 2/1 , 39-61

ABSTRACT: European Union (EU) sanctions are agreed in the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), a framework where the unanimity rule prevails and where individual Member States have a formal veto. Thus, Member State compliance with sanctions can be expected to be optimal: If Member States have serious objections to the imposition of sanctions, they can veto their adoption in the Council. Yet, while implementation is comparatively satisfactory, Member States have availed of opportunities to undermine the application of EU sanctions regimes at various levels. On the basis of the theoretical framework provided by Saurugger and Terpan, the present article explores various ways in which Member States attempt to resist EU measures, categorizes them and explains Member States' choice of resistance techniques.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Schnell Fiona, Terpan Fabien

Member States Resistance to the EU Operations Centre

in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 20, issue 2/1 , 63-82

ABSTRACT: The decision to create European Operational Headquarters (Ops Centre) was taken by the Council in December 2004. EU Military Staff in Brussels were tasked to set up an Operations Centre that would be able to plan and run a specific operation, in particular where a joint civil/military response was required, and where no national HQ had previously been identified. In spite of an apparent willingness to address the lack of EU military capabilities and give the EU an autonomous capacity of action, the Member States seem to be rather hesitant with regards to the use of the Ops Centre. On March 2012, the Council finally decided to activate the Ops Centre for the first time in order to coordinate and increase synergies between the three CSDP missions in the Horn of Africa. The article looks at how the Member States have/have not implemented the decisions on the EU Ops Centre, and why they have/have not resisted the norm consisting of activating the Operations Centre. After having identified this norm, we study resistance attitudes from the part of the Member States, and then move on to analyse the four hypotheses set out in the introductory article.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Levi Lucio

Migration Can Rescue Europe from Decline

in *Federalist Debate (The)*, Year XXVIII, Number 3, November 2015

The wrecks that occur every day in the Mediterranean and the tens of thousands of refugees who move on foot to the centre of Europe along the Balkan route describe the drama of growing masses of unfortunates who have lost family, home, property and are fleeing from societies where the collapse of the state led to a regression to the "state of nature"



in which, as described by Hobbes, all are in “danger of violent death” and life is “solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short”.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Comte Emmanuel

Migration and Regional Interdependence in the Mediterranean, from the Early 1980s to the Mid 1990s
in *Journal of European Integration History*, vol. 21, n. 1 , 109-124

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Marjosola Heikki

Missing pieces in the patchwork of EU financial stability regime? The case of central counterparties
in *Common Market Law Review*, vol. 52, issue 6 , 1491-1527

ABSTRACT: This article builds on a recent case (Case T-496/11, UK v. ECB (Location policy)), in which the General Court determined that the ECB does not have competence to regulate so-called Central Counterparties (CCPs), and annulled an ECB policy which sought to restrict access to the euro area of certain non-euro area CCPs. It is argued that the Court's central finding, though possibly correct, is problematic from the perspective of financial stability, especially considering the growing systemic importance of CCPs. Second, the Court's finding is symptomatic of certain drawbacks inherent in the patchy architecture of the evolving EU financial stability regime, which is excessively focused on banks. Finally, the case acts as a warning of likely future situations where the exercise of EU level competences and forms of direct administration related to the objective of financial stability can result in an outright conflict with basic free movement rights.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Wolfgang Streeck, Lea Elsässer

Monetary disunion: the domestic politics of euroland
in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 23, Issue 1

Regional disparities within the European Union have always been perceived as an impediment to monetary integration. Discussions on a joint currency were linked to compensatory payments in the form of regional policy. Structural assistance increased sharply at the end of the 1980s. Later, however, it had to be shared with the new member states in the East. Moreover, the low-interest credit that Southern European Monetary Union members enjoyed as a result of interest rate convergence is no longer available. We predict that considerable amounts of financial aid will have to be provided in the future by rich to poor member countries, if only to prevent a further increase in economic disparities. We also expect ongoing distributional conflict between payer and recipient countries far beyond current rescue packages. We illustrate the dimension of the conflict by comparing income gaps and relative population size between the centre and periphery in Europe and in two nation-states with high regional disparities, Germany and Italy.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Christian Marazzi

Money and Financial Capital

in Theory, Culture & Society, 32 (7-8)

The current post-workerist analyses of the crisis of financial capitalism are rooted in the declaration of inconvertibility of the Dollar in 1971 and the consequent collapse of the Bretton Woods monetary system. The experience of 'Primo Maggio', the magazine on militant history directed by Sergio Bologna, was determinant in developing a consistent explanation of the relationship between 'money as capital' and working class struggles. The transition from Fordism to Post-fordism, which begun in those years, coincides on the one hand with the crisis of the labour value theory and, on the other, with the emergence of the financialization of capital. The advent of the debt economy, which led to the present crisis, reflects the destruction of the wage relationship and the de-substantialization of money. Beyond any objective measure of value, what is necessary is something that points to the subjectivity of struggles and to the forms of life that give them substance.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Freire André, Santana-Pereira José

More Second-Order than Ever? The 2014 European Election in Portugal

in South European Society & Politics, Volume 20, Issue 3, Special Issue: The 2014 European Parliament Elections in Southern Europe , 381-401

Considering the potential impact of the economic crisis, the main goal of the article is to ascertain whether the second-order election model lost ground in Portugal during the 2014 election to the European Parliament. We conclude that this was a more second-order contest than ever. The explanation for the resilience of the model relies on a mismatch between the citizens' growing potential for contestation and the low politicisation of European Union (EU) issues at the party level. However, the election outcomes also reveal the significance of EU issues for the radical left.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bozzini Emanuela, Smismans Stijn

More inclusive European governance through impact assessments?

in Comparative European Politics, vol. 14, n. 1, january , 89-106

ABSTRACT: In this article, we present an overall picture of the inclusiveness of IA, based on data on over 800 IAs carried out by all DGs of the European Commission from 2003 to 2013. According to official guidelines, IAs can deliver a variety of goals, and we posit that each goal can be linked to a different inclusion strategy. Specifically, we consider that the goal of coordination requires the inclusion of Commission actors, the goal of collecting neutral expertise requires the involvement of working and expert groups, while pursuing input-legitimacy requires a large number of stakeholders as well as online consultation open to the general public to be part of the procedure. Our findings reveal that DGs tend to



prioritise coordination over collection of expertise and input legitimacy and that experience in carrying out IAs favours a more participatory approach, meaning that the more DGs make use of IA the more they will tend to include stakeholders and to launch public consultation. On the whole, the analysis highlights the importance of learning to fully develop the potential of the ambitious EU IA regime.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Philipp Genschel, Markus Jachtenfuchs

More integration, less federation: the European integration of core state powers

in *Journal of European Public Policy*, Volume 23, Issue 1

We map the pattern and extent of the European integration of core state powers (coercive force, public finance and public administration) and analyse causes and consequences. We highlight two findings: First, in contrast to historical examples of federal state-building, where the nationalization of core state powers precipitated the institutional, territorial and political consolidation of the emerging state, the European integration of core state powers is associated with the institutional, territorial and political fragmentation of the European Union. Second, in contrast to European market integration, state élites and mass publics, not organized business interests, are the prime drivers of integration.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Pernice Ingolf

Multilevel Constitutionalism and the Crisis of Democracy in Europe

in *European Constitutional Law Review*, Volume 11 - Issue 03

Misconception of the EU is the reason for increasing scepticism – multilevel constitutionalism: conceptualising the EU as a matter of the citizens – critiques and the defence of multilevel constitutionalism – European treaties as a form of a new supranational social contract – embedded autonomy in a system of divided sovereignty – explaining and enhancing democratic legitimacy of the EU – the legitimising principles of additionality, of voluntariness and of open democracy – taking ownership of the EU and taking subsidiarity seriously – backing the European monetary policy by new competences for a common economic and fiscal policies – engaging in European policies as a way out of the crisis.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Jaeger Thomas

Nach l'Europe à la carte nun la loi européenne à la carte? Zur Erlaubnis der Umgehung der Unionsmethode nach dem Urteil in Rs. C-146/13 u.a.

in *Europarecht*, Heft 4, 2015

No abstract available



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Sprungk Carina

National parliaments in the European Union: Moving towards more 'cooperative' institutions?

in Comparative European Politics, vol. 14, n. 2, march , 177-195

ABSTRACT: This article argues that the effective participation in systems of multilevel governance such as the European Union (EU) requires national parliaments to become more 'cooperative' institutions. In fact, legislatures are increasingly dependent on obtaining information from third parties such as other national parliaments and EU institutions for effectively scrutinizing EU politics. The Lisbon Treaty provisions also encourage this increasing interaction with external actors. Yet, this article shows that effective participation in EU affairs also requires more regular and more intensive cooperation with domestic actors such as the government or upper chambers. Finally, the need for more cooperation also applies to the internal parliamentary setting and covers the interaction between government and opposition parties, between sectoral committees, and between the parliamentary administration and MPs. Drawing on specific instances of national parliamentary involvement in EU affairs throughout the entire policy cycle, the article will show that adopting these cooperative strategies renders national parliamentary participation in EU politics more effective. Yet, the requirement to act in a more cooperative way risks at the same time to undermine a further politicization of the EU among more substantial political issues.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Wismeyer Thomas

Nationale Identität und Verfassungsidentität. Schutzgehalte, Instrumente, Perspektiven

in Archiv des öffentlichen Rechts , Volume 140, Number 3, July 2015 , 415-460

Abstract:

Identity is the new buzzword in European constitutional law. In recent years, an intense debate has been emerging on how Art. 4 sec. 2 TEU, which strives to protect the "national identities" of the EU Member States, influences the structure and the future of European integration – a debate that has generated a lot of heat, but not much light. It is still poorly understood, how Art. 4 sec. 2 TEU relates to the concept of "constitutional identity", which has been developed by several national constitutional courts, and – more fundamentally – why collective identities should be protected at all. This ambivalence has enabled critics to denounce the inherent vagueness of the concept and to denigrate it as a nostalgic, if not reactionary attempt to re-nationalize European constitutional space. Against this backdrop, the paper argues that the concept of identity can be given a clear meaning and that it can be developed as a genuine "Verfassungsverbundbegriff" – a concept that allows a unique and privileged communication between the European legal order and the national constitutional systems and their respective courts. In particular, the paper shows that the contents that are part of the "national" or "constitutional" identities of EU Member States should be protected, (i) because they have passed the "generalizability test", which is a prerequisite for their constitutionalization, (ii) because these contents are essential for citizens to recognize the constitutional order as being their "own", or (iii) because their renunciation would constitute a political rupture or revolution that cannot be legitimized by the constitutional rules on the evolutionary development of the political system. Understood this way, identity is not a "norme de résistance", but a platform for negotiating normative principles that have traditionally been institutionalized in the nation state and now



have to be refined for a supranational environment. Finally, the paper explores the existing tools and remedies for the protection of national or constitutional identities in European and national constitutional law. Taking account of issues that interact with the concept, namely the primacy of EU law, it develops a coherent system for protecting identity that tightly interweaves European and national constitutional law.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Katsourides Yiannos

Negative Images of Europe in an Era of Crisis: The Media and Public Opinion in Cyprus

in *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* , vol. 24, issue 1 , 61-85

ABSTRACT: Until quite recently, both the Cypriot people and the island's mainstream media were very supportive of the European Union (EU). This support was largely associated with conceiving the EU as security against a hostile neighbour (Turkey) as well as a space where both national and personal economic prosperity could be sought under favourable conditions. However, support levels have declined considerably in the last several years. The article addresses the way that the Cypriot public and the print media have dealt with the issue of the EU in recent years and especially amidst the severe and ongoing economic crisis. The 2013 bail-in agreement is here identified as a possible 'game changer' in the European debate in Cyprus. The variables examined include internal politics and EU decisions regarding Cyprus, focusing on the Eurogroup decisions in March 2013. Utilitarianism seems key to understanding Cypriot patterns of Euroscepticism.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Mauricio Lazzarato

Neoliberalism, the Financial Crisis and the End of the Liberal State

in *Theory, Culture & Society* , 32 (7-8)

The article turns to Deleuze and Guattari's concept of state capitalism and their theorization of money and debt in their critique of capitalism to develop an analysis of the governmental management of the current crisis determined by ordo- and neoliberalism. The paper argues that analyses which fail to properly recognize the power of capital to determine both state apparatuses and economic policy thereby fail to grasp the real functioning of money, debt and the Euro in the crisis and end up unwittingly supporting liberalism. This is true of positions such as heterodox theory that, though critical of conventional and neoliberal political economy, nevertheless continue to uphold the state as an independent or mediating mechanism in relation to the power of capital. The neglect of the role which money plays in the strategies of capital to control both the creation of value and the functioning of the state is to be found even in Foucault's genealogy of neoliberalism, a neglect which undermines his analysis of power. The paper highlights the implications of the standpoint of state capitalism for a more incisive analysis of the current crisis that reveals what is at stake for political struggles.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Roberts Alasdair



No Simple Fix: Fiscal Rules and the Politics of Austerity

in *Indiana Journal for Global Legal Studies*, vol. 22, issue 2 , 401-431

ABSTRACT: Fiscal rules were supposed to provide a simple remedy for out-of-control government spending. They were predicated on a deep skepticism about the capacity of democratic systems to exercise fiscal self-control. After three decades of experimentation, it is evident that advocates of fiscal rules overestimated the capacity of legal instruments to impose discipline on democratic processes. Certainly, many advanced democracies have improved their fiscal performance—but fiscal rules have played a small role in this process. Experience suggests that advocates of fiscal rules drew the wrong lessons from the experience of the 1970s, and underestimated the capacity of democratic systems to respond constructively to fiscal crises.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Lexmann Miriam

No party, no society: the EU's and the US's differing approaches to providing international aid to political parties

in *European View* , vol. 14, n. 2, December , 155-167

While both the EU and the US consider support for civil society an inseparable part of international democracy support schemes, they differ in their understanding of who the key partners for transformation are. US aid to support democratic change in societies includes providing assistance to non-governmental organisations, political parties, trade unions and businesses. In contrast, the EU restricts access to its support primarily to the non-political part of the civil society spectrum. Including political parties and political non-governmental organisations among EU aid recipients would be a quantum leap on the way to a stronger and more comprehensive transition to democracy. This article lays down arguments to support this proposal, draws on ideas from the US experience and outlines basic schemes for its implementation.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Toni Negri

On the Constitution and Financial Capital

in *Theory, Culture & Society*, 32 (7-8)

Antonio Negri's article explores the relationship between the juridical categories of 'public' and 'private' and the political concept of the common through the theme of the 'material constitution' defining actual relations of power which defy the crystallization of 'formal constitutions'. The financial convention shaping the material constitution of contemporary capitalism refers to the rise of what Foucault called biopower, where value is no longer the expression of a mere quantity of commodities but of a set of activities and services, which are immediately cooperative. In this context, any form of measure cannot but be political and hence it must be established through new forms of economic governance. The social relation of capital becomes immediately political once money displaces labour as rule, norm and measure of value. As a result, processes of political subjectivation within the Eurocrisis combine de-stituent and con-stituent movements: requests for insolvencies, social occupations, commoning and mutualization are the means through which social struggles formulate the multitudes' demands for 'equality as a condition of freedom'.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Forlati Chiara

On the benefits of a monetary union: Does it pay to be bigger?

in **Journal of International Economics**, Volume 97, Issue 2, November 2015 , Pages 448-463

This paper revisits the question of the appropriate domain of a currency area using a New-Keynesian open economy model in which the world is split into two areas, each framed as a continuum of small open regions. We show that the adoption of a common currency like the euro can be beneficial for the members of the monetary union, since the spill-over effects generated by the inflationary policies of the small open economies are likely to outweigh the costs of not tailoring monetary policy to country-specific shocks. We also show that while the enlargement of the monetary union to another group of small open economies can bring about welfare gains for all countries involved, monetary integration of two large economies, such as the euro area and the U.S., will not. These findings can help to rationalize the process of the creation and enlargement of multi-country currency areas like the eurozone.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Plottka Julian

One Size Fits None: Is there a Regional Approach to Central Asia?

in **Europe en formation (L')**, n° 375, 2015/1 , 123-139

The article discusses whether the EU's policy towards Central Asia should follow a regional or a bilateral approach. First, it takes stock of the EU's policies towards the region and analyses, for which policies regional and bilateral approaches have been applied. Based on the analysis of the other contributions to the special issue and own analysis, the article looks at six priorities (democracy promotion, youth and education, economy, energy and transportation, water and environment, security) and discusses the central challenges in these policy fields. It comes up with a proposal how to address them best on three levels: with a bilateral approach, a regional approach or a wider regional approach, including other international players active in the region.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Zürn Michael

Opening up Europe: next steps in politicisation research

in **West European Politics**, vol. 39, n. 1 , 164-182

ABSTRACT: In this commentary, an outside perspective, mainly informed by International Relations (IR) and Political Theory (PT), is taken. From there, three issues are identified that point to the next steps in extending the research programme on politicisation. First, it is argued that an exclusive focus on public media might be too narrow in scope, as important features of politicisation are not taken into account. Second, it is highlighted that chances are missed by placing exclusive focus on the EU, and again an opening up by comparing findings from the study of the EU with developments on other political levels is argued for. Third, the emerging focus on the consequences of politicisation is to



be applauded from an opening-up perspective.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bruno De Witte and Šejla Imamović;

Opinion 2/13 on Accession to the ECHR: Defending the EU Legal Order against a Foreign Human Rights Court
in *European Law Review*, vol. 40, issue 5, 683-705

In Opinion 2/13 the CJEU declared that the draft Agreement for Accession of the EU to the ECHR is not compatible with primary EU law, based on a number of objections. This article presents the Opinion and divides the Court's objections in three categories: concerns which are misconceived and should not have been raised by the CJEU at all; concerns for the CJEU's own jurisdiction which are more persuasive, but whose importance is exaggerated by the Court; and concerns to preserve a different standard of fundamental rights protection in EU law derogating from the minimum standard of the Convention - a radical (and unjustified) objection, which cannot be mended by simply modifying the Accession Agreement and which makes accession next to impossible.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Sy Mouhamadou

Overborrowing and Balance of Payments Imbalances in a Monetary Union
in *Review of International Economics*, Volume 24, Issue 1, February 2016, 67-98

The sources of the balance of payments imbalances in the Euro area can be characterized by a combination of four phenomena: (i) the credit imbalances between the core and the periphery of the Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) (ii) the credit misallocation between the tradable and the nontradable sectors in the periphery (iii) the rapid increase in the output and the price of nontradable goods in the periphery since the beginning of the EMU and (iv) the current account imbalances within the EMU. This paper explains all four of these stylized facts within a single model as a result of the interaction between the common monetary policy, inflation heterogeneity and a relaxation of the credit constraint in the nontradable sector of the periphery. When nontradable goods are used as collateral, an increase in their prices can initiate an overborrowing spiral and lead to a balance of payment imbalances. Furthermore, the model endogenizes differences in unit labor costs between the core and the periphery of the Euro area.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Delaume Coralie

Où va la Banque centrale européenne ? De la technique à la politique, sans la démocratie
in *Debat (Le)*, n° 187, pp. 75-87

« La bce est prête à faire tout ce qui est nécessaire pour préserver l'euro. Et croyez-moi, ce sera suffisant. » Cette poignée de mots, lancée par le banquier central Mario Draghi au cœur de l'été 2012, figure déjà dans les annales de l'histoire européenne. La crise dite des « dettes souveraines » bat alors son plein. Les taux (...)

Plan de l'article



Aux premiers temps de la bce
La contre-offensive à la crise
Le nouveau pouvoir politique de la bce
Les effets retors d'une politique monétaire
La Grèce en première ligne
L'autonomie irrépressible de la bce

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Neuhold Christine, Dobbels Mathias

Paper keepers or policy shapers? The conditions under which EP officials impact on the EU policy process in Comparative European Politics, vol. 13, n. 5, september , 577-595

ABSTRACT: The Lisbon Treaty has substantially extended the co-legislative rights of the European Parliament (EP). This raises the general question of how the EP organizes itself internally in order to be able to maximize its input into the legislative process. In the quest of information processing, it is likely that officials inside the EP gain in importance. The article thus aims to clarify the conditions under which these EP officials impact on the EU policy process and as such can influence policy outcomes. The analysis is based on case studies from five different policy domains. The observations reflect that under certain conditions EP officials play a steering role in the EU decision-making process. As such they can have a significant impact on the policymaking process, defying the dualistic Weberian approach according to which politicians take decisions and officials merely implement.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Rittberger Berthold, Winzen Thomas

Parlamentarismus nach der Krise: Die Vertiefung parlamentarischer Asymmetrie in der reformierten Wirtschafts- und Währungsunion
in *Politische Vierteljahresschrift*, Heft 3, 2015 , 430-456

ABSTRACT: As a consequence of the euro crisis, economic and fiscal policy-making competencies have been transferred to the EU-level. At the same time, national parliaments have seen their capacity to influence the policies to combat the crisis curbed. This contribution explores the reaction of national parliaments to the crisis and demonstrates stark variation in their capacity and willingness to adapt institutionally to the crisis. The analysis underlines the causal relevance of existing EU- and budget-related competencies that national parliaments possess to account for their willingness and ability to adapt institutionally. The euro crisis thus cements and perpetuates already existing differences between strong and weak parliaments.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Wonka Arndt, Göbel Sascha

Parliamentary scrutiny and partisan conflict in the Euro crisis. The case of the German Bundestag



in **Comparative European Politics**, vol. 14, n. 2, march , 215-231

ABSTRACT: To manage the challenges resulting from the Euro crisis, EU institutions and member state governments established a number of measures aimed at enhancing coordination of budgetary and economic policy. The development of these measures came with considerable political conflicts. This article investigates empirically the extent to which political parties in the German Bundestag contributed to these conflicts by employing their information and control instruments. Differences in level of activity between parliamentary parties in the Bundestag are explained by strategic behaviors. The article contributes to political science debates regarding both the role of national parliaments in EU politics and on political conflicts in Germany resulting from the Euro crisis.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Boussaguet Laurie

Participatory mechanisms as symbolic policy instruments?

in **Comparative European Politics**, vol. 14, n. 1, january , 107-124

ABSTRACT: Over the last 10 years, the European Union has been talking a lot about citizens' participation, not least in its 2001 white paper on governance. But has there really been a participatory turn in the European political system, or is this simply a rhetorical change, without concrete implications? This article aims to answer the question on the basis of a research on the first participatory experiments conducted at the European level (citizens' conferences, deliberative polls and consultations of citizens) and on European citizens' initiative introduced by the Lisbon Treaty. As will be shown, such experiments or tools have been scarcely used, and they have failed to involve 'ordinary' citizens and to produce significant outputs. In short, they seem more important at the discursive level than in practice. This suggests that more attention should be given to the symbolic dimension of policy instruments.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Renard Thomas

Partnering for Global Security: The EU, Its Strategic Partners and Transnational Security Challenges

in **European Foreign Affairs Review**, vol. 21, issue 1 , 9-33

ABSTRACT: This article reviews the scope and depth of the European Union's cooperation on security issues with key global powers, i.e., its so-called 'strategic partners'. It starts from the assumption that the EU pursues its ambition to become a global security actor as stated in its strategic documents and that, to do so, it must develop partnerships with other countries. The three key questions that this article addresses are the following: How do these security partnerships unfold? Do they deliver? And do they matter at all? The article starts with a quick overview of the key security challenges identified by the EU, before exploring the Union's attempt to become a (global) security actor, which is the pre-requisite to enter international partnerships. The main part of the article then looks specifically and in detail at the EU's ten strategic partnerships across four security issues: non-proliferation, terrorism, organized crime and cyber-security. A final section assesses the value of these security partnerships.

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 6. The European unification process

Dany Charlotte

Politicization of Humanitarian Aid in the European Union

in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 20, issue 3, 419-437

ABSTRACT: Against a background of a generally perceived trend towards the politicization of humanitarian aid, this article reviews recent policies by the European Commission as one of the biggest donors of humanitarian aid worldwide. It aims to show how the European Union's (EU's) Comprehensive Approach and the Resilience Strategy, in particular, contribute to the politicization of humanitarian aid. Thereby the article focuses on contestation in policy-making about fundamental humanitarian principles: neutrality, impartiality and independence—. It challenges the common wisdom that the EU's humanitarian aid is void of any political or security interest. Contestation between different stakeholders reveals that humanitarian aid is being politicized, despite the EU's strong commitment to humanitarian principles, as its policies blur the lines between humanitarian aid, security and development cooperation. The article also highlights the role of Non-governmental Organizations (NGO) in challenging and influencing this particular part of EU foreign policy.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Estella Antonio

Potential Exit from the Eurozone: The Case of Spain

in *Indiana Journal for Global Legal Studies*, vol. 22, issue 2, 335-377

ABSTRACT: According to a recent opinion poll that covered seven members of the Eurozone, Spain would be the Member State of this group that is most in favor of leaving the euro. In this public opinion context, and above all since the summer of 2012, debate has been growing in this country about the prospects of its exiting the European Monetary Union. In this article I argue that there are good reasons for taking this debate seriously. Using Spain as a case study, I analyze what the determinants of this decision could be. In particular, I analyze the economic determinants that could condition a decision in this direction. I conclude that in the current situation, a Eurozone member's decision to leave the common currency would be conditioned, in economic terms, above all by time and fairness. Therefore, a key element that a member of the Eurozone would have to take into account when considering whether to leave the euro would be twofold: 1) the extent to which this decision would prompt a faster adjustment; and 2) the extent that exiting would cause a fairer distribution of the costs of the adjustment.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Dogliani Mario, Pallante Francesco

Presentazione di "Il deficit sistemico nell'Unione Europea", di Armin Von Bogdandy e Michael Ioannidis

in *Nuvole*, n. 52, 2015

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process



Savastano Federico

Prime osservazioni sul diritto di recedere dall'Unione europea
in *Federalismi*, Anno XIII - Nr 22

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Peter Dahlgren

Probing the EU Public Sphere: Participation and Civic Cultures
in *Quaderni di sociologia*, Vol. LIX, 68

The idea that the EU could become a functioning democracy, and that with this development a genuine public sphere could emerge, remains one of the most central political questions facing the continent. Some of the topic which are analyzed includes the opposition top-down/bottom-up processes, the role of the media in the formation of public opinion and identity formation, the problem of the democratic deficit and of the accountability.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Balaguer Callejón Francisco

Profili metodologici del Diritto Costituzionale europeo
in *Cittadinanza europea (La)*, Fascicolo 1/2015

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Glaurdić Josip, Vuković Vuk

Prosperity and peace: Economic interests and war legacy in Croatia's EU referendum vote
in *European Union Politics*, vol. 16, n. 4, December, 577-600

Studies of popular attitudes toward European integration have paid limited attention to the historical roots of voters' security preferences. Using an original municipality-level data set, we test whether the pattern of voting in Croatia's 2012 referendum on European Union accession was affected by the legacy of the country's 1991–1995 war for independence or rather by economic factors. While finding evidence for the impact of the communities' level of prosperity and structure of economy, our analysis more notably demonstrates that the intensity of the communities' experience of war had a positive effect on their level of support for European Union membership. This effect also had a strong interactive relationship with the communities' political allegiances, highlighting the importance not only of historically rooted security issues but also of political actors who make those issues electorally salient.

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 6. The European unification process

Amann Markus, Essig Michael

Public procurement of innovation: empirical evidence from EU public authorities on barriers for the promotion of innovation

in Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science Research, Volume 28, Issue 3, 2015 , 282-292

Public procurement is seen as a powerful instrument for innovation policy, but meaningful barriers seem to hinder its deployment. This study reviews literature on complexity, time consumption, and risk representing important hindrances for the procurement of innovation from public buyers' perspective. Findings provide evidence on the existence of hindrances for public procurement of innovation across European Union member states through the analysis of data from a large-scale survey. Further, differences in terms of the perception of barriers become evident depending on the availability of monitoring systems for innovation performance.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Guisan Catherine

Pédagogies critiques du bien commun dans une Europe en crise

in Europe en formation (L'), n° 376, 2015/2 , 46-60

European Union (EU) leaders frequently invoke reconciliation as a "common good" of the European people, to such an extent that the term reconciliation has become like a cliché. But there has been little exploration of the concrete practices that facilitated the establishment of peace in Europe after WWII. The EU has supported academic programs on European integration history at the university level and has promoted a collective memory based on the Shoah rather than the post-1945 reconciliations, whereas EU member states from Central and Eastern Europe stress their collective memory of the Stalinist years of oppression. Moreover researchers have overlooked the contributions of civil society to European reconciliations and the critical analysis of the content of the founders' accounts. However, some young researchers, high school teachers and the Office for Franco-German Youth are recalling past reconciliations and their witnesses. These new pedagogical approaches reveal practices and ideas that could help revive European solidarity and its capacity to build peace today.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Piantini Marco

Quale ruolo per l'Italia nell'Unione?

in Paradoxa, ANNO IX - Numero 3 - Luglio/Settembre 2015

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Masini Fabio

Quali poteri e istituzioni per far vivere e prosperare l'Unione Economica e Monetaria?



in **Paradoxa**, ANNO IX - Numero 3 - Luglio/Settembre 2015

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Cardi Mavie

Quantitative Easing e ruolo istituzionale operativo della BCE alla luce delle recenti deliberazioni del Consiglio direttivo

in **Federalismi**, Anno XIII - Nr 24

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Baechler Jean

Que veut dire européen?

in **Europe en formation (L')**, n° 376, 2015/2 , 25-45

Europe can be considered as a civilization, which means a specific pattern of humanization, like Asian civilizations are in India or China. European specificities are dominated by the fact that the civilization has never been integrated as an empire. This fortuitous condition finds its expression in all domains by a propensity to diversity, to innovation, to the search for originality and to openness to the external world. The most remarkable historic achievement was the emergence of modernity.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Astrid du Lau d'Allemans

Quelle renaissance pour l'Europe ?

in **Revue des deux mondes**, Décembre

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

El-Shagi Makram, Lindner Axel, von Schweinitz Gregor

Real Effective Exchange Rate Misalignment in the Euro Area: A Counterfactual Analysis

in **Review of International Economics**, Volume 24, Issue 1, February 2016 , 37-66

The European debt crisis has revealed severe imbalances within the Euro area, sparking a debate about the magnitude of those imbalances, in particular concerning real effective exchange rate misalignments. We use synthetic matching to



construct a counterfactual economy for each member state in order to identify the degree of these misalignments. We find that crisis countries are best described as a combination of advanced and emerging economies. Comparing the actual real effective exchange rate with those of the counterfactuals gives evidence of misalignments before the outbreak of the crisis: all peripheral countries appear strongly and significantly overvalued.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Leinen Jo

**Reform of the European Electoral Law: Towards a Political Single Market
in Federalist Debate (The),** Year XXVIII, Number 3, November 2015

In two previous articles titled 'Europe's Road to Democracy' (The Federalist Debate 3/2014) and 'The European Electoral System. The Weak Link of Supranational Democracy' (The Federalist Debate 1/2015), I argued that the new modus operandi for the election of the Commission President, with top candidates nominated by the European Political Parties, constituted an important leap towards supranational democracy in Europe, that needs to be reinforced by a reform of the European Electoral System. Therefore, I called on the European Parliament to use its right under Art. 223 (1) TFEU to initiate a revision of the European Electoral Act stemming from 1976. The Constitutional Affairs Committee (AFCO) took the proposal up and appointed the Committee's Chair Danuta Hübner and me as Co-Rapporteurs for the formulation of a reformed European Electoral Law. After months of intensive work and discussion, we presented a draft report in late June, which is now being discussed in the Committee and should be passed in the plenary already in late October, to be able to swiftly start negotiations with the Council. In this contribution, I want to present the main innovations proposed in our report.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Fuest Clemens, Heinemann Friedrich, Ungerer Martin

Reforming the Financing of the European Union: A Proposal
in Intereconomics, Volume 50, Issue 5, September 2015 , Pages 288-293

The current system for the financing of the EU needs to be reformed. This paper puts forth a reform proposal with two important elements: first, the addition of an EU VAT share on receipts; and second, a shift in power from the European Council to the European Parliament with regard to the determination of the structure of EU expenditures. The first element will make taxpayers' contributions to the EU more visible, thereby increasing their interest in the EU budget and fostering democratic accountability. The second element will shift spending priorities away from projects that generate visible advantages to individual member states and towards policies that benefit the EU as a whole.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Novotný Vít

Refugee crisis In Focus: towards better cooperation between Europe's national governments
in European View , vol. 14, n. 2, December , 321



No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Eliantonio Mariolina, Roer-Eiden Haakon

Regional Courts and locus standi for Private Parties: Can the CJEU Learn Something from the Others?

in Law and Practice of International Courts and Tribunals (The), vol. 13, n. 1 , 27-53

ABSTRACT: The Court of Justice of the European Union (cjeu) has taken a restrictive approach when interpreting the standing requirements applicable to private parties wanting to challenge eu legal measures. The Lisbon Treaty introduced some change, but access to the Court remains overly restricted for private parties. The European Union is by far the most successful regional integration community there is, and it has been widely imitated. This article seeks to explore and compare the standing requirements applicable to private parties before the cjeu and other regional courts in order to see if the cjeu has something to learn from the others.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Béraud-Sudreau Lucie, Faure Samuel B.H., Sladeczek Michael

Regulating the Arms Trade through Parliament and Public Opinion A Comparison of Arms Export Controls in Germany, France, the United Kingdom and Sweden

in Politique européenne , n. 48, 2015/2 , 82-121

Seeking to explain why some European states strongly regulate arms exports while others do so weakly, this article argues that there is no Europeanization of arms export controls. We show that neither state-industry relations nor the involvement of executive actors explains these variations. Two alternative hypotheses are offered?: the position of Parliament in the arms export control decision-making process, and the salience of the arms sales issue in public opinion.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Boullier Henri, Laurent Brice

Regulatory precaution. A European mode of governing technical objects

in Politique européenne , n. 49, 2015/3 , 30-53

This paper focuses on the European REACH regulation on chemicals. We analyze the operations crafting regulatory categories in order to define technical objects and organizing the distribution of powers between public and private, national and European actors. This article suggests that the concept of “regulatory precaution” helps characterize a European mode of governing chemicals. The examples of the registration of nanomaterials and that of the autorisation of phtalates highlight the choice made by the European Commission in favour of a “case by case approach” that ends up multiplying regulatory categories, while postponing the introduction of legal constraints. These initiatives are not consensual: member states and the European Parliament produce more rigid regulatory categories, and thereby suggest an alternative mode of governing chemicals. Thus, regulatory precaution offers a lens through which one can



identify the constitutional effects of the regulatory categories for European technical objects.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Segatti Paolo, Poletti Monica, Vezzoni Cristiano

Renzi's Honeymoon Effect: The 2014 European Election in Italy

in South European Society & Politics, Volume 20, Issue 3, Special Issue: The 2014 European Parliament Elections in Southern Europe , 311-331

The 2014 European Parliament election in Italy took place 15 months after the electoral earthquake of the 2013 national election and almost three months after a non-electoral change of government that saw the newly elected Secretary of the centre-left Democratic Party, Matteo Renzi, become prime minister. While some second-order election (SOE) model expectations, such as lower turnout and electoral gain by minor parties are fulfilled, some other expectations seem to be challenged by the exceptional electoral victory of the pro-European incumbent party. In this article we show that in Italy the 2014 European election can still mainly be considered a second-order one because the broken SOE expectations are related to exceptional national dynamics that began with the 2013 general election.

Full text available online at <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/13608746.2015.1075709>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

LUIS MAH

Reshaping European Union development policy: collective choices and the new global order.

in Revista Brasileira de Política internacional , vol.58 no.2 , 44-64

The European Union (EU) is one of the world's leading donors in official development assistance (ODA) to give a strong weight in the relationship with recipient partner countries, in particular with those that are more dependent on it. Besides the material weight of its funding, the EU has retained historical ties and influence in diplomatic, political and economic terms in many of its ODA recipient partner countries (particular in Sub-Saharan Africa). Since the 2000s, the EU development policy has not only undergone major structural changes in its institutional framework but also has started to face a new international aid scenario. This paper explores why a normative-based EU development policy is being challenged by reformed EU institutions and a new global order, and how the EU is attempting to respond to this context in face of the deepest recession since the end of the Second World War.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Moodie John R.

Resistant to Change? The European Commission and Expert Group Reform

in West European Politics, vol. 39, n. 2 , 229-256

ABSTRACT: This article examines how the European Commission has responded to external criticism and demands for the democratisation and reform of the way it uses expert groups in EU policy making. The article analyses the nature and character of the Commission's dialogue with its critics and the degree and extent to which it was prepared to adapt



its existing internal processes and procedures to the reform agenda. Recent theories inform us that organisations respond in different ways to external criticism and demands for reform, including full adaptation, evasion, institutional decoupling and reinterpretation. The main findings suggest that the Commission was not completely resistant to changing its approach to the use of expertise. The Commission reinterpreted its critics' demands by introducing reforms that defused this external pressure, while protecting the effectiveness of its existing internal ideology and processes. These findings serve to enhance the Commission's image as an increasingly normalised bureaucracy and reinforce the importance of knowledge and expertise as a key source of Commission legitimacy.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Wessel Ramses A.

Resisting Legal Facts: Are CFSP Norms as Soft as They Seem?

in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 20, issue 2/1 , 123-145

ABSTRACT: Studies on the (non-)compliance with CFSP norms often misinterpret the legal nature of those norms. Classifying CFSP norms as 'non-binding' may help in distinguishing this policy area from other European Union's (EU) policies, but does not do justice to the committing nature of the norms. Irrespective of the limited role Court's may play in relation to CFSP, the norms often intend to bind the Member States. This has been the case from the outset, but seems strengthened now, as the Lisbon Treaty streamlined procedures and consolidated the EU's external action. In studying resistance to CFSP norms, it is worthwhile to take their legal nature into account. In that sense, the broad definition of soft law used in the introduction to this special issue is helpful as it includes binding norms without enforcement mechanisms. Yet, the question remains whether one can still hold that judicial enforcement and the principles of primacy and direct effect are completely alien to the area of CFSP.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Pomorska Karolina, Vanhoonacker Sophie

Resisting the European External Action Service

in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 20, issue 2/1 , 21-37

ABSTRACT: The article joins the discussion on the resistance to norms in Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) by focusing on the European External Action Service (EEAS). It begins by defining the norms that are associated with the EEAS as: (1) close cooperation by the Member States with the EEAS, (2) sharing information and (3) abstaining from influencing staff of one's own nationality and Seconded National Experts (SNEs) along one's own national interests. Then, the authors continue by analysing the types of resistance and explaining why the Member States choose to resist the norms related to the organization they had previously created with a unanimous decision. The article concludes that even if soft rules may at first seem to be less costly than hard laws, their less constraining nature does not automatically imply less resistance. All three types of instruments identified by Saurugger and Terpan in the introduction¹ have been used for resistance with information and communication being the most commonly employed. Cognitive distance between the European and national level seem to have stronger explanatory value than the financial and social resources of Member States.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Saurugger Sabine, Terpan Fabien

Resisting 'new modes of governance': An agency-centred approach

in Comparative European Politics, vol. 14, n. 1, january , 53-70

ABSTRACT: The introduction of 'new modes of governance' in the European Union is presented by EU institutions and academics as a tool to circumvent non-compliance with hard law. While hard law regularly triggers attitudes of non-compliance, 'new modes of governance' are thought to push actors to reach objectives through a learning process leading to the transformation of actors' preferences. This article will question this assumption. We argue that resistance to soft law is as frequent as that to hard law, although more difficult to study. The aim of this article is to develop a framework allowing for an analysis of attitudes of resistance to soft norms beyond specific countries or policy areas. On the basis of a systematic analysis of secondary literature on attitudes of resistance to soft law, the paper will show that agency-centred approaches in particular allow clear and testable hypotheses.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Mongelli Francesco Paolo, Dorrucchi Ettore, Ioannou Demosthenes, Terzi Alessio

Responses to the Euro Area Crisis: Measuring the Path of European Institutional Integration

in Journal of European Integration, vol. 37, n. 7, Special Issue: The Governance of EMU: Recasting Political, Fiscal and Financial Integration , 769-786

The euro area crisis has exposed flaws in the institutional framework of the European Economic and Monetary Union (EMU). The immediate causes of the crisis have been widely debated — including weak governance, persistent erosion of competitiveness in some countries and easy financing by banks. However, there is little discussion about a fundamental shift in the nature of European integration, which took place in mid-1990s when plans for launching the euro became credible and binding. It was not understood that Europe had shifted from a Common Market Era, during which EMU's foundations were laid, to a 'Union Era' which in retrospect exhibited an incomplete institutional framework. This article reviews the leap in governance now taking place, whilst taking stock of what has worked and proved resilient over the previous 60 years. This is done by means of an index — the European Index of Regional Institutional Integration (EURII) — providing a tool to synthesise and monitor European institutional integration since 1958, and track all institutional reforms since 2010. EURII has both backward as well as forward-looking components anchored on the project put forward in the 2012 Four Presidents' Report.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Vaucher Antoine

Retour sur l'Europe de Costa

in Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne, n. 592, octobre-novembre , 570-576

Abstract available online at http://www.dalloz-revues.fr/Revue_de_l_Union_europeenne-cover-48142.htm



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Apokins Igors

Reviewing the EU Strategy for Central Asia: Results and Future Prospects

in Europe en formation (L'), n° 375, 2015/1 , 10-17

From the EU's perspective, the article resumes the EU-Central Asia cooperation and outlines the achievements under the Latvian EU Council Presidency (January until July 2015) and prospects of the relations. It explains how the EU will continue and deepen its cooperation with its Central Asian partners in the priority realms of security, education and sustainable development. It also describes how relations to Central Asia became closer during the Latvian EU Council Presidency: by re-establishing the post of an EU Special Representative for Central Asia; by reviewing the EU Strategy for Central Asia; and by holding various meetings and establishing forums for cooperation.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Beaauvironnet-Blot Eloïse, Boudet Jean-François

Régionalisme belge et décentralisation française à l'épreuve du Pacte de stabilité et de croissance (PSC) réformé et du Traité sur la stabilité, la coordination et la gouvernance (TSCG)

in Revue du droit de l'Union Européenne, n. 2 , 191-220

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Burnashev Rustam

Security Challenges in Central Asia

in Europe en formation (L'), n° 375, 2015/1 , 106 à 122

From the point of view of structural analysis based on the regional security complex theory, the article discusses the question of how something becomes an issue of security in Central Asia. Central Asia is regarded as an unstructured regional formation or 'security quasi-complex' to which traditional security concerns, such as interstate rivalries and security dilemma, are only partially applicable. Such a situation gives rise to security challenges associated with a lack of coordination between the countries of Central Asia. At the same time, the main threats and challenges in the Central Asian countries are primarily of internal nature being the direct consequence of a weak statehood. On interregional and global levels, security challenges are determined by the peripheral character of Central Asia and by the transformation of the perception of international law.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Richard Weitz

Shattered Hopes: A Farewell to European Arms Control?

in World Affairs, Fall 2015

Even before Russia intervened in Ukraine, European arms control was in trouble. Russia and the West were accusing one another of violating the letter and the spirit of existing agreements. Moscow complained about NATO's ballistic missile defenses (BMD), conventional military deployments in former Soviet bloc states, and other measures Russians described as threatening. NATO governments hoped for, though probably never expected, Moscow's cooperation in building joint missile defenses and reducing Russia's large inventory of tactical nuclear weapons, and thought, too optimistically, that they could assuage Moscow's irritation at having lost its superpower status. Now, these illusions have succumbed to the harsh reality of war in Ukraine. NATO leaders worry that Moscow is seeking to subvert neighboring countries and is violating arms control agreements to weaken the Atlantic Alliance's cohesion. At present, NATO and Russia have suspended their main direct arms control talks and are undertaking major military buildups directed at each other. There are no prospects of new European arms control agreements anytime soon. If anything, the coming years could see the failure of existing treaties without their renewal or replacement.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Goldthau Andreas, Sitter Nick

Soft power with a hard edge: EU policy tools and energy security

in Review of International Political Economy, Volume 22, Issue 5, 2015 , pages 941-965

International security debates surrounding the European Union (EU) energy supply challenge commonly invoke the need for more EU hard power – e.g. getting tough on Russia or engaging directly with other exporters. This article investigates whether what might be labelled 'soft power with a hard edge' instead amounts to a consistent policy strategy for the EU. The central argument is that the EU has turned a weakness into strength, and developed a set of tools that sharpen the way soft power is exercised in the energy sector. The article explores how soft power affects companies that 'come and play' on the EU market: the rules of the Single European Market (SEM) and how they affect external firms. It also assesses the long reach of the SEM: both the gravitational 'pull' the SEM exerts in the 'near abroad', and the EU's 'push' to facilitate the development of midstream infrastructure and upstream investment. The conclusion is that the EU regulatory state is emerging as an international energy actor in its own right. It limits the ways states like Russia can use state firms in the geopolitical game; and it exports its model into the near abroad, thus stabilizing energy supply and transit routes.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Orrù Elisa

Sorveglianza e potere nella Unione Europea

in Filosofia Politica, numero 3, dicembre 2015 , 459-474



Surveillance, understood as the collection of information about populations for supervision purposes, is a critical technique of social control. As such, it can reveal important features of the power that exercises it. The article analyses two contemporary surveillance measures in Europe: the Schengen Information System and the Directive 2006/24/EC on data retention. The analysis aims to identify the structural characteristics of the changing power of the EU and the role security plays in it. The main thesis is that security is a key element of the legitimacy claim of the expanding power of the EU.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Luiz Carlos Bresser-Pereira, Pedro Rossi

Sovereignty, the exchange rate, collective deceit, and the euro crisis

in Journal of Post Keynesian Economics, Volume 38, Issue 3 , 355-375

This paper presents an interpretation of the European crisis based on balance-of-payments imbalances within the Eurozone, highlighting the role of the "internal" real exchange rates as a primary cause of the crisis. It explores the structural contradictions that turn the euro into a "foreign currency" for each individual Eurozone country. These contradictions imply the inability of national central banks to monetize the public and private debts, which makes the euro crisis a sovereign crisis similar to those typical of emerging countries, but whose solution presents additional obstacles.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Maris Georgios, Sklias Pantelis

Spanish transition, democratic conditionality, EU leverage, linkage and leverage

in Journal of Contemporary European Studies , vol. 24, issue 1 , 1-23

ABSTRACT: The European crisis is the best case study for examining both the vulnerabilities of Europe's framework for economic governance and the very process of European integration itself. This statement is true for several reasons: first, because the European crisis is the most serious crisis the European Union has faced to date; second, because of the crisis, limits on the process of economic integration in Europe have been put to a real test; and third, because the main causes of the crisis are tied into the framework for economic governance that has been developed over the last few decades and therefore are connected to the very process of European unification itself. The primary aim of this paper is to demonstrate whether and to what extent the new framework for economic governance in Europe is largely a result of interstate bargaining and consequently whether national preferences continue to play an important role in the framework's general transformation. The economic crisis showed that important issues in economic policy concerning the change in economic governance and the role of the nation-state, which were 'swept under the carpet' in recent decades, must be resolved to make the European venture viable.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Hannes Hoffmeister

Splendid Isolation or Continued Cooperation? Options for a State after Withdrawal from the EU



in *Columbia Journal of European Law*, vol. 21, issue 2 , 249-287

"Splendid isolation" is a popular conception of Britain's foreign policy in the late 19th century. It aptly describes Britain's minimal involvement in continental European affairs in the late Victorian era. Almost forgotten by now, this policy concept might experience some sort of revival: In his long awaited speech on Europe, Prime Minister David Cameron promised the British people to hold a referendum on EU membership should he be re-elected. This referendum will take place in 2017 at the latest and will be a so-called "in/out referendum." In other words, it will determine Britain's future in Europe. Yet the issue of withdrawal is not confined to the UK, since other states, such as Hungary, are also contemplating leaving the European Union.' What will happen if a majority of the electorate actually votes for withdrawal? Will all links with the continent automatically be severed upon withdrawal? Or is there a possibility for continued cooperation albeit on a less formal level? This paper provides answers to these crucial questions.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Vecchio Giuseppe

Stato nazionale senza partiti e partiti europei senza Stato

in *Cittadinanza europea (La)*, Fascicolo 1/2015

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Miskimmon Alister

Strategische Narrative deutscher Europapolitik

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 52, 2015

The full text is free:

<http://www.bpb.de/apuz/217308/strategische-narrative-deutscher-europapolitik>

Deutschland steht infolge seines Engagements für die europäische Integration wachsenden Herausforderungen gegenüber. Dieser Druck resultiert nicht zuletzt aus den seit Ende des Kalten Krieges zunehmenden Kompetenzen der Europäischen Union. Zudem haben Deutschland und die EU in jüngerer Zeit eine Reihe von Krisen zu bewältigen, die die Effektivität und die Legitimität der EU auf die Probe stellen – die Eurokrise, die Ukraine Krise, die Flüchtlingskrise. All diese Krisen gehen Hand in Hand mit einer Neubewertung der Rolle Deutschlands in Europa und in der Welt. Seine zentrale Rolle bei der Bewältigung der Eurokrise hat einige Kommentatoren zu der Ansicht verleitet, wir würden Zeugen eines hegemonialen Deutschlands, das nun auch die Verantwortung dieser Führungsrolle tragen müsse. Angela Merkels Regierung sieht sich derzeit vor die Aufgabe gestellt, Antworten auf diese Krise zu formulieren. Diese Narrative müssen einerseits einen glaubhaften Weg aus der Krise skizzieren, andererseits für Deutschland eine Rolle in Europa und in der Welt beschreiben können, die sowohl im eigenen Land als auch international akzeptiert wird...

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 6. The European unification process

James D. Savage, Amy Verdun

Strengthening the European Commission's budgetary and economic surveillance capacity since Greece and the euro area crisis: a study of five Directorates-General

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 23, Issue 1

Has the executive role of the European Commission changed since the euro area crisis? Intergovernmentalists point to the increased role of the member states and the Council at the expense of the Commission and other supranational institutions. This article examines how the Commission has responded to the expansion of fiscal and economic rules such as the regulations that strengthen the EU's statistical competence and the Six-Pack and Two-Pack. Based on interviews conducted with key staff, we find that these rules have created significant co-ordination, information and analytical demands on the Commission. The latter has enhanced its horizontal and vertical co-ordination efforts, prioritized staff for the Directorate-Generals conducting surveillance activities, added DGs to these efforts, and reorganized their organizational structures to promote a deeper understanding of the member states' fiscal and economic policies. Using a principal-agent approach this article explains how the Commission has increased its role in European integration process.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Coman Ramona

Strengthening the Rule of Law at the Supranational Level: The Rise and Consolidation of a European Network

in *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* , vol. 24, issue 1 , 171-188

ABSTRACT: The aim of this article is to show how (new) modes of governance emerge in EU politics. It seeks to find out how European institutions manage to define new policy tools and modes of governance when their legitimacy is not only contested but it also reveals a regulatory gap. By examining recent debates concerning the ability of the EU to safeguard the rule of law at the supranational level, this article shows that in a field in which politicization raises the pressure to act at the EU level but member states do not delegate more hierarchical powers, the European Commission applies a network approach that spans beyond the EU. This article shows that, in order to strengthen the EU's input, output, and throughput legitimacy, the Commission is creating a complex multi-institutional framework and has introduced a 'division of labour' between several international bodies and organizations. The article focuses not only on the emergence of this network, but also on its evolution and expansion.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Banerji Angana, Dabla-Norris Era, Kim Minsuk, Zdzienicka Aleksandra

Structural Reforms in the EU – Policy Prescriptions to Boost Productivity

in *Intereconomics*, Volume 50, Issue 5, September 2015 , Pages 240-273 

Productivity-enhancing structural reforms are crucial to the economic prospects of the EU. Indeed, such reforms are even more urgent in the current environment in which many economies are reaching the limits of the policy support they can provide to shore up demand. Moreover, even as some of the crisis-related effects fade, demographic headwinds loom, further strengthening the case for boosting productivity. The key question is how to identify, prioritise and calibrate



the reforms that best suit each country's situation. This Forum examines specific barriers to enhanced productivity within the EU and puts forth policy proposals to offset the secular slowdown apparent in advanced economies and take better advantage of the EU's vast economic potential.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Saurugger Sabine, Terpan Fabien

Studying Resistance to EU Norms in Foreign and Security Policy

in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 20, issue 2/1, 1-20

ABSTRACT: The EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) is usually seen as a sui generis policy, due to its intergovernmental nature. Challenging this view, we argue that CFSP is a policy like any other and therefore can be analysed by approaches used to study EU public policy more generally. We consider CFSP as a policy producing norms just as any other EU public policy does. Some of these norms enter the category of soft law, and are supposed to be complied with even if the European Court of Justice has no – or not much – competence in the field. Drawing on two strands of literature, the literature on soft law and the one on non-compliance with EU law, we focus on compliance with CFSP norms at the domestic level. Our aim is to develop a coherent approach, which allows us to explain why national administrations do – or do not – comply with CFSP soft law. Our model is based on four hypotheses pertaining to the presence or absence of (legal and non-legal) sanctions, the number of veto players, the financial stakes and the normative distance between the European rule and the norm hitherto defended by the national administrations. We apply this model to four Member States (Germany, Greece, Poland and the UK), using secondary literature to find examples of national resistance and suggest possible explanations for this resistance. Other examples will be given by the other articles in this special issue, which we refer to at the end of this introductory article.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Jakub Gren, David Howarth, Lucia Quaglia

Supranational Banking Supervision in Europe: The Construction of a Credible Watchdog

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 53, Issue Supplement S1

In 2014, a major development in the history of European integration took place with the start of supranational banking supervision through the Single Supervisory Mechanism (SSM). The creation of the SSM was the first step in the construction of banking union, which was initially proposed in June 2012 by the European Council president Van Rompuy. The creation of banking union amounted to a radical initiative to stabilize euro-periphery national banking systems exposed directly to rising sovereign debtloads and the growing risk of default and to reverse the fragmentation of European financial markets. The European Council president presented banking union in terms of 'completing' economic and monetary union (EMU). The Delors Committee's 'Report on economic and monetary union in the European Community' stated that the European System of Central Banks (ESCB) 'would participate in the coordination of banking supervision policies of supervisory authorities'. However, the transfer of supervisory powers was postponed given the opposition of a number of national governments.

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 6. The European unification process

Schlenker Andrea

Supranational, Intergovernmental or Demoicratic Legitimacy? Citizens' Evaluations of the EU
in Perspectives on European Politics and Society, vol. 16, n. 4 , 581-597

The legitimacy of the EU is more contested than ever. In theory, different criteria and levels are proposed by supranational, intergovernmental or demoicratic approaches. This paper investigates in an explorative way which of these approaches EU citizens apply when they evaluate the EU. This subjective legitimacy is operationalised as generalised support for the EU influenced by other types of support. In order to capture the various latent constructs, criteria, levels and interactions, we apply structural equation modelling on Eurobarometer data on the 27 member states from 2009. Our results are mixed. The importance of European identity corresponds to a supranational approach. In contrast, the influence of individual representation on the EU level is fully mediated by representation via one's country which is in line with an intergovernmental approach. The close relationship between evaluation criteria on the national and supranational level, in turn, strengthens the case for a demoicratic approach.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Charalambous Giorgos, Papageorgiou Bambos, Pegasiou Adonis

Surprising Elections in Exciting Times? Of Proxies and Second-Order Events in the 2014 European Election in Cyprus

in South European Society & Politics, Volume 20, Issue 3, Special Issue: The 2014 European Parliament Elections in Southern Europe , 403-424

The concept of second-order national elections has generated a rich literature, but its universality, in particular its predominance in contexts affected by shocks, has not been sufficiently studied. The 2014 election to the European Parliament in the Republic of Cyprus, taking place one year after an European Union/International Monetary Fund bailout, could be classified as one of the most puzzling contests in the history of second-order elections. The incumbent party, Democratic Rally (DISY), was not punished, despite the harsh economic environment in the country, while protest voting affected the opposition more. Abstention was exceptional, indicating a delegitimisation of the political system. Moreover, the micro-level analysis reveals that the decision to vote or abstain was driven by attitudes towards both domestic institutions on the one hand and European/international institutions on the other.

full text available online at <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/13608746.2015.1078221>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Schratzenstaller Margit

Sustainable tax policy Concepts and indicators beyond the tax ratio

in Revue de l'OFCE, 2015/5 (N° 141) , 57-77

The current academic and political debate about the quality of tax systems does not systematically take into account aspects of sustainability. For some time now, OECD, International Monetary Fund and European Commission have been pushing the case for enhancing the growth-friendliness of tax systems. Ecological and social/equity considerations appear to have lower priority in the hierarchical order of objectives guiding the recommendations for the design of tax



systems. The European Commission and the OECD regularly publish an increasing number of indicators and the underlying data that can be used to assess different sustainability dimensions of tax systems and/or individual tax categories also in a cross-country comparison and over time. In particular, the European Commission has developed a set of indicators trying to capture the contribution of member states' tax systems to the goals of the Europe 2020 strategy. This set of indicators, however, focuses on the growth-friendliness of member states' tax systems, while indicators for their distributional and environmental impact play a less prominent role. The paper attempts at establishing a conceptual basis for the development of a consistent set of indicators to capture the sustainability impact of tax systems. Firstly, we formulate fundamental objectives underlying a sustainable tax system. Then we present some fundamental deliberations about the function of indicators and a classification of indicators which may be useful to assess the sustainability impact of tax systems. Against this background, we critically review the European Commission's indicator-based approach to evaluate EU member states' tax systems within the European Semester. Finally, we address open questions and next research steps.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Jenni Sabine

Switzerland's Regulatory European Integration: Between Tacit Consensus and Noisy Dissensus
in Swiss Political Science Review - Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft - Revue suisse de science politique, Volume 21, Issue 4, December 2015 , 508–537

Abstract

Switzerland's relationship with the EU is closely related to some of the transformations of domestic politics during the last decades. This contribution analyses the development of Switzerland's legal integration measures over time and explores their correlation with indicators of domestic political change, namely party positions and the salience of European integration in the electorate. It suggests that party positions and issue salience of European integration did not prevent the rather dynamic development of Switzerland's legal integration measures for two reasons: On the one hand, parties were generally in favour of the 'bilateral way' and related policies and European integration lost salience over the twenty years under study. On the other hand, a considerable share of legal integration measures was conducted by the government and the federal administration following mechanisms foreseen in the sectoral agreements. These measures as well as domestic rule transpositions proved not to be related to indicators of domestic political change, whereas legal integration measures in need of approval by parliament were correlated to party positions and issue salience. The analysis builds on an empirical dataset including all sectoral agreements and all federal laws transposing EU rules in the period 1990 – 2010. The results are based on descriptive analyses and Poisson regression estimates.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Sotirov Metodi, Lovric Marko, Winkel Georg

Symbolic transformation of environmental governance: implementation of EU biodiversity policy in Bulgaria and Croatia between Europeanization and domestic politics
in Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy, Volume 33, Issue 5, Special issue on: Environmental Governance in South East Europe/Western Balkans, October , 986-1004



In this paper, we explore how European and domestic factors have shaped environmental governance in the case of European Union biodiversity policy implementation in Bulgaria and Croatia. We argue that a 'symbolic transformation' of environmental governance in Bulgaria and Croatia has occurred, as the interplay between Europeanization and domestic politics has led to differential empowerment of state and non-state actors resulting in ineffective environmental governance. While proenvironment non-state groups (environmental non-governmental organizations, scientists) and European Union institutions were empowered in the phase of formal compliance, economic interest groups have held sway over the phase of practical (non-)compliance. At the same time, state actors have responded rationally to retain their power by adapting to opposing forces from above and below. We conclude by discussing the 'symbolic transformation' of environmental governance shifting between 'command-and-control' and 'non-hierarchical' coordination with regards to the transformative power of Europe in light of Europeanization research in old and new European Union member states.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Marti Gaëlle, Petit Yves

Table ronde sur les 50 ans de l'arrêt Costa: de la primauté absolue au dialogue des juges?. Presentation in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 592, octobre-novembre , 553-554

Abstract available on line at http://www.dalloz-revues.fr/Revue_de_l_Union_europeenne-cover-48142.htm

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Hansen Susanne Therese

Taking ambiguity seriously: Explaining the indeterminacy of the European Union conventional arms export control regime in *European Journal of International Relations* , vol. 22, n. 1, march , 192-216

ABSTRACT: The reduction of ambiguous language is a commonly proposed strategy to remedy non-compliance with international obligations. The European Union conventional arms export control regime is a case in point; here, eliminating ambiguity has stood at the forefront among the strategies that have been proposed to remedy poor implementation. The point of departure of this article, however, is the observation that language-addressing strategies are largely inattentive to the underlying dynamics that caused ambiguity in the first place. Through tracing the formation and evolution of the regime, the article argues that the ambiguity of the export control regime is attributable to a configuration of underlying heterogeneity and resistance that is not conducive to a more precise language. Furthermore, the article argues that in order to explain the adoption, evolution and ambiguity of the regime, we need a theoretical model that moves away from the strong emphasis on norm dynamics prevalent in recent research on arms export control. While norm dynamics and a preference for export restraint have certainly influenced the adoption, evolution and design of the regime, the article highlights how the material interests of export promotion, security and sovereignty feature as more critical variables. This casts new light on the gap between export control commitments and export practice, and provides important clues about the prospects for efficient multilateral arms export control. Pushing the research agenda forward therefore hinges on bringing material interests back into the equation.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Fabbrini Sergio

Tecnici al governo e governi tecnici: alcune riflessioni comparative sull'Italia

in Ventunesimo Secolo. Rivista di Studi sulle Transizioni, Anno XIV, n. 36, "Tecnici e politica", giugno , 65-79

Abstract available at

http://www.francoangeli.it/riviste/Scheda_Rivista.aspx?IDArticolo=55028&Tipo=Articolo%20PDF&lingua=it&idRivista=185

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Schmitt Hermann, Teperoglou Eftichia

The 2014 European Parliament Elections in Southern Europe: Second-Order or Critical Elections?

in South European Society & Politics, Volume 20, Issue 3, Special Issue: The 2014 European Parliament Elections in Southern Europe , 287-309

The article provides a comparative analysis of the 2014 European Parliament elections across the six countries of Southern Europe by gauging the performance of the second-order election model. Both the aggregate hypotheses of this model and evidence of micro-level foundations are analysed. The findings reveal that the political and electoral consequences of the economic crisis have not drastically challenged the second-order character of these elections in Southern Europe. However, electoral behaviour also exhibits some indications of a more critical contest.

Full text available online at <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/13608746.2015.1078271>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Sara B. Hobolt

The 2014 European Parliament Elections: Divided in Unity?

in Journal of Common Market Studies, Volume 53, Issue Supplement S1

The winners of the 2014 European Parliament elections were eurosceptic parties, often found on the fringes of the political spectrum. Parties critical of, or even hostile to, the European Union topped the polls in France, the United Kingdom, Hungary, Denmark and Greece, gaining almost 30 per cent of the seats in the European Parliament. Does this eurosceptic surge indicate a rejection of the European project by a growing number of voters across Europe? Was support for these parties a sign that voters wanted less Union, or perhaps a different Union? This contribution examines the context and outcome of the 2014 European elections. Previous elections to the European Parliament (EP) elections have generally been characterized by lacklustre and domestically focused campaigns and voter apathy, but two factors set these elections apart: they took place in the context of the worst economic crisis in post-war Europe and the political groups in the EP had for the first time nominated lead candidates to compete for the post of European Commission president.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Carammia Marcello, Pace Roderick

The Anatomy of a Misfit: The 2014 European Election in Malta

in South European Society & Politics, Volume 20, Issue 3, Special Issue: The 2014 European Parliament Elections in Southern Europe , 425-444

The 2014 European election in Malta did not put the party system under stress, and in many ways resembled past elections. The two parties that have dominated Maltese politics since independence shared the seats equally between them. Once again, the 'third', green party failed to obtain parliamentary representation, as did the far-right party despite doubling its votes. The good fit with the second-order election model marked Malta as Southern Europe's misfit. While the comparatively weak impact of the economic crisis was a contributory factor, a combination of institutional, cultural-historical and contextual factors provide a more accurate explanation. Political institutions are particularly relevant because they reinforce the perfect two-party system – the key to Malta's political stability – and shield it from the challenge of outsiders.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Eckes Christina

The CFSP and Other EU Policies: A Difference in Nature?

in European Foreign Affairs Review, vol. 20, issue 4 , 535-552

ABSTRACT: The Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) forms part of European Union (EU) external relations but remains in many ways special. Rather than simplifying the Lisbon Treaty has raised a whole new set of issues regarding the relationship between the CFSP and the Union policies under the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU policies). This article examines the nature of the CFSP and its relationship with TFEU policies, drawing amongst others conclusions from the post-Lisbon case law concerning CFSP matters, such as the UN Sanctions case (C-130/10) and the Piracy Agreement case (C-658/11). It argues that the CFSP forms part of the Union *acquis* and enjoys primacy over national law. Most importantly, the article argues that the Lisbon Treaty has extended the Court's jurisdiction over CFSP matters in several hidden ways. This is likely to trigger additional constitutionalization dynamics in the area of the CFSP and further approximate CFSP and TFEU policies.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Hatzivassiliou Evanthia

The Cold War as a Frontier: The Mediterranean Cleavages and the View from NATO, 1967-1982

in Journal of European Integration History, vol. 21, n. 1 , 13-32

No abstract available



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Grin Gilles

The Community Method: from Jean Monnet to Current Challenges

in EuroAtlantic Union Review (The), Volume 2, Number 2 , 15-30

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Borrell Josep

The Crisis and the Weakness of the European Demos

in Federalist Debate (The), Year XXVIII, Number 3, November 2015

All the changes that have come about in Europe because of the crisis, particularly those that still need to be implemented, imply a transfer of sovereignty to a supranational level that should be accompanied by the necessary democratic control at that same level. This has not been the case until now, and the crisis itself can explain it. But for the future, we must consider the political model the EU is going to adopt. This may be, as is well known, intergovernmental or communitarian.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Schnyder Melissa

The Domestic Issue-Specific Political Opportunity Structure and Migrant Inclusion Organization Activity in Europe

in Social Movement Studies, Volume 14, Issue 6, 2015 , 692-712

Abstract

This analysis compares broad and issue-specific political opportunity structures (POS) to help explain the domestic conditions under which migrant inclusion organizations across the European Union undertake political activity. Using data from an original survey of European migrant inclusion organizations, the analyses model nine domestic activity types that range from conventional lobbying to more confrontational tactics. The results show that the national issue-specific POS is a stronger predictor of groups' domestic action, mobilizing participation across a range of activities. In contrast, the broad POS tends to decrease participation after controlling for issue-specific factors. The results lend support to the importance of refining the concept of the POS to include variables specifically relevant to the movement in question. Moreover, they demonstrate that the nation-state is an important factor in explaining groups' activities.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Castiglioni Claudia

The EEC and Iran: From the Revolution of 1979 to the Launch of the Critical Dialogue in 1992



in *Journal of European Integration History*, vol. 21, n. 1 , 69-88

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Liobikienė; Genovaitė; Mandravickaitė; Justina

The EU Cohesion Policy implications to GHG emissions from production-based perspective
in *Environmental Science & Policy* , Volume 55, Part 1, January , 178-185

The European Union (EU) Cohesion Policy is the cornerstone of the EU policy. Therefore the aim of this study is to cover the implication of cohesion policy to greenhouse gas emissions from production-based perspective. Considering that the main task of the EU Cohesion Policy 2007–2013 was the convergence process, by applying the β-convergence the study showed that the EU Cohesion Policy (2007–2013) was implemented successfully and economic convergence in the EU countries was observed. Furthermore, the convergence of GHG emissions from a production-based perspective was confirmed as well. Evaluating the correlation coefficient between the technological contribution to changes in GHG emissions and GDP growth rate, the results showed that contribution of technological progress was the largest in those EU countries where the fastest GDP growth rate was observed. However, despite the considerable technological contribution to GHG emissions reductions, it does not offset the effect of production scale in the countries such as Bulgaria, Poland and the Baltic States. In terms of economic structural changes, the result revealed that economic growth did not seem to make an effect on larger contribution of economic structural change to GHG emissions reductions. Meanwhile, considering the implication of the new EU Cohesion Policy (2014–2020), it was shown the importance of the EU 2020 strategy implementation. Using correlation coefficient between changes in GHG emissions and changes in the share of renewable energy, expenditure on R&D as a percentage of GDP and energy efficiency, only the growth in the share of renewable energy resources had significant direct impact on the reduction of GHG emissions. Therefore the promotion of the share of renewable energy as well as technologies which contributed to the decrease of GHG emissions and the growth of energy saving rate, is the most important in seeking GHG reduction in the EU.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Calderón Martínez Pablo

The EU and Democratic Leverage: Are There Still Lessons to be Learnt from the Spanish Transition to Democracy?

in *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* , vol. 23, issue 4 , 530-547

ABSTRACT: The issue of conditionality and how the EU should seek to influence positive transformations in its periphery is as relevant today as it was in the early 1990s. There are some important lessons that can still be learned from the Spanish transition to democracy in this respect. By combining strict conditionality with its 'normative power', the European Community managed to shape—if not make—the Spanish transition to democracy. The consensus surrounding European integration worked as a unifying factor amongst all of the elite groups by giving them a common goal. This broad consensus ensured that no elite group could act in the sort of irresponsible way that could jeopardise the democratisation process and, by inference, the integration of Spain with the Community. At the same time, the EC



worked as a sort of moderating force. Neither of these positive effects would have occurred had the EC not used its leverage potential and remained firm in its stance of conditioning accession to Spain taking clear steps towards democratisation.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Dworkin Anthony

The EU and armed drones – epilogue

in *Global Affairs*, Volume 1, Issue 3, 293-296

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Spaiser Olga Alinda

The EU as a Security Actor in Central Asia: Minor but not Marginal

in *Europe en formation (L')*, n° 375, 2015/1, 83-105

The article asks how the EU exerts influence in the challenging geopolitical environment of Central Asia, thus in an 'out of Europe' area where the EU faces the competition of other actors such as Russia and China. Studying this question within the sphere of regional security, it is argued that the EU relies on three strategies: First, the EU's engagement focuses on 'niche' areas of security that are not occupied by other external actors. Second, it constructs an image of itself being an 'expert' without any geopolitical ambitions, thereby mitigating fears in the region of a 'New Great Game' and differentiating itself from other powers. Third, the EU creates proximity and legitimacy through a discourse depicting Central Asia as the EU's 'far neighbourhood'. These findings suggest that while not being a major security actor in the region, the EU has established itself as a relevant 'niche' actor that takes the role of a 'consultant' rather than of a power.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Ross Smith Nicholas

The EU under a realist scope: Employing a neoclassical realist framework for the analysis of the EU's Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Agreement offer to Ukraine

in *International Relations*, vol. 30, n. 1, march, 29-48

ABSTRACT: This article breaks from the dominant liberal-idealist literature and examines the European Union's (EU) foreign policy decisions from a realist perspective. Through employing a novel, EU-focussed neoclassical realist framework, the EU's offer of a Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Agreement (DCFTA) to Ukraine is argued as being a result of the mediating influence of its normative power role identity, the (mis)perceptions held by its foreign policy decision-makers and the institutional constraints inherent to its foreign policy decision-making process, which filtered systemic pressures (emanating from the European geopolitical setting) into the final foreign policy decision. Thereafter, this article assesses the EU's responses to the Ukraine crisis, offering policy reflections and recommendations.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Axyonova Vera

The Effectiveness of Sanctions and Regime Legitimacy in Central Asia: Examining the Substance of EU Sanctions against Uzbekistan

in Europe en formation (L'), n° 375, 2015/1 , 19-35

This article seeks to contribute to an ongoing debate concerning effects of EU democratic and human rights conditionality in post-socialist environments. More specifically, the article analyses outcomes of the EU sanction enforcement against Uzbekistan between 2005 and 2009. Studies of EU political conditionality commonly draw on rational choice accounts of the EU's leverage vis-à-vis third states and regard a lack thereof as the main determinant of the EU's limited success in advancing its normative agenda. While this article follows a rational choice approach, it goes beyond these traditional explanations and argues that other factors must be also considered in explaining outcomes of EU sanctions. Particularly, the substance of EU demands and their implications for a target regime's legitimacy and stability may account for a variance in the target government's compliance with EU political conditions.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bennani Hamza  

The Euro Area, a Stressful Monetary Union? Learning from Newspapers' Monetary Policy Coverage

in Journal of Economic Issues, Volume 49, Issue 4, 2015 , pages 1008-1027

Through a textual analysis of national newspaper articles covering European central bankers' statements and policy decisions from 1999 to 2011, I derive the concerns expressed by national media in the Economic and Monetary Union (EMU). I consider these concerns as a benchmark for national preferences, and thus for the preferences of national central bankers in the EMU. I also test the existence of groups of national media (i.e., national publics) according to their shared expressed concerns. The results show that in the euro zone, similar concerns are shared by different country groups, corresponding to a group of countries from Northern Europe (Belgium, Finland, and the Netherlands), Southern Europe (Spain and Portugal), and the Periphery (Italy, Greece, and Ireland), but that there are two isolated countries (France and Germany), whose newspapers do not share the issues raised by the rest of the European newspapers. This approach provides further insights into the potential heterogeneity of the European central bankers inside the Governing Council of the ECB in terms of policy preferences.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Erik Jones

The Euro: Irreversible or Conditional?

in Survival, Volume 57, Issue 5 , 29-46

It is hard to see how Europe's political centre can survive the lifespan of the third Greek bailout. If it cannot, Greek exit from the euro will be back on the table.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Davis Cross Mai'a K.

The European Defence Agency and the Member States: Public and Hidden Transcripts
in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 20, issue 2/1, 83-102

ABSTRACT: The European Defence Agency (EDA) was founded in 2004 with the aim of improving the EU's defence capabilities through promoting collaboration, common initiatives, and innovative solutions to the EU's security needs. This article examines the nature of the relationship between European Union Member States and the EDA a decade after its founding. The agency has solidified a clear body of norms that it seeks Member States to implement. To a surprising extent, Member States have publically embraced these norms as necessary for the future viability of European security. But they at the same time resist implementing these norms in certain fundamental ways. Building upon the framework article of this special issue, the author applies the concepts of 'public' and 'hidden' transcripts to shed light on how Member States simultaneously embrace and resist norms in a climate of supranational pressure.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Istvan Benczes, Balazs Szent-Ivanyi

The European Economy in 2014: Fragile Recovery and Convergence
in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 53, Issue Supplement S1

Economic recovery in the EU, while picking up to some extent after recession in 2012 and stagnation in 2013, remained fragile. As a result, by the second half of 2014, international institutions such as the European Commission, the IMF and the OECD substantially downgraded their GDP growth forecasts for the EU and the eurozone in particular, and neither of them expected European real GDP growth to exceed 1.3 per cent in 2014.

A more detailed analysis reveals that the economic performance of the 28 Member States was dramatically different in 2014. The principal aim of this contribution is, therefore, to decompose and explain Europe's economic performance in the past year. In doing so, it assesses Europe's performance in several key areas such as economic growth, employment, inflation, public finances and competitiveness, and systematically identifies countries that performed well above or well below the EU averages.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Minenna Marcello

The European Public Debt Refinancing Program. Why the ECB Quantitative Easing Should Envisage Risk-Shared Euro-zone Government Bonds
in *Rivista di politica economica*, I-III 2015

The credit risk exposure of the German banking system is growing again after the 2009 peak and its subsequent reduction. This column comments it through the lens of the Target2 net balances in connection with the capital flows experienced by the Eurozone (EZ) balance of payments. Under this perspective it is illustrated a set of gradual



proposals in order to improve the euro architecture, restore the uniqueness of the euro interest rate term structure, exit from the crisis and undertake a path of sustainable growth for all the member countries: notably, among them, the European Public Debt Refinancing Program.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Oliveira Martins Bruno

The European Union and armed drones: framing the debate
in **Global Affairs**, Volume 1, Issue 3 , 247-250

Armed drones – and their usage – are a topic extremely relevant for the EU. Several developments testify to this argument: the recent emergence of targeted killings as a common counter-terrorism technique; the existence of several EU member states using armed and surveillance drones in military scenarios; the presence of member states troops in areas where armed drones have been active; the US use of European-originated intelligence to execute targeted killings; and the broader status of international law, to mention a few. Yet, the EU still does not have an official position on armed drones. In 2014 the European Parliament recognized that this is problematic, adopting a Resolution that expressed “grave concern over the use of armed drones outside the international legal framework” and that urged the EU to “develop an appropriate policy response at both European and global level”. This Forum answers the European Parliament Resolution’s call for the development of strategies for enhancing the international regulation of armed drones. It is composed of six articles that expand the contours of this debate aiming at presenting concrete ideas and policy recommendations for an EU position on armed drones, which in turn could contribute to the international regulation of this contending issue.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Tolksdorf Dominik

The European Union as a Mediator in Constitutional Reform Negotiations in Bosnia and Herzegovina: The Failure of Conditionality in the Context of Intransigent Local Politics
in **Nationalism and Ethnic Politics**, Volume 21, Issue 4, 2015 , 401-421

Abstract

The complex constitutional system in Bosnia and Herzegovina, intended to ensure power sharing between the three main ethnic groups, is characterized by a variety of veto rights in the legislative process. Not only has this system prevented swift decision making but it also discriminates parts of Bosnian society that do not belong to one of the three constituent peoples. The European Union, alongside other organizations, has for years called for these shortcomings to be addressed but has failed in its efforts to bring the intransigent Bosnian policy makers to agree on a compromise and to end the political stalemate in the country. The EU’s activities to support constitutional reform were themselves ill fated. By introducing three criteria to systematically analyze the EU’s policies, the article illustrates that the EU, after initial reluctance to become seriously engaged as a mediator in the reform negotiations, applied its conditionality inconsistently.

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 6. The European unification process

Le Cacheux Jacques

**The European common good: an economist's perspective
in *Europe en formation (L')*, n° 376, 2015/2, 108-115**

Economists tend to ignore the notion of common good, and focus instead on collective or club goods. In the European Union context, the progress made in the market integration and the monetary union has strengthened interdependencies amongst member states, thus reinforcing the need for common institutions, not only to constrain national governments not to do things that may harm partner countries, but also to decide on what the common good is, what actions it requires and how to collectively act for its further development. As shown with the management of the recent crises—the Great Recession of 2009, the sovereign debt crisis starting in 2010, and the more recent migrant crisis—the Lisbon Treaty did not introduce appropriate and efficient collective decision-making procedures, while the European budget is clearly too rigid, too small and insufficiently funded to face the challenges posed by the European common good.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Baglioni Sebastian, Hurrelmann Achim

**The Eurozone crisis and citizen engagement in EU affairs
in *West European Politics*, vol. 39, n. 1, 104-124**

ABSTRACT: While the Eurozone crisis has contributed to Europeanisation trends in the domestic politics of EU member states, it has not to the same extent triggered citizen mobilisation in EU-level democratic procedures. Theories that treat politicisation as an undifferentiated phenomenon tend to miss this important distinction. This article suggests that the weakness of supranational citizen mobilisation is linked to factors that restrict the citizens' receptiveness to EU-related messages: limited knowledge of the EU and a weak sense of political efficacy, a discursive framing that conceptualises the EU as a consortium of member states rather than a supranational entity, and attributions of responsibility for the crisis that de-emphasise the role of EU policies. These factors constitute cultural opportunity structures that influence politicisation patterns; they imply that politicisation is, under present conditions, more likely to result in a renationalisation than in a supranationalisation of EU politics.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Aldecoa Francisco

**The External Dimension of the Social Market Economy of the European Union and Its Future
in *EuroAtlantic Union Review (The)*, Volume 2, Number 2, 73-104**

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

George Kyris

The Fifth Greek Presidency of the Council of the European Union: The Most Unlikely Captain?



in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 53, Issue Supplement S1

In April 2003, the signing of the Treaty of EU accession of 12 European countries in the shadow of the Athenian Acropolis marked one of the most significant milestones in European integration and a memorable moment of the then fourth Greek Presidency of the Council of the EU. The Athens Declaration, which was adopted during the event, reiterated the EU's 'determination to put an end to centuries of conflict and to transcend former divisions on [the] continent'. When Greece reassumed the presidency of the Council of the EU 11 years later, things could not have been more different. The EU was much more introverted in comparison and Greece a far less prominent, let alone joyous, member. The most important reason for those changes was the eurozone crisis, which started in 2009 and became the longest lasting crisis the EU has ever faced in its history. Given this, the EU was now less preoccupied by its international role and more with internal issues, not least the crisis and its major economic and political implications. Greece was the country that personified not only the crisis, but also the increasingly awkward relationship between European citizens and 'Brussels'.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Craig Paul

The Financial Crisis, the European Union Institutional Order, and Constitutional Responsibility

in **Indiana Journal for Global Legal Studies**, vol. 22, issue 2, 243-267

ABSTRACT: The financial crisis sent shock waves throughout the European Union, the effects of which are still being felt. This article focuses on the institutional dimension of the crisis, and examines its impact on the relationship between the member states and the European Union, and between the organs of the European Union itself. The analysis is undertaken from a temporal perspective. It begins with consideration of the treaty provisions that shaped the balance of power within the European Union, and who bears the primary responsibility for this form of institutional ordering. It is argued that while there is a very considerable literature on democracy deficit in the European Union, there has been neglect of the constitutional responsibility that member states bear for the institutional status quo. The nature of this constitutional responsibility is elaborated in the first section of the article. This is followed by discussion of the shaping of the Treaty provisions concerning economic and monetary union, and the way in which these bear the imprint of the choices made by the member states as to the degree of intrusion into national economic governance by the European Union that they were willing to accept. The penultimate section of the article considers the role played by the different EU institutions during the crisis as it unfolded, and this is followed in the final section by evaluation of the interinstitutional consequences of the measures adopted to meet the crisis.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Funk Lothar

The Future of E(M)U – Causes of and Remedies to the Current Stalemate

in **EuroAtlantic Union Review (The)**, Volume 2, Number 2, 105-126

No abstract available



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Grygiel Jakub

The Geopolitics of Europe: Europe's Illusions and Delusions

in Orbis: a Journal of World Affairs, vol. 59, n. 4, fall

ABSTRACT: This article contends that "Europe" is a term that describes a geographic reality that aspires to be a political one. Specifically, it highlights the illusions of unity and the delusions of international harmony that permeate Europe's politics today. It concludes by suggesting that the threat that Russia is presenting most immediately in Ukraine but more broadly to Europe as a whole is extremely serious and will alter in some form, hopefully positive, the European continent.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Palea Roberto

The Greek Crisis and the Risk of Europe's Disintegration

in Federalist Debate (The), Year XXVIII, Number 3, November 2015

Starting from 2005, when France blocked the constitutional process of the European Union (EU), despite a common currency circulating in the Euro area the EU has progressively accentuated its intergovernmental character.

In the most important decisions, the Member States – through the European Council – have gradually ousted the European institutions (despite the courageous resistance of the European Parliament and the Juncker Commission), centralising the responsibilities and prerogatives of governing.

The EU is becoming organised as a confederation in which political choices are significantly influenced by the strongest country – the Germany of Merkel and Schaeuble – which has imposed on economic policies the ordo-liberal principles and the ideal of austerity in which it believes as the remedy for all ills.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Plessow Oliver

The Interplay of the European Commission, Researcher and Educator Networks and Transnational Agencies in the Promotion of a Pan-European Holocaust Memory

in Journal of Contemporary European Studies, vol. 23, issue 3, 377-390

ABSTRACT: The article scrutinizes the structural conditions under which the European Commission works to implement the political aim of constructing a pan-European path to commemorating the mass crimes of the twentieth century. The pivotal obstacle to attaining a common European way of remembering the 'negative history' of the continent (or to at least opening up room for discussion about it) lies in the debate between those who stress the singularity of the Holocaust and those who demand that the atrocities of both the National Socialist and the Communist regimes should equally be recognized. Bearing this in mind, the article analyses how the Commission makes use of existing networks of experts in research, memorialization and education and how the specific interrelatedness of these networks affects the Europeanization effort. In particular, it examines the role of networking conferences, highlights two exemplary fields of antecedent interrelations between the memory actors who were convened by the Commission and points to the



implications of the fact that the networks and actors involved do not necessarily share a pan-European agenda.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Gaspar Vitor

The Making of a Continental Financial System: Lessons for Europe from Early American History

in **Journal of European Integration**, vol. 37, n. 7, Special Issue: The Governance of EMU: Recasting Political, Fiscal and Financial Integration , 847-859

Alexander Hamilton was the first US Treasury Secretary from 1789 to 1795. When he started, the federal government was in default. During his tenure, US Treasuries became the ultimate safe asset. He successfully managed expectations, achieved debt service reduction, and stabilized financial panics. He delivered sound public finances and financial stability. In the end, the US possessed a modern financial system able to finance innovation and growth. At a time when Europe is working its way out of the sovereign debt crisis and implementing banking union and financial union, it is worthwhile to search for lessons from early US history.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Vallinoto Nicola

The March of Refugees towards a Europe of Rights

in **Federalist Debate (The)**, Year XXVIII, Number 3, November 2015

The fact that thousands of refugees are moving from Budapest to the Austrian border, on the way to Germany, and those pictures of Hungarians offering food and comfort to the refugees give us hope of a welcoming Europe, dissimilar from the cruel and indifferent one that has been shown on televisions during the last months.

There is still a long way to go: migratory flows will last for years, therefore Europe will have to change its immigration policies, and to reconsider Dublin and Schengen Agreements, in order to reach a real common foreign policy and a European asylum law.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Innes Alexandria J.

The Never-Ending Journey? Exclusive Jurisdictions and Migrant Mobility in Europe

in **Journal of Contemporary European Studies** , vol. 23, issue 4 , 500-513

ABSTRACT: Migrant journeys are often conceived as linear movement from a sending country to a receiving country. However, a recent work suggests that the notion of linear migrant journeys is a misrepresentation. I argue that European regulations that standardise immigration policy around a common goal of 'burden-sharing' such as the Dublin II Regulation interact with the journeys of migrants to create paths that are not linear, circular or guided solely by intent. Rather migrant journeys can be conceived as a series of negotiations with state policies that shape experiences,



choices and destinations through constructions of illegality. Mobility becomes an on-going condition rather than a temporary one. Borders then are reproduced as phenomenological rather than physical. I illustrate my argument through an ethnographic case study of a Sudanese man seeking to join his wife and child who had filed an asylum application in France. He interacts with the borders of Europe throughout his journey; however, as he becomes known as an undocumented migrant he moves further from the possibility of entering Europe with immigration status despite being within the territorial boundaries. Conversely, as his physical proximity to Europe increases and is established, his legal proximity decreases.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Realfonzo Riccardo, Viscione Angelantonio  

The Real Effects of a Euro Exit: Lessons from the Past

in *International Journal of Political Economy*, Volume 44, Issue 3, 2015 , pages 161-173

In the debate between supporters and critics of the euro, the opposing ideological extremes have gotten it wrong. The most important lesson we can learn from the experience of the past is that the outcome, in terms of growth, distribution, and employment, depends on how a country remains in the euro; or, in the case of a euro exit, on the quality of the economic policies that are put in place once the country regains control of monetary and fiscal matters, and not on the fact of abandoning the previous exchange system. At the same time, historical experience suggests that countries with higher per capita income and more stable political institutions would be more likely to benefit from a euro exit.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Francesco Cherubini

The Relationship Between the Court of Justice of the European Union and the European Court of Human Rights in the View of the Accession

in *German Law Journal*, vol. 16, no. 6 , 1375-1386

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Simone Scarpa

The Rescaling of Immigration and the Creation of "Areas of Outsiderness" in Sweden The Case of Landskrona
in *Sociologica* , 2/2015

In Sweden, ethnic residential segregation has been a problem associated traditionally with the largest metropolitan areas of the country. In recent years, however, growing attention has been paid to the areas of immigrant concentration located outside the largest metropolitan areas. Landskrona is one of the most renowned Swedish municipalities, among those located outside the largest metropolitan areas, in which the recent growth of the immigrant population has led to high levels of ethnic residential segregation and, therefore, to the appearance of what Swedish policymakers define as "areas of outsiderness." Whereas Swedish debates on ethnic residential segregation are dominated by attention to the



social and ethnic composition of segregated neighbourhoods, this article focuses on how immigrant settlement patterns in Landskrona have been influenced primarily by immigration policy developments over time as well as by the downscaling of this city within the Swedish urban hierarchy. In recent decades, Landskrona has in fact gone from being an economically buoyant and socially balanced industrial city into a declining and polarized city which is struggling to find a new post-industrial identity. The growth of the immigrant population in Landskrona also has been encouraged by the general unravelling of the Swedish welfare state, which has been associated with an increase in regional imbalances in economic development as well as in housing availability and affordability.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Phelan John

The Road Not Taken: A Comparison Between the Hard ECU and the Euro
in **Economic Affairs**, Volume 35, Issue 3, October 2015 , 397–415

In the context of the Eurozone crisis this paper re-examines the Hard ECU using the concepts of the macroeconomic trilemma and the political trilemma. We find that the Hard ECU would have been less economically and politically damaging than the euro. We conclude that it was a superior approach to monetary union.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Paoli Simone

The Schengen Agreements and their Impact on Euro-Mediterranean Relations
in **Journal of European Integration History**, vol. 21, n. 1 , 125-146

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Jackson Richard L. Jackson

The Unraveling of a Greek Tragedy
in **Mediterranean Quarterly**, Volume 26, Number 3, September , pp. 18-28

Conflicting narratives of Greece in 2015 portrayed it as victim of German greed and its export-driven economy and as villain for borrowing \$273 billion it could never hope to repay. Both have truth, but the confrontation in Brussels between debtor and creditors was long in coming and the result of error on both sides. While an interim agreement was reached on 20 February 2015 to extend Greece's bailout by four months, the longer-term outcome was far from clear. Social and economic pressures had been building in Greece since 2008, resulting in the 25 January 2015 election of a radical government pledged to end austerity, reverse privatization, and reforms and to achieve at least partial debt forgiveness. A Greek departure from the eurozone was possible. A Greece adrift would leave it vulnerable to the blandishments of Russia, China, and other parties. Should such a shift occur, it would haunt the European Union in future crises of its southern tier or with other weaker member states.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Benhamou Michael

The West and the return of violence

in European View , vol. 14, n. 2, December , 169-179

Over the past 15 years, Western powers have been engaged in numerous battles in which technology has eventually prevailed over a patient but daring field presence. Today's adversaries, such as Islamic State, are well aware of this cultural bias: they are using our post 9/11 exhaustion to grab territories and spread offensive ideology. Western countries have no choice but to adapt partly to its adversaries' methods. Stability and peace will require cold cultural compromises as the pursuit of our interests and values requires a new tolerance threshold towards violence.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Botta Marco, Svetlicinii alexandr, Bernatt Maciej

**The assessment of the effect on trade by the national competition authorities of the “new” Member States:
Another legal partition of the Internal Market?**

in Common Market Law Review, vol. 52, issue 5 , 1247-1275

ABSTRACT: Under Regulation 1/2003, NCAs of EU Member States must apply Articles 101–102 TFEU to anti-competitive conducts with an effect on intra-Community trade, and must notify the Commission of investigations and envisaged decisions based on Articles 101–102 TFEU. In the last decade, the NCAs of the “new” EU Member States have notified a lower number of envisaged decisions in comparison to “old” EU Member State; this has been explained by the institutional constraints of the individual NCAs. However, the paper shows that the NCAs of the “new” EU Member States have not been “less active” in terms of enforcement, but have adopted most of their decisions under the national competition rules. Also, there is significant divergence in the assessment of the effect on trade by the NCAs of the selected jurisdictions. Some NCAs have not taken account of the relevant ECJ case law and the 2004 Commission Notice on the effect

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Maleš Petr

The causes of post-2009 differences in the economic performance of EU countries

in Acta Oeconomica, Volume 65, Issue 4 , 525–545

This study examines the causes of the rather dissimilar development of individual EU economies after the 2008/09 crisis. The initial elemental analysis of contributions to GDP growth is followed by a growth accounting exercise, with decomposition into the effects of movements in total factor productivity, capital stock, and several labour market indicators. The subsequent section then seeks to clarify to what extent this development was driven by changes in cyclical conditions and the potential product.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Sergio Fabbrini

The constitutional conundrum of the European Union

in Journal of European Public Policy , Volume 23, Issue 1

The euro crisis has called into question the constitutional compromises formalized in and by the Lisbon Treaty. The compromise between different (supranational and intergovernmental) interests, the compromise between member states engaged in building the Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) and those allowed to opt out of it and the compromise, within the EMU, between a centralized approach to monetary policy and decentralized economic policy. Unions of states, as the European Union (EU) is interpreted to be, are necessarily structured on interstate compromises, because they derive from the aggregation of states with different demographics/capabilities and national identities. However, in the EU, contrary to the other unions of states (as the United States and Switzerland), the aggregation has not been supported by an agreed constitutional framework from which to derive procedures and discourse for solving disputes and constituting new interstate compromises. This is why the wrecking of those compromises by the euro crisis has led the EU to a constitutional conundrum. From the analytical perspective used in the article, Treaty reform seems to be the necessary, although contrasted, strategy for escaping from the conundrum.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Schmidtke Hennig

The differentiated politicisation of European tax governance

in West European Politics, vol. 39, n. 1 , 64-83

ABSTRACT: This article addresses the politicisation of European tax governance in mass media. Although taxation is commonly assumed to remain a national prerogative, European institutions have extended their reach far into national tax regimes. Whether this expansion of EU authority towards one of the core functions of the nation state is accompanied by politicisation is the question to be addressed in this article. To analyse the causal nexus between growing EU authority – measured in terms of formal authority and tax legislation – and the politicisation of EU tax governance, the paper compares public debates in Germany, Ireland and Switzerland over a time period of 30 years between 1981 and 2011. Based on a newspaper content analysis, the empirical results demonstrate that EU tax governance is increasingly politicised in all three countries. Varying levels and content of politicisation across time and space are explained by national economic and socio-cultural conditions.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Gráinne de Búrca

The drafting of the European Union Charter of Fundamental Rights

in European Law Review, vol. 40, issue 6 , 799-810

In this article, the unusual process by which the E.U. Charter of Fundamental Rights was drafted is examined. While the



process, on the one hand, exemplified the ambivalent and often contradictory nature of European Union constitutional development, on the other hand it also suggests interesting possibilities in terms of new and future forms of constitution-building in Europe. Despite the profound differences of view about the aim, scope and nature of the Charter-drafting process even amongst the central actors involved in the drafting, and despite the ongoing ambivalence about the role and significance of fundamental and human rights in European Union law, the experimental, relatively deliberative and open nature of the process contrasts quite sharply and favourably with the traditional State-dominated and secretive IGC bargaining process.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Friis Lykke

The flagging fortunes of Europe's universities are a danger signal
in *Europe's World*, n. 31, Autumn

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Baldan Federica, Van Zimmeren Esther

The future role of the Unified Patent Court in safeguarding coherence in the European Patent System
in *Common Market Law Review*, vol. 52, issue 6 , 1529-1577

ABSTRACT: After decades of negotiations, European Member States finally agreed on the establishment of the Unified Patent Court (UPC), a centralized and highly specialized court, as part of the Unitary Patent Package. The European patent system is an intricate, multi-level governance system. Safeguarding judicial coherence within such a system requires a continuous "dialogue" not only between different courts in a single country, but also between national courts of different countries, between the European Patent Office (EPO) and national courts, between the quasi-judicial Boards of Appeal of the EPO and the national courts, between the EPO and the UPC, between the Boards of Appeal of the EPO and the UPC, between national courts and the ECJ and between the UPC and the ECJ. The main aim of the article is to examine to what extent the establishment of the UPC may contribute to a dialogue between these actors for the enhancement of judicial coherence of the European patent system. The paper explores different "tools" available for ensuring judicial coherence.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Jančić Davor

The game of cards: National parliaments in the EU and the future of the early warning mechanism and the political dialogue
in *Common Market Law Review*, vol. 52, issue 4 , 939-975

ABSTRACT: The article analyses the subsidiarity guardianship function of national parliaments and argues that, while a positive development, the current concept and practice of subsidiarity monitoring do not satisfactorily address the



problem of competence creep and the need to safeguard domestic socio-economic and politico-legal idiosyncrasies. The analysis critically evaluates the two yellow cards hitherto issued within the early warning mechanism and inspects new initiatives for national parliamentary involvement in EU lawmaking – such as the “red card”, “late card” and “green card”. It also assesses the Juncker Commission’s approach to the political dialogue with national parliaments. The article holds that refocusing parliamentary scrutiny towards the principle of conferral and legislative substance is more conducive to alleviating the democratic deficit and increasing EU legitimacy.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Mark Langan

The moral economy of EU relations with North African states: DCFTAs under the European Neighbourhood Policy

in *Third World Quarterly*, Volume 36, Issue 10 , 1827-1844

The EU has loudly voiced its intention to facilitate poverty reduction and democratisation in North Africa. In particular, it seeks to conclude Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Agreements (DCFTAs) with Tunisia, Morocco and Egypt. These are seen as a vital response to the Arab Spring – integrating North African countries into the globalised economy. Applying a moral economy perspective, this article argues, however, that, while ‘Normative Power Europe’ seeks to build more tranquil societies in the region, its trade policies nevertheless threaten to exacerbate poverty and social unrest. The prospect of de-industrialisation in the wake of FTAs will do much to entrench economic asymmetries between the European metropole and its neighbours.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Wonka Arndt

The party politics of the Euro crisis in the German Bundestag: frames, positions and salience

in *West European Politics*, vol. 39, n. 1 , 125-144

ABSTRACT: The Euro crisis has a strong impact on European Union (EU) politics and the EU polity. Crisis-related issues were debated across Europe and governments and EU institutions introduced several institutional instruments which are meant to make EU economic governance more effective. This paper investigates the scope, timing and divisiveness of political contestation, i.e. politicisation, in the German Bundestag and the frames on which political parties relied in their debates on crisis-induced institutional innovations in the German Bundestag. To account for these patterns, the paper relies on institutional theories and theories of party competition. Empirically, it draws on written protocols of debates and parliamentary questions in the Bundestag. A case study of Germany and the Bundestag does not lend itself to broad generalisations. Yet, as argued in the article, it is an unlikely case for politicisation and a politically important case.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Hoeglinger Dominic

The politicisation of European integration in domestic election campaigns



in **West European Politics**, vol. 39, n. 1 , 44-63

ABSTRACT: How strongly is European integration being politicised in election campaigns, and what explains why a party chooses to emphasise Europe or, by contrast, remains silent about it? This article provides a systematic assessment of the salience of European integration in domestic election campaigns, tracking its development from the 1990s to the 2000s across six Western European countries based on media content analysis data. The findings show that the salience of Europe in election campaigns is actually rather limited when put into perspective by benchmarking it against other political issues. Moreover, ideological determinants are crucial in explaining European integration issue-emphasis. In particular, the more culturally conservative a party, the stronger its emphasis on Europe; the impact of the economic left–right divide, by contrast, is weaker and more ambiguous. However, Europe remains in the shadow of its twin issue, immigration, which shares a similar issue-emphasis pattern yet is more attractive to these culturally conservative parties.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Rauno Tapio

The politicization of EU affairs in the Finnish Eduskunta: Conflicting logics of appropriateness, party strategy or sheer frustration?

in **Comparative European Politics**, vol. 14, n. 2, march , 232-252

ABSTRACT: Parliamentary processing of European Union (EU) matters in Finland has been characterized as consensual and pragmatic, with little if any public conflict between the political parties. The main goal is understood to be to achieve parliamentary unity – or at least broad consensus, which can arguably be translated into additional influence in EU-level bargaining. But the outbreak of the euro crisis and the 2011 Eduskunta elections triggered a major domestic politicization of Europe, which also affected parliamentary behaviour. EU issues are now debated more often in the full chamber, while voting has become more common in the EAC, with the losing opposition minority adding its dissenting opinions to the EU reports of the committees. Drawing on Eduskunta records and interviews with members of parliament (MPs) and civil servants, three hypotheses about the driving force behind this politicization are formulated: conflicting logics of appropriateness among MPs, the strategic incentives of the Finns Party, and frustration about euro crisis decision making.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Cooper Ian

The politicization of interparliamentary relations in the EU: Constructing and contesting the ‘Article 13 Conference’ on economic governance

in **Comparative European Politics**, vol. 14, n. 2, march , 196-214

ABSTRACT: Article 13 of the Fiscal Treaty (2012) prompted the creation of an interparliamentary conference to discuss and oversee the EU's post-crisis regime of economic governance. However, the first meeting of the ‘Article 13 Conference’, in October 2013, was beset by conflict. Surprisingly, the main cleavage was not a left–right debate over economic policy (for example, pro- versus anti-austerity), but a debate about the nature and purpose of the conference itself. This pitted the European Parliament (EP), preferring a weak conference with a narrow mandate, against a number



of national parliaments that preferred a strong conference with a broad mandate. This cleavage was apparent in a series of constitutional, institutional and procedural disagreements that arose over the course of the setting-up of the Article 13 Conference, many of which remained unresolved even after its second and third meetings, in January and September 2014. At the root of this struggle lay competing visions for the parliamentary oversight of the EU: Should scrutiny be centralized in the EP, or should there be a new system of joint scrutiny involving the EP and national parliaments together?

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Martin Scheinin

The state of our Union: Confronting the future

in International Journal of Constitutional Law, vol. 13, no. 3 , 559-566

The European Union urgently needs to address and confront four challenges: (i) how to move ahead with the difficult relationship between surveillance and freedom; (ii) how to prioritize the issue of migration at times when the Mediterranean tragedy cries for immediate and effective answers; (iii) how to tackle the challenge of climate change, including through a radical rethink of energy policies; and (iv) how to meet the expectation that Europe should be the one player in world politics that can be a value-based actor, promoting global justice. The answers offered to these challenges include (i) replacing mass surveillance with such forms of targeted surveillance that are triggered by other methods than mass surveillance or discriminatory profiling; (ii) creating multiple and sufficient channels for safe and regular migration into the EU; (iii) moving from an oil-based economy to the use of solar energy in a manner that facilitates autonomy, equality and democracy besides addressing climate change; and (iv) adopting a strategy for global justice that meets the requirements of being universalist, principled, honest, and coherent, all of these at the same time.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Schulmeister Stephan

The struggle over the Financial Transactions Tax A politico-economic farce

in Revue de l'OFCE, 2015/5 (N° 141) , 15-55

The struggle over the FTT has developed in three phases. In the first phase (2009 to 2011) the supporters of the tax went on the offensive, supported by the “shock effects” of the financial crisis. This phase ended with the (preliminary) “victory” in the form of the FTT proposal of the European Commission (EC) in September 2011.

The second phase was shaped by the search for ways how to implement the FTT within the EU. It ended with the publication of a modified FTT proposal by the EC in February 2013 as basis for the implementation in 11 Member States.

The last phase has been marked by a strong counter-offensive of the financial lobby which succeeded in playing off FTT supporting countries against each other, in particular Germany and France. This phase ended with a defeat of the FTT supporters. Not even in a group of EU Member States will a general FTT be implemented in the foreseeable future.

The struggle over the FTT was mainly carried out in two “battlefields”, the intellectual disputes between economists at universities, research institutes and international organizations, and the political controversies between NGOs, political parties, governments and pressure groups, in particular the finance industry.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Giuseppe Martinico

The “Polemical” Spirit of European Constitutional Law: On the Importance of Conflicts in EU Law
in *German Law Journal*, vol. 16, no. 6 , 1343-1373

Recently, scholars have argued of the necessity of going beyond “judicial dialogues” and “conflict-and-power” approaches to the analysis of the role of national Constitutional Courts in the Union. On the one hand, there are risks connected to a “too welcoming an approach by national constitutional courts to EU law”; on the other hand, it is possible to criticize both the Court of Justice of the EU (CJEU) and some national Constitutional Courts for other, less cooperative, decisions. I share this cautious approach for many reasons, and primarily because the preliminary ruling mechanism does not exhaust all the possible means of communication between constitutional courts and the CJEU. For instance, what Komárek calls “parallel references” can serve, in some circumstances, as a technique of alternative (or hidden) dialogue, that has favored a sort of “remote dialogue” over the years. My sole point of disagreement with this scholarly position is over the role of conflicts in this scenario. Whilst Komárek seems to confine conflicts to phenomena of mere resistance or to “cold” strategic considerations,” in this work I am going to adopt a much broader idea of conflict, which goes beyond mere “conflicts and power games.” My intuition is that the idea of judicial conflicts is, in a way, unavoidable, and always present even in those decisions which appear *prima facie* exquisitely cooperative. A good example of this is the reference raised by the German Constitutional Court to the CJEU and concerning the Decision of the Governing Council of the European Central Bank of 6 September 2012 on Technical Features of Outright Monetary Transactions (OMT). As Gerstenberg has written, in this case “the deployment of the reference procedure is anything but an act of European-friendliness and judicial comity.”

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Ackerman Bruce

Three Paths to Constitutionalism – and the Crisis of the European Union
in *British Journal of Political Science*, vol. 45, issue 4, october , 705-714

ABSTRACT: There are three paths to constitutionalism in the modern world. Under the first, revolutionary outsiders use the constitution to commit their new regime to the principles proclaimed during their previous struggle. India, South Africa, Italy and France have followed this path. Under the second, establishment insiders use the constitution to make strategic concessions to disrupt revolutionary movements before they can gain power. Britain provides paradigmatic examples. Under the third, ordinary citizens remain passive while political and social elites construct a new constitution. Spain, Japan and Germany provide variations on this theme. Different paths generate different legitimation problems, but the EU confronts a special difficulty. Since its members emerge out of three divergent pathways, they disagree about the nature of the union’s constitutional problem, not merely its solution. Thus the EU confronts a cultural, not merely an economic, crisis.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process



Brutti Filippo, Sauré Philip

Transmission of sovereign risk in the Euro crisis

in *Journal of International Economics*, Volume 97, Issue 2, November 2015 , Pages 231-248

We assess the role of financial linkages for the transmission of sovereign risk in the Euro crisis. Building on the narrative approach by Romer and Romer (1989, 2010) and augmented by Mertens and Ravn (2013), we use financial news to identify structural shocks in a vector autoregressive model of daily sovereign CDS premia for eleven European countries. To estimate how these shocks transmit across borders, we use data on cross-country bank exposures to sovereign debt. Our results indicate that cross-border financial exposures constitute important transmission channels: a reduction of exposure to overall Greek debt by one standard deviation is associated with a reduction in the response of the sovereign CDS to a shock to Greek sovereign risk by about three quarter in the average country. Decomposing these effects, we find that exposures to sovereign debt constitute significant transmission channels, while we find no robust support for transmission through bank-to-bank lending.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

McMillan, Stuart

Turbulent and Mighty Continent: What Future for Europe?

in *New Zealand International Review*, January 2016

Although Robert Schumann, one of the founders of what evolved into the European Union, envisaged a supranational entity, the notion of a looser collection of states with economic and trade links rather than a conventional federation persisted, testing in some cases the basic principle of an organisation that brought peace to a continent frequently engulfed in wars.

The migration crisis, straining a host of countries within the European Union, is now straining the union itself to its limit. The earlier crisis in the eurozone, the monetary union formed by nineteen of the unions 28 states, also brought to the fore that now ancient dilemma and is testing the whole of the unions structure. ...

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

MacMillan Catherine

Turkey's Carnavalesque Challenge to the EU's Monologue: A Response to Nykänen

in *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* , vol. 24, issue 1 , 117-131

ABSTRACT: The paper explores Turkey–EU relations from a Bakhtinian perspective. Nykänen (2011), also using a Bakhtinian perspective, has argued that the EU's stance in the accession process, particularly that of Turkey, has been monologic, which stymies the process by not allowing Turkey to 'answer back'. This paper argues, in contrast, that, albeit in the context of a lack of dialogue, Turkey has indeed attempted to answer back to the EU through informal means, using a form of discourse that resembles Bakhtin's concept of the carnivalesque, characterised by a reversal of roles and hierarchies, parodies, laughter and the grotesque, which challenges the status quo by creating a 'world upside-down'. In recent Turkish discourse, then, particularly that of leading members of the governing AKP, the traditional hierarchy of the 'superior' EU and the 'inferior' candidate country is broken own and reversed.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Wood Steve

Turkey–EU Relations: Practitioner Views and Political Time

in *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* , vol. 24, issue 1 , 24-41

ABSTRACT: Almost since negotiations proper began in 2005, a protracted cessation of progress in Turkey's accession to the EU heightened tensions in bilateral relations. Though formally directed by the *acquis communautaire*, institutional and diplomatic practitioners are constrained by pressures emanating from member states and Turkey. Political time exacerbates these pressures via multiple vectors.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

BOLLAERT Baudouin

UN NOUVEAU CAP POUR L'UNION EUROPEENNE

in *Politique internationale*, n. 148 - Ete, 2015

Entretien avec Pierre MOSCOVICI

Ministre de l'Économie et des Finances depuis mai 2012.

conduit par

Baudouin BOLLAERT

Ancien rédacteur en chef du Figaro

Pierre Moscovici is one of the few French politicians to have hitched their political careers to the European wagon and made no bones about it. In this interview with Baudouin Bollaert for *Politique Internationale*, the European Commissioner for Economic and Financial Affairs, Taxation and Customs reveals his hopes and fears. A seasoned veteran of the European Union, Pierre Moscovici knows its machinery inside out, but with Europe still reeling from recession, shaken by the rise of extremist political parties and threatened by the prospect of "Grexit" and/or "Brexit", he has his work cut out for him, especially because, as the erstwhile Mr. Money of a country now under "close financial supervision", his credibility is sometimes contested. But he believes in the economic upswing and the "new course" charted by the Commission - as long as the European member states, particularly France, carry out the necessary reforms, starting with the labor market.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Morrone Andrea

Una costituzione per l'Europa? Per uno stato costituzionale europeo

in *Filangeri (il) - rivista di diritto pubblico*, Quad. 2014 , 227-235

No abstract available



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Caredda Marta

Una responsabilizzazione sociale per l'Europa

in Diritto e società, n. 3

A Social Responsibilization for European Union

The paper analyse the difficult balance between the new national budget constraints – the solution to face the financial crisis – and the protection of social rights in the European context. The European measures reflect on Welfare systems sustainability: to be coherent with the promised protection of social rights (art. 4, 5, 9 TFEU), the Union should undergo a process of “social responsibilization”. It may take different forms that the A. tries to identify. One should also consider the direct citizens' initiative, in accordance to the Regulation 211/2011 procedure, as a way to stimulate European social intervention.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Hummer Waldemar

Ungarn erneut am Prüfstand der Rechtsstaatlichkeit und Demokratie. Wird Ungarn dieses Mal zum Anlassfall des neu konzipierten „Vor Artikel 7 EUV“-Verfahrens?

in Europarecht, Heft 5, 2015

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Pistone Sergio

Unione politica e sfide della sicurezza

in Paradoxa, ANNO IX - Numero 3 - Luglio/Settembre 2015

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Jones Erik, Torres Francisco

Using Interdisciplinary Analysis to Shape a Policy Agenda

in Journal of European Integration, vol. 37, n. 7, Special Issue: The Governance of EMU: Recasting Political, Fiscal and Financial Integration , 875-880



This conclusion uses an interdisciplinary approach to the crisis to contribute to the debate on EMU governance and EU institutional reform. It begins with stocktaking based on the Five Presidents Report (2015). It then identifies policy priorities for the short and medium term. It uses these priorities to shape a longer term agenda for a sustainable Europe. And it concludes with suggestions for further research. If any economics window on an interdisciplinary crisis may shed some light, perhaps a political science window could shed more.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Martins Joaquim Oliveira, Maguire Kare

Vers un nouveau paradigme des stratégies de développement régional dans l'OCDE

in *Revue de l'OFCE*, 2015/7 (N° 143) , 145-168

Cet article décrit les principales tendances qui se dégagent en termes de croissance et de convergence entre les régions de l'OCDE. Il discute ensuite les facteurs de croissance au niveau régional et les principaux changements en termes de politique territoriale mise en œuvre dans les pays de l'OCDE. Il termine par une discussion sur l'utilisation des politiques régionales pour un objectif élargi de bien-être.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

D'Amico Domenico

Verso quale unione economica e monetaria?

in *Politico (II)*, n. 238, 2015 , 46-67

ABSTRACT: A wide-ranging overhaul of the macroeconomic and fiscal surveillance framework in the EMU and the EU is one of the most durable legacy of the economic and financial crisis that has been hitting Europe since the second half of 2008. The establishment of a banking union covering at least the Eurozone member States is expected to complete the institutional response to the deficiencies in the original design of the EMU made apparent by the crisis. In spite of such sweeping changes, economists seem generally to be dissatisfied with the choices made by European authorities, in part because of their eventual insufficiency, in part because of their alleged inappropriateness. Actually, doubts about the reforms are rooted in an often profound disagreement on the diagnosis to be given of the European crisis itself, which – albeit of financial nature at the onset – has in its developments interweaved with some member States' fiscal difficulties or macroeconomic imbalances (sometimes long-term ones). Our aim in the paper is thus, firstly, to review the debate among economists on the causes of the partly financial, partly sovereign debt turmoil in recent years and on its relationships with potential flaws in the design of the Eurozone. Secondly, we intend to discuss a few proposals for reform that deviate, sometimes even markedly, from the avenues at present being preferred in European policy circles. We will conclude that the path towards a deep and genuine Economic and Monetary Union can be traced differently than currently suggested.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Segert Dieter

Von Musterschülern zu Problemkindern? Zwischenbilanz der politischen Transformation



in **Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte**, Band 47-48, 2015

The full text is free:

www.bpb.de/apuz/215190/zwischenbilanz-der-politischen-transformation

Die vier Visegrád-Staaten wurden in den 1990er Jahren als Vorreiter des Transformationsprozesses von autoritären Regimen zur Demokratie betrachtet. 1999 traten Polen, Tschechien und Ungarn der NATO bei, die Slowakei folgte 2002, 2004 wurden die vier Staaten EU-Mitglieder. Elf Jahre danach sind alle vier Länder jedoch mit spezifischen Problemen der demokratischen Entwicklung konfrontiert und das Außenbild hat sich, vor allem im Falle Ungarns, deutlich ins Negative verändert. Im Beitrag wird diese Bilanz aus politikwissenschaftlicher Sicht analysiert und bewertet: Hat dieser Wandel von Musterschülern zu Problemkindern vielleicht nur in den Augen der Betrachter stattgefunden? War die Einschätzung der anfänglich positiven Entwicklung der vier Staaten nur Wunschdenken? Darüber hinaus wird der Kern der Demokratieprobleme in den vier Staaten aus Sicht der Demokratietheorie betrachtet. Schließlich wird nach den Lehren für uns gefragt: Können die "alten Demokratien" aus den Problemen der "Visegrád 4" etwas lernen? ...

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Guérot Ulrike

Von Normalität über Übermacht zur Ohnmacht? Betrachtungen zur deutschen Rolle in Europa

in **Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte**, Band 52, 2015

The full text is free:

Die deutsche Rolle in Europa ist spätestens seit der Eurokrise national wie international wieder ein viel diskutiertes Thema. Deutschland werden verschiedene europäische Rollenkonzepte zugeschrieben, etwa "Zentralmacht" oder "Macht in der Mitte". Sogar der Topos eines "deutschen Sonderwegs" kommt wieder auf. Will man sich diesem Thema nähern, so sind verschiedene Dimensionen zu berücksichtigen, zeitliche, thematische, institutionelle wie personelle. Kurz: Die deutsche Rolle in Europa gibt es nicht. Es gibt mindestens drei Blickwinkel, um zu Antworten auf die Frage nach Gegenwart und Zukunft der deutschen Rolle in Europa zu gelangen...

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Dolný Branislav, Baboš Pavol

Voter–Representative Congruence in Europe: A Loss of Institutional Influence?

in **West European Politics**, vol. 38, n. 6, 1274-1304

ABSTRACT: What is the level of voter–elite congruence in Europe and how is it affected by institutions? This article presents a different conceptualisation and new data to comparative research on congruence between voters and their representatives in 15 European countries. The originality of this work is mainly in its use of the most appropriate cross-national data for the conceptualisation of congruence as a 'many-to-many' relationship, using for the first time a survey of representatives to replace expert and public opinion on legislators' attitudes. The study's results show that



congruence in European countries is relatively high in terms of left–right positions and, surprisingly, even higher regarding the question of EU integration. However, while we find enough evidence to link ideological congruence to mostly electoral institutions, it seems the same factors have no relation to the European unification dimension of congruence. This indicates the different nature of congruence in both the ideological and EU integration dimensions. Additionally, the present study found congruence to be higher for the group of voters rather than non-voters, and also higher for voters interested in politics as well as voters with a university degree.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Ringlerova Zuzana

Weathering the crisis: Evidence of diffuse support for the EU from a six-wave Dutch panel in European Union Politics , vol. 16, n. 4, December , 558-576

Political regimes draw legitimacy from diffuse political support. How diffuse is support for the European Union? By focusing on cross-sectional data, the extant literature fails to demonstrate that support for the European Union displays the key defining characteristic of diffuse support: individual-level stability over a time of crisis. I use a six-wave panel data set from the Netherlands to study stability in support for the European Parliament during the 2008 economic crisis. I argue that public support for the European Parliament is highly diffuse. Using three analytical techniques, I find that individual-level support for the European Parliament remained highly stable from 2007 to 2012. These results suggest that in times of crisis, the European Union can draw on mass public support as a source of resilience.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Catherine Mathieu, Sterdyniak Henri

What future for taxation in the EU?

in Revue de l'OFCE, 2015/5 (N° 141) , 5-13

The 11th EUROFRAME Conference on economic policy issues in the European Union was held in Paris on 6 June 2014. The aim of the conference is to provide an economic forum for debate on economic policy issues relevant in the European context. In June 2014 the Conference topic was: "What future for taxation in the EU?". The programme and conference papers are available at the EUROFRAME Conference webpage:...

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Cooper Anthony

Where Are Europe's New Borders? Ontology, Methodology and Framing

in Journal of Contemporary European Studies , vol. 23, issue 4 , 447-458

ABSTRACT: What do we refer to when we talk about European borders? What, for that matter, do we mean when we talk about borders more generally? Asking the question 'where are Europe's new borders' orients researchers to consider what important European bordering currently looks like, where these often contradictory bordering processes can be found and the implications of this bordering on the way we think about Europe more generally and its place in the



world. At the same time, looking for new borders necessarily facilitates fresh insights into bordering more generally, particularly in relation to their symbolic importance/function/meaning, how they continually transform and how they are maintained in novel and less obvious or immediate ways. This introduction, and indeed special issue, frames and advances the general debate by staking a claim for the need to question the established importance of some European borders over others. To do this, we must continually offer multiple frames of reference upon which to understand and deconstruct Europe and European bordering (a broad approach reflected more specifically by the individual contributions).

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Urbinati Nadia

Who Betrayed Europe's Founders?

in Federalist Debate (The), Year XXVIII, Number 3, November 2015

The Greek referendum shed light on the most contradictory and frantic scene in which Europe has found itself since it took the path towards integration. The destiny of this peace-through-cooperation project is suspended, more than ever before, amid opposing wills and intentions. Opacity and, above all, the overbearing rebirth of national interests follow the farsightedness of its visionary founders; they are eager to use Europe as a weapon to offend and humiliate, or as an alibi to conceal their own lack of decision-making capacity. The vision of a European Union came into being in between the two World Wars in order to defeat nationalisms and their followers.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Rozenberg Olivier, Chopin Olivier, Hoeffler Catherine, Irondelle Bastien, Joana Jean

Why Caring about Defence? Explaining MPs' Participation in Parliamentary Defence Committees in Europe

in Politique européenne, n. 48, 2015/2, 178-200

This article analyzes the reasons why MPs participate in parliamentary Defence Committees. The conventional wisdom that MPs participate in parliamentary committees for personal rewards is questionable in the case of defence, since Parliaments seem to be especially weak in defence policy. Based on a qualitative comparison of four European Parliaments (France, Germany, Great Britain and Spain), this analysis shows that while the rational choice hypothesis is confirmed, the types of rewards are different from what is usually observed: participating to a Defence Committee is first and foremost a way for MPs to seek access to policymakers and to belong to the defense establishment.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Natascha Zaun

Why EU asylum standards exceed the lowest common denominator: the role of regulatory expertise in EU decision-making

in Journal of European Public Policy, Volume 23, Issue 1

While scholars traditionally expected EU policy-making in the area of asylum to produce lowest common denominator



standards, recent studies on the first phase of the Common European Asylum System have observed higher asylum standards in some instances. This article aims at explaining this divergence. Drawing on concepts of regulatory expertise and 'misfit', it argues that the observed variation in policy output can be explained by the dominance of a few (Northern) member states which were highly successful in inserting their positions in the core EU directives. Government effectiveness and exposure to the phenomenon entailing regulatory expertise provide a powerful explanation for member states being effective policy-shapers. Characterized by low levels of government effectiveness and exposure in the asylum area, Southern European countries were, on the contrary, rather passive during the negotiations and barely left any mark on the EU directives.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Yaka Özge

Why Not EU? Dynamics of the Changing Turkish Attitudes Towards EU Membership

in Journal of Contemporary European Studies , vol. 24, issue 1 , 149-170

ABSTRACT: This article aims to contribute to the discussion on Turkish accession to the EU, asking the famous question 'Why not Turkey?' the other way around. 'Why not EU?' is the emerging question, as the alienation of Turkish government and public opinion from the EU membership objective requires urgent intellectual and political engagement. This article discusses political developments pushing Turkey away from the EU, and it explores the social and historical dynamics behind the rapidly changing Turkish public opinion. The Gramscian concept of 'common sense' is used to analyse the complex and contradictory tendencies within the Turkish public opinion, which has oscillated between very enthusiastic support and strong alienation. The analysis is supported by Eurobarometer data, which reveal the antinomies of initial support for EU membership between 2001 and 2004. The article also provides a new perspective for understanding the resonance of the new foreign policy approach of Turkey and the AKP's (Justice and Development Party) new tone with Turkish public opinion through the concept of common sense. In doing this, it relates the disintegration of the EU membership project with the rise of the AKP's hegemony, which has neutralized it not by an exclusionary nationalism but through an inclusionary articulation.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Göran Rosenberg

Why Sweden Is the Exception on Refugees—For Now

in New Perspectives Quarterly , Volume 32, Issue 4

In the summer of 1938, at the initiative of U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt, 32 nations convened in the beautiful French resort of Evian to agree on a common refugee program to save the desperate Jews of Germany and Austria. After nine days of deliberation they agreed on nothing of the sort. Instead, they all went home and for all practical purposes closed their borders. One of the nations doing so was Sweden, even begging Nazi Germany to stamp the passports of Jews with a large "J" in red, to facilitate the process of weeding them out. Only in October of 1943, when the winds of war had turned, and 7,000 Danish Jews were shipped across the straits of Öresund to knock on the doors of their neutral Swedish neighbors, were they to open. And this time generously so. And so they did again in the summer of 1945, when Sweden agreed to offer temporary refuge to some 30,000 survivors of the Nazi concentration camps. Today almost every sixth inhabitant of Sweden is foreign-born, a majority of them having arrived as asylum seekers or



as part of Sweden's program for family reunion. This year alone the Swedish Migration Agency is bracing for up to 100,000 asylum seekers, mostly from Syria, amounting to almost one percent of the total Swedish population. In the wake of the U.S.-led war on Iraq in 2003, the small town of Södertälje received considerably more refugees from Iraq in total numbers than did the United States as a whole. This is not to say that a "Swedish" proportion of refugees is possible or even desirable on a EU-scale, only to say that in a situation when Europe is facing its worst refugee crisis in our era, with millions of people fleeing war and persecution in the Middle East and Africa, it might be worth contemplating what has so far made the difference between, let's say, Sweden and Denmark.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Oliveira Martins Bruno, Backhaus Benedikt

Why and how the EU should act on armed drones

in Global Affairs, Volume 1, Issue 3 , 259-267

This article systematizes the reasons that demand EU action on the issue of armed drones and advances a set of parameters that should frame the Union's policy on the topic. It argues that a clear positioning of Brussels is required due to legal and strategic demands, and also for reasons of consistency with both previous practices in similar events and fundamental vectors of EU foreign and security policy. The current absence of a shared position is explained by several factors that need to be taken into account when addressing the possible paths for that position to materialize. We argue that EU's policy should follow a two-tier logic that focuses on EU member states, in a first phase, and on the international sphere, in a second one. If fully and strictly respected within the EU territory, a clear EU position on armed drones, adopted in the form of a Council decision, would have the potential to influence international practices and to contribute to limiting armed drone proliferation. The guiding principles of a future EU policy should be reinforced externally by the creation of the role of a special representative for armed drones and targeted killings.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Robertshaw Sam

Why the EU got the Ukrainian crisis wrong

in Global Affairs, Volume 1, Issue 3 , 335-343

EU policy has achieved minimal gains during the Ukrainian crisis. Whilst economic sanctions and diplomatic efforts exerted pressure on the Kremlin, they also reinforced Moscow's security narrative and perception that the EU is anti-Russian. The EU failed to seriously engage with Russia's initial concerns and formulate an appropriately robust policy response. This underscores the EU's limitations as a soft power actor when facing a security challenge. In contrast, Russia has capitalized on the antagonistic relationship with the EU. Control of the media and the inherent appeal of the project to build a strong Russia helps support Moscow's position in its relations with the EU and its ongoing drive to modernize the military and strengthen non-Western institutions. Faced with this challenge, the EU must develop a coherent set of policies for its relations with Russia and the states within the post-Soviet space. Moreover, the crisis has demonstrated the need for the EU to re-examine its security priorities and capacity.

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 6. The European unification process

Fuest Clemens

Why the Macron plan for the eurozone is misguided
in *Europe's World*, n. 31, Autumn

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Alex Görlach

Why the US Should Dedicate a New Statue of Liberty to Europe
in *New Perspectives Quarterly*, Volume 32, Issue 4

The refugees from Syria seeking asylum in Europe are changing the geopolitical and geo-cultural landscape. The famous words of Emma Lazarus etched into the Statue of Liberty in New York Harbor now apply to the Europe from whence many of America's immigrants once came. What we are witnessing today is the first of the long predicted "migration of nations," a circumstance that in itself has the capacity to change many realities we all grew up with. The current exodus is due to a terrible war that is shaking up an already roiling region: the Middle East. One must not forget: the Islamic State terror regime is enslaving a horrendously large number of girls and women, killing political opponents and homosexuals and destroying irreplaceable works of art and landmarks of our common human history. This is not just "a" war, but a return to the terrors of barbarism that Westerners today could scarcely have imagined might become a reality in the 21st century. The stripping off of responsibility evident in the attitude of the Gulf states leads directly from the leaders in the Arab world to the United States, which claims the refugee crisis is a "European problem." But it is the opposite: the destabilization of the region, the refugees not only from Syria but also from Iraq and Afghanistan, testify to the failed American policies and unjust wars in the wake of 9/11. For almost a century the British had the privilege of unsettling the Middle East; for 14 years now the baton has been in the hands of the U.S.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Easton, Brian

Wider and Still Wider: Brian Easton Looks at the Prospects for Further Expansion of the European Union
in *New Zealand International Review*, September 2015

Any examination of Europe poses difficult questions. Even if its geographical bounds can be determined--its geographic centre is probably in Poland--it remains difficult to explain what it represents. Membership of the European Union is one defining characteristic, at least for part of the continent. There are currently 28 members. According to the union's Copenhagen Declaration, this membership requires a stable democracy that respects human rights and the rule of law, a functioning market economy and the acceptance of the obligations of membership, including EU law. These requirements represent a barrier to any closer relationship between Russia and the union.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process



Armingeon Klaus, Guthmann Kai, Weisstanner David

Wie der Euro Europa spaltet. Die Krise der gemeinsamen Währung und die Entfremdung von der Demokratie in der Europäischen Union

in *Politische Vierteljahresschrift*, Heft 3, 2015 , 506-531

ABSTRACT: Suffering from reduced competitiveness, some member countries of the Eurozone are forced to pursue a policy of internal devaluation. This leads to a deficit of legitimation both with regard to the input and the output of the democratic process. We analyse the development of support of the democratic political system on the domestic and European level. Our comparison of 28 EU member countries covers the period from 2001-2013 and is based on Eurobarometer data. We show that in terms of political legitimation Europe drifts apart. The stronger internal devaluation is forced upon a country, the more the citizens of this country withdraw their support for the democratic system on the domestic and European level.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Heidebrecht Sebastian

Wie transparent ist die Europäische Zentralbank? Eine international vergleichende Betrachtung vor dem Hintergrund der weitreichenden Neuerungen zum Januar 2015

in *Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft* , Heft 4, 2015 , 501-526

Abstract

Due to important institutional changes and new policy measures, the European Central Bank (ECB) evolved to be among the most important actors in European politics. Although the Treaty broadly defines the instruments and targets of monetary policy, the ECB itself specifies its target in quantitative terms and it autonomously chooses the appropriate instruments of monetary policy. However, the ECB is required to provide sufficient accountability and transparency. To better accomplish these requirements, in January 2015 the ECB started to publish accounts of its Governing Council's monetary policy meetings. Using an indexbased comparative research-design, this article explores the actual transparency of the ECB in a political science perspective. It finds that the degree of transparency of the ECB has increased. In combination with a more strategically use of the monetary dialogue with the European Parliament, also the democratic public could benefit from the higher degree of the central bank's transparency.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Büttner Sebastian M., Delius Anna

World Culture in European Memory Politics? New European Memory Agents Between Epistemic Framing and Political Agenda Setting

in *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* , vol. 23, issue 3 , 391-404

ABSTRACT: In this contribution, we focus on the efforts dedicated to creating a 'European' memory culture, particularly since EU enlargement in 2004. Based upon analytical premises of neo-institutionalist world society studies, we interpret memory politics as a project that is not only driven forward by political movements and policy-makers, but also by



quasi-neutral epistemic agents of memory deliberately pursuing knowledge-based strategies of agenda setting. This has been an important dimension of memory politics in former debates, especially in debates over Holocaust memory. It is central as well in current discourses over memory in an enlarged European Union. Accordingly, we shed light on the activities of two new Central and Eastern European network organizations—the Platform of European Memory and Conscience and the European Network Remembrance and Solidarity—and their efforts of gaining legitimacy in European memory debates. By analysing their activities and rhetoric, we show that they use expert-oriented practices of epistemic framing in order to break up the Western European consensus over Holocaust memory towards broader ‘anti-totalitarian’ conceptions of European history. However, a comparison of both actors reveals important differences in their strategies oscillating between mere political agenda setting and scientific reflection.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Göler Daniel

Zwischen security provider und security consultant. Veränderungen im Leitbild der strategischen Kultur der Europäischen Union

in *Zeitschrift für Außen- und Sicherheitspolitik* , vol. 7, n. 3 , 323-342

ABSTRACT: The article deals with overarching principles (i. e. Leitbilder) guiding the European Security and Defense Policy. It is argued that the Leitbild of a comprehensive security provider, which dominated the beginnings of the ESDP, does no longer guide EU actions. Instead the EU focuses increasingly on training and consulting missions, captured here by the notion of a security consultant. The article draws on the Strategic Culture approach and integrates the Leitbild-concept into the research framework.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Godar Sarah, Paetz Christoph, Truger Achim

he scope for progressive tax reform in the OECD countries A macroeconomic perspective with a case study for Germany

in *Revue de l'OFCE*, 2015/5 (N° 141) , 79-117

The trend of increasing inequality in the distribution of income and wealth in most developed countries has led to calls for corrective tax increases for the rich and wealthy. Such calls are often confronted with the claim that higher taxes on top personal incomes, corporate income and wealth are detrimental to growth and employment and/or will foster tax avoidance. This paper argues that even the dominating theoretical framework leaves substantial leeway for redistributive taxation. Furthermore, from a Keynesian macroeconomic perspective redistribution may even be systematically conducive to growth and employment. At the same time a change towards such a policy of redistribution may for some economies, particularly the German one, well be the prerequisite for compliance with the European Fiscal Compact if an increase of the macroeconomic imbalances that have come to be seen as a root cause of the global financial and economic crisis 2008/2009 and also the euro crisis by many observers is to be avoided. Therefore, besides attempts at international tax coordination and harmonisation, national tax policies should actively use their room of manoeuvre for progressive taxation to correct the disparities in the income distribution and at the same time to increase the fiscal space.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Thomas Horsley

'The Court Hereby Rules...' – Legal Developments in EU Fundamental Rights Protection

in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 53, Issue Supplement S1

As before, the EU institutions and Member State governments continue to wrestle with the legacy of the eurozone crisis. The Court of Justice too remains at the centre of ongoing efforts to reform further eurozone governance and financial market supervision. The enduring legacy of the eurozone crisis has not, however, extinguished scope for innovation in other key fields of Union activity. Across all areas of European Union activity EU law, and the Court of Justice in particular, continues to play an important role in managing European integration. In 2014, the Court (sitting as a Full Court or Grand Chamber) delivered a total of 48 decisions. Surprisingly perhaps, only one decision dealt directly with reforms to economic governance and financial market supervision. The remaining judgments from the upper tiers of the Court addressed a diverse array of other substantive and institutional matters.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Nurvala Juha-Pekka

'Uberisation' is the future of the digitalised labour market

in **European View**, vol. 14, n. 2, December, 231-239

The 'Uberisation' of service sectors will become the norm in the future. The driving factor behind this development is a dramatic collapse in transaction costs made possible by new and more developed Internet-based matching platforms. What is emerging can be called the 'People-to-People Economy', a term that describes the diffused nature of the new model. Uberisation, or the new People-to-People Economy, is not the same thing as the 'sharing economy' since the two are based on different economic developments. The centre-right should support this development but at the same time create a social security system for the self-employed entrepreneurs who take part in this new economy.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Govaere Inge

"Setting the international scene": EU external competence and procedures post-Lisbon revisited in the light of ECJ Opinion 1/13

in **Common Market Law Review**, vol. 52, issue 5, 1277-1307

ABSTRACT: The article looks at Opinion 1/13 and the broader implications of the Lisbon Treaty for EU external relations competence and procedures. Two novel substantive issues are discussed. The first is the potential impact of the catalogue of competences in the Lisbon Treaty, and the codification of the doctrine of implied powers in Articles 3(2) TFEU and 216(1) TFEU. Has the Lisbon Treaty managed to reinstate the Member States as "masters of the Treaties" that can not only "codify" and "contain" but even "reverse" case law of the ECJ on EU external competence? The second is how far can the EU take part in "setting the international scene", in an extra-EU context. Should the outcome be



different according to the subject matter, or the nature of EU competence? The article also examines the instrumentalization of the Opinion procedure by the Commission to force the adoption of a Union position in the Council.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Verzeroli Marc

« L'Europe n'a pas d'autre choix que d'avoir une ambition stratégique »

in *Revue internationale et stratégique*, 2015/4 (N° 100) , 63-73

Entretien avec Nicole Gnesotto, Propos recueillis par Marc Verzeroli

Marc Verzeroli – Comment décririez-vous la place actuelle de la France dans l'Union européenne (UE) ? Nicole Gnesotto – Il existe aujourd'hui un paradoxe sur la place de la France en Europe. D'un côté, si l'on s'en tient au cadre strict de l'UE, un certain affaiblissement de la position française est notoire, notamment à cause de la crise économique et des contraintes qu'elle fait peser sur la souveraineté...

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Hoeffler Catherine, Faure Samuel B.H.

« L'eupéanisation sans l'Union européenne ». Penser le changement des politiques militaires

in *Politique européenne* , n. 48, 2015/2 , 8-27

Ce numéro spécial rend un hommage scientifique à Bastien Irondelle (1973-2013), étudiant puis doctorant, post-doctorant, chercheur et professeur à Sciences Po Paris et au Centre de recherches internationales (CERI). Interrogeant l'effet de l'Europe sur la politique militaire française, B. Irondelle (2003) apporte une contribution fondamentale aux études européennes par sa thèse majeure de l'« eupéanisation...

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Makarychev Andrey

A New European Disunity: EU–Russia Ruptures and the Crisis in the Common Neighborhood

in *Problems of Post-communism*, vol. 62, n. 6 , 313-315

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Kurtoglu Eskisar Gul M., Komsuoglu Aysegul

A critical assessment of the transformative power of EU reforms on reducing corruption in the Balkans

in *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, vol. 15, n. 3 , 301-326



The widespread existence of corruption in the Balkans has been subject to numerous studies so far, many of which underline its cultural underpinnings. While valuable, they do not explain why the region has generally failed to eradicate such activities despite receiving extensive external assistance to fight corruption and promote democratization in recent years. We therefore explore the possibility that the ongoing corruption in the Balkans is linked to foreign assistance for democratization. Although further research is necessary to draw firm conclusions, we suggest that there are at least two ways in which foreign assistance can be related to corruption in the region. First, foreign financial assistance in polities where judicial control is weak or nonexistent may lead to predatory behaviour by the elites, who treat them as spoils that are readily available and expendable for their own gains. Second, foreign assistance to combat corruption may elevate public expectations and alter their perceptions, and thus make it difficult to rely on global surveys and indices that measure corruption levels. On a broader level, these arguments can help to rule out the possibility that external assistance for democratization efforts and corruption are irrelevant, and can further promote future research dedicated to explore the nature of their relationship.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Haine Jean-Yves

A new Gaullist moment? European bandwagoning and international polarity

in *International Affairs* , vol. 91, issue 5, september , 991-1008

ABSTRACT: The transatlantic partnership needs to be reassessed. Since the end of the Cold War, Europe has chosen to bandwagon with the United States and to outsource its security to Washington. Bandwagoning has serious consequences when the use of force is at stake: it may lead to entrapment, where weaker allies may be involuntarily dragged into a conflict. It may also lead to abandonment, where the dominant ally may choose to discard their vital security concerns. With the evolution of the international system towards a multipolar configuration, this strategy of bandwagoning is becoming increasingly costly for Europe while the dominant power, the United States, is progressively confronted by other competitors at the systemic level. These classic dilemmas attached to an asymmetric partnership are exacerbated in a multipolar configuration. In particular, the abandonment scenario may become more and more frequent precisely because there is competition—and thus potential costs—at the international level: the United States may leave Europe alone, not by choice but by necessity. The current crisis in Ukraine illustrates this shift: while some American leaders were keen to escalate the conflict by arming Ukraine, the Obama administration's commitment to the defence of Europe has been minimal and it has largely delegated the management of the crisis to the Europeans themselves. Washington had other and more important priorities. Strategic autonomy is not an option for Europe; it has become a reality, a Gaullist moment where Europeans will have to learn to think and act strategically for themselves.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Holzer Kateryna, Cottier Thomas

Addressing climate change under preferential trade agreements: Towards alignment of carbon standards under the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership

in *Global Environmental Change*, Volume 35, Special Section on The Politics of Adaptation; Edited by Siri H. Eriksen, Andrea J. Nightingale and Hallie Eakin, November , 514-522

With its wide coverage of economic spheres and the variety of trade and investment measures currently under



negotiation, the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership opens windows of opportunity for advancing action on climate change. We examine possible avenues and international trade law implications for an alignment of carbon-related standards between the EU and the US. We compare EU and US carbon emissions standards for cars and argue that negotiators should strive for a mutual recognition of their equivalence for a transitional period, while pursuing the goal of full harmonization at the level of the highest standards of two parties at some date in the future. This could be a way to balance between economic and environmental interests and harness economic incentives for the benefit of climate.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Bendiek Annegret

Am Ende werden Gerichte entscheiden! Die Streitigkeiten um Datensicherheit und Datenschutz in der transatlantischen Partnerschaft

in Zeitschrift für Außen- und Sicherheitspolitik, vol. 8, n. 3, 335-345

ABSTRACT: Since the revelations of Edward Snowden there is an ongoing debate about the transatlantic partnership in cybersecurity issues. While grounded in an institutional framework it is subject to political influence. This article discusses the strategic quarrels in cybersecurity policy and the differences arising in regard to the current legislation processes concerning data protection. Even if the transatlantic discrepancies are to be debated in a political dialogue the conflicts in data protection issues can probably only be solved by jurisdiction.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Wright Carl

Back to the Future: The EU and the Commonwealth

in Round Table (The): the Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs, Volume 104, Issue 4, pp. 495-497

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

White Stephen, Biletskayaa Tania, McAllisterb Ian

Belarusians between East and West

in Post-Soviet Affairs, vol. 32, n. 1, 1-27

Belarus has a divided identity that reflects its complex history and culture. A mixed-methods investigation incorporating focus groups and national representative surveys conducted over a decade or more suggests that Belarusians themselves are more likely to regard themselves as "European" than their counterparts in Ukraine and Russia, but less likely to do so than in other European countries. There is substantial support for a hypothetical European Union membership, particularly among younger respondents, but there is also strong and widely distributed support for a closer association with the other members of the Commonwealth of Independent States. Consistently, it is the "multidirectional" foreign policy promoted by the current leadership, which seeks closer relations with East and West at



the same time, that finds the greatest support. But a “Slavic choice” is also popular, and much more so than a “Western choice” or isolationism.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Delcour Laure

Between the Eastern Partnership and Eurasian Integration: Explaining Post-Soviet Countries’ Engagement in (Competing) Region-Building Projects

in Problems of Post-communism, vol. 62, n. 6 , 316-327

This article enriches the understanding of region-building processes in the post-Soviet space by explaining why countries engage into regional projects. Based upon the analysis of the drivers behind Armenia’s and Moldova’s commitment to Eurasian integration and association with the European Union, respectively, it develops a more nuanced approach to region-building. The article points to the domestic factors behind engagement in regional projects and shows that the range of variables explaining countries’ choices is actually much broader (and their interaction more complex) than suggested by existing theories.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Pavlova Pavlina

Beyond economics: the geopolitical importance of the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership

in European View , vol. 14, n. 2, December , 209-216

With the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership, Europe has a decisive opportunity to define the direction of future global trade. However, concluding the biggest agreement of its kind seems to be trying the internal unity of the Union. A wave of protests has swept across Europe as many fear the hidden costs behind regulatory cooperation with our neighbours across the Atlantic. Getting sceptics on board will require more than economic reasoning. The hidden value of the free trade agreement is its geopolitical importance and the historic opportunity it offers for the West. Sealing the deal with the US would strengthen Euro-Atlantic cooperation, counter the influence of China, diminish European dependency on Russia’s energy imports and promote the Western economic model. Should the negotiations fail, mutual blame and internal frustration will isolate the EU.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Baldacchino Godfrey

CHOGM Returns to Malta: EU and Commonwealth Membership in the Mediterranean

in Round Table (The): the Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs, Volume 104, Issue 4 , pp. 493-494

No abstract available



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Lei Yu

China's strategic partnership with Latin America: a fulcrum in China's rise

in *International Affairs* , vol. 91, issue 5, september , 1047-1068

ABSTRACT: China has over the last two decades been committed to creating a strategic partnership with Latin American states by persistently extending its economic and political involvement in the continent. China's efforts in this regard reflect not only its desire to intensify its economic cooperation and political relations with nations in Latin America, but also its strategic goals of creating its own sphere of influence in the region and enhancing its 'hard' and 'soft' power in order to elevate China's status at the systemic level. With access to Latin American markets, resources and investment destinations, China may sustain its economic and social progress that bases its long cherished dream of restoring its past glory of fuqiang (wealth and power) and rise as a global power capable of reshaping the current world system. The enormous economic benefits deriving from their economic cooperation and trade may persuade Latin American nations to accept the basic premise of China's economic strategy: that China's rise is not a threat, but an opportunity to gain wealth and prosperity. This will help China gain more 'soft' power in and leverage over its economic partners in Latin America, and thereby help it to rise in the global power hierarchy.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Hadfield Amelia

Commune Consensus: A Soft Power Comparison of the Commonwealth and the European Union

in *Round Table (The): the Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs*, Volume 104, Issue 4 , pp. 397-412

The post-war heritage, institutional similarities, and policy motivations shared between commonwealth entities and contemporary international organisations, and their subsequent impact on soft power represents a wealth of unexplored potential. As will be explored in this article, both the Commonwealth of Nations and the European Union represent different facets of contemporary multilateralism, have a markedly different impact on their respective members, and yet are both formidable 'hybrid' actors that can contribute to, and even constitute, global governance, while simultaneously defying easy description. Examining the concept of 'soft power', the structural and normative challenges facing both entities, the manner by which 'house values' are used to define the home institution, and the specific role of development policy, this article offers a series of pragmatic policy reforms that both organisations must perforce undertake if each is to tackle successfully the 21st century challenge of maintaining both structural and substantive integrity.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Pinzler Petra

Das TTIP-Regime. Wie transatlantische Handelseliten die Welt dominieren

in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, Oktober, 2015 , 55-66



The full text is free:

<https://www.blaetter.de/archiv/jahrgaenge/2015/oktober/das-ttip-regime>

Heute vor gut 50 Jahren begann ein Prozess, von dessen Folgen damals noch niemand etwas ahnte. Ein Prozess, der die Handelspolitiker zu den Schlüsselfiguren des globalen Kapitalismus machen wird: die schleichende Ausweitung ihrer Kompetenzen. Nach und nach eroberten sie sich immer neue Gestaltungsmacht – tief hinein in immer neue Bereiche der Gesellschaft. Nach und nach gelang es ihnen, die eine Idee durchzusetzen: Handel ist gut, mehr Handel ist besser. Handel wird damit zum Ziel an sich.

Der amerikanische Linguist George Lakoff hat beschrieben, wie Sprache, wie eine bestimmte Bezeichnung für eine bestimmte Politik dafür sorgen kann, dass Menschen sie anders wahrnehmen. Schon in den 1960ern beginnt das in der Handelspolitik durch die Karriere einer Wortkombination. Sie lautet: „nichttarifäre Handelshemmnisse“. Zunächst nimmt diese Wortkombination über den engen Zirkel der Fachleute hinaus kaum ein Mensch wahr – und auch heute kennen viele Leute sie noch nicht. Und doch ermöglicht sie einen anderen Blick auf die Politik und die Gesellschaft, einen Blick, den bewusst oder unbewusst immer größere Teile der Eliten übernehmen...

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Hersh Adam S., Stiglitz Joseph

Der transpazifische Freihandelsschwindel

in **Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik**, November, 2015 , 31-35

Anfang Oktober trafen sich die USA und elf weiteren Pazifik-Anrainerstaaten in Atlanta, um die letzten Einzelheiten zur weitreichenden neuen Transpazifischen Partnerschaft (TPP) festzuklopfen. Doch das größte regionale Handels- und Investitionsabkommen der Geschichte ist nicht, was es zu sein scheint.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Morii Aiko

Dialogue without cooperation? Diplomatic implications of EU-Japan summits

in **Asia Europe Journal**, vol. 13, n. 4, December , 413-424

-The European Union (EU) and Japan have held annual bilateral summits since 1991; however, little cooperation has been achieved between the two parties. The existing literature on summitry meetings fail to account for this puzzling observation. This dissertation instead argues that the symbolic aspects of summits are the driving force behind the rise and continuation of EU-Japan summits because they essentially indicate the status of the EU and Japan in international relations.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Törö Csaba

EU Bridging Operation in Support of AU and UN Missions in the Central African Republic

in **European Foreign Affairs Review**, vol. 20, issue 4 , 517-533



ABSTRACT: In the practice of EU-UN collaboration in international crisis management, examples of European Union (EU) military operations have emerged when contingents of troops are dispatched to African conflict zones for limited period and purpose as temporary support for pending United Nations (UN) or already operating African Union (AU) missions. These EU deployments are intended to 'bridge' the gap in international capabilities until a more comprehensive and sustained 'multidimensional presence' under UN direction is not prepared to take over full responsibility for the security and protection of civilians and humanitarian assistance. Bridging operations can be conducted as temporary EU military crisis management undertakings in support of other multinational missions. The current deployment of an EU-led military contingent in the Central African Republic (CAR) began originally to help the AU intervention force, then it continued its operation to complement the subsequent UN mission on the way to its full operational capability. EU bridging operations are closely coordinated with the UN, implemented under explicit Security Council authorizations and concluded with the transfer of tasks and responsibility to a succeeding UN mission.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Antonio Segura Serrano

El Acuerdo de Libre Comercio entre la UE y CANADA (CETA): Una evaluación de la política comercial de la UE
in *Revista Electrónica de Estudios Internacionales*, Número 30, diciembre

The EU has recently introduced a radical shift in its political strategy with respect to trade agreements with third parties. The purpose of these agreements is not anymore directed by foreign policy interests, but lies in the economic interest consisting in gaining better access to the markets of third countries. The "deep" Free Trade Agreement (FTA) is the legal instrument used by the EU in this new stage. The trade agreement between the EU and Canada (CETA) is the latest and most successful example of this type of deep FTA, as it derives from its substantive and institutional elements discussed in this paper. Although it is unclear whether economically speaking this kind of agreements are so advantageous to the EU as they are to its partners, the fact is that the former has embarked on a rapid process of concluding these agreements in order to influence both the agenda and the international trade regulation, which is deeply affecting the multilateral trading system and the WTO as a global forum.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Romualdo Bermejo García and María Eugenia López-Jacoiste Díaz

El Banco de Desarrollo de los BRICS
in *Revista Española de Derecho Internacional*, vol. 67, no. 2, 248-253

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Petrova Irina, Raube Kolja

Euronest: What Drives Inter-Parliamentary Cooperation in the Eastern Partnership?
in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 21, issue 1, 35-55



ABSTRACT: The regional inter-parliamentary cooperation assembly, Euronest, has been described in the context of the Eastern Partnership (EaP) policy, yet not conceptually analysed. This article therefore aims to focus on the identification of the driving forces behind multilateral parliamentary cooperation in the EaP region. Following a literature review, three conceptual interpretations of the drivers of inter-parliamentary cooperation can be pointed out: institutionalization, socialization and parliamentary diplomacy. The research shows that all the three possible explanations play a role in driving the Euronest Parliamentary Assembly. Parliamentary diplomacy, including both formal and informal tracks, is concluded to play the leading role in the development of Euronest. Institutions, such as secretariats and political party families, have a lot of potential but are still in their infancy. Socialization is seen as a goal of Euronest, but with serious limitations.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Simon Luis

Europe, the rise of Asia and the future of the transatlantic relationship

in *International Affairs*, vol. 91, issue 5, september, 969-989

ABSTRACT: This article examines how, in a global strategic context presided by the rise of Asia and the US rebalance towards that region, Europeans are contributing to transatlantic burden-sharing—whether individually or through the EU/NATO. As Asian powers reach westward and the US shifts its strategic priorities eastward, classical geostrategic delimitations become gradually tenuous. Particularly important are the ‘middle spaces’ of the Indian Ocean, central Asia and the Arctic, in that they constitute the main avenues of communication between the Asia–Pacific and the European neighbourhood. The article seeks to understand how evolving geostrategic dynamics in Europe, the ‘middle spaces’ and the Asia–Pacific relate to each other, and how they might impinge on discussions on transatlantic burden-sharing. It is argued that the ability of Europeans to contribute to a more equitable transatlantic burden-sharing revolves around two main tenets. First, by engaging in the ‘middle spaces’, Europe's key powers and institutions are helping to underpin a balance of power in these regions. Second, by stepping up their diplomatic and economic role in the Asia–Pacific, strengthening their security ties to (US) regional allies and maintaining an EU-wide arms embargo on China, Europeans are broadly complementing US efforts in that key region. There are a number of factors that stand in the way of a meaningful European engagement in the ‘middle spaces’ and the Asia–Pacific, including divergent security priorities among Europeans, the impact of budgetary austerity on European defence capabilities and a tendency to confine foreign policy to the immediate neighbourhood. The article discusses the implications of those obstacles and outlines some ways in which they might be overcome.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Kiratli Osman Sabri

European integration policy in Turkey: a comparison of the Republican People's Party (CHP) and the Nationalist Movement Party (MHP), 1965–2011

in *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, vol. 15, n. 3, 261-279

Through a discourse analysis of the election manifestos of the centre-left, the Republican People's Party, and the nationalistic-right, the Nationalist Movement Party, from 1965 to 2011, this article investigates whether economic and political cleavages affect party positioning on European integration in Turkey. The article tentatively concludes that even



though both parties' positions on Europe are structured by the traditional left–right axis and resemble their Western and Eastern counterparts, and the arguments and discourses that led to these positions fundamentally diverge from Western and Eastern European experiences of political contestation.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Bilgic Ali

Hybrid Hegemonic Masculinity of the EU before and after the Arab Spring: A Gender Analysis of Euro-Mediterranean Security Relations

in Mediterranean Politics, Volume 20, Issue 3 , 322-341

In the academic literature on EU–southern Mediterranean relations, a focal point of neglect has been the gendered dimension of Euro-Mediterranean relations. This article argues that the Euro-Mediterranean space has been formed within the gendered global West/non-West relations with the purpose of promoting the West's security interests. Euro-Mediterranean security relations, thus, embody a gendered power hierarchy between the hybrid hegemonic masculinity of the EU (bourgeois-rational and citizen-warrior) and the subordinate (both feminized and hypermasculinized) southern neighbourhood. In addition, it shows that following the Arab Spring the EU has been determined to maintain the status quo by reconstructing these gendered power relations. This gender analysis contributes to the literature on Euro-Mediterranean relations through its specific focus on the (re)construction processes of gendered identities within the West/non-West context in tandem with the EU's competing notions of security.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Dragsbaek Schmidt Johannes

India and the European Union. A precarious relationship

in Asia Europe Journal, vol. 13, n. 4, December , 443-457

The introduction of the “strategic partnership” between India and the EU in 2004 was an attempt to gradually deepen and institutionalize diplomatic relations and cooperation between the two entities within a number of areas such as multilateralism, security and human rights, enhancement of commercial and economic exchanges, sustainable development, climate change and poverty, and promotion of interactions at the civil society level. A joint action plan was later signed, but the relationship has not yet evolved into a strategic level between two equal partners. Seen from both sides, there are inadequacies and inconsistencies in the way the partnership is being conducted. There are serious complaints especially from India's perspective about the dialogue itself and a lack of deep and serious commitment to move beyond the obvious and in some cases what is described a patronizing tone from EU delegations. This paper gives an overview of recent developments in the relationship with an emphasis on the period since the beginning of the European sovereign debt crisis and the simultaneous global shift away from geo-economics towards geo-politics. It utilizes a critical international political perspective which gives a coherent understanding of the interaction between what looks like a “normal” trade and investment relationship but what in reality appears as mercantilism mixed up with history, culture and politics. Adding to these difficulties are a number of domestic constraints which complicate the relationship.

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Wilhelm Lola

International Organisations and the Evolution of Humanitarianism: Cross-perspectives on the Commonwealth and the European Union

in Round Table (The): the Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs, Volume 104, Issue 4 , pp. 441-456

As international relations actors in the post-Second World War world, international organisations have played a significant role in the standardisation of global policy concepts during the 20th century, and humanitarian assistance has been no exception. While the study of the role of international organisations in shaping a dominant model of humanitarian aid has recently gathered pace, few historians have focused on different, less successful models and interpretations developed by other international organisations. Recently declassified Commonwealth Secretariat records show that discussions within the Secretariat and among member states regarding the potential objectives and scope of Commonwealth humanitarian assistance programmes took place as early as the 1960s, and continued throughout the following decades. This article provides an overview of the origin and evolution of the Commonwealth's approach to humanitarian assistance since the 1960s. Its objective is to document this hitherto little known aspect of Commonwealth assistance policies, and, based on an initial literature and archival survey, to contribute to the identification of further research questions and gaps in this aspect of Commonwealth history. Although they are very different in nature and scope, the Commonwealth and the European Union share at least one common feature in so far as humanitarian assistance is concerned, namely their difficulty in reaching a consensual definition of it. By exploring the links and discrepancies between, as well as within, each organisation's approach to humanitarian assistance, and by examining the initiatives of some of their member states, this paper seeks to highlight the plasticity of the definition of humanitarian assistance.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Gaenssmantel Frank

Interpreting change: International challenges and variations in foreign policy beliefs as explanations for shifts in China's policy towards the European Union

in International Relations, vol. 29, n. 3, september , 395-409

ABSTRACT: This article examines why and how China upgraded its engagement with the European Union (EU) in the years between 2001 and 2004, with reference to pre-existing foreign policy traditions and practices in reform-era China. It argues that most of the observed changes can be explained with reference to two dynamics. First, the changing international environment, mostly with regard to the roles of the United States and the EU, challenged the established approach to foreign policy inherited from Deng Xiaoping, China's pre-eminent leadership figure from the late 1970s to the mid-1990s. In this sense, the shift towards the EU was part of wider efforts to solve this dilemma. Second, differences in how various groups in the Chinese foreign policy establishment understood and implemented Deng's guidelines and their respective influence in policy-making can help to grasp some of the more specific developments in Chinese policy towards the EU in the early 2000s. To supplement this main claim, the article also critically evaluates the changes less well explained by these two dynamics and proposes additional explanations.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation



Yencken Edward

Like-minded partners in the Asia-Pacific region? The EU's expanding relationship with Australia
in *Asia Europe Journal*, vol. 13, n. 4, December , 425-441

Australia has historically been perceived as a state of limited direct relevance to European Union (EU) interests. This perception was influenced to a significant extent by disagreement over the EU's Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) and the obvious geographical distance that exists between the EU and Australia. Beginning with the 1990s, this article will argue, however, that the EU's decision to make a conscious effort to increase engagement with the Asia-Pacific region during this period has seen Australia become an international partner of increased relevance. During the 1990s, the EU slowly became more cognisant of the extent to which it had a commonality of values and interests with Australia in the Asia-Pacific region. This recognition facilitated increased cooperation on regional issues over subsequent decades on issues such as trade, security, development assistance and the promotion of regional integration. This article draws on interviews with EU and Australian officials to demonstrate the extent to which close cooperation on Asia-Pacific issues is taking place. Moreover, it will also argue that the extent of shared interests and cooperation with respect to the Asia-Pacific region has been reflected in the signing of a Partnership Framework agreement in 2008 and the current negotiations for a Framework Agreement. These agreements indicate how a shared recognition of norms and values in the Asia-Pacific region has resulted in Australia becoming an increasingly important partner of the EU.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Coustillière Jean-François

L'Union européenne (UE) et ses partenaires face au besoin de sécurité en Méditerranée
in *Confluences Méditerranée*, n. 94

La sécurité de l'Union européenne est étroitement liée à celle de ses voisins en Méditerranée. Les situations des pays partenaires méditerranéens ont été profondément bouleversées par les conséquences des révoltes arabes depuis 2011. L'Union européenne est contrainte de réviser son approche de partenariat global de sécurité telle qu'elle la poursuivait avec le Processus de Barcelone, pour privilégier des relations bilatérales avec chacun des pays, tenant compte de leurs spécificités.

Plan de l'article

- Des risques et des menaces en Méditerranée
- Des réponses politiques européennes mal adaptées au besoin
 - Des politiques de défense et sécurité qui se cherchent
 - Des initiatives de partenariat en grande partie dépassées
 - Des initiatives indépendantes de l'UE souvent plus pragmatiques
- Les carences majeures de ce maillage de relations internationales
 - Les acteurs des PPM globalement réticents à l'égard des demandes de l'UE
 - Des acteurs de l'UE peu à l'écoute
- Pour l'avenir de la coopération de sécurité en Méditerranée, renforcer le 5+5
- Corriger les approches qui nuisent à l'indispensable confiance
- Quelques pistes novatrices



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Martin-Mazé Médéric

L'extension transnationale du domaine de la lutte symbolique: comment les savoirs d'État sur les frontières passent-ils les frontières de l'État ?

in Cultures & Conflits, n. 98, Élités transnationales, été , 53-70

Why does the EU promote the OSCE concept of border security in Kyrgyzstan while the OSCE export the EU Integrated Border Management in Tajikistan? To elucidate this paradox, this article lays bare the transnational symbolic struggle between two professional guilds: Finnish and Austro-Hungarian border guard contest for the monopoly over the legitimate definition of means of circulation in Europe, and beyond. In European headquarters, the Finns successfully occupy the forestage of the EU, thereby relegating their Austro-Hungarians competitors to the backstage of the OSCE. On the Central Asian fields, however, the former provide the assistance of the OSCE to Tajikistan, whereas the later deliver the aid of the EU to Kyrgyzstan. This chassé-croisé helps understand why the Tajik strategy of border reform incorporates key elements of the Schengen 4 tiers model, while the Kyrgyz strategy implicitly refers to the cooperative approach put forth by the OSCE.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Schneider Michael

Mobilising the masses: a grass-roots communication strategy for TTIP

in European View , vol. 14, n. 2, December , 201-207

The US and the EU have set an ambitious goal of completing the negotiations on the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership by the end of 2015. Because this is not a conventional trade and investment agreement, stakeholders have demanded a more open and transparent debate. This article will consider the advantages of a communication strategy which is rooted in local European communities and the role that local and regional authorities can play in bringing the message to Europe's regions and cities.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Van de Walle Nicolas

Obama and Africa. Lots of Hope, Not Much Change

in Foreign Affairs, vol. 94, n. 5

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation



Christensen Thomas J.

Obama and Asia. Confronting the China Challenge
in *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 94, n. 5

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Applebaum Anne

Obama and Europe. Missed Signals, Renewed Commitments
in *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 94, n. 5

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Reid Michael

Obama and Latin America. A Promising Day in the Neighborhood
in *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 94, n. 5

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Lynch Marc

Obama and the Middle East. Rightsizing the U.S. Role
in *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 94, n. 5

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Kentmen-Çin Çiğdem

Participation in social protests: comparing Turkey with EU patterns
in *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, vol. 15, n. 3 , 223-237

Although Turkey is no stranger to protest events, there has been only limited research into why some people participate in protests, such as demonstrations and boycotts, while others do not. Using the 2008 European Values Study data, this paper investigates how socio-economic and demographic variables, political attitudes and orientations, social capital and religiosity explain variations in the likelihood of engaging in unconventional political activity in Turkey. Comparing results for Turkey with results for the European Union (EU), the present study finds that traditional explanations of



participation in unconventional forms of political action in stable democracies do not seem to explain participation in Turkey. Education, institutional trust, democratic satisfaction and religious beliefs are the only factors that shape non-traditional participation in Turkey. Socio-economic and demographic characteristics, political attitudes and orientations, social capital and religious beliefs explain most of the variation in unconventional activism in the EU.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Lim Yves-Heng

Perceptions chinoises d'une Europe en crise

in *Critique Internationale*, n° 69 , pp. 121-131

S'il est vrai que c'est dans l'adversité qu'on reconnaît ses vrais amis, alors on ne peut imaginer meilleure situation que la succession de crises qui secouent l'Union européenne depuis le début des années 2000 pour apprécier la solidité, voire la sincérité du partenariat sino-européen. L'examen d'une série d'articles parus dans deux revues très proches du pouvoir central permet ici d'analyser la variété des perceptions chinoises de l'UE entre 2007 et 2013, et met notamment en lumière l'ambiguïté de la Chine vis-à-vis de son partenaire européen. Si, à la veille des crises, les analystes chinois s'inquiétaient encore de l'émergence d'une « Europe-puissance » capable de faire primer ses intérêts dans sa relation bilatérale avec la Chine, le vacillement de l'eurozone, largement attribué aux erreurs commises par les dirigeants européens, a été accueilli avec une relative sérénité. De fait, la fragilisation du modèle européen est vue avant tout dans la perspective d'une évolution des rapports de force qui profite politiquement et économiquement à la Chine.

English

Chinese Perceptions of a Crisis-Ridden EU If, as coined by John Churton Collins, "in adversity, we know our friends", then the EU could not have thought of a better opportunity than the one created by the post-2000 wave of crises that rippled throughout Europe to test the strength – if not the sincerity – of its partnership with China. This research surveys a series of articles published in two journals closely linked to the Chinese central government. It shed light on Chinese perceptions of the EU between 2007 and 2013, and, more particularly, on the high degree of ambiguity that characterizes these perceptions. While, on the eve of EU crises, Chinese analysts worried about the rise of a powerful EU capable of defending its own interests when dealing with China, the faltering of the Eurozone, itself largely attributed to mistakes made by European leaders, has been considered with equanimity. In fact, the weakening of the European model is seen as part of an evolution in the distribution of power that are beneficial to China both economically and politically. ■

Plan de l'article

Sur le chemin de la puissance : l'UE à la veille des crises
Crise financière, crise des dettes souveraines, crise européenne
Les mutations de la relation UE-Chine

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Benantar Abdennour

Quelle architecture de sécurité pour la Méditerranée ?

in *Critique Internationale*, n° 69 , pp. 133-152

Cette étude porte sur l'architecture de sécurité en Méditerranée, zone caractérisée par une grande hétérogénéité : stabilité au Nord, instabilité au Sud, et suggère l'idée d'un régime de sécurité coopérative qui tiendrait compte de la diversité sous-régionale. Il s'agit, à partir d'approches néoréaliste, néolibérale et surtout constructiviste, d'analyser la pertinence de la sécurité coopérative pour l'espace méditerranéen, en faisant aussi appel à des concepts connexes tels que régime de sécurité et communauté de sécurité. Compte tenu d'une configuration hétérogène et d'une tension dans les préférences européennes entre impératifs stratégiques et considérations éthiques, comment s'opère le transfert de normes vers la rive méridionale ? La primauté des impératifs stratégiques, y compris dans le contexte des soulèvements arabes, fausse le processus de transfert de normes et d'externalisation. Toutefois, une sécurité coopérative est bel et bien en train de se mettre en place à travers des initiatives régionales et ce malgré la persistance de certains foyers de tensions dans la région.

English

What Security Architecture for the Mediterranean? This study addresses the security architecture of the Mediterranean, a zone characterized by significant heterogeneity: stability to the North, instability to the South. It argues for a cooperative security regime that takes sub-regional diversity into account. Drawing upon neo-realist, neo-liberal and (above all) constructivist approaches as well as the closely related concepts of security regime and security community, the article seeks to assess the relevance of cooperative security for the Mediterranean space. Given its heterogenous configuration and the tension between strategic imperatives and ethical considerations in European preferences, how are norms transferred to the southern shore? The primacy of strategic imperatives in the context of the Arab uprisings and elsewhere distorts the process of norm transfer and externalization. However, despite the persistence of some hotbeds of conflict in the region, a system of cooperative security is indeed being established

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Peg Murray-Evans

Regionalism and African agency: negotiating an Economic Partnership Agreement between the European Union and SADC-Minus

in *Third World Quarterly*, Volume 36, Issue 10 , 1845-1865

This article investigates the regional dynamics of African agency in the case of negotiations on an Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA) between the EU and a group of Southern African countries, known as SADC-Minus. I argue that these negotiations were shaped by a pattern of differentiated responses to the choice set on offer under the EPAs by SADC-Minus policy makers and by a series of strategic interactions and power plays between them. I offer two contributions to an emerging literature on the role of African agency in international politics. First, I argue for a clear separation between ontological claims about the structure–agency relationship and empirical questions about the preferences, strategies and influence of African actors. Second, I suggest that, in order to understand the regional dynamics of African agency, it is important to pay close attention to the diversity and contingency of African preferences and to the role of both power politics and rhetorical contestation in regional political processes.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Neuhaus Matthew

Renewing the Commonwealth—A Reform Agenda for a New Secretary-General

in Round Table (The): the Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs, Volume 104, Issue 5 , pp. 539-549

A new Secretary-General is to be elected at the Malta Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in November 2015. He—or she—must be a change agent, thought-leader, motivator and manager. This article gives a brief overview of this important position in global affairs and underlines the need for realistic but effective leadership. It sets an agenda for the new Secretary-General, especially in addressing the issues of violent extremism, terrorism and migration.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Alcaraz Colette

Repenser les dynamiques migratoires pour la coopération euro-méditerranéenne

in Confluences Méditerranée, n. 95 , 167-178

Sur les rives méditerranéennes, l'immigration revêt depuis ces dernières mois un caractère particulièrement dramatique. Vingt ans après le lancement du partenariat euro-méditerranéen, les positions des acteurs concernés par cette thématique se sont cristallisées autour d'enjeux sécuritaires. Dans un contexte régional où les menaces de divers ordres constituent le terreau du repli de l'Union européenne (UE), l'objectif de cet article n'est pas tant de brosser un portrait caricatural de l'écueil de pensée européenne de ces vingt dernières années, ni même encore de faire porter la responsabilité d'une situation sur deux épaules déjà malmenées. A l'aune d'une période riche de changements, il s'agit plutôt de tenter de saisir toutes les opportunités d'une réflexion nouvelle sur ce sujet transversal, intégrant de nouvelles pistes d'échanges dans le cadre euro-méditerranéen.

Plan de l'article

- La politique migratoire européenne, entre obsessions sécuritaires et prégnance des souverainetés nationales
- La complexité du système migratoire interarabe
- Migrations et développement, vers un renouveau de la coopération euro-méditerranéenne ?
- Conclusion

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Dzurinda Mikuláš

Revitalising transatlantic relations

in European View , vol. 14, n. 2, December , 143-144

In these turbulent times, we very much need allies, partners and friends we can rely on and work with. Our partnerships



have to be based on trust and a vision, but also on concrete cooperation—political, economic, military and cultural. The US and Europe have been natural partners from the start. Over time they have created a common space where the values of human dignity, freedom and responsibility, and solidarity are paramount. These values are now being threatened by independent groups of violent extremists, who are spreading terror worldwide, and by non-democratic regimes that are challenging our liberal-democratic order.

The US and Europe need to continue to stand their ground and be strong together. We have to defend what we believe in and assist others who cannot defend themselves. As prime minister of Slovakia, I have personally experienced the success of transatlantic cooperation. The vision of transatlantic unity between the US and Western Europe has brought democracy and a sustainable economy to Central and Eastern Europe. The region has come a long way, but we can never sit still. I see unnerving developments in some of the neighbouring countries, and it reminds me that we need to continually reach higher: to keep liberal democracy as the basis of our societies, where non-governmental organisations and political parties can freely develop and play active roles.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Kazharski Aliaksei, Makarychev Andrey

Suturing the Neighborhood? Russia and the EU in Conflictual Intersubjectivity in Problems of Post-communism, vol. 62, n. 6 , 328-339

In this article three arguments are key. First, we deem that the conflict conventionally described as “a battle over Ukraine,” under a close constructivist scrutiny, reveals its much deeper roots, which ultimately boil down to the unfinished process of mutual readjustment of two identities-in-the making, that of the post-Soviet Russia and that of the post-Lisbon EU, respectively. Second, we claim that, in spite of the depth of contradictions between them, the two identities are constitutively dependent on each other. Third, the EU and Russia, being in deep conflict, have come to grow more akin to each other in many respects. Conflictual intersubjectivity results in both differentiation and convergence, mutual adaptation and mimicry.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Chase Peter H.

TTIP, investor–state dispute settlement and the rule of law in European View , vol. 14, n. 2, December , 217-229

Many European citizens are concerned about the concept of investor–state dispute settlement, which is frequently portrayed as giving companies the right to sue governments for lost profits in secret international courts. Those who favour US–EU collaboration, including through the ambitious Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership agreement, can assuage these concerns by explaining how investment treaties strengthen international law. Governments created investor–state dispute settlement for their own purposes, anchoring it deeply in the UN system through numerous multilateral conventions—the most recent of which was adopted by the UN General Assembly in December 2014. By straying from this UN-based approach in its own response to public concerns, the European Commission might unfortunately weaken investor protection and the enforcement of international law. Its proposals on such issues as the right to regulate and the ‘investment court system’ should be reviewed in light of their impact on 50



years of international law.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Glunk Fritz

TTIP: Die Selbstaufgabe des Staates

in **Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik**, November, 2015 , 14-17

The full text is free:

www.blaetter.de/archiv/jahrgaenge/2015/november/ttip-die-selbstaufgabe-des-staates

Das geplante Freihandelsabkommen TTIP zwischen der Europäischen Union und den USA sorgt weiter für zunehmenden Protest: Am 10. Oktober fand in Berlin die größte Demonstration seit den Antikriegsprotesten im Jahre 2003 statt. Bis zu 250.000 Menschen füllten die Straße des 17. Juni zwischen dem Brandenburger Tor und der Siegessäule, um für einen gerechten Welthandel und gegen TTIP zu demonstrieren...

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Clegg Peter

The Commonwealth Caribbean and Europe: The End of the Affair?

in **Round Table (The): the Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs**, Volume 104, Issue 4 , pp. 429-440

The institutional relationship between the Commonwealth Caribbean and the European Union (EU) dates back to the mid-1970s, when the Lomé Convention was signed. The agreement was seen as a high water mark in First–Third World relations. However, since then the bond has come under concerted pressure. The consequence is that today the particularism that underpinned relations for so long has almost vanished and the EU is beginning to treat the Caribbean like any other relatively marginal region of the world. The article evaluates the reasons for this change, in particular: the scrapping of the trade protocols; the erosion of African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) preference due to free trade agreements signed by the EU; the refocusing of EU development policy towards the least developed countries; and the split in the ACP group with the creation of an ill-designed regional Economic Partnership Agreement. The article places these changes into starker relief by assessing briefly the deepening links between the United Kingdom Overseas Territories and the EU. However, as the article highlights, this link will neither reboot nor sustain the more important Commonwealth Caribbean–EU relationship.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Cutts Steve

The Commonwealth and Europe

in **Round Table (The): the Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs**, Volume 104, Issue 4 , pp. 489-492

<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/00358533.2015.1063843>



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Shaw Timothy M.

The Commonwealth of Nations and the EU after the 'Global' Crisis: Rethinking Post-2015 'Global' Development?
in Round Table (The): the Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs, Volume 104, Issue 4 , pp. 413-427

The continuing 'global' crisis has accelerated divergences between regions, especially between the 'rising' global South, the European Union (EU) of the PIIGS (Portugal, Ireland, Italy, Greece and Spain) and Cyprus, which belongs to both the Commonwealth and the EU. This article studies the emerging 'vertical' divergences between the EU and the global South, especially around the so-called Economic Partnership Agreements, and the parallel 'horizontal' divergences among Anglophone, Francophone (the Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie) and Lusophone (the Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa) Commonwealths, with their inheritance of emulation and competition. It focuses on the possibilities of enhanced human/citizen security to propose an analysis that challenges established perspectives and points towards prospects for Commonwealth 'schools' of international relations/development.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Sanders Ronald

The EU, Economic Partnership Agreements and Africa

in Round Table (The): the Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs, Volume 104, Issue 5 , pp. 563-571

Africa has been divided into four groups of states by the European Union in the negotiation of Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs) that will define the relationship between Africa and Europe in the future. The EPAs are unfair. They demand reciprocity between the EU countries collectively and each African country individually and they set conditions that will be demanded by any other country or groups of countries with which African countries seek trade arrangements. Further, separate EPAs among different groupings of African countries will undermine Africa's wider integration efforts, leaving it in thrall to EU companies. In their present form the EPAs are not in Africa's interest and will unnecessarily undermine the potential for Europe's improved relationship with the continent.

<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/00358533.2015.1090815>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Rein Conrad

The European Union and the African Union: A Strategic Partnership?

in European Foreign Affairs Review, vol. 20, issue 4 , 553-571

ABSTRACT: Despite a rhetorical emphasis on the problematic term 'strategic' by both European Union (EU) and African Union (AU) policymakers, cooperation between both actors is limited and lacking in strategic direction. Their cooperation focuses mainly on EU financial support for activities led by the AU and the Regional Economic Communities/Regional Mechanisms. These activities are largely limited to the subject of peace and security through the African Peace Facility



and other highly specific projects in Africa, as well as on a limited political dialogue. Nonetheless, the EU-AU link represents the most comprehensive partnership the African Union has with any non-African actor. This study will furthermore demonstrate that the United Nations (UN) is an indispensable third party to their relationship and it is therefore more appropriate to speak of the AU-EU-UN nexus. This article concludes that the AU-EU-UN nexus is an innovative evolving interregional partnership in a global context and that such interregionalism (institutional relations between two or more world regions) is an important emerging part of a new era of global governance.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Cumming Gordon D.

The European Union in Sudan: A Missed Opportunity?

in Round Table (The): the Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs, Volume 104, Issue 4 , pp. 473-488

International organisations active in Africa are often criticised for their ineffectiveness. So too is the European Union (EU), which is also accused of failing to assume a more prominent conflict management role in war-torn countries. This article examines the EU's capacity and readiness to take on such a role in one such country, the former Republic of Sudan, home to Africa's longest-running civil wars and the first 'genocide' of the 21st century. It begins by outlining the EU's record in Darfur and the North-South Peace Process. Drawing upon 25 interviews and Hill's 'capabilities-expectations model', it then questions whether the EU's 'capabilities' (resources, instruments, unity) were 'fit for purpose' in Sudan's hostile target setting. It concludes by identifying settings that have been more propitious for a conflict-related management function and by suggesting that the EU should better manage expectations about future security roles.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Cumming Gordon D.

The European Union in Sudan: A Missed Opportunity?

in Round Table (The): the Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs, Volume 104, Issue 4 , pp. 473-488

International organisations active in Africa are often criticised for their ineffectiveness. So too is the European Union (EU), which is also accused of failing to assume a more prominent conflict management role in war-torn countries. This article examines the EU's capacity and readiness to take on such a role in one such country, the former Republic of Sudan, home to Africa's longest-running civil wars and the first 'genocide' of the 21st century. It begins by outlining the EU's record in Darfur and the North-South Peace Process. Drawing upon 25 interviews and Hill's 'capabilities-expectations model', it then questions whether the EU's 'capabilities' (resources, instruments, unity) were 'fit for purpose' in Sudan's hostile target setting. It concludes by identifying settings that have been more propitious for a conflict-related management function and by suggesting that the EU should better manage expectations about future security roles.

<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/00358533.2015.1063842>

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Brobeg Morten

The European Union-Caribbean Relation: On the Apparent Deterioration of the EU-Caribbean Relationship
in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 21, issue 1, 75-94

ABSTRACT: EU diplomats consider the Caribbean countries to be allies and therefore expect these countries to support the EU in international affairs – but they find that this support has been waning in recent years. Caribbean diplomats and politicians do not share the European viewpoint. Rather, they take the view that the EU has forgotten its Caribbean allies and instead channels its attention and funding towards Sub-Saharan Africa. This article examines to what extent this asserted ‘rift’ really signals a profound change in the EU-Caribbean relations.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Pänke Julian

The Fallout of the EU’s Normative Imperialism in the Eastern Neighborhood
in *Problems of Post-communism*, vol. 62, n. 6, 350-363

This article argues that the European Neighborhood Policy is characterized by normative imperialism. The EU’s institutional set-up implies a specific logic of external behavior which differs significantly from conventional state foreign policy, as empires need to provide their ‘large polity’ with a sense of community. The argument offers an explanation to the question why the EU needs to adopt a normative agenda in external relations. The article continues to briefly assess three EU neighborhoods. In Eastern Europe, the EU’s approach had to fail, being based on deficient assumptions about political realities in the EaP states and underestimating the antagonistic relations with Russia.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Bieber Florian

The Serbia-Kosovo Agreements: An EU Success Story?
in *Review of Central & East European Law*, vol. 40, n. 3-4, 285–319

The agreements between Serbia and Kosovo—mediated by the EU since 2011—constitute a major step toward the normalization of relations between the two countries following Kosovo’s declaration of independence in 2008. They are also a test case for EU mediation and its ability to utilize the prospect of accession to address protracted conflicts. This article argues that the EU used creative ambiguity, as well direct pressure, in facilitating a number of agreements between Serbia and Kosovo. While this approach has yielded concrete results, it also bears risks, as the process was top-down and, also, left considerable room for divergent and conflicting interpretations of key provisions. This article will trace the negotiations and identify the particular features of the process.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Hang Yuan, Orbie Jan

The Social Dimension of the EU-China Relationship: A Normative and Pragmatic European Approach?



in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 20, issue 3 , 337-355

ABSTRACT: Recent decades have seen an expansion in EU-China relations. While this phenomenon has been examined extensively in the existing literature, bilateral interactions in the social field remain largely unexplained. This article investigates the evolution of the social dimension in EU-China relations and finds that social issues receive little attention until the mid-1990s, but increase in importance thereafter. To explore this phenomenon, we found both explanatory power and limits in the 'normative power Europe' versus the 'pragmatic power Europe' perspectives. Pragmatic concerns help to explain why social issues have become more closely linked to economic than to political ties. Yet they fail to account for the EU's relatively successful export of social security norms to China. The European Union's (EU's) normative power could be enhanced rather than inevitably threatened by China's rapid development. Analysing the social dimension also throws light on the complexity of the EU-China relationship; a complexity that is largely ignored by existing observations.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Farrell Henry, Newman Abraham

The Transatlantic Data War. Europe Fights Back Against the NSA

in *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 95, n. 1

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Fioramonti Lorenzo, John

The evolution of EU–South Africa relations: What influence on Africa?

in *South African Journal of International Affairs* , vol. 22, issue 4 , 463-474

ABSTRACT: South Africa and the European Union (EU) have a longstanding relationship. Their interaction has evolved through various phases, characterised simultaneously by ambitious partnerships coupled with a degree of wariness. As international dynamics change and Africa becomes an increasingly crucial player in global politics, the relationship between the EU and South Africa exerts a host of influences on how Africa and Europe relate to each other. This article discusses the evolution of EU–South Africa relations and highlights direct and indirect influences that this relationship has on the inter-regional partnership between Africa and Europe.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Bideleux Robert

The “Orientalization” and “de-Orientalization” of East Central Europe and the Balkan Peninsula

in *Debate: Journal of Contemporary Central and Eastern Europe*, vol. 23, n. 1 - Special Issue: The Politics of East European Area Studies: Disputing Contemporary Identifications , 9-44

This article first explains how Western “Orientalization” of East Central Europe, the Balkan Peninsula and the Russian



Empire during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries resulted in crude and demeaning “Western” caricatures of “East Europe(ans)”. After 1945, such stereotypes were reinforced by the Cold War East–West divide. From the 1980s to 2007, European integration brought about substantial “de-Orientalization” of most of Europe’s former communist states. Since 2008, unfortunately, further headway in these directions has been seriously jeopardized by recent “wrong turns”, crises and setbacks in the European integration process, above all by the ill-conceived Eurozone project.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Boute Anatole

Toward an EU-Russian Energy Agreement: Principles of Liberalization Under EU and Russian Energy Law in Review of Central & East European Law, vol. 40, n. 2 , 109–141

Although the Ukraine conflict and the resulting political hostility between Russia and the West have put a stop to the 2000 eu-Russia Energy Dialogue, the mutual benefits of energy cooperation and cross-border energy investments are undeniable. Taking these mutual benefits into account, energy would be a logical area of focus if the EU and Russia were to decide to re-initiate their strategic partnership in the event of a normalization of the situation in Ukraine. Although this scenario still is highly hypothetical and a further deterioration of eu-Russian relations is possible, it is important to reflect on the creation of institutional structures that would enable the EU and Russia to rebuild trust by working together in a field of common strategic interest. In this context, this article examines the possibility of establishing an eu-Russian energy agreement to overcome the current misunderstandings that exist between the EU and Russia in respect of the interpretation and application of the main concepts of energy law. The legal certainty resulting from such an energy-specific agreement could contribute to improving the investment climate for cross-border EU-Russian energy investments and possibly, through closer investment ties, enhancing trust between the EU and Russia.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Samokhvalov Vsevolod

Ukraine between Russia and the European Union: Triangle Revisited in Europe-Asia Studies, vol. 67, n. 9 , 1371-1393

Ukraine has long been considered as a bone of contention between the EU and Russia which could eventually lead to a geographical split of the country. This interpretation, however, fails to explain the dynamic of the Ukrainian revolution and Russian–Ukrainian war. To address the deadlock in understanding the mixed dynamics of the situation in Ukraine, the article argues that the relations in the EU–Ukraine–Russia triangle are affected by the combination of choices that the Ukrainian political class, business elites and broader society make in four major dimensions: internal political practices; economic dimension; a dimension of international politics; and an ideological dimension.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Portnov Andriy

Ukraine's “Eurorevolution”. Chronology and Interpretations

in Russian politics and law, vol. 53, n. 3, Special Issue: The Maidan: A Ukrainian Revolution , 6-27



The author reconstructs a selective chronology of the protest events that took place in Ukraine in November 2013–January 2014 and comments on various aspects of the political and economic crisis—unprecedented in the post-Soviet history of Ukraine—that brought to the fore the question of the further existence and development of Ukrainian society and the Ukrainian state. He argues that the protests showed that a substantial segment of Ukrainian society was seeking a fundamentally new European structure of political and economic life, a development that took the Yanukovich government by surprise and led to its downfall.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Kirkland John

Understanding Student Mobility: An Agenda for EU/Commonwealth Discussion

in Round Table (The): the Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs, Volume 104, Issue 4 , pp. 503-504

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Bechev Dimitar

Understanding the Contest Between the EU and Russia in Their Shared Neighborhood

in Problems of Post-communism, vol. 62, n. 6 , 340-349

The Ukraine crisis has turned the EU and Russia from uneasy partners into rivals in the shared neighborhood. But the rivalry differs from traditional power politics as seen during the cold war. While the EU is not a serious competitor in the security field Russia is unable to present a credible alternative to integration into the Single Market. As a result competition is most pronounced at the level of discourse. "Othering" the EU has also been an aspect of Putin's quest for legitimacy at home. That is a reason enough to expect that the contest between Moscow and Brussels will last.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Orsini Amandine

Why and How Should the Commonwealth of Nations Engage in the Access and Benefit-sharing Issue

in Round Table (The): the Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs, Volume 104, Issue 4 , pp. 505-507

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 1. Federalism

Kincaid John, Cole Richard L.

Citizen Evaluations of Federalism and the Importance of Trust in the Federation Government for Opinions on Regional Equity and Subordination in Four Countries

in Publius: The Journal of Federalism, vol. 46, n. 1, Winter , 51-76



Regional equity and subordination are paramount issues in federal systems. Based on surveys of public attitudes in Canada, Germany, Spain, and the United States, we compare public perceptions of the performance of federalism with respect to system characteristics and people's feelings about regional equity and subordination. We also examine institutional, social, and demographic factors plausibly related to those perceptions. These factors are found to be weakly or not at all associated with citizen evaluations and perceptions of regional equity and subordination. Instead, in all countries, public trust in the various orders of government, especially the federation government, is most associated with perceptions of regional equity and regional subordination. However, the nature of the interactive effect of these trust measures differs significantly in terms of impacts on the evaluative dimensions.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 1. Federalism

Jewkes Michael

Diversity, federalism and the nineteenth-century liberals

in Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy, Volume 19, Issue 2, 2016 , 184-205

Abstract

This paper provides an argument in favour of federal institutional design on the basis that it is more congenial to the preservation and promotion of normatively desirable societal diversity than its unitary alternative. Seeking inspiration in the work of three of the most influential liberal thinkers of the nineteenth century: John Stuart Mill; Alexis de Tocqueville; and Lord Acton, I construct a novel case for federalism that focuses on the inherent benefits of a dual/multi-layered governmental structure. Section one argues for the value of diversity, stating that it can both improve the authenticity of individually exercised autonomy, and improve the quality of individually espoused moral views. Section two considers the potential dangers posed by the unitary state to the flourishing of diversity through the centralisation of key institutions. Section three shows how the federal model sidesteps these pitfalls, and offers a more auspicious environment for the cultivation and enjoyment of diversity.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 1. Federalism

Mengie Legesse Tigabu

Ethnic Federalism and Conflict in Ethiopia: What Lessons Can Other Jurisdictions Draw?

in African Journal of International and Comparative Law, 23.3 , 462-475

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 1. Federalism

Padoa Schioppa Antonio

Il federalismo oggi in Italia e in Europa

in Paradoxa, ANNO IX - Numero 3 - Luglio/Settembre 2015

No abstract available



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

García Sebastiani Marcela

El 12 de octubre y la proyección internacional del nacionalismo español en América Latina, 1958-1970: los casos de Uruguay y Chile

in *Spagna Contemporanea*, Anno XXIV, n. 47

October 12 and the international projection of Spanish nationalism in Latin America, 1958-1970: the cases Uruguay and Chile

The days of national celebration are ideal observatories to build the biography of nations. In Spain, October 12 has been the day of national celebration since 1918. The celebration of Spain's very existence is grounded on the American projection and on nostalgia for the empire. Thanks to institutional support and civil initiatives, the celebration survived different political regimes, as an instrument of propaganda abroad, and it was part of Spanish diplomatic offensives throughout the 20th century. This article especially focuses on the period between 1958 and the Sixties in Spain and on the cases of Uruguay and Chile to show how celebrations revived the idea of national identity in Spain and in Latin American countries.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Savoia Salvatore

Il muro come entità che separa il mondo dei sogni da quello dei bisogni. Riflessioni sulla ripresa dei nazionalismi

in *Democrazia e diritto*, fasc. 2

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Chilton Phil

Armed Struggle, Peace Process and Parliamentarism: James Connolly and the Changing Politics of Provisional Republicanism

in *Australian Journal of Politics & History*, Volume 61, Issue 4, December, 485-500

Since 1998 Sinn Féin has moved from supporting an armed campaign to full participation in the electoral politics of Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland. In so doing they have had to moderate much of their rhetoric in regard to revolution and armed struggle. They have not, however, jettisoned the attachment to one of their key iconic figures, James Connolly. The retention of Connolly as a central figure in the Provisionals' political discourse presents an opportunity to use him to examine both continuity and change in the doctrine of Ireland's most prominent republican faction.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Roman Vater

Beyond bi-nationalism? The Young Hebrews versus the 'Palestinian issue'

in **Journal of Political Ideologies** , Volume 21, Issue 1

The bi-national option for the solution of the Israeli–Palestinian conflict is as old as Zionism itself. The standard bi-national scenario envisaged an accommodation in a shared polity of separate Jewish and Palestinian identities. The Young Hebrews movement defied this paradigm by arguing that these identities were not national and should be incorporated into the Hebrew nation. This article analyses the Young Hebrews' solution to the 'Palestinian issue' by showing that they used it as a tool to destroy Zionist hegemony in Israel and open the way to a radical geopolitical rearrangement of the entire Middle East.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Nielson Carmen J.

Caricaturing Colonial Space: Indigenized, Feminized Bodies and Anglo-Canadian Identity, 1873–94

in **Canadian Historical Review (The)**, Volume 96, Issue 4, Winter , 473-506

During the 1870s and 1880s, when cartoonists working for Britain's most popular satirical magazine, Punch, wanted to represent Canada visually, they drew on centuries' old artistic conventions that depicted America, and, later, British North America, as a woman and an "Indian." During the same period, in Canada's most popular satirical magazine, Grip, normative portrayals of the embodied nation were unambiguously white. The visual trope of an indigenized, feminized body was enlisted instead to represent Manitoba and the North-West Territories. This imagery disavowed British depictions of Canada as a racialized and colonized subject and relocated the identity of the colonial Other onto the Prairie West. In other words, Grip's images constituted a representational politics that involved both "looking back" at Empire and directing the imperial gaze onto others.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Molnár Virág

Civil society, radicalism and the rediscovery of mythic nationalism

in **Nations and Nationalism**, Volume 22, Issue 1, January 2016 , 165–185

The full text is free:

Abstract

The article argues that contrary to the widely held view that traces the recent rise of illiberalism in Hungary and Eastern Europe to a weak civil society, the past decade has witnessed a surge of civil society activism. But rather than working exclusively towards strengthening and complementing liberal political institutions, civil society has also provided fertile soil to the spread of right-wing populism, radicalism and xenophobia. The analysis suggests that civil society organisations have in fact played an important role in the right-wing radicalisation of contemporary Hungarian politics.



Conservative civic groups have been instrumental in reinvigorating the symbolic vocabulary of a mythic nationalism that was widespread at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth century as well as in the 1930s. The resurrection of nationalist, irredentist and anti-Semitic symbols and paraphernalia (e.g. greater Hungary car stickers) has been a major vehicle for increasing the public visibility and political impact of these groups. The article shows through case studies of specific organisations how this seemingly anachronistic symbolic repertoire has found new resonance in contemporary Hungarian public life.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Berryman Jim

Civilisation: A Concept and its Uses in Australian Public Discourse

in **Australian Journal of Politics & History** , Volume 61, Issue 4, December , 591-605

This article examines the concept of civilisation in Australian public discourse, focussing on some recent political uses. Rhetoric defending Australia's traditional attachment to Western civilisation has focussed on three themes — the role of the British heritage in Australian public life, the moral foundations of Australia's "Judeo-Christian" belief system, and the rational principles of the Enlightenment. Although the language of civilisation is not confined to centre-right political discourse, it has been most vocal among conservative-leaning commentators. This article highlights examples of civilisation and its uses in the contemporary Australian context and attempts to give meaning to civilisation in light of debates about Australian history and national identity. I argue in the course of this article that civilisation is differentiated from culture, and that the culture-civilisation distinction correlates with left-right political leanings.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Efstathiadou Anna

Constructing national identity: Depictions of national and international space in Second World War Greek popular iconography

in **Journal of European Studies** , vol. 45, n. 3, september , 236-255

ABSTRACT: This paper discusses artistic representations of space in relation to constructions of national identity in Second World War popular icons (λαϊκέςεικόνες). Due to their origins, name and production by private initiative rather than state directive, popular icons were not directly associated with propaganda or seen as means of state ideology. This paper argues that they are valuable primary sources that need to be studied in their own right, as carriers of official ideas in wartime that can contribute to understandings of cultural belonging in modern Greece, especially in reference to representations of space.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Bilinski Adam



Cultural legacies and electoral performance of ethnic minority parties in post-communist Europe

in Nations and Nationalism, Volume 21, Issue 4, October 2015 , 721–740

Abstract

Although there are numerous contributions on ethnic electoral politics, relatively little research has been devoted to explain the scope of success of ethnic minority parties. This article addresses the issue within the bounds of post-communist Europe, paying particular attention to the effect of cultural legacies. It was confirmed, first of all, that ethnic parties are likely to emerge only if their titular minority has a number of voters larger than what is necessary to obtain parliamentary representation. Otherwise, the most successful were the ethnic parties representing the minorities characterised by legacy of regional domination, that is, those whose members had once enjoyed a dominant position as a ruling nation on a given territory (e.g. Hungarians in Slovakia). The second-successful were the parties representing homeland minorities, that is, those which have resided on a given area for more than two centuries, but have never been members of a ruling nation. The parties representing diaspora or immigrant minorities were the least successful. Further research could assess the importance of these factors in other regions of the world.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Taşdemir Nagihan, Öner-Özkan Bengi

Definitions of Turkish in-group boundaries: national participation and essentialism as predictors of inter-group attitudes in Turkey

in Nations and Nationalism, Volume 22, Issue 1, January 2016 , 143–164

The full text is free:

<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/nana.12145/abstract>

Abstract

The present research investigates how definitions of national in-group boundaries predict inter-group attitudes in Turkey. In Study 1, we explore definitions of Turkish in-group boundaries as well as perceptions of the Turkish in-group's relations with other groups among 64 university students. In Study 2, conducted among 324 university students, exploratory factor analyses reveal two dimensions of Turkish in-group boundaries: national participation (a more civic definition) and national essentialism (a more ethnic definition). They also reveal four dimensions of the relations with others. Regression analyses show that national participation predicts more negative inter-group attitudes. However, national essentialism is not found to predict the inter-group attitudes. These results are compared with those of previous studies, mostly conducted in Western countries. The comparison suggests that conclusions about the positive role of Civic and the negative role of Ethnic/Cultural definitions in intergroup relations may be less general than is previously thought.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Schildt Axel



Die Renaissance der Nationalen Frage in den 1980er Jahren

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 46, 2015

The full text is free:

www.bpb.de/apuz/214861/die-renaissance-der-nationalen-frage?p=all

Im letzten Jahrzehnt der Bonner Republik hatten sich die Westdeutschen an die Zweistaatlichkeit gewöhnt. Das "Provisorium" war für sie längst keines mehr. Der von dem Politikwissenschaftler Dolf Sternberger ins Spiel gebrachte und von Jürgen Habermas übernommene Begriff des "Verfassungspatriotismus" etablierte sich in der politischen Kultur der 1980er Jahre. Die sogenannte Nationale Frage schien in der Perspektive "normaler" Staatlichkeit im Rahmen westeuropäischer Integration aufgehoben zu sein...

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Seymour Lee JM, Bakke Kristin M, Gallagher Cunningham Kathleen

E pluribus unum, ex uno plures: Competition, violence, and fragmentation in ethnopolitical movements

in *Journal of Peace Research*, Volume 53, Number 1, January , 3-18

Why are some ethnopolitical movements divided while others are relatively unified? A growing literature examines the consequences of internal divisions in ethnopolitical movements – and shows that it matters for a range of conflict outcomes – yet the mechanisms causing such divisions remain poorly understood. Our argument emphasizes competitive dynamics between states and self-determination movements and between rival factions within these movements as key determinants of fragmentation. Drawing from literatures on social movements, contentious politics, and civil war, we situate our argument vis-à-vis three alternative and complementary sets of explanations based on theories emphasizing transnational dimensions, political institutions, and structural factors within ethnopolitical groups. Using an original dataset, we test hypotheses explaining movement fragmentation over time and use a case study of Punjab in India to identify specific causal mechanisms and missing variables. Our findings show some support for three of these theories, suggesting that ethnopolitical movements divide as a result of complex and interactive processes. But our findings also underscore that central to explaining fragmentation dynamics are factors capturing competitive dynamics, including repression, accommodation of movement demands, the turn to violence, and the dynamic and changing nature of ethnopolitical demands.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

El concepto Estado-nación en la crisis de la democracia en España

in *Cuadernos de pensamiento político*, Número 48 Octubre/Diciembre , Jiménez Sánchez J.J.

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism



Canal Jordi

El nacionalismo catalán como populismo: una aproximación a los discursos de Artur Mas en 2014
in *Cuadernos de pensamiento político*, Número 49, Enero/Marzo

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Lonsdale John

Have tropical Africa's nationalisms continued imperialism's world revolution by other means?
in *Nations and Nationalism*, Volume 21, Issue 4, October 2015 , 609–629

Abstract

Many scholars argue that European imperialism shaped today's tropical Africa, for better or worse. Some imperial historians see the British empire as a fertile capitalist pioneer, kindling class-conscious, national, politics overseas. Economists of differing persuasions can see it, to the contrary, as the engineer of an underdevelopment that strangles popular sovereignty. Together with most Africanist historians, this article doubts that Europe had such creative or destructive power; British rule, among others, had to respond as much to African history as to metropolitan will. Anti-colonial nationalisms, in turn, were neither class nor ideological vanguards but regional coalitions. Nation-building thereafter was an elusive aim, steered by minority visions imperfectly seen and widely disputed, from capitalism to socialism. All these complexities rest, it is widely argued, on the historic difficulty of exercising power in what was until recently an underpopulated continent with openly available resources.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Nadim N. Rouhana

Homeland nationalism and guarding dignity in a settler colonial context: the Palestinian citizens of Israel reclaim their homeland
in *Borderlands*, Vol. 14, n°1

This paper seeks to examine the foundations of indignities inflicted upon a native population in a settler-colonial condition and to explore how they face these indignities, both in their popular rhetoric and political action. The author looks at how Palestinian citizens in Israel articulate their homeland nationalism in the face of a unique Zionist view denying the Palestinians' relationship to their homeland and claiming it exclusively for the Jewish people, who have come to identify themselves as the true natives. The indignities accompanying such claims are so profoundly and naturally entrenched in Israel's settlercolonial structure that the state's hegemonic political culture takes their intense and repeated occurrence for granted.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Al Serhun, Karell Daniel



Hyphenated Turkishness: the plurality of lived nationhood in Turkey

in *Nationalities Papers*, Volume 44, Issue 1, 2016 , 144-164

Abstract

Is Turkish nationality one singular identity that does not permit ethnic modifiers? Or can it be understood as pluralistic, with identities nested – “hyphenated” – with Turkishness? Then, are Turkish and Kurdish identities necessarily mutually exclusive? Such questions over the boundaries of Turkishness have long been framed in the civic versus ethnic dichotomy – an approach that does not ask whether Turkish nationhood is monolithic or pluralistic. In response, this article aims to advance the public and scholarly debates over nationhood in Turkey by turning to the question of ways in which Turkishness can be hyphenated with other identity categories in Turkey, most particularly Kurdishness. First, we reframe the debate over identity by using the combinatorial approach to ethnicity to outline how Turkishness and Kurdishness can be overlapping and nested, or a hyphenated identity. Second, we draw on public opinion data to show that such a hyphenated identity is both theoretically possible and potentially salient in Turkey today. Together, these steps deconstruct the primordialist understandings of Turkishness and Kurdishness, on the one hand, and the taken-for-granted civic claims of Turkishness, on the other.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Ruiz Jiménez Antonia María, González-Fernández Manuel Tomás, Jiménez Sánchez Manuel

Identifying with the Nation: Spain's Left-Wing Citizens in an Age of Crisis

in *South European Society & Politics*, Volume 20, Issue 4 , 487-508

This study analyses the extent, sense, and strategies employed by sympathisers with Spanish state-wide left-wing parties to ‘reconstruct’ their affective ties with the Spanish nation after the ‘monopolisation of patriotism’ by Franco's regime. Such an undertaking is further complicated within the context of economic crisis and intensified peripheral nationalism found in Catalonia and the Basque Country. This article applies qualitative analysis to the discourse of left-wing participants from 11 focus groups held in March 2012 amidst the economic (and political) crisis. As expected, this context of crisis favoured the emergence of explicit discourse on the Spanish nation, providing an opportunity to gain a better understanding of its nature. Findings show that welfare nationalism and social patriotism define the kind of attachment developed by the interviewees towards Spain better than the concept of constitutional patriotism, or any kind of ethnic-cultural feeling of belonging.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Cillian McGrattan

Ideology, reconciliation and nationalism in Northern Ireland

in *Journal of Political Ideologies* , Volume 21, Issue 1

This article explores the conceptualization of ‘reconciliation’ within modern Northern Irish nationalist discourse. I argue that the case of Northern Irish nationalism adds a new dimension to those understandings that remain currently underappreciated within the literature. The article charts how reconciliation becomes operationalized as a restrictive politics both despite and because of it being framed in a language of pluralism, restoration and openness. While this process points towards the constitution of a political and ideological community, the concept of reconciliation also



precipitates contestation and competition – not simply over memory but over a moral vision of the (violent) past. As such, I argue that reconciliation is not so much about the past but about ideological reframing(s). The case of Northern Irish nationalism, then, suggests that those reframings – a closing down and an opening up of debate – take place simultaneously within the rhetoric of reconciliation.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

McManus Cathal

Irish language education and the national ideal: the dynamics of nationalism in Northern Ireland
in *Nations and Nationalism*, Volume 22, Issue 1, January 2016 , 42–62

The full text is free:

<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/nana.12142/abstract>

Abstract

Since the beginning of the Northern Ireland conflict in the late 1960s, Irish nationalism has been identified as a prominent force in the political culture of the state. Recent studies have suggested, however, that the ‘Nationalist’ population has become increasingly content within the new political framework created by the peace process and the aspiration for Irish unity diminished. In placing the Northern Ireland situation within the theoretical framework of nationalism, this paper will analyse how these changing priorities have been possible. Through an analysis of Irish language study in Northern Ireland's schools, the paper will examine how the political ideals espoused by the nationalist Sinn Féin Party reflected the priorities of the ‘nationalist community’. It will be contended that the relationship between the ideology and ‘the people’ is much more complex than is often allowed for and that educational inequalities are a significant contributing factor to this.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Todorova Maria

Is there weak nationalism and is it a useful category?
in *Nations and Nationalism*, Volume 21, Issue 4, October 2015 , 681–699

Abstract

Introducing the category ‘weak nationalism’, this article emphasises the scales of intensity and the different operational modes of nationalism across time and space, as well as within the same space. It refuses to create a model or another dichotomy – strong/weak – on a par with earlier ones like organic/civic, Eastern/Western, bad/good. Rather, it approaches nationalism as a binary variable on a scale from weak/low to strong/high. It argues to extend the research focus beyond the fixation on extreme cases to so-called weak or weaker manifestations that remain subordinate and under-researched, all the time stressing the changeability of nationalisms in their local context and in the course of time. While it is a category more recognisable in a common sense approach than in a strictly quantifiable one, it can be identified and comparatively evaluated by the mobilising ability of the nationalist message in the public sphere.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Carlsson Allen

It Should Not Only Be about Nationalism: China's Pluralistic National Identity and Its Implications for Chinese Foreign Relations

in **International Studies**, vol. 48, n. 3/4, july-october , 222-236

ABSTRACT: Over the course of the last decade, students of Chinese foreign relations have engaged in an extended, and often rather breathless, debate over the meaning of China's changing international profile. The question for all those with an interest in Asian security, and the wider international order, has become: what does China want to do with its new-found power? This article rests upon the conviction that national identity, rather than nationalism alone, stands at the centre of such issues. The latter of these two has attracted more attention. However, it tends to lead analysts to only see a narrow bandwidth of identity formation within a country, whereas the former is more inclusive of the potential variety of collective constructs that are in play in a given location. From within such a framework, it is then possible to both examine the production of Chinese collective imaginings and explore the role that they play in framing China's interaction with the rest of the international system.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Breuilly John

John Breuilly: 'Eric Hobsbawm: nationalism and revolution'

in **Nations and Nationalism**, Volume 21, Issue 4, October 2015 , 630–657

Abstract

This article considers how Eric Hobsbawm (1917–2012) connected the concepts of revolution and nationalism, analysing this in relation to his biography, his politics and his work as a professional historian. It traces major changes in Hobsbawm's understanding of revolution and nationalism as he, the political world and the ways of writing history all changed over the course of his long life.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Prestholdt Jeremy

Locating the Indian Ocean: notes on the postcolonial reconstitution of space

in **Journal of Eastern African Studies** , Volume 9, Issue 3 , 440-467

The networks of human relation that define the Indian Ocean region have undergone significant reconfiguration in the last half-century. More precisely, the economic insularity of the region has diminished while the postcolonial nation has both restricted movement and reoriented the political imaginations of people along the rim. At the same time, the Indian Ocean has been revived as a unit of social exchange and analysis, particularly since the end of the Cold War. This article explores the meaning of Indian Ocean Africa in the context of a multipolar world by focusing on how the dictates



of nations have transformed the region and how the petroleum economy as well as shifting means of social engagement have engendered new linkages. The essay argues that although the postcolonial era affected the closure of certain historical routes of connectivity, relationships structured by contemporary nations and air travel, among other things, have encouraged perceptions of regional coherence. What we might term basin consciousness has begun to reverse the introverted politics of the early postcolonial era and animate the Indian Ocean as an idea.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Mura Andrea

National finitude and the paranoid style of the one

in *Contemporary Political Theory*, Volume 15, Issue 1 (February 2016) , 58–79

This article inquires into the clinical figure of paranoia and its constitutive role in the articulation of the nation-state discourse in Europe, uncovering a central tension between a principle of integrity and a dualist spatial configuration. A conceptual distinction between ‘border’ (finis) and ‘frontier’ (limes) will help to expose the political effects of such a tension, unveiling the way in which a solid and striated organisation of space has been mobilised in the topographic antagonism of the nation, sustaining the phantasm of a self-enclosed, self-sufficient finitude.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Unwalla Pheroze

Nationalism and revolution

in *Nations and Nationalism*, Volume 21, Issue 4, October 2015 , 579–588

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Kumar Krishan

Nationalism and revolution: friends or foes?

in *Nations and Nationalism*, Volume 21, Issue 4, October 2015 , 589–608

Abstract

Nationalism and revolution have generally been held to go together. Many nation-states have had their origins in revolution, from the Americans in the 18th century to a host of Third World nation-states in the 20th century. Generally, both modern revolutions and modern nationalism have the same origins, in 18th century Enlightenment thought. But this paper argues that, despite this common origin, the principles of revolution and nationalism are divergent, and can set one against the other. Revolutions emphasise freedom and equality; nationalism emphasises integration and unification. These principles can clash, though not inevitably and not always. The paper examines the 1789 French Revolution, the 1848 revolutions and the 1917 Russian revolution. It shows that in the first two cases, revolutionary aspirations came up against and were eventually displaced by nationalist aims. In the case of 1917, revolution paradoxically, and



unintentionally, institutionalised nationalism. These examples show that, though linked at some high level of modern thought, revolution and nationalism express different and at times divergent strands of modernity.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Shcherbak Andrey

**Nationalism in the USSR: a historical and comparative perspective
in *Nationalities Papers*, Volume 43, Issue 6, 2015 , 866-885**

Abstract

The late 1980s and early 1990s were characterized by the sudden rise of nationalist movements in almost all Soviet ethnic regions. It is argued that the rise of political nationalism since the late 1980s can be explained by the development of cultural nationalism in the previous decades, as an unintended outcome of Communist nationalities policy. All ethnic regions are examined throughout the entire history of the USSR (49 regions, 1917–1991), using the structural equation modeling (SEM) approach. This paper aims to make at least three contributions to the field. First, it is a methodological contribution for studying nationalism: a “quantification of history” approach. Having constructed variables from historical data, I use conventional statistical methods such as SEM. Second, this paper contributes to the theoretical debate about the role of cultural autonomy in multiethnic states. Finally, the paper statistically proves that the break between early Soviet and Stalinist nationalities policy explains the entire Soviet nationalities policy.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Storm Eric

**Nationalism studies between methodological nationalism and orientalism: an alternative approach illustrated
with the case of El Greco in Toledo, Spain
in *Nations and Nationalism*, Volume 21, Issue 4, October 2015 , 786–804**

Abstract

Methodological nationalism is still dominant in nationalism studies. When studying the construction of national identities, scholars generally limit their study to the borders of one nation-state, while only paying attention to members of that particular nation. Implicitly, foreign actors and influences are left out of the picture. I will challenge this methodological nationalism with a case study, which demonstrates that the place of Toledo within the Spanish national imagination, and more particularly that of El Greco, the most important representative of the city's artistic heritage, was largely determined by foreigners. During the nineteenth century, El Greco was rediscovered primarily by foreign scholars and artists. Moreover, it would be the rise of international tourism in the early twentieth century that convinced Toledans to adopt El Greco as the city's main artistic icon. This case, thus, clearly shows that in nationalism studies methodological nationalism can be avoided by also including foreign actors.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Barney Warfa, Carlos Ferras



Nationalism, identity and landscape in contemporary Galicia

in Space and Polity, Volume 19, Issue 3

In escaping the territorial trap of the nation-state, political geography has devoted mounting attention to sub-state geographies of nationalism. This paper traces the history, geographies, and politics of Spanish Galicia, in light of the contradictory processes of contemporary European integration and secessionism. After a review of sub-state nationalism, it contextualizes Galician nationalism within Spanish regionalism. It offers an historical overview that highlights the uniqueness of Galician culture and explicates the roots of the current nationalist movement. Finally, it delves into contemporary Galician politics, including its electoral dimensions, cyberpolitics, and banal nationalism, in which territory plays a decisive role.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Marcel Lubbers, Roza Meuleman

Participation in national celebrations and commemorations: The role of socialization and nationalism in the Dutch context

in Social Science Research, Volume 55

National celebrations and commemorations are believed to increase national cohesion. It is unknown however who participates in these activities. In this contribution, we address to what extent socialization by the parents and school, and integration into religious intermediary groups affect participation in national celebrations and commemorations. With the strong reference to the relevance of the nation in national days, we also hypothesize about the association between nationalist attitudes and national day participation. We chose the Netherlands as test case, with its institutionalized national days to remember war victims, to celebrate freedom and to celebrate the Monarchy. Relying on a national survey (LISS; N = 4559), our findings show that the transmission of parental behaviours is crucial for taking part in national celebrations and commemorative events. Schooling and integration in religious groups only affect specific forms of national celebrations and commemorations. In line with US based research on flagging the Stars and Stripes, we find that national day participation in this European country is affected by patriotic attitudes rather than by chauvinistic attitudes.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Zsolt Enyedi

Paternalist populism and illiberal elitism in Central Europe

in Journal of Political Ideologies, Volume 21, Issue 1

Through the analysis of the ideology of two Hungarian parties typically considered as populist, this paper investigates how elitism can be integrated into an overall populist appeal. The two parties, Fidesz and Jobbik, exhibit features of paternalist populism and illiberal elitism while offering different responses to the challenges typically confronted by authoritarian populist movements. With regard to Jobbik, the paper uncovers the existence of three distinct ideologies: right-wing populist; ultra-nationalist; and traditionalist and 'meta-nationalist.' The paper directs attention to the layered nature of partisan ideological discourses and assesses the relevance of the analysed model for Eastern and Central Europe.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Tom Widger

Philanthronationalism: Junctures at the Business–Charity Nexus in Post-war Sri Lanka
in *Development and change*, Vol. 47, n° 1

Over the past few years, the role of private sector organizations as actors and investors in development processes has received increased attention. This article explores the rise of ‘philanthronationalism’ in Sri Lanka: the co-development of business and philanthropy methods as a response to patronage, nationalization and militarization in the post-war environment. Drawing on ethnographic research into indigenous forms of corporate social responsibility (CSR), the article identifies four kinds of philanthronationalist practice — passive, assimilative, reactive and collaborative — that provide a logic, mechanism and ethic for private sector development initiatives in the island whilst promoting a vision of the ‘Sinhala Buddhist’ nation state. Noting the emergence of similar philanthronationalist practices in Myanmar, the article concludes by arguing that the Sri Lankan case is unlikely to be unique and calls for further research into the partnerships that emerge between private philanthropy and nationalist movements in conflict/post-conflict processes around the world.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Walter Robert

Siegfried Lichtenstaedter – Vordenker einer ethno-nationalen Neuordnung Europas
in *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, Jahrgang 63, Heft 11, 2015

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Fabrykant Marharyta, Buhr Renee

Small state imperialism: the place of empire in contemporary nationalist discourse
in *Nations and Nationalism*, Volume 22, Issue 1, January 2016 , 103–122

The full text is free:

<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/nana.12148/abstract>

Abstract

Many modern European nations can trace their heritage back to one of the large multinational empires that once encompassed much of the European landscape, and nationalising elites often refer back to their place in these empires for the materials upon which their nation was purportedly built. In this article we examine some Belarusian nationalising elites and their references to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in order to demonstrate a recent trend in East European



small-state national identity construction, which we refer to as 'small state imperialism.' Small state imperialism exhibits realist characteristics and paints the small nation's place in empires of the past as privileged and aggressive, and in this way deviates from the oppressed but morally superior image one typically expects of a small nation. This interpretation is not limited to Belarus; in a number of East European states a similar imperialist turn has taken root in nationalist discourses.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Wassara Samson S.

South Sudan: state sovereignty challenged at infancy

in Journal of Eastern African Studies , Volume 9, Issue 4 , 634-649

South Sudan is losing control over its territory. The state was born prematurely into a conflict society where fragility is manifested through multiple challenges. Although the emerging state fulfilled the declarative requirements of a state in international law, the tools needed to build a sovereign state were lacking and South Sudan descended rapidly into another civil war and disorder. The theoretical significance of this paper lies in its explanation of the theory of sovereignty with relevance to the emergence of South Sudan as a state. It examines how post-conflict policies, decisions, and practical actions have influenced trends of national sovereignty. A variety of conflicts, and political violence and poor infrastructure in particular, challenge the capacity of South Sudan to maintain control over its territory. Using descriptive research approaches this paper concludes that legacies of prolonged civil war including unresolved issues within the Comprehensive Peace Agreement, politico-military incongruent policies, and communal violence present serious challenges to the Government of South Sudan as it struggles to sustain its independence.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Horvath Robert

The Euromaidan and the crisis of Russian nationalism

in Nationalities Papers, Volume 43, Issue 6, 2015 , 819-839

Abstract

This article examines the reverberations in Russia of the Euromaidan protests and the fall of the Yanukovich regime in Ukraine. It shows how the events in Kyiv provoked a major crisis in the Russian nationalist movement, which was riven by vituperative denunciations, the ostracism of prominent activists, the breakdown of friendships, the rupture of alliances, and schisms within organizations. Focusing on pro-Kremlin nationalists and several tendencies of opposition nationalists, it argues that this turmoil was shaped by three factors. First, the Euromaidan provoked clashes between pro-Kremlin nationalists, who became standard-bearers of official anti-Euromaidan propaganda, and anti-Putin nationalists, who extolled the Euromaidan as a model for a revolution in Russia itself. Second, the events in Ukraine provoked ideological contention around issues of particular sensitivity to Russian nationalists, such as the competing claims of imperialism and ethnic homogeneity, and of Soviet nationalism and Russian traditionalism. And third, many nationalists were unprepared for the pace of events, which shifted rapidly from an anti-oligarchic uprising in Kyiv to a push for the self-determination of ethnic Russians in Crimean and southeast Ukraine. As a result, they were left in the uncomfortable position of appearing to collaborate with the oppressors of their compatriots.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Yusupova Guzel

**The Islamic representation of Tatarstan as an answer to the equalization of the Russian regions
in *Nationalities Papers*, Volume 44, Issue 1, 2016 , 38-54**

Abstract

This article presents a study of Islamic religious symbols involved in maintaining the special status of the Tatars in post-Soviet Tatarstan. It explores how regional ethnic elites in Tatarstan use Islam (the discourse of the history of Islam in the region and Islamic symbols in the representation of the region) as a tool for legitimizing their privileged positions in the region. In addition, the article examines how Islamic culture enters into the everyday life and public space of the region, thereby, in a sense enforcing social borders between different ethnic groups. This study has two aims: a theoretical analysis of religious symbols' role in the struggle for status in the ethnic hierarchy and the practical application of the developed theoretical framework to the case of post-Soviet Tatarstan. The author concludes that after the system of ethnic federalism was abolished in Russia, Tatars have retained their special status by appealing to Islam.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Meiton Fredrik

**The Radiance of the Jewish National Home: Technocapitalism, Electrification, and the Making of Modern
Palestine**

in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Volume 57, Issue 4, October , 975-1006

Contrary to conventional wisdom, the history of the Palestine mandate and its power relations were not determined solely by a series of legal measures, beginning with the 1917 Balfour Declaration and ending with the UNGA partition resolution of 1947. Rather, the emergence of modern Palestine was a process significantly guided by global technocapitalism. Palestine was constituted on the basis of a successful Zionist pitch for the area as an economically viable territory—as an area of production and consumption and crucially also as an entity locatable in the global circulation of capital and commodities. A central vehicle for this technocapitalist vision in Palestine—proposed by the Zionists, and enthusiastically adopted by the British—was a hydroelectrical megasystem in the Jordan Valley. Significant portions of the mandate's borders were mapped onto the station's technical blueprint, and conceiving of and building the powerhouse created not just borders, but also “Palestine,” a bounded entity with a distinct political and economic character. While the electrification, like Zionism in general, was justified in a language of egalitarian universalism, the power system and the “free-market” capitalist system it helped create in Palestine generated familiar kinds of political and economic inequality. Specifically, it conjured a political-economic order based on a Jewish national scale in which the Arabs were expected to supply the menial labor power in return for the economic development that was to lift all boats.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Balcells Laia, Daniels Lesley-Ann, Escribà-Folch Abel



The determinants of low-intensity intergroup violence The case of Northern Ireland

in *Journal of Peace Research*, Volume 53, Number 1, January , 33-48

What accounts for low-intensity intergroup violence? This article explores the determinants of low-intensity sectarian violence in Northern Ireland, which has marked the post-1998 peace agreement period. Low-intensity violence comprises a variety of events from riots to attacks against other civilians as well as against homes and symbolic buildings such as churches. We argue that this violence is more likely and prevalent in interface areas where similarly sized rival communities are geographically in contact with each other. Parity and contact spur intergroup competition and threat perception, and they increase the viability of violence. We use original cross-sectional time-series violence data for the 2005–12 period at a disaggregated subnational level, the ward, and a wide variety of social and economic indicators to test our hypotheses. In particular, we assess the impact of within-ward ethnic composition, on the one hand, and the ethnic composition of neighboring wards, on the other. We find that the number of intergroup violent events peaks in wards where there is parity between groups, and in predominantly Catholic (Protestant) wards that border predominantly Protestant (Catholic) wards. The article makes two main contributions: it shows that micro-level dynamics of violence can expand beyond local territorial units, and it suggests that ethnic segregation is unlikely to prevent intergroup violence.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Dadabayeva Gulnara, Sharipova Dina

The imagined nation-state in Soviet literature: the case of Koshpendiler

in *Nationalities Papers*, Volume 44, Issue 1, 2016 , 165-180

Abstract

This article focuses on the famous novel *Koshpendiler* (1976) by Ilyas Esenberlin. This literary work occupies a special place in Soviet Kazakh literature because it raises important problems such as the foundation of the state and nation, the sense of territoriality, and the struggle against Russian colonizers. The authors argue that this historical novel can be considered as an example of post-colonial discourse. The novel itself is an extrapolation of the 1970s' Soviet reality when national Union republics, including Kazakhstan, were seeking greater independence. Kazakh cultural elites and the intelligentsia turned to the past history of nation-building to address the problems of the present day. Not having an opportunity to openly express their views, the Kazakh establishment preferred to express their national sentiments through the historical genre. In this work, the authors suggest their own vision of Soviet national literature from political science and historical perspectives.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Kuzu Durukan

The politics of identity, recognition and multiculturalism: the Kurds in Turkey

in *Nations and Nationalism*, Volume 22, Issue 1, January 2016 , 123–142

The full text is free:

<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/nana.12139/abstract>



Abstract

The politics of identity and recognition regarding the Kurds in Turkey has gained momentum since 2002 but has never been implemented fully. The rightful critics emphasising the continuity of the State's authoritarian character, however, have not so far analysed if their own normative suggestions are theoretically consistent and sociologically grounded. Based on the Author's fieldwork and contemporary social surveys, this article shows that there are conflicting views within the Kurdish community about the forms that the politics of recognition could take. By exploring the conflicts of interest within the Kurdish community from a bottom-up approach, the article concludes that the recognition of an authentic Kurdish identity is problematic sociologically. It is also more likely to harm than help the Kurds in the country from a normative perspective. The article explains how the quest for an authentic Kurdish political identity and attempts to generate it actually limit the individual autonomy and exacerbate the disparity between the Turks and the Kurds in the country.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Wilson Jeffrey D.

Understanding resource nationalism: economic dynamics and political institutions in *Contemporary Politics*, Volume 21, Issue 4, 2015 , 399-416

Resource nationalism is on the rise around the globe. During the recent global resource boom, many governments have adopted nationalistic policies to maximise the political and economic benefits from their mining and energy sectors. Existing theories of resource nationalism rely upon economistic bargaining models, which fail to interrogate how political processes shape governments' resource policy strategies. This article extends and develops these bargaining models by theorising the role of political institutions – specifically those found in rentier, developing and liberal market economies – in determining patterns of resource nationalism. A survey of 12 major resource-producing countries reveals that contemporary resource nationalism takes a range of distinct forms, which are connected to differences in political institutions that structure the objectives and policies of governments. It is therefore argued that while economic dynamics function as an enabling factor, political institutions are an equally important conditioning factor shaping the distinctive forms of resource nationalism observed today.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Marco José Maria

Usos, motivos y revival del nacionalismo español in *Cuadernos de pensamiento político*, Número 48 Octubre/Diciembre

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Mahla Daniel



Wider den Nationalismus, zum Wohle der Nation: Jacob Rosenheim und die Auseinandersetzung der jüdischen Orthodoxie mit dem Zionismus

in *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, Jahrgang 63, Heft 10, 2015

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Kassam Shelina

‘Settling’ the multicultural nation-state: Little Mosque on the Prairie, and the figure of the ‘moderate Muslim’

in *Social Identities*, Volume 21, Issue 6, 2015 , 606-626

Abstract

This paper analyzes *Little Mosque on the Prairie*, its characters and themes within the context of post-9/11 discourses of nationalism and citizenship. Against the backdrop of the Canadian national narrative, I argue that the sitcom foregrounds a ‘moderate Muslim’ that demarcates the boundaries of the multicultural nation-state, especially when juxtaposed against the racially and sexually coded Muslim ‘other’ on the global landscape. The moderate Muslim is represented as ‘liberal’ and ‘modern’, one who seeks to integrate her faith into the multicultural fabric of society. Such a figure, represented both as a ‘good’ Muslim/immigrant and a ‘good’ Canadian citizen-subject, illuminates the boundaries of ‘acceptability’ within the Canadian national imaginary. The figure of the moderate Muslim reinforces the racial coding embedded in this imaginary, while enabling the state to proclaim its ‘multicultural tolerance’ and benevolence. Building on previous scholarship on race, citizenship, and nation-building, I argue that the moderate Muslim – as exemplified in *Little Mosque on the Prairie* – serves important ideological functions in (re)defining the internal (and racially coded) borders of the nation. While *Little Mosque on the Prairie* makes an important contribution to the representation of Muslims, challenging some stereotypes, I argue that it does not deliver on its considerable potential to articulate nuanced representations of Muslims. Through its foregrounding of the figure of the moderate Muslim, the sitcom reaffirms key norms, engages in a politics of authenticity, and reinforces hegemonic messages, both within Muslim communities and in Canadian society. Thus, the moderate Muslim becomes a key player in enabling the state to render invisible its exclusion of the ‘Muslim Other,’ while maintaining its non-racist credentials.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Abulof Uriel

‘The people want(s) to bring down the regime’: (positive) nationalism as the Arab Spring’s revolution

in *Nations and Nationalism*, Volume 21, Issue 4, October 2015 , 658–680

Abstract

When and what is the nation, and nationalism, and when have both emerged in the Arab world? I suggest new ways of approaching these questions, and new answers. Revisiting the ‘dating debate’, I propose distinguishing between negative nationalism (rejecting foreign rule) and positive nationalism (holding ‘the people’ as the source of legitimacy), the latter distinctively modern, the former not. Empirically, I examine these theoretical propositions in light of the Arab



Spring's dual revolution, vividly captured by its popular slogan: 'The people want(s) to bring down the regime'. I submit that the manifest revolution of toppling regimes pales in comparison with the ideational revolution of engendering positive nationalism. While the former revolution has been a huge surprise, the history of the Arab world abounds in precedents; conversely, Arab societies' subscription to 'the people' as the prime political legitimator – asserting their own inalienable political right to tell right from wrong – is novel. In that sense (positive) nationalism is the revolution of the Arab Spring, challenging both authorities and polities.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Kalantzis Konstantinos

“Fak Germani”: Materialities of Nationhood and Transgression in the Greek Crisis
in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Volume 57, Issue 4, October , 1037-1069

This essay explores Greek responses to the debt crisis, particularly middle-class Greeks and their current experiences of Greece's putative subordination to Germany in particular, and IMF and EU monitoring generally. I focus on the sphere of materiality and embodiment, while also exploring the role of desire and pleasure in Greeks' responses to their growing sense of subordination. Graffiti, popular protests, hip-hop expressive culture, and sexual joking are lenses through which I examine these themes. I also scrutinize my own positionality as a way of understanding the bitterness and ambiguity entailed in Greek reactions to the crisis. The essay illuminates how Greeks experience subjugation and respond to it through explosive resort to historical comparisons, sexual metaphors, and ill-mannered jokes.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3.Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Colombo Arturo

Albert Camus e l'Europa Unita
in *Politico (II)*, n. 238, 2015 , 107-114

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3.Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Tommaso Visone

International Dictatorship or International Democracy. A Discussion of Albert Camus' 1946 Considerations
in *Perspectives on federalism*, vol. 7, issue 2 , 116-132

In the series *Neither Victims Nor Executioners* (1946) the Franco-Algerian writer Albert Camus argued for the need of a relative utopia that would allow man, who refused the logic of murder and violence, to revolt against their historical condition. To this end Camus stressed the importance of fighting for a new democratic world order that would have reversed the condition of international dictatorship immanent in the interdependent world of the 20th century. In the series of essays another reading is possible; an attempt to find a new political way after the end of the classic modern world - a system founded on the supremacy of European nation-States - and to consider such an attempt as an interesting standpoint to face current transnational challenges.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Piraino Andrea

L'autonomismo federale di Luigi Sturzo, dirigente dell'ANCI

in **Federalismi**, Anno XIII - Nr 19

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Dastoli Pier Virgilio

L'offuscamento della cultura federalista europea

in **Paradoxa**, ANNO IX - Numero 4 - Ottobre/Dicembre 2015

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Prosperi Adriani

Leone Ginzburg nell'opera di Marisa Mangoni

in **Studi Storici**, a. 56, n. 3

Leone Ginzburg in the Work of Marisa Mangoni

Luisa Mangoni was a true historian: she could bring the dead back to life, with their ideas, their inspiration, their work. Through sheer empathy with the individuals that were the subject of her research, she could shed new light on their lives and motivations. This was the case with her studies on Leone Ginzburg: an encounter determined by an ideal intellectual affinity, both intellectual and human. Better than anyone else, Luisa Mangoni has investigated Ginzburg's multi-faceted personality: as founder and very soul of the Einaudi publishing house; as anti-fascist militant; and as scholar of the historical tradition of the two countries he could call his own: Italy and Russia. Mangoni has pieced together with painstaking care Ginzburg's letters from internal exile and has looked more than once into his biography and oeuvre. Her essays on Ginzburg all shine with her unparalleled ability of combining extreme competence and acuity with a special gift of hers: "Einfühlung", deep empathy, tinged by the sense of the unbridgeable gap that lies between historians and the human beings who are object of their research

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Ross Philip J.

Peacemaking and Victory: Lessons from Kant's Cosmopolitanism

in **Philosophia**, Volume 43, Issue 3, September 2015 , 747-757



Abstract

In the texts in which Immanuel Kant discusses the principles governing international relations—including texts explicitly dealing with the sources leading states to armed conflict and the circumstances enabling its cessation—he does not directly engage the question “What constitutes victory in war?” This should not be surprising, given that Kant’s treatment of war may be read as consonant with just war thinking for which victory seems an unproblematic concept. Yet there are elements in the tone and the substance of his discussion that destabilize a placement of his views as unproblematically part of that tradition. The mordant tone of his dismissal of the Realpolitik guiding “political moralists” suggests a trenchant skepticism about almost any justification offered for leading a state into war. More substantively, an antinomy is at work in the contrast Kant makes, in the two sets of articles for perpetual peace, between a “state of nature” that, construed from the standpoint of the theoretical use of reason, defines the order of international relations as necessarily one of constant war, and the radical transformation of that order, enacted by moral reason in the definitive articles of perpetual peace, into a cosmopolitan order that heeds the categorical imperative “there shall be no war.” In consequence, one may construct a Kantian answer to the question “What constitutes victory in war?” by framing it in reference to this cosmopolitan hope for an international order securing enduring peace. Within the moral horizon of cosmopolitan hope, victory in war—like war itself—is unmasked as morally unintelligible.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Wildenauer Miriam

Wie neue Kommunikationstechnologien zur Verwirklichung von Kants Idee öffentlichen Rechts beitragen können

in **Kant-Studien**, Volume 106, Issue 3 (Sep 2015) , 461–486

Abstract

The later Kant (1797/98) believed that he had solved the highest problem of humankind, namely, how a society should be constituted by law so that the freedom of each one of its members is maximized under the law and an irresistible power is instituted by law to protect the freedoms of its members (I). The core of his solution is his threefold idea of public law: 1. the constitutional law of the state; 2. public international law; and 3. cosmopolitan law (II). In order to solve this problem epistemologically and to implement it through action, Kant offers two transcendental principles of public law (II and III). Today, modern communication technologies might help us to further realize Kant’s idea of public law (IV).

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Armijo Leslie Elliott, Rhode Sybil

c Policy & Administration > Politics & Policy > Vol 43 Issue 5 > Abstract JOURNAL TOOLS Get New Content Alerts Get RSS feed Save to My Profile Get Sample Copy Recommend to Your Librarian
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Editors: A New Direction for P&P Original Article You have full text access to this OnlineOpen article Can International Relations and Comparative Politics Be Policy Relevant? Theory and Methods for Incorporating Political Context

in Politics & Policy, Volume 43, Issue 5, October , pp. 611-646

How might one bring international relations (IR) and comparative politics (CP) observations into the public policy (PP) literature's predominant intellectual framing of policy, in which the normal analytical unit is a specific policy sector or type of regulatory institution? This article offers a practical framework to incorporate IR and CP directly into PP analyses. We present theory and methods for composing carefully structured, multiyear, analytical policy sector histories, suitable for international and comparative PP analysis, particularly when the research goal implies policy sector comparisons across wide variations of geography, culture, income, or historical epoch. Concretely, we propose two models, called the Leader State Framework in the case of international policy and the Varieties of Political Regimes Approach for policy at the national level, which should help policy analysts utilize important observations related to our disciplines' understanding of the diverse host political systems within which policy sectors are embedded.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Lewis Daniel C. , Schneider Sandra K., Jacoby William G.

Institutional Characteristics and State Policy Priorities: The Impact of Legislatures and Governors
in State Politics & Policy Quarterly, Vol. 15, No. 4 , 447-475

This article examines how the institutional characteristics of state legislatures and governors affect state policy priorities. We argue that differences in the nature of their respective constituencies lead legislators to press for particularized benefits while governors favor collective goods. Empirical analysis of state-level data from 1982 through 2011 confirms that this is the case. The organizational arrangements of the two branches of government have an impact that is usually greater than that of state public opinion but generally less than that of state interest groups. The results from this analysis are important because they show that institutional structure has systematic effects that are independent of ideology, partisanship, and the other factors that are known to shape state policy making.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Basile Linda

A dwarf among giants? Party competition between ethno-regionalist and state-wide parties on the territorial dimension: The case of Italy (1963–2013)

in Party Politics, Volume 21, Number 6, Special issue: Position, selective emphasis and framing: Party competition in multinational democracies, November , 887-899

Scholars of party politics have recently examined the influence of niche parties on the dynamics of party competition. In particular, drawing on the 'Position, Saliency and Ownership' (PSO) model, it has been argued that when a new niche actor enters the political arena, it seeks to introduce a new policy dimension into political debate and simultaneously affects the competitive strategies of mainstream actors. By using manifesto data, this article analyses the impact of the



Lega Nord on political discourse in Italy relating to the territorial dimension. Its findings challenge the assumptions of the PSO theory on niche-mainstream dynamics of competition. The article argues that, firstly, niche parties can mobilise on a policy dimension that has long been present on the political agenda; secondly, that niche party influence on mainstream party strategies is limited, at least when compared with the influence of other systemic variables. Nevertheless, the role of niche parties can be re-evaluated by considering a further strategic tool that parties can use to define their strategies, namely framing. In particular, the article argues that the Lega Nord has introduced a new language into political debate on the territorial dimension, which has required rival parties to react by reframing and redefining these issues differently from the past. Using an original coding scheme for the measurement of party attitudes in party manifestos, the article provides empirical grounds for arguing that a consideration of rhetoric should be included in any analysis of the competitive strategies of political parties in a two-dimensional space.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Etxano Iker, Garmendia Eneko, Pascual Unai, Hoyos David, Díez María-Ángeles, Cadiñanos José A., Lozano Pedro J.

A participatory integrated assessment approach for Natura 2000 network sites

in Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy, Volume 33, Issue 5, Special issue on: Environmental Governance in South East Europe/Western Balkans, October , 1207-1232

Managing protected areas (PAs) requires dealing with complex social-ecological systems where multiple dimensions (i.e. social, institutional, economic and ecological) interact over time. Uni-dimensional and top-down approaches have been unable to capture this complexity. Instead, new integrated approaches that acknowledge the multidimensional nature of PAs and the diversity of social actors in the decision making process are required. In this paper we put forward a novel participatory assessment approach which integrates multiple methodologies to reflect value articulating institutions in the case of a Natura 2000 (N2000) network site in the Basque Country (Southern Europe). This novel approach is based on a social multi-criteria evaluation framework, that integrates (i) economic values derived from a choice experiment, (ii) ecological values by means of a spatial bio-geographic assessment, and (iii) a participatory process among diverse social actors. The case study shows that through the integration of diverse perspectives it is possible to achieve compromise solutions that foster the ecological values of PAs while enhancing other socio-economic benefits. Such co-benefits are important to enhance the acceptance and scope of N2000 and overcome undesirable social-ecological conflicts. We also show that the inclusion of all affected parties in a deliberative process is a key prerequisite to ensure ecologically effective and socially acceptable decisions that will lead to sustainable conservation policies.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Bechtel Michael M., Urpelainen Johannes

All Policies Are Glocal: International Environmental Policy Making with Strategic Subnational Governments

in British Journal of Political Science, vol. 45, issue 3, july , 559-582

ABSTRACT: National governments have intensified their attempts to create international institutions in various policy fields such as the environment, finance and trade. At the same time, many subnational policy makers have begun to duplicate international efforts by setting their own, stricter policies while others remain inactive or enact more lax regulation. This 'glocalization' of policy creates a complex and potentially costly patchwork system of regulations. To



shed light on this phenomenon, this article analyzes the interaction between subnational and national governments within a game-theoretic model of international treaty negotiations. The glocalization of regulatory policy can be understood as an attempt by subnational policy makers to strategically constrain or empower national governments in international negotiations. The study finds that the shadow of international treaty formation gives rise to within-country and cross-country policy balancing dynamics that may explain some of the subnational policy polarization that is currently observable in many countries. The article specifies the conditions under which these dynamics occur, spells out empirically testable hypotheses and identifies possible theoretical extensions.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Curini Luigi

An Italian Leitmotiv? Corruption and Competence in the Debates of the Italian Chamber of Deputies (1946–2014) in South European Society & Politics, Volume 20, Issue 4 , 509-531

By making use of an original data-set built based on a codification of all investiture debates of the Italian governments from 1946 to 2014, the paper investigates the main factors that explain the choice of a party to devote its attention to the valence issues of corruption and competence in its legislative speeches. Two classes of hypotheses are tested; the first concentrates on spatial reasons, and the second concentrates on contextual factors. Both sets of factors appear to play a significant role, although no clear temporal trend emerges in party attention over almost seventy years of Italian parliamentary debates.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Özen Hayriye

An Unfinished Grassroots Populism: The Gezi Park Protests in Turkey and Their Aftermath in South European Society & Politics, Volume 20, Issue 4 , 533-552

Focusing on the Gezi protests, this study addresses two questions: How did a particular struggle against the demolition of a park spontaneously turn into nationwide mass protests? And why was this mobilisation unable to transform itself into a popular counter-hegemonic movement? Drawing on the Laclauian concept of populism, I demonstrate that Gezi mobilised various groups by turning into a symbol of the repressive responses of the hegemonic power to various social demands. This popular mobilisation could not go beyond a conjunctural experience due to its inability to unify heterogeneous protesters and to respond effectively to the counter-strategies of the hegemonic power.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Agarin, Timofey

Angels with dirty faces? European identity, politics of representation and recognition of Romani interests in Ethnicities, Vol. 15, 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...

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

António Manuel De Olivera Guterres

As Refugee Tide Mounts, No One Is in Control

in New Perspectives Quarterly, Volume 32, Issue 4

The office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees recently published the statistics for 2014. At the end of last year we reported that 59.5 million people were displaced by conflicts in the world. Two-thirds were internally displaced, and one-third refugees. In some conflict situations, the internally displaced live much worse lives than refugees because their government can be part of their problem.

Those figures mark an increase of 16 percent from 2013, and an increase of 60 percent over the past decade.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Dalle Mülle Emmanuel

Belgium and the Brussels Question: The Role of Non-Territorial Autonomy

in Ethnopolitics, Volume 15, Issue 1, 105-124

This article describes and assesses the process of territorial and non-territorial devolution in Belgium. After providing a description of the linguistic structure of the country and the background that led to its transformation from a unitary consociational democracy to a federal one mixing forms of territorial and non-territorial autonomy, it provides an assessment of the functioning of non-territoriality in Brussels and its capacity to accommodate linguistic diversity and conflict. It concludes with an overall positive assessment, since the solution that was reached allowed linguistic conflict to be kept at a tolerable level and granted a substantial degree of autonomy to each linguistic community. Nevertheless, the Belgian case also points to some problems. First, non-territorial autonomy has mainly been based on a system of dual monolingualism rather than true bilingualism, and this has contributed to separation between the two communities and to the centrifugal forces unleashed since the linguistic territorialisation of Flanders and Wallonia. Second, because of the coexistence of territorial and non-territorial autonomy, the definition of the border of the non-territorial area has been problematic and contested. This has favoured the persistence of conflict, though concentrated on the border between the two areas; but it has not escalated into expressions of violence.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Calomiris Charles W., Pritchett Jonathan

Betting on Secession: Quantifying Political Events Surrounding Slavery and the Civil War

in American Economic Review, Vol. 106 No. 1 January 2016, 1-23

Lincoln's election produced Southern secession, war, and abolition. Using a new dataset on slave sales, we examine connections between news and slave prices for the period 1856-1861. By August 1861, slave prices had declined by roughly one-third from their 1860 peak. That decline was similar for all age and sex cohorts and thus did not reflect



expected emancipation without compensation. The decision to secede reflected beliefs that the North would not invade and that emancipation without compensation was unlikely. Both were encouraged by Lincoln's conciliatory tone before the attack on Fort Sumter, and subsequently dashed by Lincoln's willingness to wage all-out war.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Sterner Thomas

Beyond IPCC, Research for Paris 2015 and Beyond

in Environmental & Resource Economics, Volume 62, Issue 2, October , 207-215

Full text available online at <http://link.springer.com/content/pdf/10.1007%2Fs10640-015-9966-1.pdf>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Schwartz Osnat Grady

Changing the Rules of the (International) Game: How International Law is Turning National Courts into International Political Actors

in Pacific Rim Law & Policy Journal (The), Volume 24, Issue 1, June 2015

Courts are known to be political actors. National courts play the political game in the national domain. International courts play it in the international sphere. This article studies the transformation of national courts into international political actors (IPAs), and the part international law plays in so making them. The article identifies, categorizes, and demonstrates the influence of national courts and judges on international relations (IR), separating the influence into two main categories: direct and indirect. Direct influence, is the effect of a national court taking a position on international issues in concrete situations with immediate IR implications. Indirect influence is the effect of a national court supporting trends that transform international politics (specifically legalization and judicialization of IR) through national courts and judges' contribution to the empowerment of international law. This process progresses as national courts increase their engagement with international law, making national courts stronger and more significant actors in international politics.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Vandeweerd Clara, Kerremans Bart, Cohn Avery

Climate voting in the US Congress: the power of public concern

in Environmental Politics, Volume 25, Issue 2 , 268-288

In the United States, few constituents know and understand climate policy, prioritize it as a political topic, or let their voting decisions depend on it. In these conditions, representatives would not be expected to pay heed to constituents' climate concern in their voting decisions. Still, even after controlling for the presence of interest groups, campaign finance, and legislators' party affiliation and ideology, there is a consistent link between public opinion and votes on cap-and-trade legislation in the House (and to a lesser degree in the Senate). The same is true when public opinion is simulated based on pre-vote district characteristics. Explanations for these findings are discussed.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Sue Kenny

Community development today: engaging challenges through cosmopolitanism?

in Community Development Journal, Volume 51 Issue 1 , 23-41

This article begins by outlining some of the challenges and opportunities for community development theory and practice today. Some of these have been present from the 1960s and 70s, some have been evident for several decades, others are new and some demand urgent attention. The second part of the paper notes three types of responses to the challenges. It argues the case for embracing one specific response, namely a deepening of a cosmopolitan outlook in both the theory and practice of community development. While acknowledging that community development is in some ways already a cosmopolitan endeavour, the paper concludes with a call for exploration of the ways in which embracing a broader and deeper cosmopolitanism might enhance community development as it responds to contemporary challenges.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Hodder Jake

Conferencing the international at the World Pacifist Meeting, 1949

in Political Geography, Volume 49, Special Issue: Historical Geographies of Internationalism, November , 40-50

This paper considers how the act of conferencing was central to imagining, negotiating and contesting post-war pacifism as an internationalist project. The paper contends that internationalism and the international conference are inexorably entwined. Through the study of conferencing geographers can explore the situated historical and political geographies of internationalism which belies its otherwise transcendent or universalist claims. A reading of the 1949 World Pacifist Meeting in India is used to make two key arguments. Firstly, it shows how conferences operate as stage-managed events through which to script and perform an alternative vision of internationalism. Half conference, half pilgrimage, the global composition of delegates was arranged to suggest a space 'singularly free from any sense of geographical limitation'. Yet total immersion in the rich cultural and historical context of India marked an uneven internationalist arena, where the 'Land of Gandhi' was held with unparalleled reverence. Secondly, whilst geographers and others have turned to conferencing in recent years, this has largely been contained to 'summitry' and high-end diplomacy. This paper calls for geographers to consider a wider range of conferencing spaces and practices, and argues that studying 'other conferences' by necessity opens up consideration of other forms of internationalism. The paper concludes that the World Pacifist Meeting's delegates imagined an alternative form of internationalism, exemplified by a alternative form of international conference, which challenged state-centric readings of global power relations.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Gabe J. de Bondt, Stefano Schiaffi

Confidence Matters for Current Economic Growth: Empirical Evidence for the Euro Area and the United States

in Social Science Quarterly , Volume 96, Issue 4



Objectives

The literature typically undervalues the economy-wide importance of confidence, despite a renewed interest since the recent financial crisis in considering also psychological factors such as confidence. This study empirically assesses whether confidence matters for current real GDP growth in the euro area and the United States in addition to a widely applied and reliable predictor, the Purchasing Managers' Index.

Methods

We add confidence indicators to a regression of real GDP growth on the composite PMI output index and check for a different impact of confidence during recessions as opposed to expansions by applying smooth transition regressions.

Results

Confidence matters for economic growth, both in good and bad times. This result is robust across sample periods, models, and proxies for confidence.

Conclusions

Confidence is essential for assessing the current stage of the business cycle. Analysts should therefore closely monitor sentiment swings, whereas private and public decisionmakers can boost growth by improving confidence in the economy.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Dunne Tim, Teit Sarah

Contested Intervention: China, India, and the Responsibility to Protect in Global Governance, vol. 21, n. 3, july-september , 371-391

ABSTRACT: This article examines institutional patterns of leadership and followership in the UN Security Council with respect to the Responsibility to Protect principle. In a departure from existing literature on leadership and followership in international relations, which has hitherto been framed within a realist analysis, the article presents a constructivist account of leadership that sheds light on the strategies and scope of conditions for mobilizing international action to protect populations from mass atrocities. The article applies a theoretical innovation to case studies that examine strategies that India and China adopted in the Security Council to respond to the crises in Libya and Syria from 2011 to 2013. This integration of theory and empirics reveals a complex and layered account of factors that shape the Security Council's ability to exercise its Responsibility to Protect. In doing so, the article demonstrates that followership and leadership are relational practices that create or limit the possibilities for institutional action.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Moni Monir Hossain

Could aspiring powers' divergent foreign policy worldviews provide any impetus for global change? in Global Affairs, Volume 1, Issue 3 , 345-347

No abstract available



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Blank Martina

De-fetishizing the analysis of spatial movement strategies: Polymorphy and trabajo territorial in Argentina in Political Geography, Volume 50, January , 1-9

Simplified notions of spaces of contention run the risk of misjudging and silencing the multifaceted reality of social movements. Spatial concepts like scale, place, networks, and territory are valuable complements in this regard and offer supplementary insights into political action in general and social movement action in particular. Thus, adopting a polymorphic approach can help to overcome misleading simplifications and to disclose the transformative potential of diverse social movements.

Nevertheless, polymorphy is very demanding as a guidance for the thorough representation of realities and difficult to close as a self-contained account. I argue that this does not represent a lack of conceptual closure but the precise strength of polymorphic frameworks based on scale, place, networks, and territory. Bringing together the de-fetishizing qualities of the four concepts, polymorphy is particularly open to different realities and empirically grounded research that gives way to path dependency.

This is exemplified with the Argentinean movement strategy called “trabajo territorial”, a widespread call for neighbourhood-based community action. Following the course of one neighbourhood assembly, I show how polymorphy opens our view for multifaceted realities and the transformative potential of seemingly constricted social movements in the Global South. It is thus also a methodological tool to build a bridge between specified area studies of the Global South and the Global North as well as between postcolonial criticism and material geographies.

Full text available online at <http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S096262981500075X>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Olsen Johan P.

Democratic Order, Autonomy, and Accountability

in Governance, Volume 28, Issue 4 , 425–440

Accountability is a principle for organizing relations between rulers and ruled, and making public officials accountable is a democratic achievement. There are, however, competing claims about what is involved in demanding, rendering, assessing, and responding to accounts; what are effective accountability institutions; and how accountability regimes emerge and change. This article provides a frame for thinking about institutional aspects of accountability regimes and their cognitive, normative, and power foundations. A distinction is made between accountability within an established regime with stable power relations and role expectations and accountability as (re)structuring processes in less institutionalized contexts and in transformation periods. A huge literature is concerned with the first issue. There is less attention to accountability as (re)structuring processes. The article, therefore, calls attention to how democracies search for, and struggle over, what are legitimate accountability regimes and political orders.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous



Jung Alexander, Latsos Sophia

Do federal reserve bank presidents have a regional bias?

in *European Journal of Political Economy*, Volume 40, Part A, December 2015 , Pages 173-183

This paper examines whether the monetary policy deliberations of the FOMC have been influenced by regional considerations. We explain individual interest rate preferences by district, and use real-time data to estimate Taylor-type rules (sample 1990 to 2008). In line with the literature, this paper confirms that regional variables are explanatory factors of the interest rate preferences of most Reserve Bank Presidents. A new finding is that only few Reserve Bank Presidents display a regional bias in their interest rate preferences. Given their nature and size, these biases did not impede on the Fed's capacity to set interest rates with a nationwide focus.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Nölke Andreas, ten Brink Tobias, Claar Simone, May Christian

Domestic structures, foreign economic policies and global economic order: Implications from the rise of large emerging economies

in *European Journal of International Relations* , vol. 21, n. 3, september , 538-567

ABSTRACT: The rise of the large emerging economies of Brazil, India and China can easily be counted among the most important contemporary structural changes in the global political economy. This article attempts to determine whether these countries have a common institutional model for governing their economies and addresses the implications of these commonalities for global economic institutions. The approach consists of three major steps: first, a general ideal type for encompassing capitalism in these large emerging economies is constructed, and dubbed 'state-permeated market economy'; second, we compare these countries empirically, with regard to the features highlighted by the ideal type and in contrast to other varieties of capitalism; and, finally, we extrapolate some long-term implications for the global economic order, based on the assumption that foreign economic policies will be informed by domestic institutional structures. Based on these three steps, we conclude that a further deepening of the liberal global order is highly unlikely.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Asseburg Muriel, Wimmen Heiko

Dynamics of transformation, elite change and new social mobilization in the Arab World

in *Mediterranean Politics*, Volume 21, Issue 1, Special Issue: Dynamics of Transformation, Elite Change and New Social Mobilization in the Arab World , 1-22

This article provides a conceptual framework for a special issue of *Mediterranean Politics* that investigates the transformation processes inaugurated in Egypt, Libya, Tunisia and Yemen in 2011 in the wake of the uprisings commonly referred to as the "Arab Spring". It proposes that these processes should not be conceptualized as linear and centrally crafted transitions from authoritarian orders towards preconceived outcomes, but rather, as contested and open-ended transformations. These are best understood through an actor-centered approach that focuses on the choices and strategies of the 'Politically Relevant Elite' (PRE) and its interactions with citizens intent on exerting influence, described here as 'Mobilized Publics'.

Drawing on the results of eight research papers presented in this volume, this article argues that the PRE perceived the



transformation processes as mechanisms to maximize political resources and monopolize power. The ensuing, increasingly polarized contestations hastened the cooptation and instrumentalization of mobilized publics by the PRE, thus spelling the end of their capacity to offer avenues for broad, bottom-up participation and preparing the ground for renewed top-down control in Egypt and Tunisia, and to state failure and civil war in Libya and Yemen.

Full text available online at <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/13629395.2015.1081448>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Guimarães Pereira Ângela, Curvelo Paula

Editorial: in the name of sustainability

in International Journal of Sustainable Development, Volume 18, Number 4, Special Issue: In the Name of Sustainability , 247-260

Over the past decades an enormous number of projects, enterprises and initiatives invoking sustainability objectives have multiplied in the most diverse domains: human health, agriculture, energy, climate engineering, information and communication technologies, aerospace, landscape, computer modelling, technological innovation, etc. Many of these projects have become highly public and intensely politicised, so it comes as no surprise that the recurring 'technical progress' and 'sustainable development' claims are often contested and criticised. Indeed, these technological initiatives, whether seen as effective vehicles for accelerating human development or for addressing local/global problems, draw attention to two different kinds of contemporary dilemma: the paradoxes of technology and the paradoxes (or contradictions) of sustainability, both of which demand a great deal of reflexivity. This editorial looks into the critique of the ways in which sustainability narratives have been used to motivate or justify many projects. The special issue that this editorial introduces seeks to promote a critical discussion around the contemporary and unsolved paradoxes of the technology-development-sustainability nexus, which is begging for rethinking the very concept of sustainability.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Stockemer Daniel, Tremblay Manon

Federalism and Women's Representation: Do Federations have more Women Legislators than Centralized States?

in Publius: The Journal of Federalism, vol. 45, n. 4. Fall , 605-625

Do national federations foster or inhibit women's representation? In this article, we compare national legislative representation by women in federations and in centralized states. We analyze women's parliamentary representation for all democracies between 1995 and 2010. Descriptive statistics and multivariate regression analyses, in which we control for quotas, a country's type of electoral system, development level, the year the first woman was elected to parliament, the proportion of women in the workforce, and year of election, support the notion that federal states have approximately four percentage points more female legislators than do centralized states. In addition, our results indicate that federations have an indirect positive impact on women's representation: first, they facilitate the adoption of gender quotas; second, they allow women to enter parliament earlier than unitary states.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Robinson Jason

Fragments of the Past: Homeland Politics and the South African Transition, 1990–2014

in **Journal of Southern African Studies**, Volume 41, Issue 4 , 953-967

During South Africa's constitutional negotiations in the 1990s, it was assumed that the self-governing 'homelands' would inevitably be re-incorporated into a new South Africa, whatever that may be. Despite being denigrated by the liberation movements throughout their existence, some homelands would become aligned to the African National Congress (ANC) at apartheid's close: the Transkei, led by General Bantu Holomisa, became a particular base of support. KwaZulu (through the Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP] and its leader, Prince Mangosuthu Buthelezi) and Bophuthatswana (led by Lucas Mangope), on the other hand, would become key players in oppositional alliances, first the Concerned South Africans Group (COSAG) and later the Freedom Alliance. KwaZulu/IFP argued for a distinctly federal dispensation, in addition to recognition of the Zulu king. Bophuthatswana, similarly, argued for a confederal state. In 1994, however, four provinces became nine, and the former homelands were no more. Bantu Holomisa became a popular figure within the ANC and, later, leader of the United Democratic Movement (UDM). Chief Buthelezi would become a minister in the Government of National Unity. The United Christian Democratic Party (UCDP), formed by Lucas Mangope, became a presence in the South African parliament and North West provincial legislature. This article analyses the role of these three homelands during the negotiations process, looking at the continued salience of their politics since 1994 and the problematic legacies for provincial governance in the post-apartheid era. It also shows the problematic narrative that has accompanied the homelands, and their continued relevance in the post-apartheid state almost 20 years after their official demise.

Full text available online at <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/03057070.2015.1064297>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Bernauer Thomas, Nguyen Quynh

Free Trade and/or Environmental Protection?

in **Global Environmental Politics**, Volume 15, Issue 4, November , 105-129

Many political leaders of the Global South oppose linkages between trade liberalization and environmental protection. We field-tested a combination of surveys and conjoint experiments in Costa Rica, Nicaragua, and Vietnam to examine whether citizens in developing countries share this position. The results show that citizens do not view economic integration and environmental protection as a trade-off. To the contrary, individuals with greener preferences are more supportive of trade liberalization. Furthermore, and in contrast to prevailing government rhetoric, the majority of citizens support environmental clauses in trade agreements. These findings suggest that there might be room for more ambitious efforts to include environmental standards in international trade agreements.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

van den Driest Simone F.



From Kosovo to Crimea and Beyond: On Territorial Integrity, Unilateral Secession and Legal Neutrality in International Law

in *International Journal on Minority and Groups Rights*, Volume 22, Issue 4, Special Issue: Self-determination, Resources and Borders , 467-485

In the aftermath of the Ukrainian Revolution, Ukraine's autonomous region of Crimea declared independence and filed an application to subsequently join the Russian Federation. In seeking to justify these acts, both the Crimean authorities and the Russian Federation referred to international law, including the International Court of Justice's Advisory Opinion on Kosovo's unilateral declaration of independence. In this Advisory Opinion, the Court indeed found that the principle of territorial integrity merely applies in the relationship between States and concluded that general international law does not contain a prohibition on unilateral declarations of independence. These findings and the interpretation of the Advisory Opinion as put forward by the Crimean and Russian authorities, however, raise pertinent questions. This article therefore aims to shed light on the scope of the principle of territorial integrity of States and its implications for the legality of and perceived legal neutrality concerning unilateral secession under international law.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Masseti Emanuele, Schakel Arjan H

From class to region: How regionalist parties link (and subsume) left-right into centre-periphery politics

in *Party Politics*, Volume 21, Number 6, Special issue: Position, selective emphasis and framing: Party competition in multinational democracies, November , 866-886

The primary dimension of political contestation for regionalist parties is the centre-periphery dimension but they are pressured to adopt positions on the left-right dimension by competition with state-wide parties. We argue that the relative economic position of a region is a key variable for explaining how regionalist parties adopt left-right positions and link them to the centre-periphery dimension. Based on a quantitative analysis of 74 regionalist parties – distributed in 49 regions and 11 countries – over four decades, we find strong evidence that regionalist parties acting in relatively rich regions tend to adopt a rightist ideology, while regionalist parties acting in relatively poor regions tend to adopt a leftist ideology. A qualitative illustration of two paradigmatic cases, the Lega Nord (LN) and the Scottish National Party (SNP), appears to support our interpretation that left-right orientations are subsumed into centre-periphery politics through the adoption of two ideal types of regionalist discourse: one labelled as 'bourgeois regionalism' (Harvie, 1994) and one labelled as 'internal colonialism' (Hechter, 1975).

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Rao Rahul

Global homocapitalism

in *Radical Philosophy*, Issue 168, July/August 2011

Temples of global capitalism have become increasingly vociferous of late in their opposition to homophobia. In February 2014, shortly after Uganda's President Museveni gave his assent to a draconian Anti Homosexuality Act, the World Bank announced that it was delaying a US\$90 million loan to Uganda on the grounds that the law would adversely affect health programmes that the loan was intended to support. Bank president Jim Kim justified the decision with the



argument that 'when societies enact laws that prevent productive people from fully participating in the workforce, economies suffer.' In the same month, the Bank published a study estimating that homophobia and the exclusion of LGBT people cost the Indian economy between 0.1 per cent and 1.7 per cent of its GDP in 2012. Both the Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) have contributed to the It Gets Better viral video campaign, launched to dissuade queer young people from committing suicide, with short films featuring LGBT staff speaking about growing up queer and being out in their personal and professional lives. In August 2015 The Economist magazine launched 'Pride and Prejudice', which it describes as 'a comprehensive global initiative tackling the business and economic case for LGBT diversity and inclusion'. Culminating in a public event to be held in London in March 2016, the initiative aims to bring together over 200 leaders from the worlds of business, politics and society to catalyse debate on the 'economic and human costs of discrimination against the LGBT community'...

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Rajeev K. Goel, James W. Saunoris

Government Decentralization and Prevalence of the Shadow Economy

in Public Finance Review, 44 (2) , 263-288

This article examines the effects of various types of decentralization of government functions on the cross-national prevalence of the shadow economy. Do countries with different prevalence of the shadow economy respond differently to government decentralization? We consider four dimensions of decentralization: (1) the tiers of government, (2) subnational government expenditures, (3) subnational government revenues, and (4) subnational government employment. While baseline results show decentralization to reduce the shadow economy, we uniquely find differences in the effectiveness across physical and fiscal decentralization—greater physical decentralization is more effective at reducing widespread shadow economies, while fiscal decentralization is more effective with small shadow sectors.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Death Carl

Green states in Africa: beyond the usual suspects

in Environmental Politics, Special Issue: Volume 23, Issue 5, Special Issue - Innovations in Climate Policy: The Politics of Invention, Diffusion and Evaluation, September , 116-135

Whilst the 'green state debate' has primarily focused on a narrow range of usual suspects in the developed world, the debate can be enriched and challenged by considering more diverse cases. Viewing African states from a green state perspective invites empirical reassessment of the geographical scope of the concept, and introduces a new set of conceptual questions about the political significance of transitions in environmental governance. Ecological modernisation theory has largely neglected African states because it is assumed that African states are weak, failing, or failed, and that environmentalism is a post-materialist phenomenon. Whilst both assumptions can be challenged empirically, a biopolitical perspective on the African environmental state, drawing on the work of Michel Foucault, can both position African state development within a longer-term context and challenge some assumptions of ecological modernisation. Examples from Egypt, South Africa, and the Kavango-Zambezi Trans-frontier Conservation Area highlight underestimated continuities in environmental state practices. The international and transnational drivers of the green state in Africa are emphasised, as well as the political dangers of a green 'state building' project.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Duit Andreas, Feindt Peter H., Meadowcroft James

Greening Leviathan: the rise of the environmental state?

in Environmental Politics, Volume 25, Issue 1, Special Issue: Greening Leviathan? The Emergence of the Environmental State , 1-23

'Bringing the state back in' to research on comparative, inter-, and trans-national environmental politics and policy will contribute to better understanding of the limits and prospects of contemporary approaches to environmental politics and the overall evolution of contemporary states once environmental issues become central. The rationale for the state as an analytical perspective in environmental policy and politics is explained, and an empirically oriented concept of the environmental state is introduced, along with a tentative sketch of its evolution in historical perspective. A research agenda on the environmental state is mapped out, centring around variation and convergence in environmental states across space and time; the political/economic dynamics of contemporary environmental states; and inter-linkages among environmental problems, the constitution of political communities, and the functioning of the public power. In conclusion, the ways in which the contributions to this volume address that research agenda are introduced.

Full text available online at

<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/09644016.2015.1085218#aHR0cDovL3d3dy50YW5kZm9ubGluZS5jb20vZG9pL3BkZi8xMC4xMDgwLzA5NjQ0MDE2LjIwMTUuMTA4NTIxOEBAQDA=>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Kuzmany Börries

Habsburg Austria: Experiments in Non-Territorial Autonomy

in Ethnopolitics, Volume 15, Issue 1 , 43-65

In the early twentieth century, three provinces of the Austrian half of the Habsburg Empire enacted national compromises in their legislation that had elements of non-territorial autonomy provisions. Czech and German politicians in Moravia reached an agreement in 1905. In the heavily mixed Bukovina, Romanian, Ukrainian, German, Jewish and Polish representatives agreed on a new provincial constitution in 1909. Last but not least, Polish and Ukrainian nationalists compromised in spring 1914, just a few months before the outbreak of the First World War vitiated the new provisions. Even though the provisions of these agreements varied substantially, new electoral laws introducing national registers were at their heart. These were designed to ensure a fairer representation of national groups in the provincial assemblies and to keep national agitation out of electoral campaigns. The earliest compromise in Moravia went furthest in consociational power sharing. However, the national bodies within the provincial assembly had no right to tax their respective national communities, and the provisions of the provincial constitutions kept the non-nationally defined nobility as an important counterbalance. The compromises in Bukovina and Galicia, even if they categorised all inhabitants nationally, contented themselves with even less autonomous agency for the national bodies in the provincial assemblies and rather emphasised the symbolic elements of national autonomy. The non-territorial approach in all three crownlands, however, was an instrument to reorganise multi-ethnic provinces that increasingly became the model for national compromises in other Austrian provinces.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Helzel Paola B.

Hannah Arendt e il 'diritto di cittadinanza' come base dei diritti umani
in *Cittadinanza europea (La)*, Fascicolo 2/2015

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Jensen Steffen, Zenker Olaf

Homelands as Frontiers: Apartheid's Loose Ends – An Introduction
in *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Volume 41, Issue 5 , 937-952

In this Introduction we discuss the apparent erasure of the homelands from the social imagination of post-apartheid South Africa. We ask what has become of the homelands and reflect on the lives of those millions that still inhabit former homeland areas. In order to explore this, we tentatively evoke and develop the terms 'frontier' and 'the loose ends of apartheid'. We understand the concept of the frontier not as margin or the end; rather the homelands as frontier should be understood not as a stage of the past, but as intense zones of contestation, where the future of post-apartheid South Africa will, in part, be determined. 'Loose ends' refers to the many unresolved questions that are being negotiated in these zones of contestation. This Introduction falls into three parts. First, through a brief historical analysis, we depart from what we, drawing on Cherryl Walker, call the master narrative of loss and restoration, in which 'homelands' signalled loss and 'post-apartheid' a restoration. Secondly, we turn to some of the policy initiatives taken to erase the homeland past, which, ironically, often reproduced them. Third, through the different contributions, we account for the great variety of life and loose ends in the homelands today. It is our contention that only through addressing the loose ends in their complexity and ambiguity can we hope to address the legacies of the homelands in a way that may pave the way to different futures.

Full text available online at

<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/03057070.2015.1068089#aHR0cDovL3d3dy50YW5kZm9ubGluZS5jb20vZG9pL3BkZi8xMC4xMDgwLzAzMDU3MDcwLjIwMTUuMTA2ODA4OUBAQDA=>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Walter, James; Holbrook, Carolyn

Housing in a Federation: From Wicked Problem to Complexity Cascade?
in *Australian Journal of Public Administration*, Volume 74, Number 4 , 448-466

The Commonwealth's periodic attempts at housing and urban policy reform since the 1940s have been made in the face of a federal structure that allocates responsibility for such matters to the states. This paper explores the experience of federal governments since the 1940s, considering the various styles of political leadership, varying ways in which the problem has been framed, and differing policy settings that have been employed in resolving policy challenges. The



historical narrative clarifies phases of active engagement and reaction, linking these to fiscal asymmetry and distribution of federal–state responsibilities, historical ‘gateway’ events, and transitions in policy paradigms. We argue that housing is a perpetual concern (both a basic need and an aspirational objective) and is so integrally related to other policy domains—in which decisions may have unintended consequences for housing—that it is never conclusively resolved. The complexity (and uncertainty) consequent upon these interrelationships ensures that housing remains a wicked problem. The visual metaphor of a complexity cascade, however, may assist a more nuanced appreciation of the direction of policy travel. This article examines intergovernmental relations in the history of Australian housing policy and in relation to the federation reform process. It suggests that the engagement of multiple agencies and disparate policy domains in housing policy might be productively clarified by adopting the policy cascade approach from complexity theory.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Gilardi Fabrizio, Wasserfallen Fabio

How Socialization Attenuates Tax Competition

in British Journal of Political Science, vol. 46, issue 1, january , 45-65

ABSTRACT: Tax competition is the quintessential example of policy interdependence. The general idea is that tax changes in one jurisdiction lead to similar changes in others. However, research has shown that institutional and political constraints limit competition. This article develops another argument: that socialization among policy makers attenuates competitive dynamics by setting limits to the extent of competition that is considered acceptable. Using fine-grained Swiss data and spatial econometric techniques, it shows that personal income tax rates are more strongly correlated among competitors that do not participate in the same intergovernmental organizations. This finding implies that, to some extent, the detrimental consequences of competition can be mitigated by fostering institutionalized forms of interaction among policy makers.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Bevir Mark, Daddow Oliver

Interpreting foreign policy: National, comparative and regional studies

in International Relations, vol. 29, n. 3, september , 273-287

ABSTRACT: This Special Issue advances an interpretive research programme into Foreign Policy Analysis (FPA) and International Relations by showcasing new work on the study of foreign policy and regional cooperation. This introductory article explains the rationale and contents of the Special Issue in three parts. The opening part explains how the contributions complement the broader study of ideas in FPA and International Relations through a critique of methodological positivism in the social sciences. The second part elaborates the theoretical framework used to cohere the collection, which centres on the study of ‘situated agents’ who, when confronted with policy dilemmas, draw on inherited traditions to inform their foreign policy practices. This is accompanied by a methods case study centring on David Cameron’s European Union referendum strategy, which is used to illustrate the practical ways in which one can conduct interpretivist research into foreign policy. In conclusion, we spell out how the contributors conducted their work to advance the interpretivist research programme.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Hellquist Elin

Interpreting sanctions in Africa and Southeast Asia

in *International Relations*, vol. 29, n. 3, september , 319-333

ABSTRACT: The Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) were both born to stabilise vulnerable state borders by practising non-interference in domestic affairs. Today, the OAU's successor, the African Union (AU), uses sanctions against unconstitutional changes of government, while ASEAN continues to rule out any collective punitive action against members. To explain these divergent trajectories, this article first shows how different traditions produced different ways of engaging with sanctions in the early formative cases of South Africa and Vietnam. Thereafter, it examines how these traditions were selectively re-thought when confronted with the dilemmas of international sanctions against Libya and Myanmar. The interpretive approach enables a nuanced account of continuity and change in beliefs about sanctions. The AU's sanctions doctrine has updated rather than broken with a traditional interpretation of non-interference. For ASEAN, the longstanding tradition of informality – and not strict adherence to non-interference – has continued to rule out regional sanctions.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Hodder Jack, Legg Stephen, Heffernan Mike

Introduction: Historical geographies of internationalism, 1900–1950

in *Political Geography*, Volume 49, Special Issue: Historical Geographies of Internationalism, November , 1-6

This introduction to a special issue on historical geographies of internationalism begins by situating the essays that follow in relation to the on-going refugee crisis in Europe and beyond. This crisis has revealed, once again, both the challenges and the potential of internationalism as a form of political consciousness and the international as a scale of political action. Recent work has sought to re-conceptualise internationalism as the most urgent scale at which governance, political activity and resistance must operate when confronting the larger environmental, economic, and strategic challenges of the twenty-first century. Although geographers have only made a modest contribution to this work, we argue that they have a significant role to play. The essays in this special issue suggest several ways in which a geographical perspective can contribute to rethinking the international: by examining spaces and sites not previously considered in internationalist histories; by considering the relationship between the abstractions of internationalism and the geographical and historical specificities of its performance; and by analysing the interlocking of internationalism with other political projects. We identify, towards the end of this essay, seven ways that internationalism might be reconsidered geographically in future research through; its spatialities and temporalities; the role of newly independent states; science and research; identity politics; and with reference to its performative and visual dimensions.

Full text available online at <http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0962629815000785>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Seidel Katrin, Sureau Timm



Introduction: Peace and constitution making in emerging South Sudan on and beyond the negotiation tables
in *Journal of Eastern African Studies* , Volume 9, Issue 4 , 612-633

By way of introduction to this special collection, this article addresses the question: Does the 'emerging' state South Sudan need a 'permanent' constitution, especially in light of the ongoing negotiations on the mode of statehood? We shed light on the resulting dilemma between the hasty production of a 'permanent' constitution and the idea of deriving its authority from the will of the people, implying the existence of a certain societal consensus. An analysis of a peace conference over land tenure clearly demonstrates that regional and national consensus on issues to be inscribed in a 'permanent' constitution could not be reached. During this conference, a 'processual solution' permitted not only for the continuation of negotiations, but also for the integration of all involved actors. By contrast, the de jure makings of both the Transitional Constitution which currently serves as the preliminary normative frame of the new state, and the upcoming 'permanent' constitution show that many actors are ousted from the decision-making process. Furthermore, actors on, off, and beyond the constitution-making table negotiate within the normative frames of international actors, even if these frames and the mode of statehood are still under negotiation. The current political and military re-negotiations can be seen as an opportunity to fundamentally rethink the constitution-making endeavour. The paper argues that a slowing down of the constitution making and a 'processual solution' to the dilemma – without an immediate claim to consent on substance – seems to be a more appropriate 'solution'.

Full text available online at

<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/17531055.2015.1105438#aHR0cDovL3d3dy50YW5kZm9ubGluZS5jb20vZG9pL3BkZi8xMC4xMDgwLzE3NTMxMDU1LjIwMTUuMTEwNTQzOEBAQDA=>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Orakhelashvili Alexander

Kosovo: The Post-advisory Opinion Stage

in *International Journal on Minority and Groups Rights*, Volume 22, Issue 4, Special Issue: Self-determination, Resources and Borders , 486-510

The Unilateral Declaration of Independence by Kosovar authorities in Pristina in 2008 has generated heavy legal and political controversies. The delivery by the International Court of Justice of its advisory opinion on Kosovo unilateral declaration of independence in 2010 has not led to the elimination of unilateralist positions as to Kosovo's status. Such unilateralist approach, favouring Kosovo's independence either in principle or in practice, has since been adopted by the local Kosovar authorities, a number of governments and by the European Union. This contribution addresses the merit of such unilateralist positions and examines whether these positions could adversely affect the legal position as to Kosovo's status under general international law as well as UN Security Council resolution 1244 (1999).

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Calzolaio Ermanno

La competenza consultiva della Corte Europea dei Diritti dell'Uomo dopo il Protocollo n. 16

in *Cittadinanza europea (La)*, Fascicolo 1/2015

No abstract available



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Daho Grégory

La socialisation entre groupes professionnels de la politique étrangère. Le cas de l'institutionnalisation des activités civilo-militaires françaises en ex-Yougoslavie

in Cultures & Conflits, n. 98, Élités transnationales, été , 101-131

This article intends to explain the transformation of the foreign policy since the end of the Cold War through the hypothesis of the evolution of the interactions between the professional groups: military, diplomats and industrialists. Using the genesis of French civil-military activities in Bosnia and in Kosovo between 1992 and 2001 as empirical framework, we endeavor to objectify the cross-sector dynamics which permeate with the bureaucratic competition between administrations, the mobilizations of senior officials and the interministerial division of labor in matter of international crises management. We wonder to what extent the international crises "managers" form an institutional space, a professional group or a social field in process of empowerment within the current foreign and defense policy.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Hirblinger Andreas T.

Land, political subjectivity and conflict in post-CPA Southern Sudan

in Journal of Eastern African Studies , Volume 9, Issue 4 , 704-722

While South Sudan's independence formally marks the beginning of a new era, the recent relapse into violence raises important questions about the continuous impact of the post-colonial trajectories through which the country has become defined. This article discusses such impact by asking about the kind of political subjectivity which has emerged in post-Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) South Sudan, by exploring the tri-partite relationship between political subjectivity, government and land. Through a reconstruction of major reform processes in local and land governance, the article demonstrates that questions of political subjectivity and land remained closely interlinked in post-CPA South Sudan. Moreover, they have also proven particularly relevant the country's post-war development agenda, as well as for the continued conflicts which characterize South Sudan's first years of independence. The article explores how communal land tenure limited the state's and private actors' access to land, as well as the government's authority over economic development. Changes in land practice since the CPA however have shaped a political subject, which could be shepherded towards socio-economic transformation through a distinctly post-colonial apparatus of governance. Moreover, the specific post-colonial traits of subjectivity also provided resources on which resistance to the state could be mobilized, and this affected the dynamics of conflict in post-CPA South Sudan.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Löwy Michael

Laudato si' - Une Encyclique anti-systémique

in Ecorev' – Revue critique de l'écologie politique, n. 43, L'Écologie, le Capitalisme et la COP : Le Bon, la Brute et le Truand , 90-95



No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Nebbia Giorgio

Le merci

in **CNS Ecologia politica**, XXV, n. 13, 7 dicembre

Full text available online at

<http://www.ecologiapolitica.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/01-Nebbia-Le-merci.pdf>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Jürgen Gerhards, Holger Lengfeld, Sophia Schubert

Legitimacy of European Citizenship - Do Europeans believe that all EU Citizens should have the Right to Vote in another EU Country?

in **International Journal of Comparative Sociology**, Volume 14, Issue 5

EU citizens living in an EU member state of which they are not nationals may participate in local elections. Based on a survey conducted in three member states of the EU we analyze the legitimacy of this core element of European citizenship. Firstly, we examine the extent to which European citizens support the Europeanisation of local voting rights. The results show that about two-thirds of citizens accept these rights. Secondly, we analyze whether those who reject the idea of equality for all Europeans can be determined by social characteristics. Our analyses show that opponents are not at all determined by socio-structural factors and are barely determined by cultural factors and hence do not form the basis for a politically mobilized cleavage. All in all, the results indicate that citizens believe in the legitimacy of this important component of European citizenship.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Entina Ekaterina

Macedonian Trap

in **Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali**, Volume 82, n. 3, luglio-settembre, 343-358

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Ceccorulli Michela, Coticchia Fabrizio

Multidimensional Threats and Military Engagement: The Case of the Italian Intervention in Libya

in **Mediterranean Politics**, Volume 20, Issue 3, 303-321



The military operation in Libya (2011) is a paradigmatic case regarding the growing interaction of new security challenges: regional instability, transnational organized crime and illegal immigration. The main aim of the paper is to answer the question: Why has Italy employed a specifically military instrument to tackle transnational and non-military threats? Through process tracing the research looks at the political debate over the decision-making process in the case of the Italian military engagement in Libya, emphasizing the role played by the strategic culture, international norms and domestic dynamics.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Wedgwood Andrew, Dorn Walter

NATO's Libya Campaign 2011: Just or Unjust to What Degree?

in Diplomacy & Statecraft, vol. 26, n. 2 , 341-362

ABSTRACT: Colonel Muammar Qaddafi's violence against the Libyan population in the face of a fledgling rebellion in March 2011 prompted an international intervention. The United Nations Security Council authorised the use of 'all necessary measures' to protect civilians and enforce a no-fly zone. Following a preliminary American-led military intervention, the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation sponsored a seven-month campaign, 'Operation Unified Protector.' Was the operation ethically justified? Through the lens of the Just War tradition, seven moral principles are assessed in both qualitative and quantitative fashion. The analysis applies the novel Just War Index to the 2011 case concluding that it exhibited a moderate degree of justness overall. Still, significant flaws and ethical problems emerged. While high evaluations were made of just cause, legitimate authority, last resort and right conduct, lower assessments were given for right intent, net benefit, and proportionality of means. The outcome of the intervention is still unknown, but the broad outlines of a moral assessment are distinguishable.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Eckersley Robyn

National identities, international roles, and the legitimization of climate leadership: Germany and Norway compared

in Environmental Politics, Volume 25, Issue 1, Special Issue: Greening Leviathan? The Emergence of the Environmental State , 180-201

The United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) confers an obligation on developed states to lead in mitigation. This obligation challenges traditional conceptions of the modern state by calling forth a more outward looking state that is able to serve both the national and international communities in the service of global climate protection. Yet, the more skeptical theories of the ecological state suggest that climate leaders will only emerge if they can connect their climate strategy to the traditional state imperatives of economic growth or national security. How the governments of Germany and Norway, both relative climate leaders with ongoing fossil-fuel dependencies, have legitimated their climate policies and diplomacy is examined through a comparative discourse analysis. While both governments rely heavily on discourses of Green growth, they also construct national identities and international role conceptions that serve purposes beyond themselves.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

O'Donnell Gus, Oswald Andrew J.

National well-being policy and a weighted approach to human feelings

in **Ecological Economics**, Volume 120, December , 59-70

Governments are becoming interested in the concept of human well-being and how truly to assess it. As an alternative to traditional economic measures, some nations have begun to collect information on citizens' happiness, life satisfaction, and other psychological scores. Yet how could such data actually be used? This paper is a cautious attempt to contribute to thinking on that question. It suggests a possible weighting method to calculate first-order changes in society's well-being, discusses some of the potential principles of democratic 'well-being policy', and (as an illustrative example) reports data on how sub-samples of citizens believe feelings might be weighted.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Marko Ferenc David

Negotiations and morality: the ethnicization of citizenship in post-secession South Sudan

in **Journal of Eastern African Studies** , Volume 9, Issue 4 , 669-684

In 2011, two days prior to its declaration of independence, South Sudan adopted a new nationality act and set up a bureaucracy to handle citizenship-related issues. Despite striking similarities with Sudanese bureaucratic traditions, the paper argues that South Sudan altered the overarching logic of its citizenship and moved towards an ethnic definition, in which applicants chiefly have to prove their ethnic affiliation. While Sudan stratified its citizenship regime and thus discriminated against people among its citizenry, South Sudan preselects its applicants. The paper, through the analysis of stories of citizenship applicants, seeks to investigate how people who do not immediately fit into the imagined categories of good citizens, cope with the situations. On these shaky grounds, where evidence is indecisive, bureaucrats and applicants invoke moral arguments, and thus – through these moral negotiations of citizenship – constantly redefine the state.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Giladi Rotem

Not Our Salvation: Israel, the Genocide Convention, and the World Court 1950–1951

in **Diplomacy & Statecraft**, vol. 26, n. 3 , 473-493

ABSTRACT: Jewish individuals and organisations played a cardinal role in making and promoting the 1948 Genocide Convention. The early attitude of the Jewish state—established a few months before the Convention's conclusion—has not hitherto been explored. This analysis reconstructs Israel's involvement in the 1951 advisory proceedings at the International Court of Justice concerning the Convention. Based on Ministry of Foreign Affairs archives and Court records, it demonstrates that contrary to what scholarship on subsequent episodes assumes or implies, Israel had no particular attachment to, nor was it vested in, the Convention. Rather, its attitude ranged from indifference and disinterest to scepticism and hostility. It allowed Israeli diplomats to utilise the Convention as a means to affect other neither urgent nor imperative foreign policy ends.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Bosco David

Palestine in The Hague: Justice, Geopolitics, and the International Criminal Court

in Global Governance, vol. 22, n. 1, january-march , 155-171

ABSTRACT: Palestine's request that the International Criminal Court investigate crimes allegedly committed by Israel on its territory presents the court with a major investigative and institutional challenge. To this point, the ICC has generally avoided situations where major powers strongly oppose court involvement. The prosecution's cautious selection of situations has in turn allowed for an accommodation between skeptical major powers and the court. An investigation in Palestine, which the United States and other major powers would oppose, could unsettle that fragile truce. This article considers how the situation in Palestine came before the court and analyzes several options available to the ICC prosecutor.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Alonso Sonia, Cabeza Laura, Gómez Braulio

Parties' electoral strategies in a two-dimensional political space. Evidence from Spain and Great Britain

in Party Politics, Volume 21, Number 6, Special issue: Position, selective emphasis and framing: Party competition in multinational democracies, November , 851-865

This article has two objectives. Firstly, we test the theoretical assumptions about the repertoire of party strategies in a two-dimensional political space presented in the introduction to this special issue. We use a new dataset that content-analyzes electoral parties' manifestos for regional elections in Spain and Great Britain (the Regional Manifestos Project) in order to see how well the theoretically-derived strategies approximate what parties in regional elections really do. Secondly, we develop tentative explanations of parties' strategies: Which parties are more likely to use what type of strategy and under what circumstances? After running a multinomial logistic model we find that, in contrast to the niche party thesis, regionalist parties strategize simultaneously along the territorial and the economic dimensions of competition, while state-wide parties react to the presence of regionalist opponents by incorporating the territorial dimension into the agenda.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Grødeland Åse B.

Perceptions of civil rights, security and the "war on terror": East and West compared

in Communist and post-communist studies, vol. 48, n. 4, December , 317-335

This article explores the tension between civil rights and security by examining the perceptions of the general public and elites in Eastern and Western Europe on (i) the terrorist threat; (ii) external pressure to stay within or step outside the law when combatting terrorism; and (iii) how best to combat terrorism. Large scale qualitative and quantitative data collected in Western and Eastern Europe before the terrorist act in Norway in 2011 and the Russian intervention in



Ukraine and subsequent annexation of the Crimea in 2014 suggest that at the time terrorism was perceived as a greater threat in Western than in Eastern Europe. Further, Europeans felt that the US had extended pressure on their countries to combat terrorism by stepping outside the law. While ordinary citizens believed that terrorism should be fought by introducing more security – if necessary at the expense of civil rights – elites emphasized the need to protect civil rights while combating terrorism. Finally, European Muslims claimed that the terrorist threat was exaggerated and that protecting civil rights is more important than combating terrorism.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Leonardi Cherry

Points of order? Local government meetings as negotiation tables in South Sudanese history
in **Journal of Eastern African Studies** , Volume 9, Issue 4 , 650-668

This paper explores the long-term, local-level history of state formation in South Sudan over the past century, by focusing on local government meetings. The resilience of local state institutions and practices has been overlooked in recent state-building agendas and by scholars critical of authoritarian government and failed decentralization in South Sudan's history. But this paper argues that meetings of local government officials and chiefs have long been significant institutions for negotiating the state and performing its authority. Yet they were also risky and unpredictable events for state officials, who at times struggled to control the critical and unruly talk of the participants. These officials were made vulnerable by the very logic and performance of the meeting as a binary dialogue between 'state' and 'society', constituting a boundary which was otherwise blurred or non-existent among the local elites who recognized each other as legitimate negotiators in meetings. The performance of this dichotomy contributed to the idea of the state as an entity standing separate from society, to which people might appeal against the failings and corruptions of local government, and with which a contractual relationship was continually being negotiated. The performative aspect of these meetings should not simply be dismissed then as evidence of their impotence or control by the state, but rather as a vital means by which the state has come to be imagined and negotiated at the most immediate local levels of government.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Dalby Simon

Political geography and climate change: Introduction to a virtual special issue of Political Geography on climate change and political geography, November 2015–February 2016
in **Political Geography**, Volume 50, January , 71-73

Climate change is a major issue in global politics, one that has profound implications for the future of the planet, and one that political geographers have been addressing in recent years. This special virtual issue of Political Geography highlights the contributions made in the journal to addressing both the empirical questions of how climate change might cause conflict and human insecurity and the larger questions of how climate is represented in political discourse and policy discussions.

Full text available online at <http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0962629815000815>



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

McCright Aaron M., Dunlap Riley E., Marquart-Pyatt Sandra T.

**Political ideology and views about climate change in the European Union
in *Environmental Politics*, Volume 25, Issue 2 , 338-358**

There is a strong political divide on climate change in the US general public, with Liberals and Democrats expressing greater belief in and concern about climate change than Conservatives and Republicans. Recent studies find a similar though less pronounced divide in other countries. Its leadership in international climate policy making warrants extending this line of research to the European Union (EU). The extent of a left–right ideological divide on climate change views is examined via Eurobarometer survey data on the publics of 25 EU countries before the 2008 global financial crisis, the 2009 ‘climategate’ controversy and COP-15 in Copenhagen, and an increase in organized climate change denial campaigns. Citizens on the left consistently reported stronger belief in climate change and support for action to mitigate it than did citizens on the right in 14 Western European countries. There was no such ideological divide in 11 former Communist countries, likely due to the low political salience of climate change and the differing meaning of left–right identification in these countries.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Elias Anwen, Szöcsik Edina, Zuber Christina Isabel

Position, selective emphasis and framing. How parties deal with a second dimension in competition

in *Party Politics*, Volume 21, Number 6, Special issue: Position, selective emphasis and framing: Party competition in multinational democracies, November , 839-850

This Special Issue aims to (1) theorise party strategies in multi-dimensional policy spaces; and (2) apply the theory to party competition in multinational democracies characterised by a salient territorial dimension alongside a more established economic dimension. The introductory article brings together recent contributions treating spatial and salience theories as compatible and policy spaces as two-dimensional to propose four party strategies that can be ranked from one- to two-dimensional competitive behaviour: uni-dimensionality, blurring, subsuming, and two-dimensionality. The remaining contributions operationalise these strategies and draw on a variety of data sources ranging from manifestos to parliamentary bill proposals and expert surveys to describe when and explore why parties use these strategies in competition, focusing on patterns of party competition in multinational democracies, selected as typical cases of multi-dimensional competition.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Bray Daniel

Pragmatic ethics and the will to believe in cosmopolitanism

in *International Theory*, vol. 5, issue 3 , 446-476

ABSTRACT: Recent conflicts and crises in international relations have tested the ethical commitments of many cosmopolitans. However, this article argues that cosmopolitanism can be morally compelling and practically useful if it is conceived pragmatically as a set of ideals that guide interactions concerning cross-border problems. It argues that a will



to believe in cosmopolitanism can be rationally justified by historical achievements and present tendencies in social conditions. Cosmopolitan beliefs are warranted, first, by demonstrating the empirical relevance of cosmopolitan ethics as a 'living option' in a new era of interaction and interdependence. Second, a pragmatic reorientation of cosmopolitan theory is conducted to widen the basis for identifying cosmopolitan action and permit a reconstruction of its ideals appropriate to today's pluralistic world. Finally, cosmopolitan ideals of equality, critical intelligence, and intercultural dialogue are developed as guides to addressing cross-border problems, drawing on the issue of climate change to illustrate how they become operative. A pragmatic faith in these ideals is thus justified by empirical hypotheses concerning the historical tendencies and latent potentialities of human experience, rather than metaphysical premises attached to a supernatural force or universal Reason.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Woodman Dan, Threadgold Steven, Possamai-Inesedy Alphaia

Prophet of a new modernity: Ulrich Beck's legacy for sociology

in Journal of Sociology, Vol. 51, No. 4, December 2015 , 1117-1131

Abstract

Ulrich Beck was one of the most influential sociologists of recent decades. Concepts he developed – including risk society, individualization, cosmopolitanization, subpolitics and the democratization of science – are among the most cited, used and contested in contemporary sociology. In the wake of Beck's recent death, this review article revisits his key contributions and legacy. He proposed that a momentous shift to a new modernity has begun and challenged sociologists as to whether the concepts they use are up to the task of tracing this emerging dynamic. Provocatively, Beck asked whether concepts like the nation-state, family and class are functioning as 'zombie categories', continuing on in sociology but no longer relevant to social experience. We argue that Beck was not denying the significance of such social factors, but setting a challenge to the discipline to show how the key concepts of sociology can be reimagined in the face of social change.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Wilkin Peter, Boudeau Carole

Public participation and public services in British liberal democracy: Colin Ward's anarchist critique

in Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy, Volume 33, Issue 6, December , 1325-1343

The aim of this paper is to set out a critique of the prevailing academic and government accounts of 'public participation'. This critique is drawn from the work of the British anarchist Colin Ward, which we argue is significant because it provides an alternative to state-led or market-led models of public participation. Both of the latter models subject individuals to external forms of authority (state or market). By contrast, Ward reminds us that the working-class tradition of free and autonomous associations, illustrated notably by the friendly societies, established a different understanding of public participation, one which presupposes the actual running and maintaining of the very services that the public relied upon through the key values of mutual aid and self-help. We describe the nature of these associations and suggest that, historically, they have been the most accomplished alternatives to state-led and market-led approaches to public



participation.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Luck Edward C.

R2P at Ten: A New Mindset for a New Era?

in Global Governance, vol. 21, n. 4, october-december , 499-504

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Dressler Wolfram H, Mahanti Sango, Clendenning Jessica, To Phuc Xuan

Rearticulating governance through carbon in the Lao PDR?

in Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy, Volume 33, Issue 5, Special issue on: Environmental Governance in South East Europe/Western Balkans, October , 1265-1283

Interventions to 'improve' the human condition through democratic and capitalist ideals increasingly draw on capital and markets to influence governance in line with Western mandates of state building. As a major recent example, Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation 'plus' (REDD+) develops new market regimes to govern, finance, and trade carbon in line with donor discourses of civil liberties, market expansion, and, more broadly, state building. Emerging REDD+ networks that aim to finance and trade carbon now align with the conditionality and ideals of democratic governance, transparency, and accountability through processes of institution building (for state stability). This paper examines the connection between REDD+ projects and state-making ideals in policy and practice as bilaterals and NGOs fuse the conditions and governance of one with the other. In the Lao PDR we argue that the governance machinery and interventions associated with REDD+ facilitate governance agendas to manage people, goods, and carbon in line with Western narratives of robust governance, free markets, and integrity. We contend that the adoption of REDD+ will nudge local markets and governance in this postsocialist bureaucracy toward such principles, but in ways that partly reinforce the state's longer term political and economic objectives. We conclude that, rather than conserve carbon per se, REDD+ governance reflects a tempered, less absolute 'extraterritoriality', where its transnational influence is differentiated depending on how assumptions and ideals align with state motives in the context of forest governance, democratic reform, and rural development.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Winkler Harald, Boyd Anya, Torres Gunfaus Marta, Raubenheimer Stefan

Reconsidering development by reflecting on climate change

in International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics, Volume 15, Issue 4, November , 369-385

Reconsidering development by reflecting on climate change means rethinking development goals, more than pursuing climate targets. Much analysis in the development-climate literature has framed development as a co-benefit, while the



objective has been climate stabilization. This misses the point that development drives emissions, not vice versa. A different approach must address low-emission technologies, but also the high-emission parts of 'development'. Politically, climate change must be understood as a development problem. In this conception, a key task for climate policy is to explore different development paths, with the difference in emissions being a result. Development goals need to be represented as explicit objectives, both in analytical modelling and as political goals. Methods that treat climate policy as a self-control mechanism in the development system, or back-cast from development goals, need to be improved. The article further considers levers to change development paths, considering lessons on how to influence change in complex systems. The obsession of the existing economic order is with economic growth and development; what needs to be considered is the quality of development and what it means to live well. A social contract for low-carbon development requires the rich to pay for mitigation, use less, and assist the poor; lift the poor out of poverty; and change the aspirations of the middle class. Such a contract requires thinking beyond short-term political and economic time frames, with much longer-term thinking and vision.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Vainikka Joni T.

Reflexive Identity Narratives and Regional Legacies

in *Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie (Journal of Economic & Social Geography)* , Volume 106, Issue 5, December , 521-535

Regions frame cultural traditions, meanings and performances but in relation to national imaginaries regions have asynchronous legacies that nourish their distinctiveness. While regions are a part of place-based, cultural vocabularies and patterns of everyday life, scholars have increasingly emphasised reflexive perceptions and challenged comprehensive and overarching regional identities. Drawing on 15 focus-group interviews with locally or universally-orientated civic organisation groups in two English counties (Cornwall and Devon) and two Finnish provinces (North Karelia and Southwest Finland), I analyse reflexive, stable and eclectic identifications with regional spaces and provide a typology for understanding archetypal and absorbed regional legacies and differently positioned ways of thinking. The results indicate that the social negotiation of identity discourses can contribute to a dialogue of inclusion, the formation of multiple identities and qualified senses of belonging. The paper highlights the importance of respecting different worldviews and life-paths in the analysis of culturally situated regional identities.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Lopez-Lucia Elisa

Regional powers and regional security governance: An interpretive perspective on the policies of Nigeria and Brazil

in *International Relations*, vol. 29, n. 3, september , 348-362

ABSTRACT: The study of regional powers has become an increasingly prominent part of debates in the academic field of International Relations (IR), particularly regarding their role in creating the conditions for international security. While the IR literature tends to focus on the causal effect of material and ideational factors to explain the policy of regional powers, this article uses an interpretive approach, centring on the study of historical representations. Through a comparative analysis of the foreign policies of Brazil and Nigeria since the 1990s, it argues that a focus on the traditions



and dilemmas of regional powers enables a better explanation of their policy, one which illustrates how material factors are refracted through the representations of foreign policy elites in the two countries and expressed in their foreign policy practices as regional powers.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Destais Christophe

Restructuration des dettes souveraines: comment sortir de l'ornière?

in **Lettre du CEPIL**, N° 357, octobre 2015

La crise grecque, dix ans après la crise argentine, est venue rappeler que l'insolvabilité des États peut avoir des conséquences économiques et humaines dramatiques. Ces derniers sont coupés de leurs sources de financement et conduits à mener des politiques d'austérité. Les crises de dette souveraine provoquent également, dans certains cas, un désordre monétaire profond qui amplifie les récessions et provoque des transferts de richesses. Disposer d'un cadre à l'intérieur duquel organiser la restructuration des dettes souveraines représente donc un enjeu majeur. Il n'en existe pourtant pas. Le seul mécanisme disponible aujourd'hui pour aider les débiteurs est que la communauté internationale se substitue à leurs créanciers privés, ce qui constitue pour ces derniers une source d'aléa moral et d'avantages indus. Toutefois, le statut souverain du débiteur rend impossible l'exécution forcée des droits des créanciers ou de décisions d'autorités tierces, sauf à ce que ce débiteur consente des transferts de souveraineté qui ne semblent pas réalistes aujourd'hui. Entre la gestion actuelle au cas par cas et l'impossible mise en place d'un cadre multilatéral de restructuration, cette Lettre propose de faire le point sur l'ensemble des mécanismes permettant de restructurer les dettes souveraines.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Goldman Loren

Richard Rorty's 'Post-Kantian' Philosophy of History

in **Journal of the Philosophy of History**, Volume 9, Issue 3, 2015 , 410 – 443

This article contends that despite Richard Rorty's famous rejection of metaphysics, his work nonetheless offers a philosophy of history, and that his account mirrors that of Kant's, a figure Rorty considered one of his primary conceptual adversaries. Although Rorty often presents his approach to history as a foil to Kant's, his account has striking parallels to the latter's regulative meliorism. In similar fashion, far from being a blind optimist, Kant provides a critical, progressive vision of history as necessary for the purposes of social action. Properly understood, Kant buttresses rather than undermines Rorty's aims, and had Rorty engaged his work on history more seriously, he might have avoided some of the more problematic elements of his own prophetic patriotism. Despite Rorty's dismissal of his work as the apotheosis of the absolute, this article argues that Kant's regulative philosophy of history is more pragmatically oriented towards concrete social change than Rorty's.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Moore Tod



Saving Private Hegel — Australian Liberalism and the 1914–1918 War

in *Australian Journal of Politics & History* , Volume 61, Issue 4, December , 501-514

In this essay I explore the pamphlet literature and related sources, in order to assess the effects of the 1914–1918 War on liberal political ideas in Australia. The main focus of the study is the WEA intellectuals in Sydney and Brisbane, and the core group of Deakinite liberals in Melbourne as represented by the overlapping membership of the Boobooks Club and the Round Table. Themes of compulsion, Progressivism, industrial relations, citizenship, and internationalism are examined. In particular the tension which wartime experiences produced within the high idealism of Kantian and Hegelian new liberal political philosophy is investigated. The bitterness caused by the war and the doubts raised about German philosophy help us to understand the decline of statist and idealist elements within liberal thought in Australia. Free text available online at <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/ajph.12115/epdf>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Arena Philip, Nicoletti Nicholas P.

Selectorate theory, the democratic peace, and public goods provision

in *International Theory*, vol. 6, issue 3 , 391-416

ABSTRACT: We show that without a few peculiar modeling choices that are not justified by the core assumptions of the theory, selectorate theory neither unambiguously predicts the democratic peace nor that leaders of more inclusive regimes will rely upon the provision of public goods to remain in office, though they may be more likely to provide club goods. We illustrate these claims using relatively simple models that incorporate the core assumptions of their theory, while avoiding modeling choices we believe to be less appropriate. We argue for a revised version of selectorate theory, one that continues to emphasize the importance of the size of the winning coalition, yet we believe it provides a more realistic picture of democratic politics.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Gillen Jamie

Some problems with “the Asian Century”

in *Political Geography*, Volume 50, January , 74-75

Full text available online at <http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S096262981400078X>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Bradlow Daniel D.

Southern African governments, multilateral development banks, non-state actors, and sustainable infrastructure: Managing changing relationships

in *South African Journal of International Affairs* , vol. 22, issue 3 , 289-305

ABSTRACT: There is a need for the countries of Southern Africa to invest in building infrastructure, for which purpose



they can be expected to utilise the services of multilateral development banks (MDBs). MDB-funded infrastructure projects often become arenas for debate over the roles and responsibilities of different actors in the development process. This article discusses the fact that there is no longer a clear consensus on the relative responsibilities of governments, MDBs and non-state actors in regard to infrastructure projects, and analyses how these new tensions in the relations between these three actors could complicate efforts to develop the infrastructure so urgently needed in Southern Africa.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Alexander William Salter

Sovereignty as exchange of political property rights

in Public Choice, Volume 165, Issue 1-2 , 79-96

I develop a positive theory of sovereignty that is rooted in political exchange. The key concept I use to characterize sovereignty is self-enforcing exchange of political rights. I conclude that a sovereign is an individual or body party to political exchange that does not rest on third-party enforcement. Importantly, sovereignty is an emergent phenomenon, defined in the process of bargains between holders of political power. I describe how political bargains within and across polities influences the distribution of political rights characterized by sovereignty, and I conclude by showing how my conception of sovereignty is compatible with theoretical understanding, and practical existence, of polycentric governance.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Benessia Alice, Funtowicz Silvio

Sustainability and techno-science: What do we want to sustain and for whom?

in International Journal of Sustainable Development, Volume 18, Number 4, Special Issue: In the Name of Sustainability , 329-348

We analyse the relationship between the mainstream framings of sustainability and techno-scientific innovation. Focusing on sustainability, we discuss the need to shift from predicting and promising what to do (in the future) to a political resolution of how we want to live together (in the present). Next, we turn our attention to techno-science, examining the normalising forces emerging from the modern framing of sustainability and the strategies that standardise the envisioning of our techno-scientific future, and the risks and promises of innovation. Concentrating on two emergent technologies, along two main drivers of innovation: optimisation (for new pathways of 'sustainable' competitiveness and consumption) in the field of smart technologies, and substitution (for new resources) in the field of synthetic biology. Finally, we provide some suggestions about the role of complexity and quality vs. efficiency and functionality, for reopening the democratic debate about what is to be sustained and for whom.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

O'Riordan Tim, McGowan Alan, Hamann Ralph, Lahsen Myanna, Zhang Linxiu

The Legacy of the Papal Encyclical



in **Environment: Science and Policy for Sustainable Development** , November-December

Editorial Full text available online at

http://www.environmentmagazine.org/Archives/Back%20Issues/2015/November-December%202015/editorial_full.html

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Lucentini Mauro

The Obama Presidency and the 5+1 Agreement with Iran

in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, Volume 82, n. 3, luglio-settembre , 335-342

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Canoca Timothy A.

The Role of Central Banks in Global Austerity

in *Indiana Journal for Global Legal Studies*, vol. 22, issue 2 , 665-695

ABSTRACT: The literature on austerity, by scholars and policymakers alike, has largely downplayed the important role of central banks in designing and implementing global austerity both before and since the 2008 financial crisis. This article considers how and why the world's leading central banks display an inherent bias toward austerity. As central banks have become increasingly influenced and even captured by large private banks and financial institutions, they have pursued policy agendas that favor those same private interests. The structure of the U.S. Federal Reserve suggests a central bank that has been captured by design and is rife with inherent conflicts of interest in its governance, regulatory, and monetary policy functions. These conflicts are often overlooked because of the myth of central bank independence, which has rested on truncated empirical studies and flawed readings of economic history. Yet, the myth has legitimized the Federal Reserve's policy agenda—particularly beginning in the 1980s when Alan Greenspan became chair of the Federal Reserve—when deregulation, liberalization, and privatization came to serve the private interests of Wall Street banks while creating a boom-and-bust bubble economy. The austerity bias of central banks was also revealed in both the academic work and monetary policy approach of Ben Bernanke, who succeeded Greenspan as Federal Reserve chairman just ahead of the 2008 financial collapse. Not only was the Federal Reserve's response to crisis a reflection of the domination of Wall Street interests, it also revealed a complete misreading of the lessons from the Great Depression by Bernanke and other mainstream economists. The result has been a flawed “trickle-down” response to the financial crisis, as the Federal Reserve and other leading central banks have provided massive subsidies to financial institutions and markets while relegating other sectors of the economy and society to the pains of austerity. A more balanced economic approach will require reform of central bank governance to include representatives of a wider range of social interests in monetary policymaking.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Houshisadat Mohammad



The Role of Iran's Future Liquid Natural Gas Supply in the Eu's Energy Security

in Asian Affairs, Volume 46, Issue 3, 2015 , 458-475

Global gas demand will surge by around 50% until 2030 and more than 50% of all interregional gas trading will be conducted by LNG carriers. The EU will be the first gas importer by the end of the next decade, while the Union will import around 80% of the gas and LNG it will need during the next decade. In addition, the EU is not interested in supporting the status quo in its gas and LNG policies and decided to decrease its huge dependency on Russian gas. Therefore, diversification of gas and LNG suppliers is at the top of the EU energy agenda.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Ploeckl, Florian

The Zollverein and the Sequence of a Customs Union

in Australian Economic History Review, Volume 55, Number 3 , 277-300

The Zollverein was the first international customs union, essentially defining these particular trade agreements. This article utilizes the predictions of a game theoretic model to explain the observed sequence of accessions into this union. Coalition externalities, the effects the accession of one state has on states remaining on the outside, are the central mechanisms shaping the negotiations between Prussia, the agenda setter, and other German states. This is demonstrated by detailing these financial, strategic, and political externalities, and demonstrating their influence on trade policy decisions.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Brooks Chay

The apostle of internationalism: Stephen Duggan and the geopolitics of international education

in Political Geography, Volume 49, Special Issue: Historical Geographies of Internationalism, November , 64-73

Stephen Duggan, the educator and director of the Institute of International Education (IIE) between 1919 and 1946, has been described as an 'apostle of internationalism'. Duggan's work as the director of a new international agency in the co-ordination of educational exchange sought to position the United States of America as the centre of international education. Duggan's writings during this period reflect the articulation of a geographical vocabulary which positioned the United States as a steward of an 'international' space of education despite Duggan's continual disparagement of cultural imperialism. This paper explores the geographies of Duggan's discursive rendering of American responsibilities for the security of 'the international', the potential for America to act as a beacon of educational exchanges, and as the 'rational' space to counteract threats to an imagined American educational hegemony. This outline was shot through with the anxiety of alternative internationalisms and the possibility for education to be used in opposition to the 'virtuous' international education proposed by Duggan and his contemporaries. An exploration of Duggan's writing provides a backdrop to the development of international educational agencies in the interwar period as critical technologies of an American geopolitical power.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea



Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Nuruzzaman Mohammed

The challenge of the Islamic State

in **Global Affairs**, Volume 1, Issue 3 , 297-304

The Islamic State, proclaimed on 29 June 2014, has tremendously shaken up the Middle East and the whole world forcing hostile and friendly states alike to close ranks and create a collective military platform to fight and contain this new danger before it spirals out of control. This analysis probes the threats and the challenges the Islamic State poses to the West and its Middle Eastern allies and examines why the challenges warranted a military response spearheaded by the USA. It argues that the Islamic State – which has captured and currently controls vast swathes across the Iraq-Syria borders – poses formidable ideational challenges to the West, beyond its military threats to the Middle Eastern states, that question the very base and organizing principles of western political order and the West's dominance over the Middle East, what is better dubbed “Eurocentrism” – a concept that articulates and sustains western claim to universalism. Unless coerced into submission or, at least, defeated militarily, the Islamic State looks certain to effectively challenge eurocentric ideas and promote its own version of Islamic universalism.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Murphy Michael

The critical cosmopolitanism of Watsuji Tetsurō

in **European Journal of Social Theory**, Vol. 18, No. 4, November 2015 , 507-522

Abstract

This article outlines an approach to a critical cosmopolitan social theory derived from the thought of the Japanese philosopher, Watsuji Tetsurō. In order to develop this, his thought is positioned against the works of the British sociologist, Gerard Delanty, and the Argentinian semiotician, Walter Mignolo. This will be done through the concepts of space, time and the imagination. From their respective intellectual positions these other two have attempted to develop an approach to social theory that cannot be reduced to the optic of conceptual Eurocentrism. However, while they have made significant and important contributions to the development of critical approaches to cosmopolitan social theory, of providing tools to re-imagine the world, they have done so through maintaining old ways of seeing the world. What emerges from Watsuji's work is an account of a critical cosmopolitanism that moves beyond conceptual Eurocentrism through an approach to social theory grounded in a relational social ontology. His focus on the ontology of social relationships also provides a cosmopolitanism that makes room for the ‘non-social’ and identifies a cosmopolitan view of the world as plural and as ‘hetero-spatial-temporal’. The social ontology developed by Watsuji also forces us to reconsider our understanding of the imagination, and its potential, beyond the dichotomy of an individual faculty or the product of social context. By expanding the notion of the Imaginal of Chiara Bottici, the article introduces a new understanding of the imagination into the debate.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Armstrong Harvey, Giordano Benito, Macleod Calum



The durability of European Regional Development Fund partnership and governance structures: a case study of the Scottish Highlands and Islands

in Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy, Volume 33, Issue 6, December , 1566-1584

This paper explores the ways in which European Union Regional Policy, particularly the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF), operates in a multi-level governance framework in which stakeholders at sub-national, national and European levels work together in partnership to deliver the European funding. Focusing upon the case of the Highlands and Islands region of Scotland, the paper analyses the ways in which partnership and governance structures have evolved over successive ERDF programming periods between 2000–2006 and 2007–2013. In particular, the paper illustrates the ways in which the Highlands and Islands' ERDF governance structures were built upon a 'broad' and 'deep' level of partnership amongst key stakeholders, especially in the 2000–2006 programme. For various reasons, including a significant reduction in its ERDF funding allocation, the level of partnership working was streamlined during the 2007–2013 programme. Importantly, however, the durability of the governance structures has been maintained.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Sommerer Thomas, Lim Sijeong

The environmental state as a model for the world? An analysis of policy repertoires in 37 countries

in Environmental Politics, Volume 25, Issue 1, Special Issue: Greening Leviathan? The Emergence of the Environmental State , 92-115

Scholars have proposed the analytical concept of the environmental state, a state where government actively addresses negative environmental externalities of economic activities. The mapping of environmental regulatory expansion in Western countries has been central in recent attempts to identify the environmental state empirically. Surprisingly little is known, however, when it comes to the environmental regulatory expansions in non-Western countries. Are there similar trends towards the emergence of environmental states in the non-West as well? From analysing data covering 25 policies in 37 countries, it appears that regulatory expansion has also occurred in the non-Western world, and the distinction between the West and the non-West has been reduced over time. There are non-Western countries among environmental pioneers, and there is some evidence for the trend of global convergence. Future research on environmental states should take into account emerging environmental states in the non-West.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

van Tatenhove Jan P. M.

The environmental state at sea

in Environmental Politics, Volume 25, Issue 1, Special Issue: Greening Leviathan? The Emergence of the Environmental State , 160-179

Seas and oceans are confronted with a plethora of environmental problems, caused by land-based activities (agriculture, industries, and ports) and by maritime activities (such as shipping, fishing, oil and gas drilling, tourism, and navigational dredging). Environmental problems at sea challenge the efficacy of state sovereignty. Who is responsible, accountable, and regulates environmental and spatial problems at the level of regional seas, and what is the role of



states in these processes of governance? In the regional seas and on the high seas, the environmental state is challenged by two developments: states become players at different levels, and states are confronted with the activities of big market players where they have no or little jurisdiction. The different forms of the environmental state in Europe's regional seas and in the Arctic Ocean are examined.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Pattison James

The ethics of diplomatic criticism: The Responsibility to Protect, Just War Theory and Presumptive Last Resort in European Journal of International Relations , vol. 21, n. 4, december , 935-957

ABSTRACT: This article presents the ethical case for diplomatic criticism as a response to mass atrocities and serious external aggression. It argues, in short, that states have a moral duty to criticise the offending parties. More specifically, it argues that diplomatic criticism is often a plausible and preferable alternative to other means of addressing serious external aggression and mass atrocities (such as war, economic sanctions and other diplomatic measures). It also argues that diplomatic criticism is often preferable to doing nothing, and that even if other means are undertaken, states should engage in diplomatic criticism as well. There are two subsidiary aims of the article. The first is to reject some of the worries surrounding international hypocrisy — I aim to show that even hypocritical diplomatic criticism may be obligatory. The second is to highlight the impact on Just War Theory of considering in more detail the ethical issues raised by the alternatives to war, such as diplomatic criticism, and, more specifically, to present a new account of the last resort principle, which I call 'Presumptive Last Resort'.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Duit Andreas

The four faces of the environmental state: environmental governance regimes in 28 countries in Environmental Politics, Volume 25, Issue 1, Special Issue: Greening Leviathan? The Emergence of the Environmental State , 69-91

The primary task for the environmental state is to address problems related to the market's externalisation of environmental costs. It has four main resources at its disposal: regulation, redistribution, organisation, and knowledge generation. The way these four resources are deployed make up a state's environmental governance arrangements. Using data on environmental regulation, taxes, public administrations, and knowledge production from 28 countries, and a hierarchical cluster analysis, four different types of environmental states are identified: established, emerging, partial, and weak. This is followed by some suggestions for further research on the environmental state in a comparative perspective.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Brennetot Arnaud

The geographical and ethical origins of neoliberalism: The Walter Lippmann Colloquium and the foundations of a new geopolitical order



in **Political Geography**, Volume 49, Special Issue: Historical Geographies of Internationalism, November , 30-39

Observers tend to overlook the early neoliberalism that derived from the “Lippmann Colloquium” organised in Paris in 1938. Analysis of the discourse produced and books published at this founding moment shows that neoliberalism was then presented as a geopolitical doctrine aimed at redressing the spatial fragmentation of the world into States. The means to achieve this, according to this first neoliberalism, was by implementing what, in 1978, M. Foucault called “governmentality”: a multiscalar political system based on the submission of territories to the transnational discipline of a multilateral free division of labour. This thinking was very similar to the convictions of a number of political leaders who, from the 1940s onwards, were involved in creating a new international order uniting Western Europe and the United States, the foundations of which had many similarities with the principles of the first neoliberalism.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Foss Ann W, Howard Jeff

The other end of the spectrum: municipal climate change mitigation planning in the politically conservative Dallas–Fort Worth region

in **Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy**, Volume 33, Issue 6, December , 1412-1431

Among the growing number of studies describing and evaluating municipal-scale programs to mitigate global climate change, relatively little attention has been given to municipalities that are not leading such efforts or to municipalities in politically conservative regions. Our research examines climate-relevant municipal planning in a structured sample of communities across the largely conservative Dallas–Fort Worth metropolitan area. Using data from planning documents and staff interviews, we evaluate the prevalence and vigor of numerous mitigation-relevant activities. We characterize the target municipalities according to a new typology addressing the maturation of local climate action. We find that in this politically conservative region communities are clustered toward the laggard end of the typology—away from the advanced end—and for the first time in the climate planning literature we identify several faltering emergent communities, whose nascent climate protection initiatives appear to have stalled.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Jan Pospisil, Florian P. Kühn

The resilient state: new regulatory modes in international approaches to state building?

in **Third World Quarterly**, Volume 37, Issue 1 , 1-16

‘Resilience’ has quickly risen to prominence in international security and development circles. In recent years it has found its way into political discourse on state building and state fragility, triggering a vast but often conceptually indistinct examination of the subject. Given its meaning in policy publications and guidelines, ‘resilience’ tends to eschew a static conceptualisation of statehood, turning instead to a more dynamic, complex and process-oriented rendering of state–society relations. This illustrates a conceptual shift from ‘failed states’ to ‘fragile states and situations’. It also transforms the concept of ‘failed state’ as a mere threat perception – with ‘stability’ as its logical other – into ‘fragility’ as a particular form of social and political risk. This paper analyses the concepts in 43 policy papers, focusing on the nexus of ‘resilience’ and ‘fragility’ in international state building, and assesses potential consequences. What does ‘resilience’ – as the opposite vision to ‘fragility’ – in fact mean? What is the practice derived from this chimerical state of states?



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Webb Adam K.

The rise of the cosmopolitan traditionalists: From the Arab Spring to a global countermovement?
in *International Political Science Review* , vol. 36, n. 4, september , 425-440

ABSTRACT: The revolutions of the Arab Spring, in contrast to the liberal third wave of the 1970s to 1990s, rest on a more popular and traditionalist base. Critics often depict these currents as insular and even xenophobic in outlook. This article engages the literature on democratisation, framing, and social movement globalisation, and challenges that assumption. It draws on in-depth interviews conducted with Islamists and other activists in Cairo during April and May 2012. It argues that the pressures of globalisation and the opportunities of democratic transition are forcing traditionalists on to more cosmopolitan terrain. These cosmopolitan traditionalist activists draw on inspiration from other parts of the world and express solidarity with revolutionary movements elsewhere. Unlike liberal cosmopolitans, however, they ground their mode of tolerance and cooperation on substantive traditional values. While the pressures of globalisation may limit the ability of post-revolutionary regimes to deliver on social aspirations, this shift of ideological framing may pave the way for new traditionalist networks that cut across borders. As global political opportunity structures emerge and frustrations build up within nation-states, this cosmopolitan traditionalist bloc is likely to have the numbers and influence to reshape world order.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Schweiger Elisabeth

The risks of remaining silent: international law formation and the EU silence on drone killings
in *Global Affairs*, Volume 1, Issue 3 , 269-275

Despite fierce public critique, governments of EU member states have not objected to the ongoing practice of armed drone attacks. Whatever the reasons for this silence may be, in international law such non-reaction is not a mere absence. The silence of governments functions in particular ways and has become part of the current interpretative struggle about changing international principles regarding the right to self-defence and “targeted killing”. While some experts count this silence as tacit consent to “targeted killing” practices others dispute its legal value. This article builds on the work of linguistics to explore the functioning of silence in the diplomatic language games. The dominant reading of government silence is acquiescence in international law. Proposing alternative readings of government silence, this article shows how any interpretation of silence is necessarily a political act which channels the debate over whether and how international law is changing. I reflect silence not against but through its inherent ambiguity, thus revealing some obvious and some less obvious dangers of the EU policy of silence.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Kopnina Helen

The victims of unsustainability: a challenge to sustainable development goals
in *International Journal of Sustainable Development and World Ecology*, Volume 23, Issue 2 , 113-121



Environmental unsustainability is due to both structural features and historically specific characteristics of industrial capitalism resulting in specific patterns of production and consumption, as well as population growth. Sustainability literature criticises the established corporate and political power hegemonies, interested in maintaining economic growth, as well as inability or unwillingness of citizen-consumers to counteract these hegemonic tendencies. Yet, official policies are still targeted at social and economic 'development' as a panacea for unsustainability challenges. Instead, renewed accent on social and economic objectives are outlined by a set of sustainable development goals (SDG) that include objectives of fighting poverty, promoting better health, reducing mortality, and stimulating equitable economic growth. What is less commonly critiqued is the underlying morality of unsustainability and ethical questions concerned with the 'victims of unsustainability' outside of socioeconomic discourse. The achievement of SDG goals, as will be further elaborated on in this article, is unlikely to lead to greater social equality and economic prosperity, but to a greater spread of unsustainable production and consumption, continuous economic as well as population growth that has caused environmental problems in the first place and further objectification of environment and its elements. This article argues that an invocation of ethical duty toward environment and its elements is required in order to move beyond the current status quo. Such ethical approach to unsustainability can effectively address the shortcomings of the mainstream sustainability discourse that is mainly anthropocentric and therefore fails to identify the correct locus of unsustainability.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Nistotskaya Marina, Charron Nicholas, Lapuente Victor

The wealth of regions: quality of government and SMEs in 172 European regions

in Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy, Volume 33, Issue 5, Special issue on: Environmental Governance in South East Europe/Western Balkans, October , 1125-1155

With this paper we put forward a novel theoretical argument that the individual's subjective evaluations of the quality of government (QoG) in terms of its impartiality influences his or her complex assessments of the opportunity and feasibility of a business venture, and calculations on expected long-term utility from business venturing. This in turn affects his or her decision to engage in legal business venturing or not. We hypothesize that high QoG is linked with higher rates of small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) in a polity and a more even pattern of their territorial dispersion. Using original survey data on QoG from 172 regions in eighteen European Union countries, we find that regions where governments are perceived by their citizens as impartial and free from corruption have on average significantly more SMEs. We also find that in less corrupt countries the spatial distribution of SMEs is more even than in more corrupt countries.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Nuria Gallego, Carlos Llano

Thick and Thin Borders in the European Union: How Deep Internal Integration is Within Countries, and How Shallow Between Them

in World Economy, Volume 38, Issue 12 , 1850-1879

The existence of large border effects is one of the main puzzles of international macroeconomics. The seminal paper by McCallum found that trade between any two Canadian provinces was (on average) 22 times greater than trade between



any Canadian province and any US state. Although various authors have estimated internal and external border effects for the whole European Union and some specific European countries, none has done so in the manner that McCallum's seminal paper, stymied by lack of data on region-to-region international trade flows. This study uses a novel data set that captures intra and international truck shipments between Spanish regions and regions in seven European countries during the period 2004–11. It computes internal and external border effects, offering novel results for aggregate flows and the importing countries, and estimates several specifications of the gravity equation, so as to tackle such issues as the multilateral resistance term, heteroscedasticity, and zero flows and non-linear relation between trade and distance. The paper also adds a detailed analysis on the external border effect for each Spanish exporting region and each of the seven European countries considered. By means of this analysis, we shed new light on the relative integration between regions of these seven countries and Spanish exporting regions. Finally, we conduct an extrapolation exercise, computing the 'trade potentials' that would be expected in a fully integrated Europe and estimating how long full integration would take to achieve between each Spanish exporting region and each European importing country. To this regard, two alternative scenarios are considered: one using the growth rates of the Spanish exports before the crisis (2001–08) and other considering the post-crisis growth rates (2011–13).

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Berliner Daniel

Transnational advocacy and domestic law: International NGOs and the design of freedom of information laws in Review of International Organizations (The) , vol. 11, n. 1, march , 121-144

ABSTRACT: Can international non-governmental organizations (INGOs) influence domestic policy? This paper offers new quantitative evidence of the impact of INGOs in one specific policy area—Freedom of Information (FOI) laws—as well as highlighting an under-studied mechanism of INGO influence on the design of domestic laws. I test this argument by examining the effect of legal analyses of draft FOI legislation published by the INGO Article 19. These analyses provide expert legal assessments and make normative evaluations—both information politics and symbolic politics. I find that in countries in which Article 19 conducted legal analyses, the design of the subsequently passed FOI laws was significantly stronger than in countries that were not subject to such analyses. I demonstrate that this finding is not an artifact of Article 19's selection process. I also present suggestive evidence that highlights symbolic politics, not information politics, as the more salient mechanism. Finally, I examine the process of FOI drafting and adoption in Serbia to illustrate the argument and specific mechanisms at work.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Yavuz M. Hakan, Özcan Nihat Ali

Turkish Democracy and the Kurdish Question

in Middle East Policy, Volume 22, Issue 4, Winter , 73-87

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous



Sarvarian Arman

Uti Possidetis Iuris in the Twenty-First Century: Consensual or Customary?

in *International Journal on Minority and Groups Rights*, Volume 22, Issue 4, Special Issue: Self-determination, Resources and Borders , 511-532

The doctrine of uti possidetis iuris provides that, in the succession of States arising from secession or disintegration, territorial title is delimited between successors according to internal borders at the time of succession. Although it is commonly accepted that the concept originated in the nineteenth-century successions in the Spanish Americas and was generally adopted by the twentieth-century decolonization successors in Africa, international law scholars have been divided on whether the doctrine has thereafter evolved into a universal rule of customary international law that presumptively binds successors but is rebuttable by common agreement. This article argues that the 'presumption' of binding application is not supported by precedent and is inconsistent with the principle of consent. Rather, the law of State succession is neutral on the delimitation of successors' frontiers: uti possidetis iuris is one of several methods of territorial delimitation that may be adopted by their common consent.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Söderbaum Peter

Varieties of ecological economics: Do we need a more open and radical version of ecological economics?

in *Ecological Economics*, Volume 119, November , 420-423

Should we aim at one single economics paradigm for all purposes or is it wise to accept the existence of more than one theoretical perspective? Is one ecological economics perspective enough or should we encourage competing paradigms as part of a pluralist perspective? Moritz Remig expresses his preference for 'mainstreaming' ecological economics in the January 2015 issue of *Ecological Economics* suggesting that alternative perspectives and alternative terminologies, such as "sustainability economics", lead to confusion. In this reply I am arguing that there is no value-free or value-neutral ecological economics and that therefore limiting economics or ecological economics to one paradigm is not compatible with democracy. We have to live with some complexity when dealing with sustainability issues and should not avoid issues of paradigm, ideology and political-economic system.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Coen David, Pegram Tom

Wanted: A Third Generation of Global Governance Research

in *Governance*, Volume 28, Issue 4 , 417–420

Global governance is not working. The rapid development of economic globalization and deepening interdependence of cross-border activity belie the relative absence of governance mechanisms capable of effectively tackling global public policy issues.

From financial regulation to noncommunicable diseases, bio-pathogen containment, and, of course, climate change mitigation, global governance is failing to find solutions. It is imperative that we make progress in understanding blockage and ways through. ...



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Octavio Amorim Neto, Andrés Malamud

What Determines Foreign Policy in Latin America? Systemic versus Domestic Factors in Argentina, Brazil, and Mexico, 1946–2008

in Latin American Politics & Society, Volume 57, Issue 4 , 1-27

Is it domestic politics or the international system that more decisively influences foreign policy? This article focuses on Latin America's three largest powers to identify patterns and compare outcomes in their relations with the regional hegemon, the United States. Through a statistical analysis of voting behavior in the UN General Assembly, we examine systemic variables (both realist and liberal) and domestic variables (institutional, ideological, and bureaucratic) to determine their relative weights between 1946 and 2008. The study includes 4,900 votes, the tabulation of 1,500 ministers according to their ideological persuasion, all annual trade entries, and an assessment of the political strength of presidents, cabinets, and parties per year. The findings show that while Argentina's voting behavior has been determined mostly by domestic factors and Mexico's by realist systemic ones, Brazil's has a more complex blend of determinants, but also with a prevalence of realist systemic variables.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Ang, James B.

What Drives the Historical Formation and Persistent Development of Territorial States?

in Scandinavian Journal of Economics, Volume 117, Number 4 , 1134-1175

The importance of the length of state history for understanding variations in income levels and growth rates across countries has received a lot of attention in the recent literature on long-run comparative development. The literature, however, is silent about its origins. This paper explores the determinants of statehood by considering the potential roles of an early transition to fully fledged agricultural production, the adoption of state-of-the-art military innovations, and the opportunity for economic interaction with the regional economic leader. The results demonstrate that only the association between economic interaction and the rise and development of the state is statistically robust.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Trautsch Jasper M.

Who's afraid of China? Neo-conservative, realist and liberal-internationalist assessments of American power, the future of “the West” and the coming new world order

in Global Affairs, Volume 1, Issue 3 , 235-245

In 2012, three of America's most influential public intellectuals – Robert Kagan, Zbigniew Brzezinski and Charles A. Kupchan – published books which reflect on what the rise of China entails for the future world order and which foreign policy the USA should pursue in response to the Chinese challenge. Since these authors represent three different



political ideologies with significant bearing on the American foreign-policy establishment – neo-conservatism, realism and liberal internationalism – a comparison of their analyses will allow us to systematize current trends in American debates about world affairs and to identify today's fault lines between the political-ideological camps. As the article will demonstrate, at the root of the disagreements between the three schools of thought as represented by these authors are their diverging evaluations of America's relative power, their different conceptions of the nature of America's alliances, the unequal degree of importance they each attach to a state's form of government for its foreign policy and consequently their competing views on America's role in the coming world order.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Kemahlıoğlu Özge

Winds of Change? The June 2015 Parliamentary Election in Turkey

in South European Society & Politics, Volume 20, Issue 4 , 445-464

Held in an environment of growing social polarisation, fears of emergent authoritarianism, and economic challenges, Turkey's June 2015 election ended the Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi's (AKP's) parliamentary majority, challenging its single-party rule for the first time in 13 years. This article first provides information on the background to the election, focusing on debates about the authoritarian tendencies of AKP, economic conditions, and the competition for the Kurdish vote. Then, a brief overview of the campaign period is presented, followed by an analysis of election results at the sub-national level. The article concludes with some preliminary discussion of the causes of the loss of AKP's majority.

Full text available online at <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/13608746.2015.1115581>